

KINGDOMS AND CITIES AT THE TIME OF NANCHAO (YUNNAN)

**KO-LO-FENG'S REIGN
B.E.1291
(A.D. 748)**

1. CHIANG SAEN
2. THOENG
3. PUA
4. PHAYAO
5. NAN
6. LAMPHUN
7. LAMPANG
8. PHRAE
9. UTTARADIT
10. SI-SATCHAMALAI
11. (KRAI)
12. (NONG MAN)
13. NAKHON PHANOM
14. SUKHOTHAI
15. NAKHON THAI
16. LOM-KAO
17. THAT PHANOM
18. PHIMAI
19. SEMA
20. LOP BURI
21. NAKHON CHAI
22. (KAMPHAENG SAEN)
23. NAKHON PATHOM
24. 'ROYAN'
25. CHAIYA
26. NAKHON SI THAMMARAT

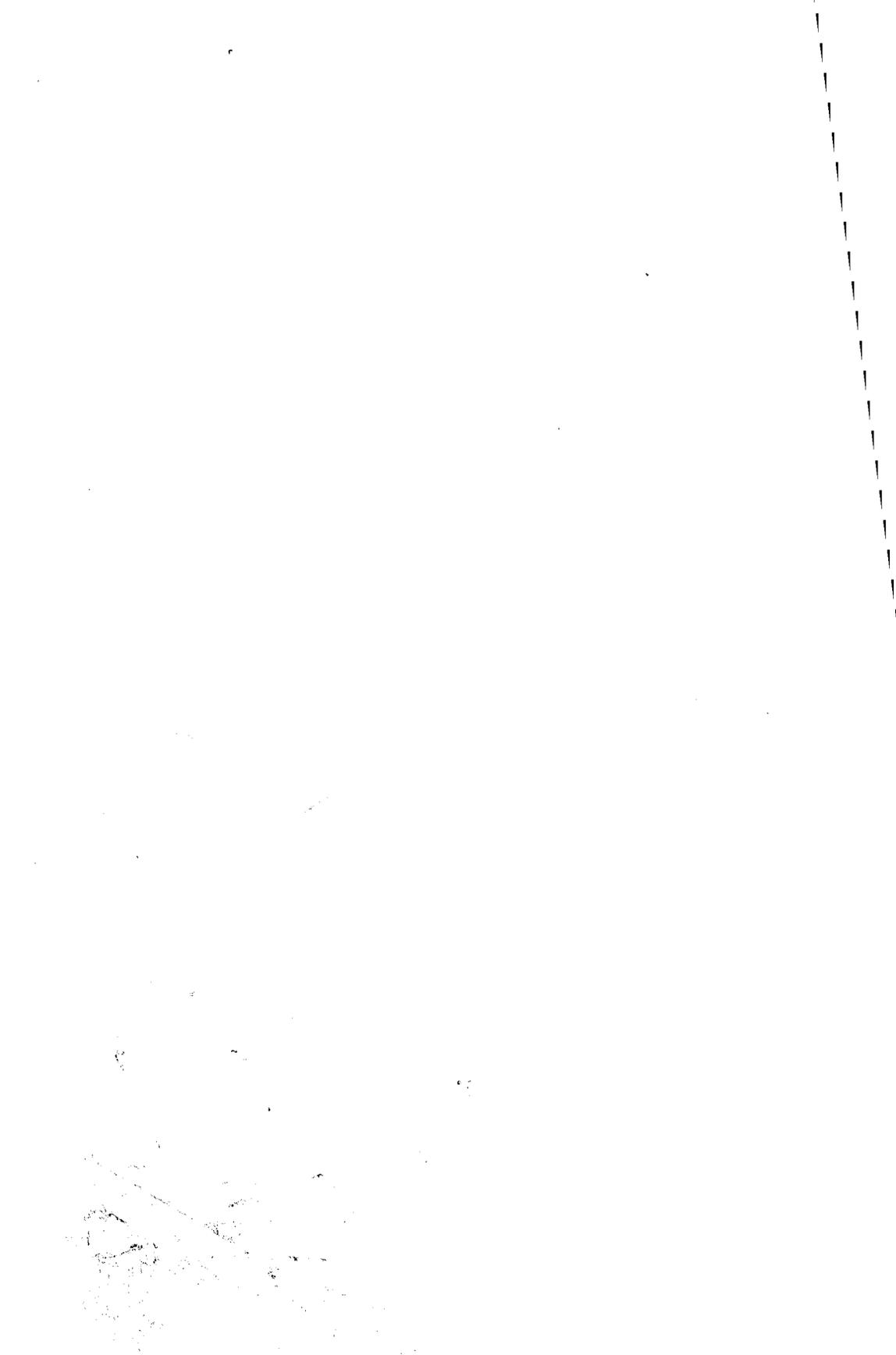


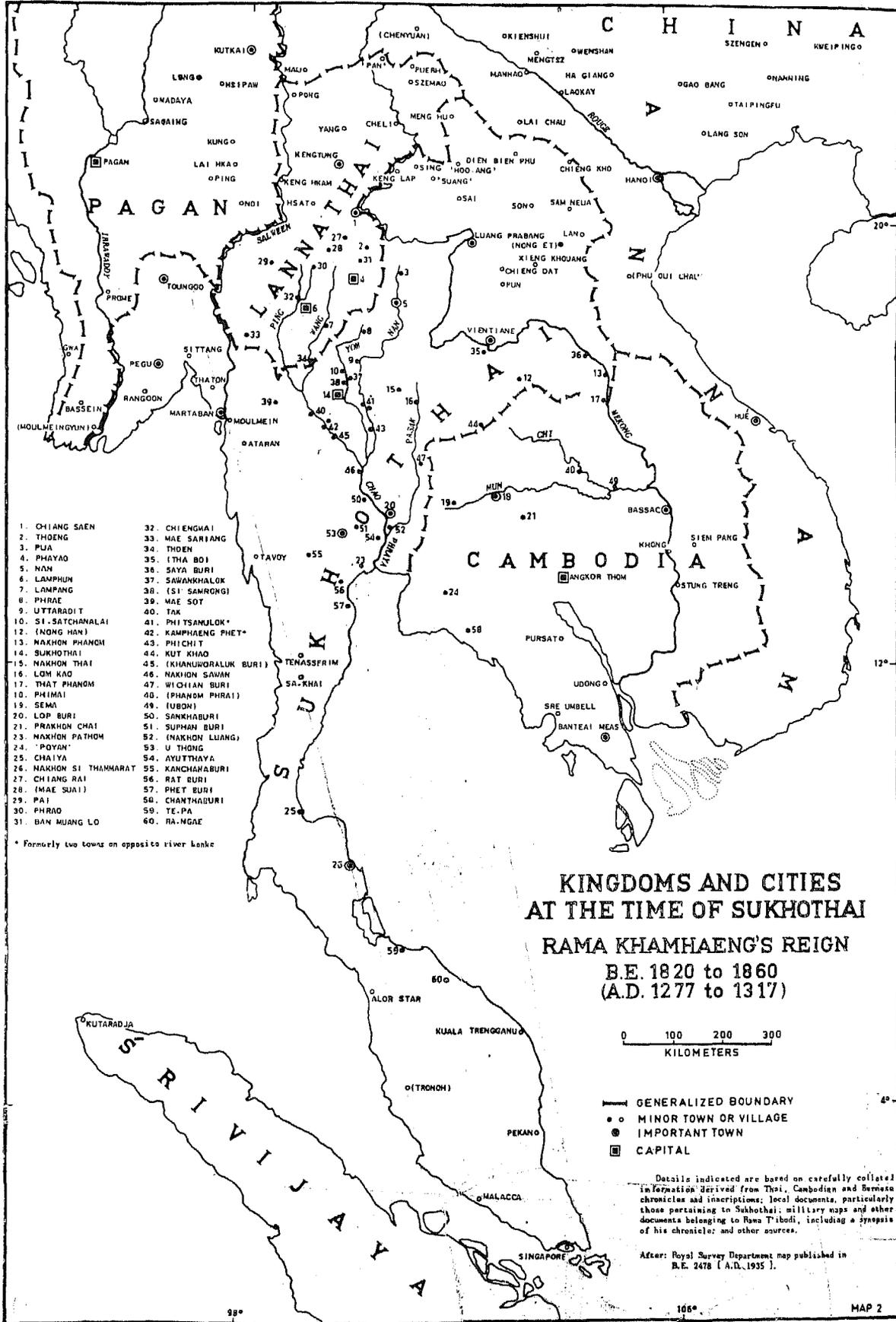
- GENERALIZED BOUNDARY
- MINOR TOWN OR VILLAGE
- ⊙ IMPORTANT TOWN
- ⊠ CAPITAL

Modern place names are used on this and subsequent maps: when in parentheses, the center shown on the original map was located close to the center now indicated; when in quotes, the name of the center shown on the original map has been transliterated according to McFarland's system (1954); when unnumbered, the exact center either occupies the original site or one so little removed from it as to defy resolution on the scale adopted.

Details indicated are based on carefully collated information derived from Thai, Chinese and Siamese maps, documents (both written and printed) in the Royal Archives, and various other sources.

After: Royal Survey Department map published in
B.E. 2479 [A.D. 1936].





1. CHIANG SAEN
2. THOENG
3. PHA
4. PHAYAO
5. NAM
6. LAMPHUN
7. LAMPANG
8. PHRAE
