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Dutch East India merchants at the court of Ayutthaya : Dutch perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765

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Citation

Ruangsilp, B. (2007, March 7). *Dutch East India merchants at the court of Ayutthaya : Dutch perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11406>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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NOTES

Notes to Introduction

¹ This is the central idea in Holden Furber, 'Asia and the West as Partners before "Empire" and after', *JAS* 28/4 (1969), 711-21; see also id., *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

² Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), xiv (citation).

³ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 1998).

⁴ John Anderson, *English Interchange with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1890), 389-90; E. W. Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1940), 192.

⁵ The view of the eighteenth century as a period of decline has often been applied not only to Ayutthaya but to most parts of South-East Asia. See the comment by David K. Wyatt, 'The Eighteenth Century in Southeast Asia', in Leonard Blussé and Femme Gaastra (eds.), *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian History: Van Leur in Retrospect* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 39-55, esp. 40.

⁶ Dirk van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West 1500-1700*, tr. Michael Smithies (Chiang Mai: Silkwood Books, 2002), xvii-xviii. (First published in French 1991.)

⁷ George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand* (Illinois: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, 1977).

⁸ Han ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat: A History of the Contacts between The Netherlands and Thailand* (Lochem-Gent: De Tijdstroom, 1987).

⁹ Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'A Political History of Siam under the Prasatthong Dynasty, 1629-1688' (Diss., University of London, 1984); id., 'Ayutthaya at the End of the Seventeenth Century: Was There a Shift to Isolation?', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 250-72; id., 'Princes, Pretenders, and the Chinese *Phrakhlung*: An Analysis of the Dutch Evidence Concerning Siamese Court Politics, 1699-1734', in Blussé and Gaastra (eds.), *On the Eighteenth Century*, 107-30; see also the short analysis of Ayutthaya's trade in the first half of the eighteenth century, especially the difficult 1730s, in Remco Raben and Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Tipping Balances: King Borommakot and the Dutch East India Company', in id. (eds.), *In the King's Trail: An 18th Century Dutch Journey to the Buddha's Footprint; Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel's Account of his Voyage to Phra Phutthabat in 1737* (Bangkok: The Royal Netherlands Embassy, 1997), 63-79, esp. 64-6, 69-70. The difficulties in foreign trade did not necessarily affect the cultural prosperity of King Borommakot's reign (r. 1733-1758).

¹⁰ For example, W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam* (Bangkok: Chalermit Bookshop, 1959), 194-215; Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University/Thai Wattana Panich, 1977), 72-82.

¹¹ Smith has emphasized that, during the period between 1664 and the early 1680s, the VOC and the Ayutthayan court enjoyed a fine relationship. Smith, *The Dutch*, 41. Vilailekha Thavornthanasan has shown that King Narai's decision to move his court farther inland to Lopburi and to favour the French in the 1670s was personal rather than political (that is, fear of a Dutch threat). Vilailekha Thavornthanasan, 'The Role of Lopburi during the Reign of King Narai, A.D. 1656-1688', in Ronald D. Renard (ed.), *Anuson Walter Vella* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii at Manoa, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, 1986), 134-55. Nidhi Aeusrivongse has convincingly explained that King Narai used foreigners in his service to counterbalance the power of indigenous administrative officials. His explanation emphasizes internal politics—instead of the contacts with the West—as a moving force in the history of the period. Nidhi Aeusrivongse, *kan muang*

thai samai phra narai [Thai Politics during King Narai's Reign] (1980; repr., Bangkok: Matichon, [1996]).

¹² Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict of 1663-1664: A Reassessment', in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), 291-306, esp. 305-6.

¹³ Jeremy Kemp, *Aspects of Siamese Kingship in the Seventeenth Century* (Bangkok: Social Science Association Press of Thailand, 1969), 8.

¹⁴ Dhiravat na Pombejra, *Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth Century as Depicted in European Sources* (Bangkok: Faculty of Arts Chulalongkorn University International Series No. 1, 2001).

¹⁵ Eleanor Gibson, *Principles of Perceptual Learning and Development* (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), 3-4, 13-17.

¹⁶ Jurrien van Goor, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Trading Companies in Asia 1600-1830* (Utrecht: HES, 1986), 9-17, esp. 10.

¹⁷ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, I: *The Land below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) and II: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Reid has emphasized the significance of trade and other 'maritime intercourse' in the historic integration processes of South-East Asia.

