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CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION OF ANCIENT CITIES IN WESTERN THAILAND: A CASE STUDY OF THE RATCHABURI AND PHETCHABURI PROVINCES

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ABSTRACT

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This article studies the cultural capital of the ancient cities in Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi in the western part of Thailand to develop and conserve these ancient cities in a creative and sustainable manner. The analysis of literary evidence, together with historical, archaeological, artistic, and anthropological fieldwork surveys, was used in this research. The data collected were described with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. The body of knowledge, which comprised the culture, art, and local wisdom of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi, is a prominent cultural capital that can be employed to develop and conserve these ancient cities. This is because the longtime development of their history and their settlements was in accordance with their geographical locations; these two areas have been a hub, linking the cities in the Chao Phraya basin and those in the south. Moreover, the relationship between insiders and outsiders had an impact on the connection between the people, culture, and economy of the two places, which led to the exchange of resources, knowledge, wisdom, and beliefs. These events contributed significantly to the uniqueness of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi, which can be exploited to develop both areas in various ways, especially sustainable cultural tourism. Thus, the development and conservation of these ancient cities requires the understanding of this cultural capital, which is the foundation of their economies and societies.

Keywords: Cultural capital; Ratchaburi ancient city; Phetchaburi ancient city; sustainable development

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1. INTRODUCTION

Development encouraged by modernization generates a "new culture" that integrates locals into the local consciousness or localism, including the same patterns of thinking, beliefs, lifestyles, and consumption. Currently, appreciation of the values of communities through the conservation of local wisdom and familial culture is seen worldwide. This is achieved by selecting, revising, and modifying local identities by exploiting existing cultural capital in order to adapt to changing times and add value to local economies.

"Culture" is presently a form of economic capital that reflects the identities, history, lifestyles, and activities of people who want to sustainably and creatively improve their cities. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, introduced concepts for understanding social phenomena, especially with regard to capital. These concepts were significant in understanding social distinctions and conditions according to which communities are maintained

"Capital" refers to labor accumulated in its materialized form or its incorporated form, which enables people to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor (Bourdieu, 1977). Hence, capital is continuously inherited and is an important factor in defining the social and economic positions of people and communities.¹

The western region of Thailand, especially the Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi provinces, is regarded as an important area that reflects "cultural capital." This capital is an important element in developing creative cities in terms of economic status; the two provinces are renowned for their development in history, the arts, archaeology, and culture, as evidenced by their important archaeological sites. This archaeological evidence indicates that the areas and multiracial people of this region, including the Thai, the Chinese, the Lao Song, and the Karen, are steeped in history and possess a body of knowledge that contributes to their salient identities. Such cultural capital is an invaluable asset that can directly and indirectly add different forms of economic value to the areas.

2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND ANCIENT COMMUNITIES AND PEOPLE: THE ORIGIN OF CULTURAL CAPITAL²

The topography of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi encompasses mountains, river basins, lowlands, and coastal plains. Traces of prehistoric settlements have been discovered there, and their societal development lasted until the Rattanakosin period.

The geographical features of the area encouraged settlement. Traces of prehistoric settlements have been found in caves and rock shelters, such as in Tham Fa Tho in the Mueang district of Ratchaburi. More settlements dating to the Metal Age in the Late Prehistoric Period have been discovered on the plains and coastal plains. Prominent archaeological sites from the Iron Age include Ban Khok Phrik, an ancient community established on a large hummock along the coastline in Khung Krathin sub-district, Mueang district, Ratchaburi. This community performed burial rituals, established a relationship with other communities at important mineral sites in this region, and had maritime connections with faraway communities for bartering foreign goods.

Trade ties with other communities in faraway lands from the late Metal Age onwards contributed to the formation of large communities on fertile alluvial plains. These components made the location suitable for cultivation and settlement, as evidenced by archaeological sites and religious monuments from the Dvaravati period. The communities in this region were influenced by the expansion of the ancient Khmer civilization, especially the Phetchaburi River basin, where traces of the ancient monument of Wat Kamphaenglaeng were discovered in Mueang district, Phetchaburi province. The sanctuary features ogival, lotus bud-shaped towers made of laterite, adorned with stucco motifs, and encircled by laterite walls. It is hypothesized that the sanctuary was possibly the city of Sri Jaya Vachara Puri, mentioned in the Preah Khan inscription, which dates to the reign of King Jayavarman VII (Fine Arts Department Thailand, 1966; Wilaikaeo, 1991; Sukhasavasti, 2000). During that time, both Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi might have functioned as port cities that connected several far-off communities.

