

Chiang Rai as a Border Province under the Nation State's Design of Border Space*

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Abstract

This article was motivated by the debate on whether the present-day “Chiang Rai” is the same “Chiang Rai” that has existed since its founding in 1262 C.E. This study was based on the hypothesis that Chiang Rai, officially called “Chiang Rai province,” at present becomes a border area because of the politically established border. This study adopted a historical approach, namely, a historically reconstructed landscape of Chiang Rai. It was found out that Chiang Rai was brought up from being the border area redesigning. The study was examined the development of the province's basic historical structure in 4 stages as followed. Stage 1: Redesigning of Traditional State, Chiang Rai before the new Nation State taking place. Stage 2: Redesigning of Civilization, Chiang Rai under the new Nation State (the decade of 1880-1950). State 3: Redesigning of Modern Thai People, Chiang Rai and being modern Thai society redesigning (the decade of

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1950-1980) and state 4: Chiang Rai and its redesigning after the border opening (the decade of 1980-2000).

Keywords: History / Border Space / Chiang Rai

บทคัดย่อ

บทความวิจัยนี้เริ่มต้นจากข้อถกเถียงว่า “เชียงราย” ปัจจุบัน เป็นเชียงราย ที่ยังคงสืบเนื่องจากเมื่อเริ่มต้นสร้างเมืองเมื่อ ค.ศ. 1262 โดยมีสมมุติฐานว่า เมืองเชียงรายที่เรียกในชื่อหน่วยพื้นที่การปกครองของรัฐว่า “จังหวัดเชียงราย” เกิดขึ้นเพราะการเกิดขึ้นของเส้นเขตแดน ทำให้เชียงรายกลายเป็นเมืองชายแดน การศึกษาใช้วิธีการทางประวัติศาสตร์ในการศึกษา “ภูมิทัศน์ที่ประกอบสร้างประวัติศาสตร์เชียงราย” โดยผลการศึกษาพบว่า เชียงรายเกิดขึ้นจากการออกแบบพื้นที่ชายแดนใหม่ โดยใช้หน่วยการวิเคราะห์จากการพัฒนา “โครงสร้างพื้นฐานทางประวัติศาสตร์” โดยรัฐ 4 ช่วง ดังนี้ ช่วงที่ 1 เชียงราย ก่อนการเกิดขึ้นของรัฐสมัยใหม่ ช่วงที่ 2 เชียงราย ภายใต้อารยธรรมรัฐชาติสมัยใหม่ (ทศวรรษ 1880-1950) ช่วงที่ 3 การออกแบบเชียงรายโดยความเป็นสมัยใหม่ (ทศวรรษ 1950-1980) ช่วงที่ 4 เชียงรายกับการออกแบบหลังเปิดชายแดน (ทศวรรษ 1980-2000)

คำสำคัญ: ประวัติศาสตร์ / พื้นที่ชายแดน / เชียงราย

Introduction

This article was attempted to respond to the question of how Chiang Rai became to be a border city. Chiang Rai at the present as one of the provinces that was established through nontraditional state process. The central state selected old Lanna city “Chiang Rai” and merged with different areas with the

diversity in socioeconomic and historical background². It became the new territory resulting from the Siam State modern administrative since the decade of 1890 which was the same period of western imperialism in the area of Southeast Asia.

Historical documents always mentioning Muang Chiang Rai was built by Phaya Mung Rai since 1262 C.E. or more than 750 years and it had been through several changes for several periods of times until it became one part of Thailand. It was rather focused on the individual capability than the local historical development. From that observation, it can be said that the development or change of Chiang Rai or Chiang Saen-Chiang Rai Basin were 2 major phases. The first one was gathering people and establishing Muang by Mung Rai Dynasty in the mid-13th century. The second one was the new administrative of the central authority from Chao Praya Basin to organize Chiang Rai and other places merging as Muang "Jadtawa." Chiang Rai was dependent on the central authority and in 1916 C.E. Chiang Rai became one unit under Thai state as a province. Its population and physical area were different from the 13th century owing to the integration of variety of border areas from some part of these places namely Chiang Mai, Phrae, and Nan. It was also merged Chiang Saen, Chiang Khong, Chiang Kham and Phayao³.

Even Chiang Rai has been through several changes but when mentioning of its history it was always starting with the event in the past before the name "Chiang Rai" was brought up and telling of the movement of the people for settlement and setting

² Before integrating various districts into Chiang Rai, Chiang Kong and Theong used to be with Nan, Phan district was related to Lamphun.

³ The central state integrated Chiang Saen, Muang Chiang Rai, Muang Phang, Wieng Pa Pao, Muang Phayao, Amphur Mae Jai, Amphur Dok Kham Tai, Amphur Mae Suai, Muang Chiang Kham and Muang Chiang Khong into "Jungwat Payup Paknuae." Later in 1916 C.E. there was a change from Muang Jadtawa then called "Muang Chiang Rai" under Monton Payup (Interior Ministry announcement, 1916, in the Royal Gazette Vol. 27, p. 426).

up many small states which linking to the royal's performances in the ancient kingdom. But in term of timing in changing, Chiang Rai at present as the border city, it cannot be able to connect to the past history in aspects of relating to varieties of ethnic groups of people and linking to the border areas of the 4 countries namely, Thailand, Myanmar, Lao PDR. and China PRC.

To illustrate Chiang Rai as the border area, it is necessary to investigate its historical foundation structure development and the roles of the local people which living along the border area and boundary line and the space within the border.