¹⁸ David K. Wyatt, 'King Borommakot, his Court, and their World', in Raben and Dhiravat (eds.), *In the King's Trail*, 53-62, esp. 55.

¹⁹ David Cannadine, 'Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings', in id. and Simon Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1-19. Cannadine suggests a functional relationship between 'power and pomp' in the way that 'pomp' often serves as an instrument of power used for representing, demonstrating, and hence reifying power itself.

²⁰ NA, Collectie Hudde, no. 5, Consideratiën van Van Beuningen, cited in Femme Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), 57.

²¹ George Winius and Markus Vink, *The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: The VOC (The Dutch East India Company) and its Changing Political Economy in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²² Reinout Vos, *Gentle Janus, Merchant Prince: The VOC and the Tightrope of Diplomacy in the Malay World, 1740-1800* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993).

²³ See also Jurrien van Goor, 'A Hybrid State: The Dutch Economic and Political Network in Asia', in Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 193-214.

²⁴ Ibid. 1-2.

²⁵ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 318-22.

²⁶ For the foundation and organization of the VOC, see Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, Chapter 1.

²⁷ For the VOC's intra-Asian trade, see *ibid.*, Chapter 4, esp. 108-24.

²⁸ The most recent literature increasingly emphasizes that adapting to local conditions was an important factor in the Company's success. See the analysis of the changing trends in the VOC historiography in Jurrien van Goor, 'The Dutch East India Company, Merchant and King', in id., *Prelude to Colonialism: The Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 7-25.

²⁹ Leonard Blussé, *Tussen geveinsde vrunden en verklaarde vijanden* (Amsterdam: KNAW, 1999), here cited from the English version, 'Amongst Feigned Friends and Declared Enemies', <http://www.oslo2000.uio.no>, 2.

³⁰ For the analysis of traditional Chinese shipping routes in the China Sea and the VOC's attempts to use them, see Leonard Blussé, 'No Boats to China: the Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690', *MAS* 30/1 (1996), 51-76, esp. 20-1.

³¹ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 57; Van Goor, 'The Dutch East India Company, Merchant and King', 24.

³² A vast historiography has examined the relations between the VOC and the Asian courts, earlier in terms of economic and political, and later increasingly concerning cultural interactions, as well. See, for example, the recent articles in Dutch and English in Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Peter Rietbergen (eds.), *Hof en handel: Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004).

³³ This is the main idea in Leonard Blussé, 'Queen among Kings, Diplomatic Ritual at Batavia', in Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (eds.), *Jakarta-Batavia* (Leiden: KITLV, 2000), 25-42.

³⁴ Blussé, 'Amongst Feigned Friends', 9. For the European classification of sovereignty of Asian states, see also C. H. Alexandrowicz, *An Introduction to the Law of Nations in the East Indies (16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 15-26.

³⁵ There are several explanations for the demise of the VOC. To sum up, whereas the earlier historiography has seen the eighteenth century as the period of decline for the VOC, the more recent literature suggests instead an alternating picture of internal degradation and recovery or continuity. For this topic, see, for example, Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 164-70; Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië: De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 218-21.

³⁶ Peter Rietbergen, 'Varieties of Asia? European Perspectives, c. 1600-c. 1800', *Itinerario*, 3/4 (2001), 69-89, esp. 72-3.

³⁷ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (2nd ed., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 22; Furber, *Rival Empires*, 6.

³⁸ Furber asserted that the East India Companies and their servants were perhaps more influential than European travellers and missionaries in laying foundations for the work of the 'Orientalists'. Furber, *Rival Empires*, 325.

³⁹ Rietbergen suggests that to a certain extent the VOC tried to play a role as a 'vector of culture' and offered the demanding literary and influential Dutch public a knowledge of the outside world from its archives. Peter Rietbergen, *Japan verwoord: Nihon door Nederlandse ogen, 1600-1799* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2003), 188-9. For the history of the VOC's publishing activities, see John Landwehr, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1800*, ed. Peter van der Krogt (Utrecht: HES, 1991), XVII-XXX.

⁴⁰ For instance, in the 1630s, several VOC trade directors were assigned the task of composing a comprehensive account of the circumstances in the places at which they were stationed. Among the results were the famous descriptions of Japan by François Caron, and of Siam by Joost Schouten. The English versions appeared in the double volume *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam by François Caron and Joost Schouten*, tr. Roger Manley, ed. C. R. Boxer (London: Argonaut Press, 1935).