9. UTTARADIT
10. SI SATCHANALAI
11. (NONG HAN)
12. NAKHON PHANGM
13. SUKHOThAI
14. NAKHON THAI
15. LOM KAO
16. PHAI PHANOM
17. PHUMAI
18. SEMA
19. LOP BURI
20. PRAKHON CHAI
21. NAKHON PATHOM
22. 'POYAN'
23. CHAI YA
24. NAKHON SI THAMMARAT
25. CHIANG RAI
26. (MAE SUAI)
27. PAI
28. PHRAO
29. BAN MUANG LO
30. CHIENGWAI
31. MAE SARIANG
32. THOEN
33. (THA BOI)
34. SAYA BURI
35. SAWANKHALOK
36. (SI SAMRONG)
37. MAE SOT
38. TAK
39. PHI TSAMULOK*
40. KAMPHENG PHET*
41. PHICHIT
42. KUT KHAO
43. (KHANUWORALUK BURI)
44. NAKHON SAWAN
45. WI THIAN BURI
46. (PHANOM PHRAI)
47. (UBOH)
48. SANKHABURI
49. SUPHAN BURI
50. (NAKHOH LUANG)
51. U THONG
52. AYUTTHAYA
53. KANCHARABURI
54. RAT BURI
55. PHET BURI
56. CHANTHABURI
57. TE. PA
58. RA. NGAE

* Formerly two towns on opposite river banks

KINGDOMS AND CITIES AT THE TIME OF SUKHOThAI RAMA KHAMHAENG'S REIGN B.E. 1820 to 1860 (A.D. 1277 to 1317)



- GENERALIZED BOUNDARY
- MINOR TOWN OR VILLAGE
- IMPORTANT TOWN
- CAPITAL

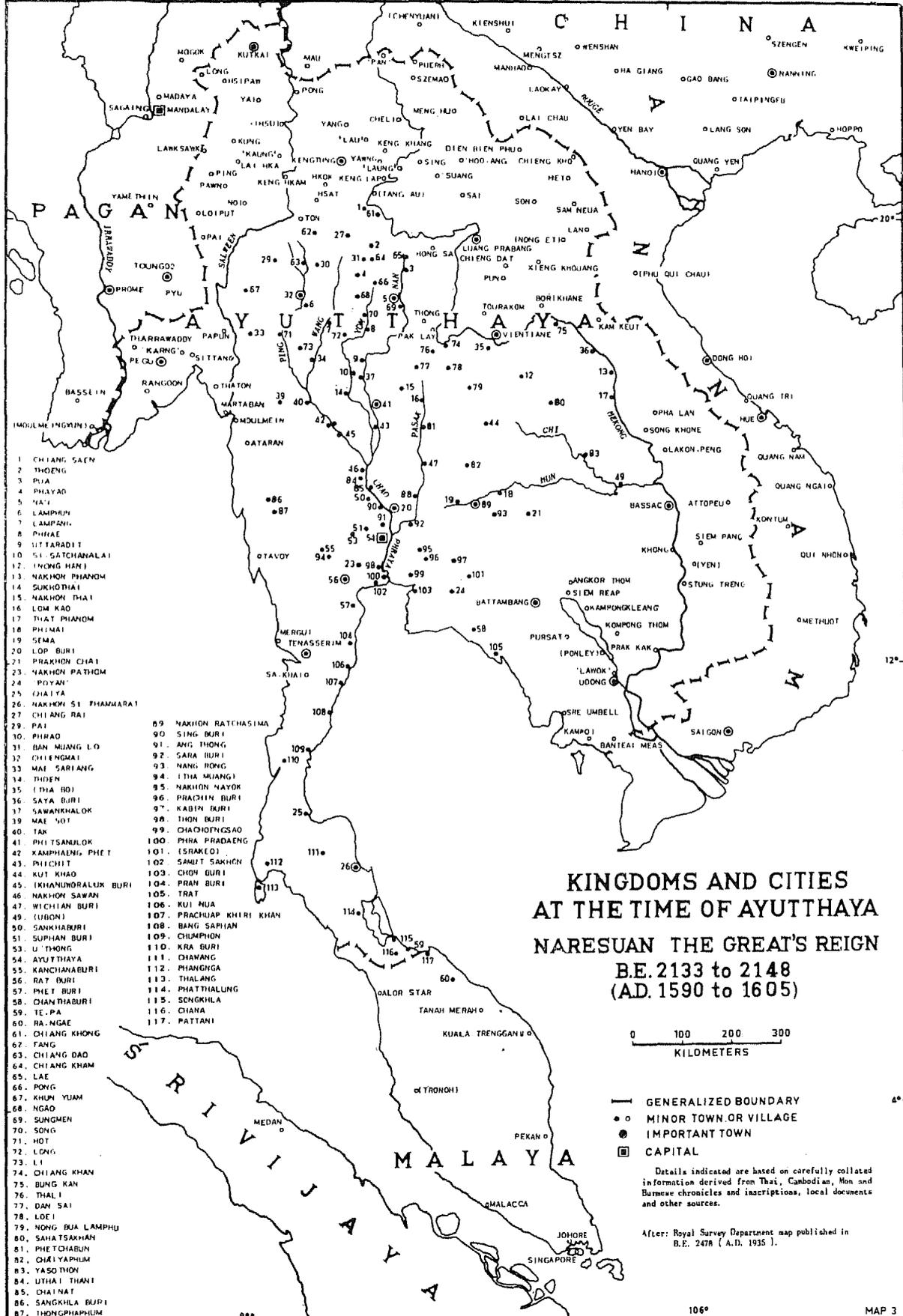
Details indicated are based on carefully collated information derived from Thai, Cambodian and Burmese chronicles and inscriptions; local documents, particularly those pertaining to Sukhothai; military maps and other documents belonging to Rama Tibodi, including a synopsis of his chronicle; and other sources.

After: Royal Survey Department map published in B.E. 2478 (A.D. 1935).