¹ Pierre Bourdieu divided capital into four groups: 1. economic capital; 2. cultural capital; 3. social capital; and 4. symbolic capital.

² Bourdieu categorized cultural capital into three types: 1. Embodied cultural capital refers to cultural capital embedded in

individual lifestyles. It involves forms of thoughts, beliefs, customs, and traditions which people follow; 2. Objectified cultural capital is cultural capital which can be individual property or the public domain, for example, literature, books, patterns of performance arts, handicrafts, monuments, and structures; and 3. Institutionalized cultural capital confers original properties on the cultural capital, which it is presumed to guarantee, usually represented as certificates, credentials, or examinations, such as the quality or reputation of educational institutions (Kaeothep & Hinwiman, 2008, p. 551).

The cities of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi took on a crucial role in subsequent eras such as the Ayutthaya period. Ratchaburi was a major border town which fought in wars with Burma, and artistic evidence discovered there shows some relation to Ayutthaya art, for instance, the main sanctuary of Wat Mahathatworawihan. Phetchaburi was a hub that linked cities in the Chao Phraya River basin with coastal cities in the south and was also an important port city where merchant vessels lay at anchor before sailing to the capital or major southern cities (Figure 1). These significant roles of the two cities lasted until the Rattanakosin period.

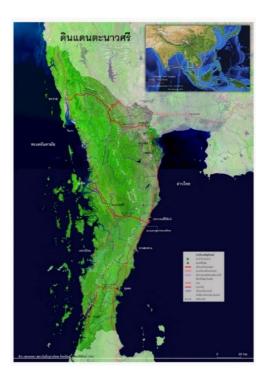


Figure 1: Satellite Map Displaying the Locations of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi in Central Tanowsri and the Ancient Commuting Route

3. PEOPLE AND ETHNIC GROUPS

According to previous research on the ethnology of Ratchaburi, there were settlements of eight different ethnic groups in several districts: the central Thai (Pho Hak), the Thai Chinese, the Tai-Yuan, the Mon, the Karen, the Lao Song (Tai Song Dam), the Lao-Wiang (Lao-Ti), and the Tai-Khmer (Fine Arts Department, 2001; Chumchit, 2004). The majority of the inhabitants along the Mae Klong River were the Mon people, especially the Mon Ban Muang ethnic group, which originated in the mid-Ayutthaya era. There is artistic evidence and traces of the Mon's beliefs and traditions that have been handed down to the current generation (Wongthet, 1993). Also, the emigration of Chinese people played a pivotal role in the economic and social change in Thailand, especially during the Rattanakosin period. From 1800 to 1810, the Teochew people, who worked in agriculture, began to settle farther from the port cities and coastal towns, for instance, those near the Chao Phraya River, the Tha Chin River, and the Mae Klong River (Wongthet, 1993).

According to previous research on ethnology in Phetchaburi, there were settlements of five different ethnic groups in different districts, namely, the Karen, the Mon people, the Lao Song, the Tai Phuan, and the Lao-Wiang (Burutphat et al., 2011). In the old quarter of Phetchaburi, there is a riverfront market which is an old community. Some of its members are Thais of Chinese origin. Most of them are Thai Chinese whose ancestors emigrated to Thailand through the southern mainland. Following their arrival, the Thai Chinese started to work in several activities including pig farming, blacksmithing, and sewing. Their descendants still live around the riverfront market, and their customs and culture have been passed on from generation to generation, two examples of which are Chinese languages (Mandarin Chinese and the Teochew dialect) and god and ancestor veneration on important days (Rakkiattiyod, 2019).

People in various periods established settlements on the lands of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi, and the ethnic and cultural diversity found there illustrate the social relations which have been cultivated for many years. Although social and economic conditions have changed and many communities have adapted to such changes, this adaptation elucidates the dynamics of life in the cradle of history, archaeology, art, and culture.