⁴¹ Nicolaas Witsen, for example, while Burgomaster of Amsterdam and a member of the VOC executive boards made a study of Central Asia. He kept up a correspondence with contemporary European intellectuals, including Leibniz. See Peter Rietbergen, 'Witsen's World: Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717) between the Dutch East India Company and the Republic of Letters', *Itinerario*, 2 (1985), 121-34.

⁴² For instance, at least twenty-five major descriptions of South Asia, fifteen of mainland South-East Asia, twenty of the South-East Asian Archipelagos, and sixty of East Asia appeared during the seventeenth century. Edwin J. Van Kley, 'Asian Religions in Seventeenth-century Dutch Literature', *Itinerario*, 3/4 (2001), 54-68, esp. 54. For a survey of early modern Dutch, and European, literature on Asia, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, I: *The Century of Discovery*, Books 1-2, and II: *A Century of Wonder*, Books 1-3 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965, 1970 and 1977); Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, III: *A Century of Advance*, Books 1-4 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

⁴³ Sixteenth-century European literature on Siam agrees that Siam was one of the most affluent and powerful polities in the East and that its ruler was absolute, wealthy, and tolerant of foreigners and their religions. Among the most notable works which were published in that century are Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* and Mendez Pinto's *Peregrinação* (the latter had been to Ayutthaya himself). See Donald F. Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of*

Europe, the Sixteenth Century (repr., Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 519-38.

⁴⁴ Shelly Elisabeth Errington, *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 4.

⁴⁵ Thai traditional law reinforced the concept of the arbitrary power of the king. See Frank C. Darling, 'The Evolution of Law in Thailand', *Review of Politics*, 32/2 (1970), 197-218, esp. 200; Sarasin Viraphol, 'Law in Traditional Siam and China: A Comparative Study', *JSS* 65/1 (January 1977), 81-136, esp. 85.

⁴⁶ Dhida Saraya, 'ayutthaya nai thana sunklang amnat kanmuang lae kanpokkrong [Ayutthaya as a Centre of Political and Administrative Power]', in Chatthip Nartsupha et al. (eds.), *sun suksa prawattisat Ayutthaya* [The Ayutthaya Historical Study Centre] (Ayutthaya: Ayutthaya Historical Study Centre, 1990), 55-79, esp. 55-6.

⁴⁷ Robert Heine-Geldern, *Conceptions in State and Kingship in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, Department of Asian Studies, 1956), 10-11; David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (repr., Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2001), 67-74.

⁴⁸ Errington, *Meaning and Power*, 139.

⁴⁹ Historically Theravada Buddhism provided a king with the legitimacy to rule as the possessor of the highest *karma* (Buddhist concept of accumulated merit), which allowed him to become a *cakravartin* (a universal wheel-turning Buddhist monarch). At the same time, the Ayutthayan King had no problem in identifying himself as a *bodhisattva* (a future Buddha) according to the Mahayana school, while styling himself with titles derived from the Hindu gods. However, the king was obliged by the *thammasat* (the Mon-influenced moral code) to rule with Buddhistic righteousness. For the cultural background of pre-modern Thai kingship, see Dhani Nivat, 'The Old Siamese Conception of the Monarchy', in *Collected Articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1969), 91-104; see also Sunait Chutintaranond, 'Cakravatin: the Ideology of Traditional Warfare in Siam and Burma, 1548-1605' (Diss., Cornell University, 1990).

⁵⁰ Dhiravat, 'Crown Trade and Court Politics', 131-2; id., 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 99-100; Busakorn Lailert, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty, 1688-1767: A Study of the Thai Monarchy during the Closing Years of the Ayutthaya Period' (Diss., University of London, 1972), 167-8, 176.

⁵¹ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 221.

⁵² Wyatt, *Thailand*, 107.

⁵³ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 192; Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 299-302.

⁵⁴ Wyatt, 'King Borommakot', 54.

⁵⁵ Errington, *Meaning and Power*, 9-10.

⁵⁶ Kemp, *Aspects of Siamese Kingship*, 10.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Lorraine Gesick, 'The Rise and Fall of King Taksin: A Drama of Buddhist Kingship', in id. (ed.) *Centers, Symbols, and Hierarchies: Essays on the Classical States of Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1983), 87-105, esp. 88-9. In practice, a person cannot know whether or not his *karma* is to be exhausted. Therefore, a king was always in implicit competition with potential rivals who might claim to have equal or greater merit.