Objective of this study was to investigate the designing history of Chiang Rai as a border city after the modern state policy of boundary line defining. The scope of the study was focused on Chiang Rai history in the province.

The study was starting from Chiang Rai history during the period of the boundary line policy. It was in 1903 C.E. until the year 2017 C.E. Due to in 2017 C.E. Chinese government did boat surveying along Mekong River in the border area of Thailand and Lao PDR. for the purpose of further rock explosion which would be able to alter the boundary line authorization. The methodology of studies was based on historical and qualitative approaches.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study applied the conceptual framework of the Rise of the Nation State by Ben Anderson. It stated that the nation state was established by various social institutes with intention and unintention by means of map, publishing system, population consensus and museum. It would be the unity of mutual and official perception forces as well as an similarity of official language and time of life arrangement. It would create nation which is a community establishing fraternity of each every

one to sacrifice himself or herself even he or she had never had any idea of the space area or the state boundary line (Anderson, 2009). The context of the study were divided in aspects of (1) physical space (2) Thai State's policy on the border of Chiang Rai and (3) the mode of people's lives in those areas.

This article bringing up direction of historical study of new Chiang Rai border area. There was one argument related to this article was that It was not only the State of Siam that established Chiang Rai but also the neighbor states whose borders connecting to and world political changing phenomena as well.

The Result of the Study

Stage 1 Redesigning Traditional State

Chiang Rai and the designing prior 19th century starting from there was no history of itself but just being only a certain part of Chiang Mai history and some part in Siam history chronicle which leading to new authorization from Siam instead of Chiang Mai.

The traditional state authority and the area changing before the arising of the boundary line treaty among British, France and Siam was that there was no specific territory boundary line. It was due to the state authority in the Southeast Asia being like a candlelight radiance in the way of having central power but spread over the surrounding area in the direction of the further of the distance area, the weaken of the central authority to have an impact on particular area. It showed that the factors of the distance of the area and the time speed were significant to the traditional state in aspects of resources and human controlling. It could be said that there was no border territory for the traditional state. There was just area to where it could not be accessed. It can be compared to the universal

wall in Buddhism that at the edge of the universe, there was the mountain, that edge called “Inferno” where there was no one can reach and that area would be lightening only at a short period of time and at each time when the Lord Buddha was born⁴.

Long distance trade was one factor that caused the settlement of cities and towns along the routes in the basins of Mekong River, Kok River and Ping River. As these cities or towns were the places for resting, tax collecting and route passing fee collecting, resources trading point and resources and goods distribution point. It made each place wealthy then became town and city in the area of Mekong-Salween such as Chiang Rung (Jinghong), Ken Tung, Chiang Saen, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai and other main towns of Tai Yai (Shan people). These places were attached to the main and huge kingdoms over them in each period of time for example; China, Burma and Ayutthaya. For Lanna Kingdom which Chiang Mai was the center became under authorization of Burma in the 16th century and later was under Siam in 18th century until being completely merged as one part of Siam in the 20th century.

This changing was not only from the King’s authorization but it was due to the western technology changing called “Industrial Revolution” in the 19th century. In designing territory space, the authorization zone technic was applied in boundary line defining. The boundary line of territory of state administrative starting from establishing at the level of village to country. The boundary lines between nation

⁴ “Inferno” in Buddhism was situated among 3 universes, it may be compared with 3 wheels with are closed each other, among them are the inferno located with the monk’s alms-bowls upside down, the interval of the three alms-bowls are the inferno existing.

to nation caused an obstacle of trading among cities and towns which were used to be smoothly linking by the conventional trade⁵. It further divided and separated people from one another. Westerner's intention and desire were not for the physical spaces but it was for resources and manpower. The designing for colonial space and territory of the westerners bringing out cities at the border areas in Mekong basin and Salween (and others as well)

The State of Siam cooperated in that operation during that time as well. The negotiation on the boundary benefit was at the high degree of tense when there were army forces and knowledge of history using as right to have authority over those certain territories. This led to the development and changing of an official administrative system. That were the administrative of the precincts of "Lao Chiang", "Lao Puan" and "Lao Kaow" to be changed to the precincts of "Payup", "Udon" and "Isaan" reespectively, this was accordance to the direction in which that certain precinct situated and the Siam State being as the center. It was also to abolish the permission granting to foreign firms to do the survey in various areas of cities and return that right to the Siam State⁶ (Khrouthongkhieo, 2010).

⁵ The trade center on land in the GMS, Kok River, Ping River and Salween which the route connecting to Mawlamyine- the North (Thai)-Shan State and Yunnan. Trade caravan comprised of Chinese Haw, Tai Yai, and Laos which having the trade cycle starting from Yunnan and Tai Yai from Shan State through that route to buy the products from the factory at Mawlamyine.

⁶ Before the decade of 1870 C.E. Lanna was depend on Siam, just paying tribute to the Siam monarchy in each 3 years. Siam did not meddle with internal affairs of Lanna but after the decade of 1870, Siam state applied the technique of colonialism and traditional state to deal with Lanna.

However the border area of Chiang Rai was still like the edge of universe in which it was in ambiguity and out of reaching by the king's authority.

Stage 2 Redesign Civilization (Decade of 1880-1950 C.E.)