4. RIVERFRONT MARKETS: COMMON AREAS THAT OFFER MERCHANDISE TO COMMUNITIES

Waterfront settlements or settlements formed along a river, a canal, or a stream are characteristics of communities in the central, southern and northern regions of Thailand. Most of the cities in river basins of the central region are located next to waterways. Rivers or natural streams functioned as city moats and were connected with other rivers, for example, Lopburi River not only protected the Lopburi ancient city, but also linked it to Ayutthaya and Sing Buri (Wanliphodom, 2009). Although rivers and streams do not presently function as the main transportation routes, traces of waterfront settlements remain in several old Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi communities.

Ratchaburi, located on the banks of Mae Klong River, relocated from Khu Bua, an ancient city of the Dvaravati period which was formerly situated next to the Kwae Om Canal (the old course of the Mae Klong River). The relocation to Ratchaburi contributed to economic and social links and communication through maritime transport. Boats and ships were the usual mode of transport in the past, as were houseboats used by merchants in order to sell their wares, and this kind of trade led to the development of markets. In the past, the area around the old market of Ratchaburi was a wild region with few dwellings. Common two-story wooden houses were situated next to one another along the route between Tha Sao, Wat Mahathat Ratchaburi, and the old market of Ratchaburi, where shophouses stood on the riverbanks and merchant boats sailed along the river (S. Songsuwan, personal communication, September 19, 2020). Goods sold here included vegetables, fruits, rice, and orchard products brought from the Damnoen Saduak and Bang Phae districts by merchants who rowed their boats and stopped on the banks of the Mae Klong River (Figure 2). Occasionally, fruits were transported from Chanthaburi and Rayong provinces, seafood from Samut Songkhram province, pork from Pak Tho and Photharam districts, and jungle staples from Suan Phueng including Karen chili, jungle fowl, herbal medicines, tiger skins, bear skins, and elephant tusks brought for sale in Ratchaburi by Karen people, who would buy salt for preserving food. Clothes, accessories, electronic appliances, and agricultural tools brought from Bangkok by merchants were sold in the shophouses. Also, production sites of lime and red lime were dispersed along the Mae Klong River (Figure 3), for example, in Lum Din sub-district, Ban Rai sub-district, Khok Mo sub-district, and U-Ruea sub-district. Lime and red lime were transported from Khao Ngu in Mueang district and Khao SamNgam in Pak Tho district, and there was evidence of the lime industry dating back to the reign of King Rama V of the Rattanakosin era (Chumchit, 2004).



Figure 2: Old Photograph of Mueang Ratchaburi Market Around the Side of Mae Klong River, Mueang Ratchaburi Source: Old photograph storage Ratchaburi Studies Institute, accessed on April 8, 2021.

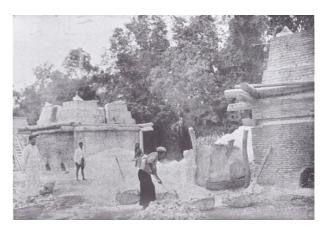


Figure 3: Lime Kiln, Lime and Red Lime Business of Ratchaburi
Source: Old photograph storage Ratchaburi Studies
Institute, accessed on January 22, 2022.

Phetchaburi: There are dwellings along both banks of the Phetchaburi River, and three old communities are also located there: the Khlong Krachaeng Canal community, the Soi Talat Rim Nam (riverfront market alley) community, and the Wat Koh community. Most of the community members are Thai Chinese of Teochew and Hokkien ancestry who emigrated to Thailand during the early Rattanakosin period. The riverfront market along the Phetchaburi River is a center for trading merchandise and raw materials from different sources including jungles, farms, rice fields, orchards, and seas (A. Detkhong, personal communication, November 9, 2021). The Wat Ko community is a business area next to the riverfront market along the Phetchaburi River and is the industrial quarter in which rice mills, distilleries, and slaughterhouses are located. Furthermore, this community is also a center of artisans, for instance, Mr. Leng Choeisuwan, a master wood craftsman; Venerable

Phuk Chanthachoto; Mr. Chum Suwannachang; Mr. Aian Chubodin, a master crematorium craftsman from Phetchaburi; and the Thongsamrit and the Suwannachang, who are skilled goldsmith families dating to the reign of King Rama V of the Rattanakosin period (Phibunsombat, 2000) (Figures 4 and 5).