⁵⁹ H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration* (repr., New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1965), 16; Akin Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), 40. Prince Dhani Nivat and Busakorn have emphasized that Buddhism was more influential in shaping Ayutthayan kingship than the Hindu cult of divinity which was used to bestow outward dignity. Dhani Nivat, 'The Old Siamese Conception', 101; Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 122-44.

⁶⁰ The VOC trade director, Jeremias van Vliet wrote that in their own provinces the governors were treated like a king and that King Prasatthong kept his officials poor so as to prevent them from revolting against him. Jeremias van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', in id., *Van Vliet's Siam*, ed. Chris Baker et al. (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 145-8. The

VOC surgeon Engelbert Kaempfer, who visited Ayutthaya in 1690, was less than impressed by the dirty and rather less than well-appointed hall and residence of the *Phrakhlung*. Engelbert Kaempfer, *A Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1998), 26. (Originally published in English in 1727.) On the other hand, the French priest Nicolas Gervaise observed that the prominent officials spared nothing to build temples the one more magnificent than the other. Nicolas Gervaise, *The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam*, tr. and ed. John Villiers (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1998), 139.

⁶¹ For a short analysis of the link between the display of wealth and power in early modern South-East Asia, see J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Forms and Concepts of Courtly Wealth in Seventeenth Century Aceh, Ayutthaya and Banten', in *Sarjana, Special Issue* (1994), 57-69. In traditional Thai society, which was obsessed with social hierarchy and social status, acts of public generosity and gift-giving were used to demonstrate the king's power (to give) and so confirm his position. A. Brand, 'Merit, Hierarchy and Royal Gift-giving in Traditional Thai Society', *BKI* 131/1 (1975), 111-37, esp. 135-6. For the use of textiles to service court protocol and patronage, see John Guy, *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 121-51.

⁶² For the topic of wealth display by the nobility in Late Ayutthaya, see Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 296-7.

⁶³ The previous historiography of the early development of Ayutthaya has stated that the kingdom had first risen as a hinterland state and later became active in maritime trade. Recently, Chris Baker has argued the opposite, using in particular early Chinese accounts of the polity, stating that Ayutthaya had been first a maritime power focusing on controlling trade routes and supply sources, and only afterwards became a territorial power. Chris Baker, 'Ayutthaya Rising: From Land or Sea?', *JSEAS* 34/1 (February 2003), 41-62.

⁶⁴ Theoretically, the *corvée* system required 'all freemen' to render labour 'six months a year' to the State. The manpower was used in the king's service, constructing and maintaining public works and engaging in military campaigns, and was distributed for the use of the *krom* of the *chao* and *khunnang*. However, recent research has questioned the portrayal of a static *rabop phrai* by the previous study. See Junko Koizumi, 'King's Manpower Constructed: Writing the History of the Conscription of Labour in Siam', *SEAR* 10/1 (2002), 31-61.

⁶⁵ For 'port-polity' as a historical category of South-East Asia, see J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Introduction: An Overview', in J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (eds.), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 1-16.

⁶⁶ Wyatt, *Thailand*, 86-7.

⁶⁷ Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Forms and Concepts of Courtly Wealth', 57. This claim and Lieberman's argument based on demographic and domestic commercial growth champion the role of local agency in the commercial expansion of Ayutthaya and South-East Asia, which is often seen as a result of external demand. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 296.

⁶⁸ Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Introduction', 5.

⁶⁹ For a survey of the trade of Siam with Asian partners, see Kennon Breazeale, 'Thai Maritime Trade and the Ministry Responsible', in id. (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia* (Bangkok: The Foundation for the Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbooks Project, 1999), 23-45.

⁷⁰ A part of the Three Seals Laws (*Kot Mai Tra Sam Duang*)—the Law of Civil Hierarchy (probably of 1466)—outlines the basic organization of the *Phrakhlung Sinka*. For a survey of this ministry, see Breazeale, 'Thai Maritime Trade', 5-15.

⁷¹ Saichon Wannarat has suggested that the eighteenth-century ruling class became more bourgeois, materialistic, consumerist, imbued with empirical views and a mercantilist mind, as a result of its increasing participation in trade. Saichon Wannarat, 'setthakit lae sangkom thai nai samai plai ayutthaya [Thai Economy and Society in the Late Ayutthaya Period]', *warasan thammasat* [Journal of Thammasat University], 11/3 (September 1982), 6-27.