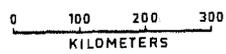


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KINGDOMS AND CITIES AT THE TIME OF AYUTTHAYA NARESUAN THE GREAT'S REIGN (B.E. 2133 to 2148 (A.D. 1590 to 1605))



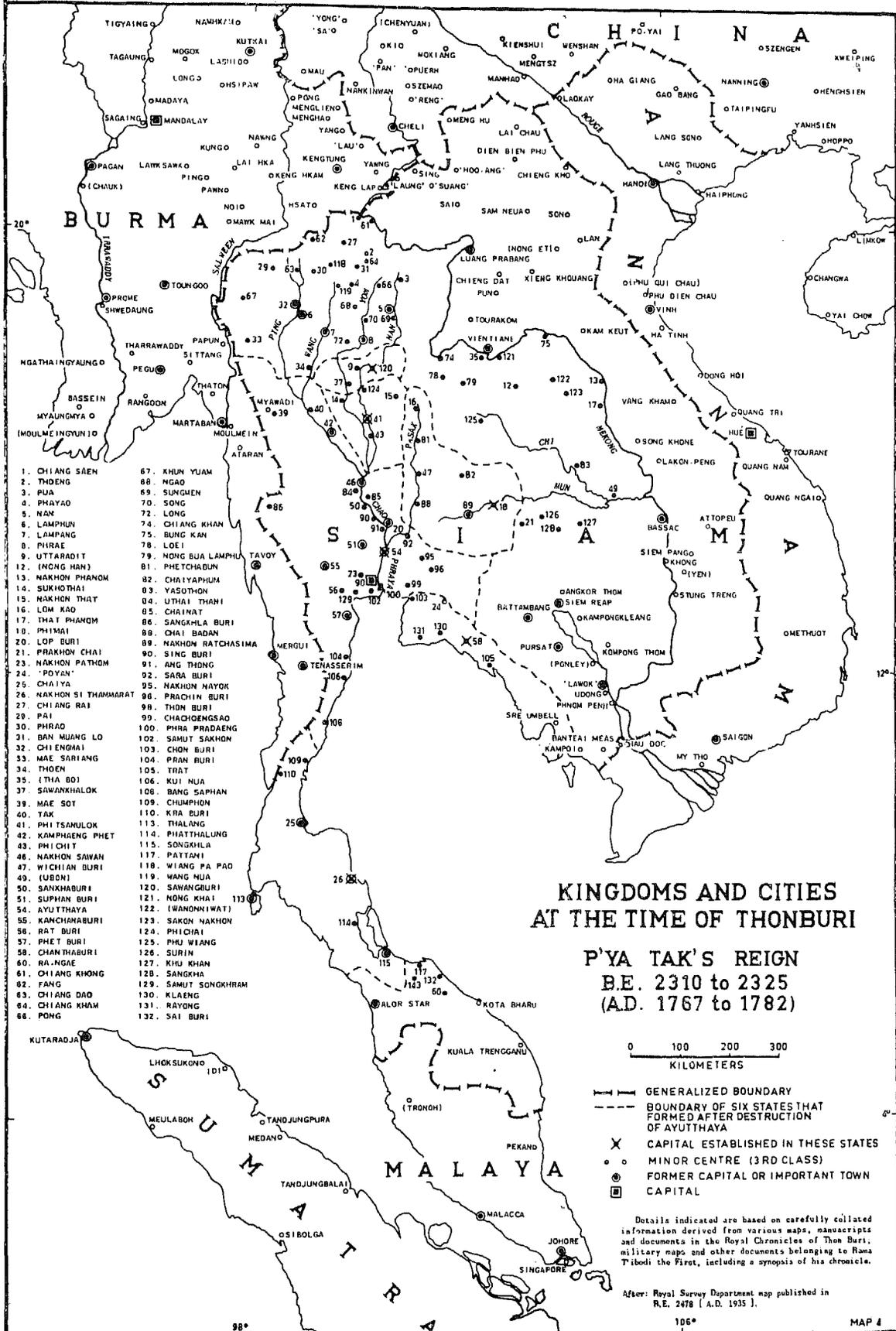
- GENERALIZED BOUNDARY
- MINOR TOWN OR VILLAGE
- IMPORTANT TOWN
- CAPITAL

Details indicated are based on carefully collated information derived from Thai, Cambodian, Mon and Burmese chronicles and inscriptions, local documents and other sources.

After: Royal Survey Department map published in B.E. 2478 (A.D. 1935).

- 1 CHIANG SAEN
- 2 THOENG
- 3 PHIA
- 4 PHAYAO
- 5 YAI
- 6 LAMPHUN
- 7 LAMPHUN
- 8 PHIAE
- 9 NITARADIT
- 10 SI SATCHANALAI
- 11 INONG HAN
- 12 NAKHON PHANOM
- 13 SUKHOTHAI
- 14 NAKHON THAI
- 15 LOM KAO
- 16 THAI PHANOM
- 17 PHUMAI
- 18 SEMA
- 19 LOP BURI
- 20 PRAKHOH CHAI
- 21 NAKHON PATHOM
- 22 PHUMAI
- 23 CHAI YA
- 24 NAKHON SI PHAMMARAT
- 25 CHIANG RAI
- 26 PAI
- 27 PHRAO
- 28 BAN MIANG LO
- 29 CHIENGMAI
- 30 MAE SARIANG
- 31 THOEN
- 32 (THA BO)
- 33 SAYA BURI
- 34 SAWANKHALOK
- 35 MAE TOT
- 36 TAK
- 37 PHITSANULOK
- 38 KAMPHANG PHET
- 39 PHICHIT
- 40 KUT KHAO
- 41 KHANUNORALUK BURI
- 42 NAKHON SAWAN
- 43 WICHIAN BURI
- 44 (UBON)
- 45 SANKHABURI
- 46 SUPHAN BURI
- 47 U THONG
- 48 AYUTTHAYA
- 49 KANCHANABURI
- 50 RAT BURI
- 51 PHET BURI
- 52 CHANTHABURI
- 53 TE PA
- 54 RA NGAE
- 55 CHIANG KHONG
- 56 FANG
- 57 CHIANG DAO
- 58 CHIANG KHAM
- 59 LAE
- 60 PONG
- 61 KHUN YUAM
- 62 NGAO
- 63 SUNGMEN
- 64 SONG
- 65 HOT
- 66 LONG
- 67 LI
- 68 CHIANG KHAN
- 69 BUNG KAN
- 70 THAI I
- 71 DAN SAI
- 72 LOE I
- 73 NONG BUA LAMPHU
- 74 SAHATSAKHAN
- 75 PHE TOHABUN
- 76 CHAI YAPHUM
- 77 YASSI THON
- 78 UTHAI THANI
- 79 CHAI NAT
- 80 SANGKHLA BURI
- 81 THONGPHAPHUM
- 82 CHAI RADAN
- 83 NAKHON RATCHASIMA
- 84 SING BURI
- 85 ANG THONG
- 86 SARA BURI
- 87 NANG HONG
- 88 (THA MIANG)
- 89 NAKHON NAYOK
- 90 PRACHIN BURI
- 91 KABIN BURI
- 92 THON BURI
- 93 CHAO PHONGSAO
- 94 PHA PRADAENG
- 95 (SRAKEE)
- 96 SAMUT SAKHOM
- 97 CHON BURI
- 98 PRAN BURI
- 99 TRAT
- 100 KUI HUA
- 101 PRACHUAP KHRI KHAN
- 102 BANG SAPHAN
- 103 CHUMPHON
- 104 KRA BURI
- 105 PHANGM
- 106 PHANONGA
- 107 THALANG
- 108 PHATTHALUNG
- 109 SONGKHLA
- 110 CHANA
- 111 PATTANI
- 112 GALOR STAR
- 113 TANAH MERAH
- 114 (TRONGH)
- 115 PEKAN
- 116 AMALACCA
- 117 JOHORE
- 118 SINGAPORE