During this period of the administrative of Chiang Rai was designed by variety of colonial techniques, but one obvious thing appearing was that “to be Thai identity” based on the ideology through modernized school system with the mean of historical knowledge in which during the same period of the boundary line defining. There were processes of collecting local chronicles connecting to the history of the central state. It was an evident of “Yonok Chronicle” or “Lao Chieng Chronicle” by Phaya Prachakitkornchak (Chaem Bunnak) at the last period of the decade of 1890 C.E. to the beginning of the decade of 1900 C.E. This chronicle made Chiang Saen and Chiang Rai were parts of the central state for a long period of time for the purpose of having right and authorization over that areas. It was also making change related to those areas and giving a new meaning of those various towns through the process of arranging and classifying each group of people. In addition tangible historical evidences were created from filed trip working and surveying main ancient towns and cities.

Besides the Siam State and the western colonial states, there were external factors influencing on the changing of Chiang Rai, there were also some changes within the area especially the changing in trading routes, changing in group of trading people and changing among networks of trading across the border. Those mentioned factors were the key factors to form the pattern of border area and direct the practical use of the central authority over these areas in the direction of being flexibility and localization. The role of the local people could be able to

develop the border area to be significant in terms of politic and economic of the modern state (Ruangsri, 2014).

War and Knowledge: The Attempt of New Boundary Line

Before the period of the boundary line setting, the Siam state was one of the players in allocating and setting territory by the King's authorization which was considered as a traditional state. The effort of extending boundary and authority right over certain territory was the result of the history of the Siam State written as the case of Chiang Rai, the border city. The war to attack Keng Tung was considered as the last traditional war of territory expansion. It was shown that the routes of the troops did not pass into the center of Chiang Rai. They went through Nan, Chiang Saen and Fang areas which it used to be original trade route. This was the last war of territory expansion up to the North⁷ (Settakul, 2009, p. 143).

During the Second World War Keng Tung was still the new attempt of territory expansion war of the Siam State as it was not achieve whatever was in the history. The desire of managing new boundary was brought up again by using nationalism with making use of available historical information⁸ such as chronicle named "Yonok" and document called "Lak Thai." It was on the purpose of establishing the right and eligibility over territory and boundary again, this time the new route of the troops

⁷ In 1852 C.E. Bangkok gathered people from Bangkok and other cities and towns from Lanna and Luang Prabang as hugh force to go through Pitsanulok, Utaradit, Nan and Chiang Khong. The front army went through Kampangsansan, Tak and Chiang Mai and got together at Chiang San. Then went to Ken Tung but it was not successful.

⁸ Even during the Second World War the historical of nationalism was emphasized but it was focused on the Thai national people who lived in other places which was different from the period of absolute monarchy.

was an original trade route from Mae Sai to Keng Tung. This time it could be able to establish the initial Thai State to become the new one but it was last only for two and a half years due to the condition of the Second World War. It was stated that after the ending of the war all of the land obtained during the war had to be return to the original owners.

When after the establishing of boundary line in which the condition saying that the 25 kilometers distance interval between the land of Siam state and France, it made some change that was the governor of Chiang Mai had an authorization over the land area up to the North connecting to Indochina belonging to France. The Siam State had to design the new border area and named the area as “Muang Chiang Rai” where it was overlap of Muang Chiang Rai of Lanna Kingdom. The new Chiang Rai was the area where there was merging the border areas of several important of Lanna Kingdom such as Chiang Kong, Chiang Saen, Phan, Phayao, Mae Suai and Wiang Pa Pao. Chiang Rai was raised up and it was directly depend on the Siam State as “Muang Jatawa.” Then moved the original center of Chiang Saen which was closed to Mekong River to another 25 kilometers toward the west of the old town of Chiang Saen. It was located at Bann Mae Kee (Mae Khi). It was named “Amphur Chiang Saen.”⁹

After designing the physical of Chiang Rai, the Siam State arranged new administrative by assigning the prince of Lanna from Lamphun which having

⁹ At the present, it is Maechan district which the name was changed from Chiang San to Maechan in 1939 C.E., Chiang San at the present, it originally named “Ging Amphur Chaing San Luang” then in 1939 it changed to “Ging Amphur Chiang Saen” and in 1957 C.E. until now It became to be “Amphur Chiang San.”

superior authority over Chiang Saen during that time to govern Chiang Rai. Then changed the status of the governor from the traditional Lanna title to be the sheriff. This method was applied to Chiang Khong as well the position of the governor changed to be a sheriff. Later the officer was sent from the central government to be the governor of Muang Chiang Rai and province respectively. The area of land belong to the Lanna monarchy members in Chiang Rai was not plenty (Sompong Chuenchom, personal communication, May 19, 2018) as there was not accumulation of authority for a long period of time.

New Group of People in the New Area

The officers from Siam State brought up a new high class level of people in Chiang Rai. They were from original old Lanna monarchy group of people which became to be the officer of the Siam State. From the interview and document study, it was found that there were many marriages among Lanna princes or princess and the officers of Siam, (Sompong Chuenchom, personal communication, May 19, 2018) and their descendants to be high class level group of people in Chiang Rai until now. These phenomena were similar in Prae and Phayao which having the problem of Ngeow (Tai Yai) rebellion and this kind of marriage was the strategy being used as well. In Chiang Rai, Lanna princes and princesses of Chiang Rai had good relation with the group of American Presbyterian Missionary¹⁰. These group of people came to settle in Chiang Rai for the