⁷² Abraham Bogaert, *Historische reizen door d'oostersche deelen van Asia: mitsg. van omstandig verhaal van de Bantamschen inlanschen oorlog, het driven der Franciozen uit het*

koninkryk Siam, en 't geen aan kaap de goede hoop in den jaare 1706 is voorgevallen tot aan het opontbod des gouverneurs W. A. van der Stel (Amsterdam: Ten Hoorn, 1711); François Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, III: B (Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam/Amsterdam: Gerard Onder de Linden, 1726). Both works bear a resemblance to other accounts written in the seventeenth century. Valentyn referred to his sources as being, for example Van Vliet and the French diplomats Alexandre de Chaumont and Simon de La Loubère. Bogaert, who claimed to have been to Siam in 1690, did not mention any source, but his account tends to lack originality for it does not, or not explicitly, reflect what could have been occurrences contemporaneous with his stay.

⁷³ For information on the archives of the VOC, see M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, R. Raben and H. Spijkerman (eds.), *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie/The Archives of the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1795* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgeverij, 1992).

Notes to Chapter One

¹ Schouten's work first appeared as *Notitie vande situatie, regeeringe, macht, religie, costuy-men, traffijcgen ende andere remercquable saecken des Coningbrijcks Siam* ('s-Gravenhage: Aert Meuris, 1638). Its English version was published in the double volume *François Caron and Joost Schouten: A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, tr. Roger Manley (London, 1663). A new edition of Manley's translation was edited with commentary by C. R. Boxer in 1935. All references are from Boxer's edition. (Hereafter: Schouten, 'Description of Siam'.)

² Jeremias van Vliet, *Beschryving van het koningryk Siam. Mitsgaders het verhaal van den oorsprong, onderscheyd, politijke regering, d'ecclesiastique en costuymelijke huyshoudinge van d'Edelen en Borgerlijke Lieden: als mede den loop der Negotie, en andere remarquable saaken des Koningrijks Siam* (Leiden: Frederik Haaring, 1692). English version by L. F. van Ravenswaay, 'Translation of Jeremias van Vliet's Description of the Kingdom of Siam', *JSS* 7 (1910), 1-108. It has been republished in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*. All references are from this edition. (Hereafter: Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam'.)

³ Cornelis van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie en verthoninge der gelegentheyt des coninckrijx van Siam mitsgaders haeren handel ende wandel ende waar de negotie meest in bestaet etc.', *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap Gevestigd te Utrecht*, 10 (1854), 176-91. (Hereafter: Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie'.)

⁴ VOC 1125, Dagregister Jeremias van Vliet, 11 July 1637, fos. 621^r-623^r. Previously in 1633, King Prasatthong had asked the Dutch to submit the names of all the cities and villages in the Dutch Republic. VOC 1113, Cort verhael over de voijagie naer Jambij ende Chijam alsmede van de overleveringe der missive ende gesonden schenckagie van den prince van Orangien aen den coninck van Chijam in den jaere 1633 binnen de conincklijke hoofdstadt Judia, wel ende behoorlijck geffectueert door den commandeur Jan Joosten de Roij [Short story of the voyage to Jambi and Siam and of the presentation of the letter and gifts from the Prince of Orange to the King of Siam in the year 1633 in the royal capital Ayutthaya, well and properly performed by the commander Jan Joosten de Roij], Jan Joosten de Roij, 30 Sept. 1633, fo. 456^r.

⁵ Chris Baker has recently suggested reading Van Vliet's 'Description of Siam' as a proposal for Dutch colonization of the kingdom. Whether it really was what Van Vliet had in mind, the VOC obviously had no intention of conquering Siam. Baker, 'Introduction' [to Van Vliet's Description of the Kingdom of Siam], in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*, 91-8, esp. 97-8.

⁶ Smith, *The Dutch*, 111.

⁷ For the VOC's tin trade at Ligor, see Supaporn Ariyasajskul, 'De VOC in Ligor: met nadruk op de tinhandel, 1640-1756' (MA thesis, Leiden University, 1999).

⁸ Smith, *The Dutch*, 110.

⁹ Dhiravat, 'Crown Trade and Court Politics', 133.

¹⁰ Dhiravat, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict', 292.

¹¹ J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'The First Siamese Embassy to Holland', *T'oung Pao*, 32 (1936), 285-92, esp. 288-9; H. Terpstra, *De factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani* (The

Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938), 21-2; Smith, *The Dutch*, 11.