Riverfront settlements form a unique lifestyle of the communities that shows the relations cultivated by communication and trade. Similarly, the connection between the communities and the riverfront market contributes to trade and the growth of networks and relations. Further, traces of links amongst the ancient communities have become cultural capital, which forges distinctive features or identities of the riverfront communities. Their lifestyles can be developed into cultural capital management in order to strengthen the community economy through cultural tourism.



Figure 4: Riverfront Market Community, Phetchaburi River, Ratchaburi



Figure 5: Bann Yai Neung Faengsrikham, Mueang Phet Goldsmith, National Artist of Visual Art in 2012, Phetchaburi

5. ARTISTIC WORKS AND LOCAL WISDOM OF THE RATCHABURI AND PHETCHABURI PROVINCES: ACCUMULATION OF OBJECTIFIED CULTURAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital of the Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi provinces is created through the collection and sharing of knowledge; the creative exploitation of local resources; and the integration of concepts, beliefs, and science and technology brought from other areas through economic and social relations. Finally, all of these factors contribute to the identities of the area, as shown below.

1) Artistic works in Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi and external relations

Artistic works in Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi clearly demonstrate the development of the area that constitutes the important communities of the Mae Klong and Phetchaburi River basins in the west of Thailand. Traces of artistic works and continuous settlement in the area in several periods clearly indicate the role and importance of each city in each period. Moreover, artistic styles also identify relations between Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, and other regions.

The human settlement on the west bank of the Mae Klong River in Ratchaburi during the Ayutthaya period continued from the Dvaravati period and the period of Khmer influence as evidenced by the Buddhist assembly hall built on the remains of the Bayon-style Khmer tower at Wat Mahathat Ratchaburi (Kanjanajuntorn, 2013). Artistic works found on the west bank of the Mae Klong River include the principal monument or *Prang* at Wat Mahathat Ratchaburi, the principal *Prang* at Wat Aranyikawat (Figure 6), Wat Sattanatpariwatwarawihan (Figure 7), *Chedi Hak* (the broken stupa), Wat Kohloi Udom Ek Tharam, and the modification of Buddha images at Tham Chin (Chin cave) in Khao Ngu. All of these artistic works date back to the 15th and 16th centuries or the early Ayutthaya period, which underscores the significance of the city of Ratchaburi, where several artistic works in the Ayutthaya style were discovered. Furthermore, some features of the artistic works found in Ratchaburi also reflect their relation to those found at other river basins, for instance, the Chao Phraya River in the territory of Chainat and Suphan Buri provinces and the Phetchaburi River in Phetchaburi province.



Figure 6: The Principal Prang, Wat Aranyikawas, Ratchaburi



Figure 7: The Principal Buddha Image in Ubosot, Wat Sattanathpariwatwarawihan, Ratchaburi

The city of Phetchaburi during the Ayutthaya period was a major city in the west and functioned as a port city for conducting trade with major cities in the south. It was also a border town on the route that the Burmese army took to Ayutthaya (Fine Arts Department Thailand, 1989). Because of its location, it had been continuously inhabited by many people since the period of Khmer influence, as evidenced by the traces of the ancient monument of Wat Kamphaenglaeng. In the Ayutthaya period, artifacts from the early Ayutthaya period, namely, Buddha images and boundary markers made of sandstone, were found. In the late Ayutthaya era, a very large number of artistic works, including examples of architecture, paintings, and sculptures, were unearthed, such as Wat Yai Suwannaram, Wat Ko, Wat Phai Lom (Figure 8), and Wat Sa Bua (Figure 9) (U-luchada, 2001; Leksukhum, 1999). This artistic evidence shows the relation between this area and other river basin areas, for example, those of the Mae Klong River and the Chao Phraya River, part of which run through Bangkok.