¹⁰ In 1840 C.E. American Presbyterian Missionaries came to Siam for their mission and in 1847 "Mission Siam" was established and expand their works to outside of Bangkok, to Petchaburi in 1861 and Chiang Mai in 1867. It was the center for Laos as well. Then from there they established the office in Lumpang in 1885, in Lumpoon 1891, Prae in 1893, Nan 1895, and Chiang Rai in 1897. Later they moved and expanded Kentung (1904-1908) and to Chiangrung (1917-1941).

preparation of religion propagation in Keng Tung, Lao and Xishuangbanna. Moreover owing to the agreement between the State of Siam and France on the condition that the British police were not allowed to be stationed and worked. The State of Siam would hire mainly Swedish police instead. Their officers were located in Lampang through Pha Yao. When there was the problem of Ngeow rebellion, there were some Swedish worked in Chiang Rai as well. Among these police there was one to get married with one step daughter of one of the high class ladies of Chiang Rai (Laowsuntorn, 2005).

Land and the Shape of the City

American Presbyterian Missionary participated in fighting to protect Chiang Rai from being attacked by the group of Tai Yai people in year 1902 C.E. and Lanna monarchy group of people in Chiang Rai did not leave the city like other ones in other cities. From those incident, Dr. William A. Brigg, M.D., a religious professor and he was recognized as the leader of the battle. He had role in developing Chiang Rai in various ways for example in street building, provincial building, hospital, school and public health including the participation for the favor of taking out the old city wall for the sake of the community healthy. It made the old town area of Chiang Rai became a square shape planning which are the land allocation along Singhaklai road (its name at the present) where there was a great deal of land for Christian of Chiang Rai Office (American Presbyterian). Moreover, outside of the center of Chiang Rai to the East and to the North up to new Chiang Saen (Mae Chan) and Mae Sai were owned by the officers from Siam. This made the area became newly territory of agriculture .

Besides the physical change, there were some continuing of change in knowledge. According to the Wat Po Chronicle the state of Siam had learnt of

having diversity of people and how to manage them since King Rama 3, The lesson learnt was that in order to have the right and authority over certain area and place only having a Chronicle to link people was not enough. Thus the Siam state had produced and arranged chronicle of "Yonok" by compiling legends, folks tales, stories and other documents from various sources into new version of chronicle. It was used to describe the history of the upper area of Siam and to used as authorization of Thai people (Siam) over that area due to priori settle here and continuing for a long period of time. This was not just the case, American Presbyterian applied the methodology by creating new knowledge of Tai people through the book "The Tai Race: Elder Brother of the Chinese" by William Clifton Dodd. The book told the story of where Tai people were living. American Presbyterian Office in Chiang Mai had an assignment to religion dissemination among only Tai people¹¹ (Pongudom, n.d.) both two cases showing of the knowlege of how to manage the area and people for a long period until the end of the Second World War. At the beginning of the decade of 1957 C.E. the Thai state changed the concept towards this issue to the new one.

The rising of Chiang Rai during this period showing the process of how to make change the border area to be the part of the state of Siam. It is compare to the process of making wild chickens become domestic ones which is called

¹¹ Due to in Burma, Baptist Missionary took in charge of all religion rerated to Christian, So American Presbyterian could not do further job and stop the business in 1908 C.E. In case in Lao during the decade of 1897, the French government which had Lao as a colonial country did not allow Catholicism to get in McGilvary (2001, p. 446). American Presbyterian Missionary went to Chiang Rung, Xishuangbanna in 1917-1941 C.E. There were the members over 300, 2 small schools, hospital with 20 patient beds and 2 communities of Leprosy people.

“Domestication.” In this way, the central state of Siam could be able to manage people and resources through government authority, economic system and new education system, for example. People could be trained in new certain job such as being soldiers, policeman, teachers, community leaders and others. It was included in selection them to be the local government officers. In return to them, the government had a commitment of the security and their protection from any harm in those areas.

Stage 3 Redesign Modern Thai People (the year 1957-1987 C.E.)

Chiang Rai was designed to be modern after the period of Imperialism development. The policy was focused on bringing up new population, gather together all other thai races by using Chiang Rai as a place for cultivating and taking care of people who were not being Thai to be ready to be Thai. By doing that there was historical structure establishment by government and nongovernment organizations. The national ideology history with the content of the nation state and politic, local heroes who having Thai ideology and be developer.

Designing of New Thai in the Border Area

During the year of 1957-1987 C.E, it was the period of the cold war in this region. The rise of the nation states among the neighbor after the imperialism¹² made change on the negotiating party because after they became independent, they revived their nationalism history for their own nationalism development, for example, the case of Prasat Preah Vihear which was the case between Thailand and Cambodia and the case of the Emeral Buddha which was between Thailand

¹² After the Second War the colonies of France and British in Southeast Asia were announced to be independent as following, Burma (1948 C.E.), Lao (1953 C.E.), Cambodia (1953 C.E.) and Vietnam (1954 C.E.)

and Lao PDR., the history of dispute against the Emerald Buddha often caused social rumors, for example, the case of the huge flooding in Bangkok in 2011 C.E. There was leaflet distributed in Nakorn Phanom saying that because of the oath in the past when there was unrest in Lao, the Siam feudal brought the Emerald Buddha to Bangkok and gave an oath that when Lao was in peace, the Emerald Buddha would be back to Lao again. They were the historical issues which were created during the colonial period by bring up art and history linking to ethnicity. This caused art was over the boundary line and it was used to claim a right in land expansion. The state of Thai had been aware of this matter that why the Thai state setting up the border area in Chiang Rai to be more Thai with the historical stories, local heroes, and historical art. The concrete samples were the monument of Phaya Mengrai and named “Por Khun Mengrai Monument”¹³ (The Office of Chiang Rai Province, 1967) for the purpose of linking the administrative position as the same as central government using while not making the name similar to Myanmar. This monument for showing that Tai (Thai) people had been here for a long period of time. In addition, there was a redesigning of Doi Tung Stupa to be to the art of Siam-Lanna¹⁴.