1. CHI LANG SAEN
2. THONG
3. PUA
4. PHAYAO
5. NAN
6. LAMPHUN
7. LAMPANG
8. PHRAE
9. UTTARADIT
12. (NONG HAN)
13. NAKHON PHANOM
14. SUKHO THAI
15. NAKHON THAT
16. LOM KAO
17. THAT PHANOM
18. PHIMAI
20. LOP BURI
21. PRAKHON CHAI
23. NAKHON PATHOM
24. "POYAN"
25. CHAI YA
26. NAKHON SI THAMMARAT
27. CHIANG RAI
28. PAI
30. PHRAO
31. BAN MUANG LO
32. CHI ENGAAI
33. MAE SARIANG
34. THOEN
35. (THA BO)
37. SAWANKHALOK
39. MAE SOT
40. TAK
41. PHI TSANULOK
42. KAMPHAENG PHET
43. PHI CHIT
46. NAKHON SAWAN
47. WICHIAN BURI
49. (UBON)
50. SANKHABURI
51. SUPHAN BURI
54. AYUTTHAYA
55. KANCHANABURI
56. RAT BURI
57. PHET BURI
58. CHANTHABURI
60. RA-NGAE
61. CHIANG KHONG
82. FANG
63. CHIANG DAO
64. CHIANG KHAM
68. PONG
67. KHUN YUAM
68. NGAO
69. SUNGUM
70. SONG
72. LONG
74. CHIANG KHAN
75. BUNG KAN
78. LOE I
79. NONG BUA LAMPHU
81. PHETCHABUN
82. CHAIYAPHUM
83. YASOTHON
84. UTHAI THANI
85. CHAI NAT
86. SANGKHLA BURI
89. CHAI BADAH
89. NAKHON RATCHASIMA
90. SING BURI
91. ANG THONG
92. SARA BURI
95. NAKHON NAYOK
96. PRACHIN BURI
98. THON BURI
99. CHACHINGSAO
100. PHRA PRADEANG
102. SAMUT SAKHOM
103. CHON BURI
104. PRAN BURI
105. TRAT
106. KUI NUA
108. BANG SAPHAN
109. CHUMPHON
110. KRA BURI
113. THALANG
114. PHATTHALUNG
115. SONGKHLA
117. PATTANI
118. WIANG PA PAO
119. WANG NUA
120. SAWANBURI
121. NONG KHA I
122. (WANONNIWAT)
123. SAKON NAKHON
124. PHICHAI
125. PHU WANG
126. SURIN
127. KHU KHAN
128. SANGKHA
129. SAMUT SONDKHRAM
130. KLAENG
131. RAYONG
132. SAI BURI

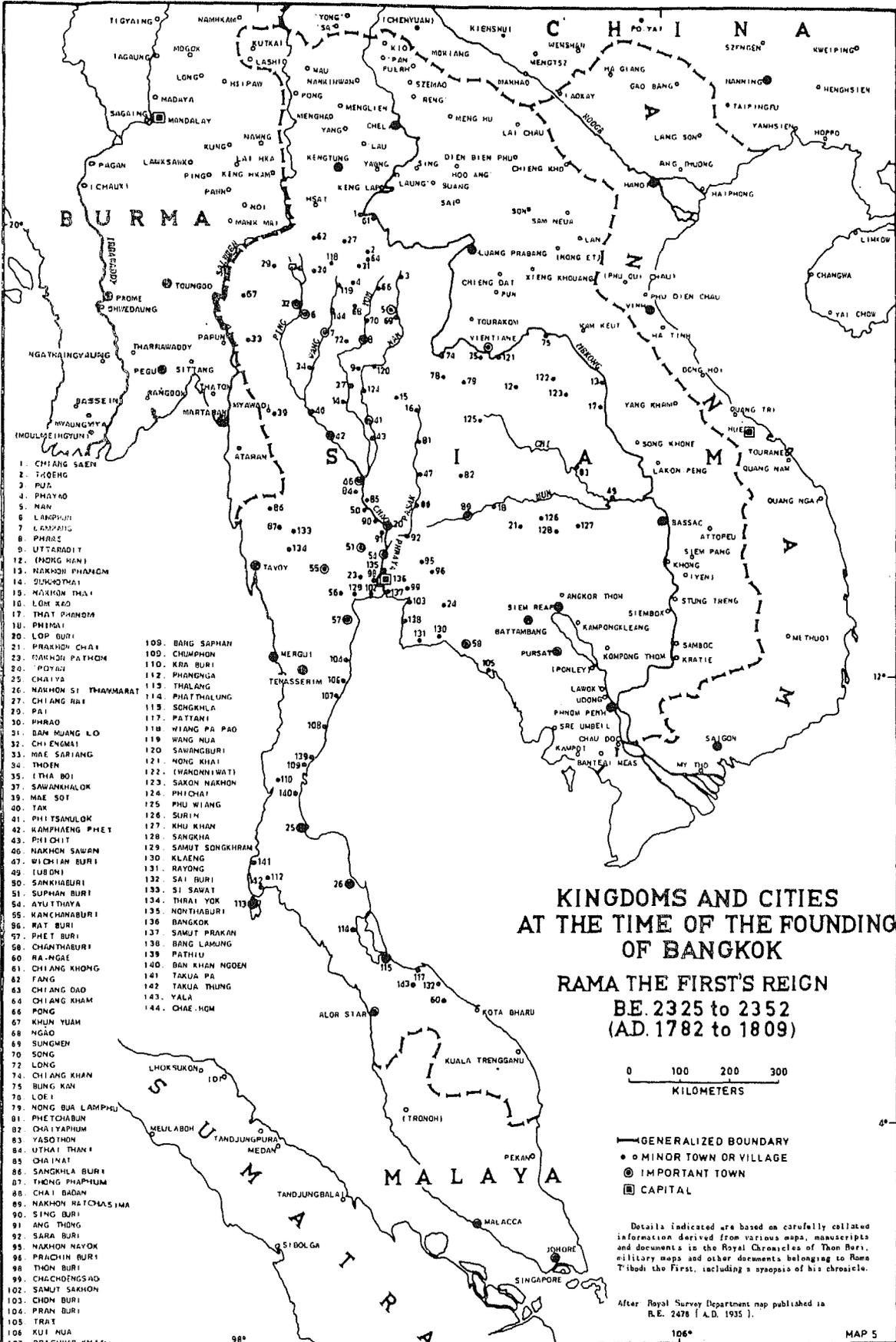
**KINGDOMS AND CITIES
AT THE TIME OF THONBURI
P'YA TAK'S REIGN
B.E. 2310 to 2325
(A.D. 1767 to 1782)**

0 100 200 300
KILOMETERS

- GENERALIZED BOUNDARY
- - - BOUNDARY OF SIX STATES THAT FORMED AFTER DESTRUCTION OF AYUTTHAYA
- X CAPITAL ESTABLISHED IN THESE STATES
- o MINOR CENTRE (3RD CLASS)
- o FORMER CAPITAL OR IMPORTANT TOWN
- o CAPITAL

Details indicated are based on carefully collated information derived from various maps, manuscripts and documents in the Royal Chronicles of Thon Buri, military maps and other documents belonging to Rama Tibodi the First, including a synopsis of his chronicle.

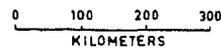
After: Royal Survey Department map published in R.E. 2478 [A.D. 1935].