Figure 8: Stuccos on the Middle Wall of Vihara at Wat Pai Lom, Phetchaburi



Figure 9: Ubosot at Wat Sa Bua, Phetchaburi

2) Integration of Thai and Chinese beliefs expressed through artistic works of Chinese shrines

The erection of Chinese shrines reflects the economic development and social change of the area, especially with regard to the Chinese people who emigrated to settle, made a living, married the locals, and raised families. Chinese shrines were built to be spiritual anchors and to recall the hometowns of the immigrants. In Phetchaburi, Wat Lat Chinese shrine and the Ban Puen Chinese shrine, which have building inscriptions bearing the date 1806–1807, which was in the reign of King Rama I of the Rattankosin period, indicate the permanent settlement of the Chinese in Phetchaburi. The excavation of the Damnoen Saduak Canal, which links the Tha Chin River with the Mae Klong River, contributed to waterway channel expansion and economic growth. Thus, the Chinese started to settle on the riverfront from the Damnoen Saduak Canal to the Mae Klong River, part of which runs through Ratchaburi (Chumchit, 2004). The Chao Mae Thapthim shrine and the Guan Yu shrine were constructed near the old market in Ratchaburi. In Phetchaburi, a great number of Chinese immigrants led to the assignment of a Chinese chief district officer for mainland affairs (Luang Aram Chin) and a Chinese chief district officer for mainland affairs (Luang Aram Chin) and a Chinese chief district officer for maritime affairs (Khun Siwiset) (Chanthawanit et al., 1991) to administer their fellow Chinese. The events and monuments concur with the background of the Thai Chinese in the Wat Ko community; that is, their

Chinese ancestors emigrated to settle in Thailand during the Rattanakosin era (Suwannachang, 2015). The construction of various Chinese shrines in the communities led to the integration of Thai and Chinese beliefs. For example, the Thai villagers paid homage to gods at the shrines since this was not against their original belief, animism. Although the statues of gods in the shrines were brought from China, they adopted familiar Thai names so as to cultivate devotion from Chinese, Thai, and other ethnic groups (Wanliphodom, 2009) (Figures 10 and 11).



Figure 10: Khao Tok Guardian Spirit, Khao Tok Shrine, Wat Rong Chang, Ratchaburi



Figure 11: Thaptim Goddess, Chao Mae Thaptim Shrine,
Phetchaburi

3) Local wisdom in the area and the establishment of identities

The production of earthenware pottery (Figure 12) began when the Chinese came to Ratchaburi. A Chinese man named Chuemeng Sae-aueng, a potter who painted motifs on pottery at a pottery factory in Fengxi district, Guangdong province, traveled to Bangkok in 1927 and worked at an earthenware pottery factory located near the head of Krung Thon Bridge. He later visited his relatives in Ratchaburi and found a potential clay pit, so he persuaded his friends to invest in an earthenware factory, which was named "Thao Seng Li" and situated opposite the current Ratchaburi Mother and Child Hospital. The pottery products initially sold included pots, jars for fish sauce or fermented garlic, and vessels. Earthenware pottery businesses in Ratchaburi province became popular when Mon boats from Pak Kret took earthen pottery from the Thao Seng Li factory to sell in other areas. After World War II, water vessels were in short supply, as they were commonly imported from China. Thus, Chuemeng experimentally made water vessels and sold them. At first, the water vessels were of medium size, thick and heavy, and without any decoration, but their form and style were later improved, and decorations were added, namely, floral motifs, animal patterns, and liana patterns. The decorative patterns and motifs on vessels made of white clay imported from China made decorations more outstanding and beautiful, especially coiling dragon patterns, which became popular and afterwards were regarded as the symbol of water vessels from all pottery factories in Ratchaburi (Chumchit, 2004).

Earthenware pottery trade in Ratchaburi could be seen on the riverfront, where water vessels were displayed, and merchant boats floated from the bank in front of the National Museum of Ratchaburi all the way down to the old market to sell vessels along with red lime used for betel nut chewing. When means of transportation were changed from waterways to roadways, water vessels were transported by trucks. There was even a story 60 years ago about some sub-district headmen and village chiefs from the northeast who would bring rice to barter for water vessels so that they could collect rainwater in times of water scarcity (S. Songsuwan, personal communication, September 19, 2020).