¹³ The ceremony of laying the foundation of Pho Khun Mengrai Monument on 26 January 1964 C.E. and the Opening Ceremony on 31 March 1967.

¹⁴ It was original ruin pagodas, Kruba Sri Wichai and Chiang Rai people collaborative restored these pagodas in 1927. The pagodas had 2 small bell-shape pagodas situated on octagonal base, Lanna typical style art. In 1972-1973 the Interior Ministry built pagodas to cover the original ones in the shape of castle covered with gold colored mosaic tiles with the arches of Buddha statues placed at the 4 corners. The 2 golden pagodas ere 5 meters situated on octagonal base with reducing the size of corners. Later in 2006-2008 pagodas were taken out the cover pagoda then back to original one which were the ones Kruba Sri Wichai had done.

Modern Historical Archaeology Knowledge at the Border

The Fine Arts Department set up the unit of Fine Arts 4 at Chiang San district, Chiang Rai province with some officers working there. They worked at the field to excavate and restore an archaeological site at Chiang Saen, It was considered that they were the first group of officers from the Fine Arts Department to work at the border at the beginning of decade of 1957 C.E. to restore plenty of ruin stupas for better condition by using modern preservation technique and registering them as archaeological antiques¹⁵. These officers were archaeologists which were educated from Fine Arts University (Which they were different from the traditional archaeologist who were on the job practicing and training). They had done a great deal of knowledge creation of Chiang Saen¹⁶ (Raingan kitchakan khong changwat Chiang Rai 2503, 1960, p. 709) and these knowledge have been fundamental references since then. However, in term of the knowledge of historical archaeology in Thailand it was considered as the early period, the analysis of pattern of archaeological site could

¹⁵ The influences on Archaeological study | education and on knowledge from French scholar, George Coedes whom Professor Diskul, S. (M.C.) (2007: a-c) praised him he was the most outstanding person who was specialized in reading inscription and ancient history of Southeast Asia. His works for example, "The Indianized States of Southeast Asia" in French in 1944 and in English in 1968, *Ethnicity in Southeast Asia* (1978), *History of Angkor* (6 Edition, 2000) etc. Professor Diskul, S. (M.C.) also graduated in Art History and Southeast Asian Archaeology from Ecole du Louvre which was a part of Louvre Museum in Paris.

¹⁶ The result from the excavating and restoring the archaeological site at Chiang Saen, There were several photos of places taken, the excursion book was produced, chronicle and history was printed, the building of museum was built and Chin Kam Malee Pakom was produced and disseminated.

not go beyond of Thailand for example the case of the analysis of Pa Sak stupa¹⁷ (Prapatpong, 1965). It was assumed and linked to the pattern of Nakorn Sri Thammarat, Surat Thani, Sukhothai and to Chiang Saen according to the movement of Sri Lungka Buddhism (Maha Nikaya). This was different from the present time in which the believe of the linking to Bagan Kingdom¹⁸ (Saising, 2008, pp. 54-57) and the Buddha images were named as Lanna pattern of Buddha images. This was the reason of the creation of Thai historical background as the fundamental structure of historical border to link to the central state.

The Local Heroes and the Development

Owning to the creation of history as modern and universal science led to the rise of the local heroes who succeeding the local development mission. For example the case of Phaya Mungrai, history had defined him as the developer king that was going along well with the area of Chiang Rai due to there was a great number of projects conducted in the area, Chiang Rai had many private non-profit organizations registering in the area as of 31 organizations while in Chiang Mai

¹⁷ Kongdej Prapatpong his opinion on Phra Tat Pasak in Chiang Saen was Sri Wichai's Art, the Southercharan of Thailand which was similar to Pha Tat Chaiya, Surathani and it was the same characteristics of pagoda in Chainat, Sukhothai that in the most properousity period was at Phor Khun Ram Kam Hang Maharaj.

¹⁸ Sakchai Saising analized that the structure of Pasak Pagoda architecture was themixture of the pattern from various sources of art patterns such as from Hariphunchai, Pagan in Burma. But there was important thing was that showing the Bagan Art style of Burmese that was the circle-shaped pagoda at the top of the castle-shaped pagoda without bench decoration with the imitate Jedies at the corner.

having 91 organizations¹⁹ (they worked in Chiang Rai area as well) (Committee on Development and Promotion, 2003). For government, The first Border Patrol Police school was established in Chiang Khong district²⁰ (The Border Patrol Police, 2007). That caused the Border Patrol Police to have responsibility in developing task besides suppressing one. There was other organization to take in charge of developing task that was The Project under the Royal Initiative Project which brought in many people to the area starting from the Thai Hill Crafts Foundation under the Royal Patronage (2515 B.E.). The foundation got the products from the highland people and distributed them in Bangkok or Hill Crafts Center in Chiang Rai (2516 B.E.). Later it became the Project for the Youth leader at Mae Fah Luang Art and Cultural Park (2516-the beginning of the decade 2530). One of the interesting projects under the private non-profit organization was the project of Kru Dang (Tuenjai Deetes) which currently is the Hill Area and Community Development Foundation²¹. This project starting from helping the highland people to become

¹⁹ From the directory of private non-profit organization in 2003 C.E., in the North, Chiang Mai among 8 provinces, there were the maximum numbers of the private non-profit organizations that were 91, Chiang Rai 31 and the rest was each there were not more than 10.