1. CHIANG SAEN
2. THONG
3. PAU
4. PHAYAO
5. NAN
6. LAMPHUN
7. LAMPHUN
8. PHRAS
9. UTTARADIT
12. (NONG MAN)
13. NAKHON PHANOM
14. SUKHOTHAI
15. NAKHON THAI
16. LOM KAO
17. THAI PHANOM
18. PHIBRAI
20. LOP BURI
21. PRAKON CHAI
23. NAKHON PATHOM
24. PHAYAO
25. CHAIYA
26. NAKHON SI THAMMARAT
27. CHIANG MAI
29. PAI
30. PHRAO
31. BAN MUANG LO
32. CHI ENGMAI
33. MAE SARIANG
34. THOEN
35. I THA BOI
37. SAWANKHALOK
39. MAE SOT
40. TAK
41. PHI TSANULOK
42. KOMPHEANG PHET
43. PHI CHIT
46. NAKHON SAWAN
47. WICHAI BURI
48. LUBOH
50. SANKHABURI
51. SUPHAN BURI
54. AYUTTHAYA
55. KANCHANABURI
56. RAT BURI
57. PHET BURI
58. CHANTHABURI
60. RA-NGAE
61. CHIANG KHONG
62. FANG
63. CHIANG DAO
64. CHIANG KHAM
66. PONG
67. KHUN YUAM
68. NGAO
69. SUNGCHEN
70. SONG
72. LONG
74. CHIANG KHAN
75. BUNG KAN
76. LOE I
79. NONG BUA LAMPHUN
81. PHETCHABUN
82. CHAIYAPHUM
83. YASOTHON
84. UTHAI THANI
85. CHAIYAT
86. SANGKHLA BURI
87. THONG PHAPHUM
88. CHAI BAKAN
89. NAKHON RATCHASIMA
90. SING BURI
91. ANG THONG
92. SARA BURI
93. NAKHON NAYOK
94. PRACHIN BURI
98. THON BURI
99. CHACHONGSAO
102. SAMUT SAKHON
103. CHON BURI
104. PRAN BURI
105. TRAT
106. KUI NUA
107. PRACHIN KHIRI KHAN

108. BANG SAPHAN
109. CHUMPHON
110. KHA BURI
112. PHANONGA
113. THALANG
114. PHATTHALUNG
115. SONGKHLA
117. PATTANI
118. NIANG PA PAD
119. WANG NUA
120. SAWANGBURI
121. NONG KHAI
122. (WANNANI WATI)
123. SAKON NAKHON
124. PHICHAI
125. PHU WIANG
126. SURIN
127. KHU KHAN
128. SANGKHA
129. SAMUT SONGKHRAN
130. KLAENG
131. RAYONG
132. SAI BURI
133. SI SAWAT
134. THRAI YOK
135. NONTHABURI
136. BANGKOK
137. SAMUT PRAKAN
138. BANG LAMUNG
139. PATHU
140. BAN KHAN NGOEN
141. TAKUA PA
142. TAKUA THUNG
143. YALA
144. CHAE-HOM

**KINGDOMS AND CITIES
AT THE TIME OF THE FOUNDING
OF BANGKOK
RAMA THE FIRST'S REIGN
B.E. 2325 to 2352
(AD. 1782 to 1809)**



- GENERALIZED BOUNDARY
- MINOR TOWN OR VILLAGE
- ⊙ IMPORTANT TOWN
- CAPITAL

Details indicated are based on carefully collated information derived from various maps, manuscripts and documents in the Royal Chronicles of Thon Buri, military maps and other documents belonging to Rama Tibodi the First, including a synopsis of his chronicle.

After Royal Survey Department map published in B.E. 2476 [A.D. 1935].

AN ' HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THAILAND '

Larry Sternstein

*The Australian National University
Canberra*

About twenty-five years ago the Royal Survey Department of Thailand published a slim volume containing several maps indicating important changes which have occurred in both the physical condition and political situation of mainland Southeast Asia since the middle of the eighth century.¹ The exact date of publication is unknown as the volume itself is undated, but the maps were published during 1935 and 1936. The title of this now obscure work may be inelegantly rendered 'Maps of Siam', but, gaining some advantage from that certain liberty allowed a translator, the rather more dignified, 'Historical Atlas of Thailand' may be bestowed, which, as the contents are more adequately described thereby, is preferred.

Five maps, each purporting to represent conditions during the reign of an outstanding Thai or T'ai monarch, have been arranged so as to form an apparent historical sequence from about A.D. 750 to A.D. 1800. However, because political fortunes changed with an unseemly haste, and the periods represented coincide with those of Thai ascendancy, these maps neither summarize the events of the interval between them nor adequately indicate the instability of the Kingdom. Thus, while these maps form a time series they do not constitute a truly historical sequence of objective, analytical progression which would contribute to a reasonable appreciation of the political events of this millennium. For this reason, and in that each map is to be briefly examined, rather than used to illustrate a history of Thailand or mainland Southeast Asia, they will be considered separately.

1. Possession of this out-of-print text depended on a fortuitous conversation with Miss Sawat Senanarong, the head of the Geography Department of The College of Education in Bangkok, for I had not seen or heard reference to it before and have not since.

Map 1 'Ko-lo-feng's Reign (A.D. 748)' ²

The boundary lines shown on Map 1 appear to possess a precision gained by attention to historical detail, but in fact their realistic wriggings owe more to having been drawn along watersheds, which (although lack of data strongly recommends this not unintelligent procedure) results more in a tidy cartographic representation than a useful analytical document.

Further, the designated kingdoms or realms bear little resemblance to those indicated by available information. 'The *History of the T'ang* asserts that shortly after 706 the country [Khmer Kingdom] split up into two separate parts, which it names the Land Chenla and the Water Chenla. The names signify a northern and a southern half, which may conveniently be referred to as Upper and Lower Chenla. . . Dupont. . . believes that for the location of Upper Chenla one must look . . . well to the north in the Bassak-Paksé region and the lower part of the river Mun. Lower Chenla . . . comprised Sambhupura, Vyadhapura and Baladityapura'.³ Chinese records also indicate that Upper Chenla's territory began immediately south of Yunnan, note the arrival of several envoys from this State between A.D. 717 and 799⁴ and imply that the Dvāravatī Kingdom,

2. It was initially intended to produce an English version of the original maps, but this proved technically unfeasible. However, the maps here included represent the greater portion of the area represented on the originals, and, except for most minor waterways and terrain indications, contain all the information available from them. Translation expresses the gist rather than the complete Thai thought, place names are expressed in present terms and, since the main aim is the presentation of changes in the overall pattern within the Thai dominions (where a reasonably accurate one is shown), have been deleted from the body of the map in this area. Place names in extra-Thai territories have been taken from the following (in the order shown): 'The Times Atlas of the World', Volume 1, *World, Australia & East Asia*, Mid-Century Edition, 1958; 'The Times Survey Atlas & Gazetteer of the World,' 1922; and various large scale maps. When all else failed they have been transliterated according to McFarland's system in his 'Thai-English Dictionary', 1954. Place names within Thai territories have been taken from the following: 'Decisions on names in Thailand', Cumulative Decision List No. 5107, United States Board on Geographic Names, December 1951 and 1; 250,000 scale maps of Thailand prepared by the U.S. Army Map Service, 1959; or, transliterated according to McFarland's system noted above.

3. D.G.E. Hall, 'A History of South-East Asia', 1960, pp. 89-90,

4. See: *Ibid.*, p. 90,

not Chenla, occupied the lower Maenam Valley.⁵ Clearly then, no one Khmer Kingdom existed during the reign of Ko-lo-feng; the area 'controlled' by Khmers is grossly overstated; and the 'Mountain Tribes' country delineated is a refinement based on logical supposition from later events rather than contemporaneous fact.