Stucco art (Figure 13), one of the crafts created by the art schools in Phetchaburi, is a unique traditional Thai art. Phetchaburi stucco art showcases its exquisite features at temples such as Wat Mahathatwarawihan Phetchaburi, Wat Yai Suwannaram, and Wat Ko Kaeo Sutharam. Stucco artists from Phetchaburi use mortar to create their artistic works (Talaluck et al., 2019; Talalak, 2019).

Most of the stucco artists from Phetchaburi schools developed as a result of knowledge passed on by local scholars. Presently, the work of Phetchaburi stucco artists relates to two groups of people, monks and local cultural conservation organizations, and this helps the stucco artists improve their skills to create artistic works with more identities. For instance, stucco artworks created by Thongruang Em-ot, the national artist of Thailand in the area of fine arts (stucco art), showcase true identities, that is, asymmetrical forms, traditional Thai motifs, the Dharma paradox, political issues and lifestyles (Talalak 2019). Phetchaburi stucco art reflects the transmission of local wisdom transmission and the implementation of local art and culture to communicate the ideas of local artists in accordance with the social conditions of each period.



Figure 12: The Sale of Water Jars on the Side of Mae Klong River, Ratchaburi Source: Old photograph storage, Ratchaburi Studies Institute, accessed on March 1, 2021.



Figure 13: Pediment Decorated with Stuccos at Ubosot of Wat Yai Suwannaramwarawihan, Mueang Phetchaburi, Phetchaburi

6. CULTURAL CAPITAL MANAGEMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION OF THE OLD CITIES OF RATCHABURI AND PHETCHABURI

According to previous studies on cultural capital management for developing and conserving the old cities of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi, both cities possess cultural capital transmitted from the past to the present. The cultural capital is exploited to develop the cities creatively. The forms of cultural capital in accordance with the theory of Pierre Bourdieu are used by the cities, as explained below:

- **1. Bodies of knowledge concerning culture** are important capital for practices adopted for cultural capital management. Although they are an abstract form of cultural capital, they transform the two provinces into historical cities which maintains identity. Because of cultural integration between the local culture and new culture in each period, development in terms of history shows changes in the area, which affects the culture of the cities, as shown below:
- 1) Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi are both located in the west of the country and encompass linear settlement or riverfront communities. These factors permit the two cities to be rest stops and good locations for the settlement of people from different cultures. For example, due to the war, the Tai-yuan ethnic group immigrated and settled in Ratchaburi in the reign of King Rama I. Khu Bua, Don Rae, and Don Tago were then chosen by this ethnic group for their new settlement as these were suitable for agriculture, settlement, and transportation. The Tai-yuan people in each mentioned area wove chok fabrics with their own unique features (Figure 14). While the fabrics of Khu Bua posses the patterns of Sia flowers, Kong-keng and twin birds of Don Rae are normally decorated with the patterns of Kaew flowers and twin birds drinking water together.

As for Petchaburi, it has been densely populated by the Thais of Chinese descent, whose ancestors migrated from southern China. These Chinese immigrants ran some small businesses, such as merchants, swine raisers, ironsmiths, labors, and seamstresses. The descendants of those immigrants are still living in the riverfront market and have inherited the ancestors' culture such as god and ancestor worship on special occasions (Figure 15).

Cultural assimilation and integration affect the formation of culture in this area. Finally, the area can acquire cultural capital which is uniquely different.



Figure 14: Chok Fabrics of the Tai-yuan Ethnic Group in Ratchaburi



Figure 15: Wat Ko Shrine, a Spiritual Anchor of the Chinese and Their Descendants in Phetchaburi

2) The cultural route of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi runs along the rivers and contributes to economic links, centers of trade, and trade amongst cities. The importance of these cities as centers of trade also enables them to fully develop as port cities. For example, in Ratchaburi, rice and orchard products were transported from Damnoen Saduak district and Bang Phae district while some kinds of fruit were from Chanthaburi and Rayong provinces. The Karen people brought forest products such as Karen chilies, wild fowls, and herbs to the market in Ratchaburi and traded them for salt, used in food preservation. Moreover, the production sites of lime and red lime, established since the reign of King Rama V, were located along the Mae Klong River (Figure 16). In Petchaburi, the riverfront market (Figure 17) is the center for trading various kinds of products and raw materials, such as palmyra palm sugar, salt, seafood, vegetables, and accessories, from different places. Moreover, the Wat Ko community is an important industrial quarter and the center of skillful artisans.