²⁰ The Border Patrol Police 5, "Dararatsamee" Mae Rim District, Chiang Mai established the first school called "the Border Patrol Police Bumroong 1 School" at Baan Don Maha Won, Wiang Subdistrict, Chiang Khong District in 1956 C.E.

²¹ During 1974-1976 Tuenjai Kunchorn Na Ayutthaya, student of the Graduate Volunteer Certificate Program, Thammasat University, joined the Center for Hill Tribe Supporting in the area of Baan Pangsa and other villages in Mae Chan Basin. Later in 1980-1984, the Project of Education for Hill Tribe Community was established and in 1985 The Community Development in the Hill Area Foundation, Finally until now it was change to The Hill Area and Community Development Foundation.

Thai citizen through education and community development. It is a good example in this period.

People from the highlands were used to be called and referred to as nondeveloped, drug addicted, deforester and to be used as catspaw of the opposite political ideology party. Private non-profit organization participated in the state citizenship selection of the highland people to become Thai and Chiang Rai was the place to cultivated various ethnic groups of people. When they were ready and can be able to communicate in Thai, they moved into town of Chiang Rai or Chiang Mai or further to Bangkok for their education or working. Before that there was a system called "Dormitory for Ethnicns" Which were plenty of dormitories where these highland people staying. They were located at the west side of Chiang Rai. This system has the socialized process for them to be ready to be qualified as citizen and they called themselves as Chiang Rai people as well.

During the Second World War there was a great number of migrant Chinese called Hakka from Kanchanaburi due to the state announcement that the Chinese had to leave the certain areas within 24 hours (This happened in various provinces for example LOP BURI). These Chinese people were pioneer in trade and became political people in Chiang Rai. When there was a cold war the border area was a buffer zone between the states whose borders connected to each other. In those area there was a forces called "Former Chinese National Army" existing later they obtained Thai national citizenship (Prapatpong, 2010). In the decade 1957 C.E. Chiang Rai was the place where many of Northeast people moved and settled in Muang Chiang Rai, Wiang Chai District, Thoeng district, Khun Tan district and Chiang Khong (Nasomsong, 2012, p. 45). They had a linkage with Laos who had moved and settled along Mekong River since the period of colonialism.

The Land and King's Path

Visiting and travelling to the border was a task of King Rama 6, Rama 7 and Rama 9 always did. The King Rama 9²² had a visit to hill tribe villages and he had coins of hill tribe made as souvenir and they became a significant proof of being Thai citizenship by the King authorization. The name called "Chao Phor Luang" and "Chao Mae Luang"²³ (Bumrungsuk et al., 1998, pp. 563-561) were known in the certain border areas. The visit of the King was considered as the footsteps at the end of the royal boundary. The visiting of the King Rama 9 was during the cold war period.

Chiang Rai's border was the place where the huge forces of communist insurgent²⁴ were settled during that time. There were some battles which caused

²² In 1905 King Rama 6 paid a visit to the "Monton Payub" and arrived to Amphur Phayao, Chiang Rai and 1926 King Rama 7 together with Somdej Pha Nang Chao Ramphaipanni came to Chiang Rai, visited Ging Amphur Chiang Saen Luang. King Rama 9 and Queen Sirikitwent to Chiang Rai in 1958 by pay a visit to various Amphurs namely Amphur Mae Suai, Amphur Muang, Amphur Mae Sai, Amphur Chiang Saen, Amphur Phan, Amphur Phayao etc. After that he paid a visit to Ching Rai many times.

²³ It was assumed that the word "Mae Fah Luang" had been using since the beginning of Decade of 1967. Assuming that the Border Patrol Police introduced this word based on the evidence that in the North "Chao Phor Luang" and "Chao Mae Luang" were referred to The King Rama 9 and the Queen. Later on there was a word "Chao Yah Luang" was referred to the Late King's mother due to she went to various remote areas by helicopter. Later this word became "Mae Fah Luang" for corresponding to "Chao Phor Laung" and "Chao Mae Laung."

²⁴ Owing to in 1978 C.E. the communist insurgent could established the 9 main bases which existing in Doi Yaow-Doi Pha Mon in Chiang Rai. They set up the forces with 600 people and another 2300 Mong People, so they appointed working group called "The Committee of Chiang Rai Province."

many casualties of civilian, soldiers and police (total 399 casualties)²⁵ especially along the road of Pha Tang and Phu Chee Fha Which called Doi Yao-Doi Pha Mon. The battle was going on when the King Rama 9 visited wounded soldiers during that time, the chief unit commander asked a permission for His Royal Highness's footprint. It were footprints that given by the king only at Chiang Rai²⁶.

Merging all the land at the border with having many independent forces which were used to be buffer zones for the security reason caused the Thai state to have a policy to make these forces to become Thai citizens or push them to the third country. The most important forces were "Former Chinese National Army" or called the Third Army (Chiang Mai) and the Fifth Army 5 (Chiang Rai). They took part in the battles in Kao Khor, Phetchabun province and at the border of Chiang Rai several times as volunteer forces. When the battles were ended and they were the conquerors. General Tuan Shi-Wen of the Fifth Army at Doi Mae Salong had a chance to meet the King Rama 9, he returned the land which his forces had seized and where the battle field was to the King (Prakadvuttisarn, 2004, p. 325). It could be said that the area, the land and the King footprints are still very important concerning at this border.