According to Hall⁶ '... Nanchao dominated Upper, and much of Lower Burma' during Ko-lo-feng's reign, and 'The Pyu claimed suzerainty over eighteen subject states, mainly in Lower Burma . . . among them . . . Mon states' that maintained contact with the center of Mon power in the Maenam Valley. No one kingdom, certainly not a Burmese one (the Burmese did not penetrate, much less conquer, the area that was to bear their name until the mid-ninth century) controlled that area designated 'Burma'.

Although Hinton⁷ describes a series of Vietnamese revolts against and resubjugations by China from 111 B.C. to A.D. 939, which question Hall's⁸ blanketing 'From this time [111 B.C.] onwards until A.D. 939 Nam-viet⁹ remained an integral part of the Chinese empire,' he agrees that, in the eighth century, China practically annexed northern and central Annam. That the Kingdom of Champa controlled southern Annam is certain, for it sustained a number of Javanese attacks.¹⁰ The Thai (ทวารวดี) corresponds to Giao-chi,¹¹ a term first applied to northern and central Vietnam by the Ming in A.D. 1413. 'Giao-chau'¹² was applied to northern Vietnam by the Wu in A.D. 264 (the State of Wu in southeast China was one of the so-called Three Kingdoms), but in A.D. 679 the

5. See: L.P. Briggs, 'The Ancient Khmer Empire', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Volume 41, Part 1, 1951, p. 37. Briggs (*Ibid.*, Map 7, p. 56) also indicates the States of Louvo and Haripunjai, in the lower and upper Maenam Valley respectively.

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-22.

7. 'China's Relations with Burma and Vietnam', 1958, p. 4.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

9. Hinton (*op. cit.*, p. viii) maintains that this designation for Tongking and northern Annam was 'used briefly during the 17th and 18th centuries'.

10. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 and 160.

11. Hinton's rendering, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

12. Hinton's rendering, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Protectorate General of Annam was established and the term became obsolete. Use of either term for the whole of mainland Southeast Asia's eastern littoral certainly conveys a false impression of the status of this area during the latter half of the eighth century.

Two distinctively different areas of settlement may be separated by a parabolic arc drawn from the map's northern edge at 94°E through a point a bit north of the submerged Lower Maenam Valley (at approximately 17°N, 98°E.) and then north again to 106°E. North of this arc lesser centers are rather liberally sprinkled among the greater; south of it major centers stand rather discretely. The explanation for this difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that more complete documentation was available to the Thais for the northern area—practically all of which was included in Ko-lo-feng's Nan Chao Kingdom. Certainly the eighteen states known to have been in existence in Lower Burma at this time would seem to require a similar number of centers, instead of the half-dozen shown; and, Champa, having enjoyed empire status for some five hundred years prior to Ko-lo-feng's reign, would have had ample time to have formed a network of centers in an area in which not one is shown. Obviously, but a small fraction of the actual number of centers has been indicated for the southern regions, that is, outside the Nan Chao Kingdom. Further, siting and grading of major centers in this area has not been attended with the necessary accuracy. For example, Angkor Thom, shown as *the* capital of *the* Khmer Kingdom, never has been considered a possibility for the capital of *either* Upper or Lower Chenla, despite the fact that in attempting to discover just where these capitals were, scholars have nominated several candidates for each position during the past half-century.¹³

In truth, there is so little pretence of inclusiveness, so little attention to historical 'fact', so little humility before the rather well-known 'unknowns', that it is inconceivable that anything more than a filling-out of the area beyond the T'ai dominions was intended.

However, if but glancing attention has been given to regions beyond Ko-lo-feng's realm, a definite attempt appears to have been

13. See: Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

made to include and accurately position and define the status of all centers within it. Certainly the pattern indicated for what is now northern Thailand cannot be improved upon on any factual basis, and, though it is probable that other centers existed, it does not appear possible to maintain that those indicated constitute but a 'bare minimum'.

What is perhaps most striking about Map 1 is that it shows that delta of the Maenam Chao Phraya (and that of the Mekhong) to have been built up to only a negligible extent, particularly as some five hundred years later its seaward edge may confidently be positioned immediately south of the site of present-day Bangkok (see Map 2). The north-south difference between these two positions, approximately 220 kilometers, requires the average annual increment to have been about 400 meters, a rate rarely approximated by known deltaic growth during any phenomenal year and never even remotely approached on the average¹⁴. In fact, it is ten times as rapid as the present rapid rate which has resulted in an advance of almost thirty kilometers (in a straight line) during the past seven hundred years.

If it is accepted that an average annual growth rate of 400 meters over a five hundred year period is unbelievable, the position of the delta's edge in mid-eighth century must be reassessed. Projecting the average growth rate of approximately forty meters a year back to the middle of the eighth century is not a sound procedure, despite an apparent consistency during the past seven hundred years, but an extension of fifty kilometers certainly seems more reasonable than one of two hundred and fifty in but twelve centuries. But, although Gerini's interpretation of the Ptolemaic coast line of mainland Southeast Asia lends objective support to this contention by placing the head of the Gulf some forty to forty-five kilometers north of its present position during the second century A.D.¹⁵ and

14. See: G.R. Credner, 'Die Deltas, Ihre Morphologie, Geographische Verbreitung und Entstehungs-Bedingungen', *Petermans Geographische Mitteilungen*, Volume 12, Number 56, 1878, pp. 21-25.

15. See: Col. G.E. Gerini, 'Synoptical Map of the Early Greek and Latin, Indū, Arab and Chinese Knowledge of Indo-China and the Indo-Malay Archipelago' in 'Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia', *Asiatic Society Monographs*, Number 1 1909.

the existence of the culturally advanced Mon kingdom of Dvāravatī in the Lower Chao Phraya Valley suggests the exploitation of fertile bottomlands, it cannot be definitely shown that this area was not under water, and, consequently, it cannot be said that even the most rudimentary settlement pattern had formed, in what is now the most densely populated part of Thailand, for some not inconsiderable period of time after the middle of the eighth century¹⁶.

Map 2 'Rama Khamhaeng's Reign (A.D. 1277-1317)'

While it is true that '... Rama Khamhaeng... extended the frontiers of the realm of Sukhodaya to further limits than had hitherto been known,'¹⁷ even the stone inscription upon which he himself delimits the kingdom makes no claim to the generous proportions given it on Map 2: 'On the north-Phrae, Nān and the country extending as far as Muang Chawā¹⁸...; on the east Muang Sra Luang¹⁹... Muang Song Khwae²⁰... Muang Lom²¹... Muang Boahāi (probably Muang Çrī Deb in the valley of the Nam Sak River),²² Muang Sra Khā (apparently Muang Nong Har²³ or Sakol Nagor), and the country reaching to the Mekhong River as far as Wieng Chand,²⁴ and Wūng Kham (the latter being a town situated

16. The situation is somewhat different for the Mekhong delta, where Briggs, *op. cit.*, illustrates the location of cities, inscriptions and monuments during various periods, on a series of maps, of which even the earliest - 'Funan under Rudravarman', 514-ca. 550 - indicates two cities in positions shown as submerged on Map 1, and Gerini, *op. cit.*, concurs in placing the seaward edge of the Mekhong delta at about 10°N some 300 years earlier than the 12° 30'N on the Thai map of some 200 years later. That some basic pattern had formed in this area by mid-eighth century seems almost certain.

17. H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, 'Siamese History Prior to the Founding of Ayuddhaya', republished version as translated by J. Crosby, in Volume III of *Selected Articles from The Siam Society Journal*, Early History and Ayuddhya Period', The Siam Society, 1959, p. 77.