Figure 16: Lawn Market on the Riverbank, the Trading of Ratchaburi



Figure 17: The Trading Center of Phetchaburi, the Crown Property Bureau Market in Phetchaburi

3) The accumulation of bodies of knowledge from the past to the present involves physical capital, waterways, lifestyles, wisdom passed on from generation to generation, narrative historical information, and biographies of important people including craftsmen, artists, and authors who live in the area. Descendants might tell stories from the past to members of the next generation, and the storytelling becomes a source of knowledge and capital for creative city management. Moreover, the cultural capital is exploited in the allocation of the people's own resources in order to develop their communities.

There are three connected communities in the old quarter of Phetchaburi, namely, the Soi Talat Rim Nam (riverfront market alley) community, the Klong Krachaeng Canal community, and the Wat Ko community. Also, a community enterprise for local tourism in Phetchaburi network has been developed to create cultural tourism activities that emphasize the art, culture, lifestyles, and local history of the inhabitants in the old quarter of Phetchaburi through performance arts, food, and important places in the communities. Each community has presented its distinctive features. For example, in the Klong Krachaeng Canal community, there are several learning centers, the Wat Phapphlachai shadow puppet museum, and the Khammawasi pavilion. Moreover, other local performance arts and culture of Phetchaburi are presented by this community, such as Lakhon Chatri (a traditional dance drama), Khon Tit Nang or Khon Na Cho (a traditional mixed performance between masked drama and shadow play), and traditional shadow puppet making. In addition, the Soi Talat Rim Nam community presents contemporary aspects of the area through street art which narrates stories of the community, which used to be an important center of trade in Phetchaburi province, housing local shops and restaurants which are still in full operation. Lastly, the Wat Ko community illustrates its characteristic as a community of stucco artists from the Phetchaburi schools and architecture with historical details, for example, gingerbread houses and hip-roofed buildings. Likewise, Ratchaburi could also design some interesting tourist routes in the old quarter of Ratchaburi, where there are archaeological sites and knowledge of local trades such as weaving, water vessel making, and palm sugar making. Both provinces disseminate bodies of knowledge which are used as capital for conserving and transmitting them in accordance with urbanistic changes in the area. Cultural tourism is used as a tool to manage the cultural capital in order to support the community members.

2. Artistic works and cultural wisdom are regarded as objectified cultural capital according to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. The previous research results show that Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi have outstanding and diverse cultural assets from the prehistoric period, as detailed below:

Artistic works found in Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi reveal the development of the area, which was the location of several important communities in the Tha Chin and Phetchaburi River basins during the Dvaravati period, the period of Khmer influence, the Ayutthaya era, and the Rattanakosin period. Traces of artistic works,

for example, at Wat Mahathat in Ratchaburi and Wat Kamphaenglaeng in Phetchaburi, and continuous settlement in the areas during several periods clearly indicate the role and importance of each city in each period.

Also, the artistic evidence found in Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi reflects the integration of Thai and Chinese beliefs in the artistic works of Chinese shrines, which reflects economic development and social change. Thai villagers paid homage to gods at the Chinese shrines as this was not against their original belief, animism.

Local Phetchaburi culture includes earthenware pottery, stucco art, shadow puppetry, and local cuisine. The material culture can be considered local wisdom which is passed on from generation to generation. Although the material culture is modified according to the changing times, the modification of its function can be regarded as another method with which to develop cultural capital, and it is also important for creative development of the community economy.

7. CONCLUSION

Owing to good location for agriculture and trade, Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi have been therefore chosen by different groups of people for their settlement. Their cultures, such as lifestyles, art, wisdom, and traditions, have been inherited from generation to generation. This continuous historical development and strong cultural foundations has made the cultural capital become an important characteristic of Ratchaburi and Phetchaburi.

Thus, the cultural capital can be converted to assets to develop the cities sustainably and creatively. Because of their diversity, the cultural capital of the cities can reflect different identities of the inhabitants and attract people from other areas to experience the cultural capital in products and tourism services, which will productively stimulate the economies of both areas.

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