²⁵ It was the number of casualty in battle against the communist insurgent during 1967-1982 C.E. in Chiang Rai and Pha Yao areas. The monument for these persons who sacrificed themselves Por Tor Tor 2324 was built at Khun Jom Tham Camp, Phayao province and the Ceremony for Opening was on 31 January 1982,

²⁶ The King Rama 9 gave a permission to have his footprints on the plaster for peace and something cherished for military persons and civilians on 27 February 1982 on the occasion of his royal highness paying a visit to army and civilians at Doi Phya Pipakdee situated on Doi Yao, Amphur Thoeng, Chiang Rai (at present, it is Amphur Khuntan).

Stage 4 Chiang Rai and its redesigning after the border opening (the decade of 1980-2000)

Chiang Rai and its redesigning was considered at the period after opening border cross point which there were historical structure designing by the state and the private organizations attached to the local history as well as the returning to Chiang Rai of the group of the artists, monks and people who were the result of stage 3.

The movement for local history was happened during the decade 1980. Starting from the Rattanakosin anniversary 200 years in 1982 C.E., Office of the National Culture Commission established the policy of every province had to set up a unit of Thai culture to support and promote Thai culture. This unit could be established in Teacher College or school of the province (in case there was no teacher college). At the same time there were many groups of local history studying to create knowledge of this field. It became the localism in Thailand. For Chiang Rai as the border area, the mainstream of local history was following the guideline of the Fine Arts Department. It was noticed from story telling in the museum and other produced documents of those time. Every content mentioning of the long last period of time and continuing history of Chiang Rai by combining from variety sources of data.

Identity of Chiang Rai history was created from contemporary art, the obvious example was the ceremony to pay homage to Princess Srinagarindra (Wai Sa Mae Fah Luang). This was the result of as Chiang Rai being the place where government development organizations and private nonprofit organizations existing for a long period of time and as the same time it was the place where the battle field of the different political ideology and the cold war occurred. The discourse

“development” was used in transferring rural area or border area. Chiang Rai was in the case. The establishment of Mae Fah Luang Art and Cultural Park and Doi Tung Project provided spaces for art and culture for people of Chiang Rai. It could be called “Revival of Art and Culture for Khon Muang.” It could be said that it was not just only the issues of art and culture for Chiang Rai people, but it was also referred to the revival of ethnicity as well. Chiang Rai as the city with variety of ethnics ,became lively and proudly again with the organizing ceremony of art and culture “Wai Sa Mae Fah Luang” which were held continuing for 5 times during 1984-1992. It made Chiang Rai later became destiny for art and culture.

The ceremony of “Wai Sa Mae Fah Luang” was a part of redesigning of Chiang Rai. It was “revised and reread” of the book written by Chiang Rai’s resident named Boonchuey Srisavasdi, book’s title was “30 ethnics in Chiang Rai” and other ones. It was not only Chiang Rai people who did “revised and reread,” this research did the study of movies and songs reflecting Chiang Rai as a border town and people from highlands. It was found that movies using Chiang Rai as background or their contents were related to Chiang Rai²⁷, they were often about ethnics on the highlands and human trafficking. It was included the Chinese movie “Operation Mekong” (2016)²⁸ (Charoernsook, 2017). It was about “the

²⁷ From 1951-2015 C.E. Total 30 stories at the same period, in Chiang Mai there were 155 stories. Among the provinces in the North, Chiang Rai is still the second place for the background of the movies from Chiang Mai.

²⁸ Operation Mekong, It was from the true story of suppression the bandit of Mekong River named “Nuo Kham.” He was the leader of the gang to attack the Chinese commercial ships when they arrived in the Golden Triangle and caused 13 casualties. Further than that 900,000 pellets of drug were found. The Chinese government had collective worked in suppressive operation with authorities of Thailand, Myanmar and Lao PDR.

border with wild things, strange people and the city with gray business” and with Chinese policy of rock explosion in Mekong River, the communities along Maekong had their opinions that it might be the reason of the Chinese national security not just for trade.

The flower festival in Chiang Rai is successful in term of the number of visitors and it is the festival that showing obviously of Chiang Rai identity. This kind of event was a model of the event held in Chiang Mai by bringing in domestic flowers and orchids displaying then there were some foreign ones which could be grown in Chiang Mai. Nowadays they display flowers and decorated plants which were modified seedling. Chiang Rai flower festival has been held since 2004 C.E. It was the display of foreign flowers but growing in Chiang Rai and some from China. The event is always emphasized on the high flowers and a big quantity. From the research study it can be said that the event has not cultural selection as there was not focused on domestic flowers or flowers from other places to become domestic ones.

The beginning of the decade 1990, there was the situation that group of artists and monks coming back home in Chiang Rai and in the decade 2000 it was obviously situation in terms of their number. There was a movement in contemporary art in Chiang Rai and it was considered as the second phase²⁹. It was after the Chiang Rai 750 years anniversary in 2012 C.E. This event was the beginning period of changing the landscape of Chiang Rai from being a border city to “Artist City” by the group of artists with experiences in managing art spaces in

²⁹ The first phase was the establishment of the Art and Cultural Park and Ceremony of “Wai Sa Mae Fah Luang.”

various ways such as artist space and his or her residence, community art space, and even fundraising for religious site.