18. Luang Prabang.

19. Phichit.

20. The eastern half of Phitsanulök.

21. Lom Kao. Both Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 147 and Wood, 'A History of Siam', 1924, p. 53, misinterpret Muang Lom as Lom Sak.

22. Near or at Wichian Buri.

23. Nong Han.

24. Vientiane.

below Wieng Chand at a spot not as yet identified); on the South-Muang Gandī (believed to be the present Ban Gōn, between Kambaeng Bejr and Nagor Svarga)²⁵, Muang Phrabāng²⁶ . . . Muang Phraek²⁷ . . . Subarnabhūmi²⁸ . . . Rājapuri²⁹ Bejrpuri,³⁰ Nagor Çri Dharmaraj³¹ and the country stretching as far as the outer sea; on the West-Muang Chot,³² and as we may guess from the inscription, which is here partly obliterated, Tenasserim, Tavoy, Martaban and Toung U, as well as Hamsavati³³ as far as the five seas (i.e., the Bay of Bengal)³⁴.

Lopping off the area east of the Mekhong,³⁵ the delta regions south of Ayutthaya³⁶ and the Malay Peninsula south of Nakhon Si Thammarat,³⁷ and differentiating the remainder into the integral

25. Ban Khone between Kamphaeng Phet and Nakhon Sawan; near Khanuworaluk Buri.

26. Nakhon Sawan.

27. Sankhaburi. Incorrectly identified as 'Paknam P'o' by Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

28. U Thong.

29. Rat Buri.

30. Phet Buri.

31. Nakhon Si Thammarat.

32. Mae Sot.

33. Pegu.

34. Damrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 and 79.

35. Damrong, *op. cit.*, p. 80 considers Luang Prabang a nominal vassal of Sukhothai, governed by its own feudal prince.

36. Damrong, *op. cit.*, p. 80, holds that 'In the reign of King Rama Khamhaeng, Lavo (Lopburi) and Ayodhya must have formed part of the King of U Thong's dominions . . .'; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 53, believes that ' . . . the Thai rulers of Lopburi and the ancient city of Ayodhia . . . were either independent or were subject to the King of Cambodia'; and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 147, states that 'Lavo (Lopburi) regained its independence . . . It was not absorbed into Rama Khamhaeng's kingdom . . .' Although there is a decided difference of opinion as to the status of this area, all agree in placing it outside the Sukhothai Kingdom.

37. Coedes, quoted by Damrong, *op. cit.*, p. 83, believes that ' . . . it is possible that . . . the Thai of Sukhodaya . . . may have . . . gone beyond Nagor Çri Dharmaraj (Nakhon Si Thammarat). But even in the time of Rama Khamhaeng their suzerainty over this region must have been somewhat restricted, since Marco Polo, who visited the country of Nagor Çri Dharmaraj at that very period . . . tells us that 'it is a good country and rich; and it has a king of its own'. The possibility of Thai penetration into this area is further reduced by the Mongol Court's admonishing Rama Khamhaeng in 1295 to 'Keep your promise and do no evil to Ma-li-yu-eul' (see Hall *op. cit.*, p. 149).

parts of the Kingdom and those States that paid but formal homage,³⁸ would indicate that beyond the area through which flow the lower reaches of the four rivers of the north—the area dominated by the capital—little else could be included in the Kingdom Proper.

Lack of definition, which severely reduces the value of the presentation of the Thai dominions, reaches somewhat greater proportions in the delimitation of other kingdoms. When Pagan fell to the Mongols in 1287 and was reduced to a provincial capital, northern Arakan proclaimed its independence, the Mons rebelled and secured Lower Burma and the Shans gained control of the vital rice producing Kyaukse region. Twelve years later the Shans, having waxed powerful, sacked Pagan and divided much of upper and central Burma amongst themselves³⁹. The Pagan Kingdom, as shown on Map 2, continues to possess the placid integrity that had been shattered early in Rama Khamhaeng's reign. Champa became a feudatory state of Annam in 1312, but two years later she rebelled and was not finally conquered until 1417⁴⁰. As shown, Annam has incorporated Champa over a century and a half ahead of schedule. There is some question concerning the inclusion of Kengtung in the Lannathai Kingdom, but no doubt that Phayao formed a separate state⁴¹. As shown Lannathai embraces both Kengtung and Phayao.

Obviously, the portrayal of the several kingdoms lacks even minimal accuracy. But no effort seems to have been spared in attempting to include all centers known to have been in existence during the reign of Rama Khamhaeng that are within the bounds of the modern state, (with the exception of Chinese territories to the north, a cursory comparison of Maps 1 and 2 reveals that this effort has not been made for areas beyond these borders) and, as a result, no other single document contains even a fraction of the information available from Map 2 concerning the number, location and relative status of these centers, and nothing in the data presently available either detracts from the accuracy or adds to the comprehen-

38. Damrong. *op. cit.*, p. 80, considers Nan, U Thong: Nakhon Si Thammarat, Martaban, Pegu and Toung U in this category.

39. See; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

40. See: *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167 and 172-173.

41. See: Damrong, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

siveness of the coverage. If, as is possible, other centers existed in this area at this time, their location and status must be based on conjecture.

Map 3 'Naresuan the Great's Reign (A.D. 1590—1605)'

Map 3 follows the precedent set by Map 2 in overstating the extent of the Thai dominions, not differentiating between nominal vassals and the Kingdom Proper and overgeneralizing, or rather merely 'filling-out', the remainder of mainland Southeast Asia. The documentary value of Map 3 would be added to immeasurably by excluding lands east of the Mekhong,⁴² most of the Shan States,⁴³ and indicating that the kingdoms of Cambodia⁴⁴ and Chiangmai⁴⁵ were not integral parts of the Ayutthayan Empire. While effecting a rather drastic reduction in the extent of King Naresuan's Kingdom, this would in no way lessen the impression that it was indeed a power to be reckoned with.

Splashing any one name over each of the areas approximating Burma, Annam and Malaya can only convey a false impression, for 'With the fall of Pegu [1599] all semblance of a central government disappeared. Siam held Lower Burma from Martaban southwards. A parcel of warring chiefs divided the remainder of the country between them...'⁴⁶; 'In 1570... the Annamite dominions were divided between three authorities. The Mac were masters of Tongking... The Trinh... ruled Thank-hoa, Nohe-en and Ha-tinh... The Nguyen... ruled the southern provinces.. In 1592 Trinh-tong... captured Hanoi and obtained control over most of Tongking...[and]... the two rival families [Trinh and Nguyen], each supreme in its own sphere, began to prepare for the inevitable war, which broke out in 1620'⁴⁷; and, while the Portuguese in Malacca, Johore, and the Acheh Kingdom based in northern Sumatra⁴⁸ struggled, the States

42. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

43. See: Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 155—156.

44. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 222 and Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 and 155.

45. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 222 and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

46. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

48. The persistence of 'Srivijaya' on this map is surprising.

of the peninsula (Pahang, Kedah, Perak) appear to have enjoyed autonomy⁴⁹.

But, if the obvious sins of Map 2 are repeated on Map 3, so, also, are the virtues, for Map 3 constitutes the most comprehensive source of information concerning the number, location and relative status of centers known to have been in existence within the bounds of the modern state, and possibly immediately north of it, during the reign of King Naresuan. Again, that other centers may have existed is an undeniable possibility, but this can hardly discredit the value of Map 3 in this regard or preclude its use, for, in addition to the absence of any evidence challenging either the accuracy or inclusiveness of these data, the 'logical' continuity of pattern from Map 2 to Map 3, despite the doubling of the number of centers during the three hundred years between, lends the confidence of conservatism.

The large number of centers located on the broad floodplain of the Maenam Chao Phraya and in the relatively narrow valleys of its four main tributaries to the north at this early date prompts a suspicion that many of them do not really merit inclusion; that, though considered 'centers' by the Thai, they would hardly qualify by the European standards of the time. Obviously, there is no allaying this doubt (it could be argued that there is no need to) short of identifying the elements of a 'universal center' at the beginning of the 17th century—the elements of a 'universal center' have yet to be identified in our own age—and measuring the centers indicated on Map 3 against these criteria—an impossibility. The dilemma is neatly put by Frenchman-Nicolas Gervaise and a Dutchmen—Joost Schouten. In writing of their impressions of Thailand in the latter half of the 17th century, Nicolas says

No people have a better opinion nor speak more highly of their own country than the Siamese. To hear them enumerate and describe their towns, one would have the impression that they were very beautiful and wealthy, and that there was a great number of them. There are, however, but nine that

49. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

can reasonably be called towns; the others, correctly speaking, being nothing more than villages and hamlets having neither grandeur nor charm to render them comparable to ours in France.⁵⁰

but for Joost

The country is generally well peopled, especially the lower part . . . , being full of Villages and Towns; the principal whereof are . . . [he lists nineteen] . . . and several other, all of which are governments and heads of Provinces; besides these are many Cities and Burroughs full of people, which I omit as superfluous.⁵¹

Map 4 'P'ya Tak's Reign (A.D. 1767-1782)'

By superimposing political conditions in Thailand immediately before P'ya Tak's unbelievable, yet somehow almost inevitable, restoration of Thai power following the Burmese razing of Ayutthya, upon the situation immediately before his death, Map 4 makes clear the magnitude of the task undertaken, implies the unceasing warfare that its accomplishment in fifteen short years demanded, and attests to the genius and indomitable spirit of the man - provided the reader has some prior knowledge of the events which took place during this period. Without such intelligence, Map 4, although deserving commendation for attempting a difficult synthesis, is virtually incomprehensible.

Discussing the discrepancies between historical 'fact' and what has obviously been the mere labelling of extra-Thai territories, would only belabor a point already abundantly clear, and, in truth, is unfair if, as seems probable, it was never intended to portray these

50. Nicolas Gervaise, 'Memoires De Siam'. Though undated, this work may rather confidently be placed in the latter half of the 17th century as it is dedicated to H.M. Louis XIV and his 'The Natural and Political History of Siam' was published in 1688.

51. Capt. Roger Manlet, 'A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam, Written Originally in Dutch by Francis Caron and Joost Schouten: And now rendered into English by Capt. Roger Manlet.' London, Printed for Robert Boulter, at the Turks-bead in Cornhill, over against the Royal Exchange. 1671.

areas as anything more than vague generalizations⁵². But by strictly delimiting the six states⁵³ into which Thai central authority collapsed in A.D. 1767 and in not distinguishing between vassals—the northern Malay States, Laos and Cambodia—and the Kingdom Proper in A.D. 1782, the value of the definition of even the Thai dominions is considerably reduced.

Honoring all previous capitals by symbolization as extant major centers serves only to confuse the matter of relative status for the uninformed, but, fortunately, within the Kingdom the only wholly 'honorary' center is Chiangmai, which was deserted for twenty years following the Burmese siege of A.D. 1776,⁵⁴ so that, despite this shortcoming, Map 4 presents the most comprehensive and accurate information available concerning the location and relative status of centers in P'ya Tak's Empire. But it cannot be maintained that all centers have been indicated (the claims of Map 4 notwithstanding). In addition to the possibility that those few additional 'centers' shown on seventeenth and eighteenth century English and French maps merit inclusion,⁵⁵ there is the probability that at least three of the twenty-five centers shown on Map 3 but absent from Map 4 existed, for they reappear on Map 5, which depicts conditions in the reign of P'ya Tak's successor.

52. In fact, Malaya, with the exception of Dutch possessions on the Straits of Malacca, was fairly well 'unified' under the Bugis and Hsinbyushin could be considered master of his Burmese house, though Annam was being contested for by the Nguyen and the Tay-son leaders. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 351 and 359-368.

53. There is a difference of opinion as to the number and extent of these states. See, for example, Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 254 and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

54. See: Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267.

55. By no means a certainty, for they are located either along the Gulf coast or the Maenam Chao Phraya, 'well-known' areas in which detail may assume undue importance. See, for example: 'Carte du Cours du Menan,' 1688, a detailed map of the Maenam Chao Phraya, on which 'Samcok' (Sam Khok) and 'Rayjaeran' (immediately south of Bang Pa-In) are shown, and 'Carte Du Royaume De Siam' after Roberts, 1751 or 'Carte Du Golfe De Siam', 1781, which indicate several additional centers along the western side of the Gulf; Plates XII, XIV and XV in L. Fournereau, 'Le Siam Ancien', *Annales du Musee Guimet*, Tome vingt, Septieme Paris, 1895.

Map 5 'Rama the First's Reign (A.D. 1782-1809)'

Beyond the Thai dominion's gentle bulging to the northwest to embrace the area now occupied by the Southern Shan States and westernmost Laos, and sidling to the Andaman through Tavoy and Mergui, the kingdoms shown on Map 5 repeat those of Map 4, but, as history manages (not without difficulty) to allow most of these generalizations, the portrayal has gained a certain realism⁵⁶. However, the Thai dominions are, as usual, overstated and under-differentiated. Tavoy and Mergui were under Thai suzerainty for only the two year interval A.D. 1791 to 1793, and never since;⁵⁷ the northern Malay States could be considered vassals only in the sense that Thailand was a vassal of China,⁵⁸ there appears to be no historical justification for the inclusion of the Southern Shan States;⁵⁹ and Laos⁶⁰ and Cambodia⁶¹ were vassals, not integral parts of the Kingdom.

As stated, it is not intended to renew the accounting of the too obvious inaccuracies beyond the Thai domains, but not indicating Penang, Wellesley and Malacca as British-held⁶² is not merely inaccurate, it represents the loss of a wonderful opportunity to suggest the rapidly changing reality 'stilled' on Map 5 and hint at the coming metamorphosis of Southeast Asia.

As might be expected, the difference, between the pattern of centers shown on Maps 4 and 5 is slight. The addition of sixteen centers, thirteen within the bounds of the modern State, the remainder along the Lower Mekhong, and the trans-rivers passage of the capital from Thonburi to Bangkok, work an imperceptible change⁶³. In fact, beyond an increase in the number of important

56. The incredible Nguyen Anh proclaimed himself Emperor of Vietnam (Tongking, Annam and Cochin China) in 1802, following a quarter-century of incessant warfare; Bodawpaya, though vexed by a recalcitrant Arakan, had Burma under control; and a case might be made for a Bugis Malaya—but not beyond the first five years of the period. See Hall, *op. cit.*, Chapters 17, 22 and 31.

57. See: Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

58. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

59. See: Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-275.

60. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 381 and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

61. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 397 and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

62. See: Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296, 430 and 437-438.

63. One center—Phra Pradaeng—is deleted.

centers and the downstream drift of the capital, the pattern of 1800 (Map 5) is almost identical with that of 1600 (Map 3), which, in turn, but fills-out, or, rather, fills-in the pattern of 1300 (Map 2), the skeleton of which is evident in 750 (Map 1).

Preparation of an historical atlas is beset with difficulty and its issue may be too easily scorned; indeed, it is so onerous a task that even its contemplation merits applause. It cannot be denied that the 'Atlas' has several failings, but it is invaluable in that it constitutes the most comprehensive and accurate account of the number, location and status of centers known to have been in existence during several important periods prior to the 19th century. The basis for *the* 'Historical Atlas of Thailand', lies in this proven worth.