Redesigning of Chiang Rai by group of artists, monks led to the starting point of Lanna arts reformation which was happened in Chiang Rai. They were collectively working in various ways and it can be said that every artist has a faith in certain temple and each one had the art project related to that. Some of them were the main person or some might be working with others in restoring temples. These activities have been occurring slowly and quietly.

Private organizations saw an opportunity in terms of not being only border city with cultural diversity, ethnics and being not far from the central state any more. It had potential in linking to neighbor countries. The significant event was the seminar on “Chiang Rai in the Next Decade” was held (1991)³⁰ (Taoprasert & Onchomchan, 1991). The conclusion summarized as Chiang Rai would be a border trade city connecting to the countries in the Upper of Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and there were 3 projects needed to be supported by government. There were the international airport, university and railway. The first 2 projects were already supported which were the university project. It was considered as the first government fundamental project that ever obtained a hugh amount of investment in Chiang Rai ever received since the past up to now (2018). Mae Fah Luang University was established in 1999 receiving twice amount of the first amount of

³⁰ Seminar on “Chiang Rai in the Next Decade “was held on 21-22 November 1991 C.E., Wiang Inn Hotel, Muang, Chiang Rai. It was organized collectively from organizations of government, Local private organizations and other 5 neighbor provinces. The purpose of the seminar to have mutual principal enactment and direction of Chiang Rai development and the guideline to fulfill the purpose.

the investment. From the research, it was found that both projects made Chiang Rai link very well to the countries in the Upper GMS in aspects of transportation and logistics, education and public health (at present the university hospital are under construction and would be ready for operation in 2019).

Another factor that supporting Chiang Rai to be the important border trade city is the bridge across Mekong River number 4. It was expected to be a linkage of trade across the countries between Thailand and People's Republic of China. But owing to the regulations from the central government and the subcontract of the transportation at the bridge, it was turn out to be an obstacle of border trade and tourism which was a negative impact to Chiang Khong. It was as the same question which was raised in another area of border trade (Mae Sai and Chiang Saen) concerning that people could not gain from government economic policy of border trade. People should participate more in Chiang Rai redesigning³¹ (Manohan, 2018).

The end of the cold war made change to the area that it was not being the place at the edge of the univers any more as the landscape of borders of all over the world had changed. This was happened to the Upper GMS as well. For the case of Chiang Rai, the development of the land transport infrastructure in the Upper GMS supported by the international organization was a turning point to change the historical landscape of the area in the direction of connecting to the neighbor countries which leading to the physical improvement in the border.

³¹ The legislation on the investment support and promotion for the border area is the most important factor to have impact on the local area due to the change in socioeconomic context weakening the local area while big size of the investors can be able to gain the investment supporting and promoting. This will lead the big business firms to gain competitive advantage over the small and local ones.

Connecting and communicating from Chiang Rai to Bangkok, it was initially through Lampang by train. Comparing to Phayao, it was closer to Lampang than Chiang Rai. It was considered as a convenience and an advantage of Phayao to connect and communicate to Bangkok without depend on Chiang Rai. This might be one factor for Phayao to separate itself from Chiang Rai and became another province in 1977 C.E. and established a university earlier than Chiang Rai (as Naresuan University, Information Technology Campus, Phayao in 1996). People in Chiang Rai connect to the central authority through Chiang Mai as a major city in the region. But it was significant changing since the boundary line was implemented. Chiang Rai expanded towards the South direction and when the cold war was ended, Chiang Rai was developed in land transportation toward the North and to the East in order to connect more with the neighbor countries which can be seen from the investment in infrastructure of the Thai State and the neighbor countries.

Conclusion

After the boundary line policy, the adjustment of Chiang Rai was done by using historical landscape to make Chiang Rai become a border city which was like redesigning of Chiang Rai. By being that situation, it increased the capability of the local people as well. Historical landscape created conceptual of what Chiang Rai would be and finally led to its physical infrastructure.

The process of redesigning created the process called "Selecting and Arranging" for the selecting was by selecting history of the area and selecting historical heroes and ordinary people through the mean of the nation state (Thai). For the arranging and classifying, it was designing by giving the priority to what has to done first as the new Chiang Rai. It was starting from making a border area

which was distance like the edge of the universe became undeveloped area and used it as a place for cultivating people to be ready as citizens of the state nation. Finally making Chiang Rai to be the place linking to the Upper GMS.

All those above mentioned were comprised of fundamental historical structure in which the nation state had been continuing invested. The investment was derived from all external factors such as the impact of the entering of the western countries due to the industrial revolution, the announcement of independent countries and the arise of neighboring new countries, the cold war and the development phenomena in the region leading to the arising of the group of countries called the Upper GMS. It was found that this constructive investment was rather beneficial for the security of the nation states both Thailand and its neighbor countries than economic reason. The result of this investment in each duration time having both satisfaction and failure which would become lesson learnt in many ways.

From the study there is the increased in potential of the development success in redesigning Chiang Rai towards the aspect of human security than the security of the nation state which is the sustainability of development. However the state's policy has not been changed since there was a boundary line obligation. That is it always need Chiang Rai to be harmonious thinking, doing and dreaming with the central state. The suggestion is that all involed and concerned parties such as the state, Chaing Rai and its people have to review of redesigning Chiang Rai by asking the question of how to make Chiang Rai to be sustainable border city.

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