¹² Smith, *The Dutch*, 8-9; Dhiravat, 'Shift to Isolation?', 250.

¹³ Blussé, 'No Boats to China', 61.

¹⁴ For the exports of Siamese rice and other provisions by the VOC in the seventeenth century, see Smith, *The Dutch*, 82-4.

¹⁵ For the VOC's imports into Siam in the seventeenth century, see *ibid.* 90-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 58-65.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 67; Supaporn, 'De VOC in Ligor', 13-21. The VOC had started its tin trade in the Malay Peninsula in the 1630s, but it was able to expand it significantly after the Dutch conquest of Portuguese Malacca, which was also a redistribution centre of this product. Since 1607, the Company had been in contact with the ruler of Ligor, but its interest was in pepper. In 1636, King Prasatthong succeeded in suppressing the insurrections among the vassal states of Ayutthaya in the south; as a result, the Kingdom of Ligor was divided into a number of lesser provinces which answered directly to Ayutthaya.

¹⁹ Smith, *The Dutch*, 110.

²⁰ Breazeale, 'Thai Maritime Trade', 9.

²¹ VOC 1206, Missive Volkerus Westerwolt to Governor-General and Council of the Indies (hereafter: to Batavia), 28 Oct. 1654, fos. 2^r-11^v, 16^v-17^r.

²² Dhiravat, 'Crown Trade and Court Politics', 139.

²³ Smith, *The Dutch*, 37-9; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 292, 298.

²⁴ VOC 1240, Rapport [Report] Jan van Rijck, 3 Nov. 1662, fo. 1493^v; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 297-9.

²⁵ The original Dutch text of the 1664 Treaty is in *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, 6 vols., ed. J. E. Heeres and F. W. Stapel (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1907-1955), II, 280-5. (Hereafter: *Corpus Diplomaticum*.) The English translation of 1886 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Siam has been published in Smith, *The Dutch*, 138-41.

²⁶ Dhiravat, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict', 300-1, 304.

²⁷ Smith, *The Dutch*, 35-43; Dhiravat, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict', 304, 305-6; Dhiravat, 'Crown Trade and Court Politics', 137.

²⁸ For the tensions building up to Siam's declaration of war on England/the EIC, see Hutchinson, *Adventurer in Siam*, 123-52.

²⁹ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 339-43, 373-4, 410-16, 429.

³⁰ Dhiravat, 'Shift to Isolation', 44-5.

³¹ Remco Raben, 'Ayutthaya, King Phetracha and the World', paper given at the Seminar *Crossroads of Thai and Dutch History*, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 9-11 Sept. 2004, 10.

³² *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 11 vols., ed. W. P. Coolhaas, J. van Goor and J. E. Schooneveld-Oosterling ('s-Gravenhage: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1960-2004), VII: 1713-1725, 15 Jan. 1716, 204-5; 19 Feb. 1716, 219 (hereafter: *Generale missiven*); Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 64.

³³ Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 65, 71. The original Dutch text of the 1709 Treaty appears in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, IV, 273-5.

³⁴ VOC 2219, Consideration van Wijbrand Blom over de presenten staat van den handel, en verdere toestand der saken, aan de comptoir tot Siam en Ligor [Considerations by Wijbrand Blom on the present state of trade and the state of affairs, to the office[s] in Siam and Ligor], Wijbrand Blom, 25 Mar. 1733, fos. 191-362; VOC 2383, Missive Theodorus van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1736, fos. 40-2 (also referring to Blom's advice); VOC 2868, Beschrijvingen van Macassar en Siam [Descriptions of Makassar and Siam], Adriaan de Nijs, December 1756, fos. 795-808; VOC 3152, Missive Abraham Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Dec. 1765, fos. 14-15. See also Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 66, 75.

³⁵ VOC 2193, Missive Rogier van Alderwereld and Pieter Sijen to Batavia, 19 Dec. 1731, fos. 20-1.

³⁶ Jennifer Wayne Cushman, *Fields from the Sea: Chinese Junk Trade with Siam during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (2nd ed., Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast

Asia Program, 2000), 128-9.

³⁷ Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Princes, Pretenders and the Chinese Phrakhläng', 115-20. The Chinese also became quickly rooted in the provincial bureaucracy in such places as Ligor.

³⁸ Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 66.

³⁹ Ibid. 65, 69.

⁴⁰ VOC 2718, Missive Gerrit Fek and Nicolaas Bang to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1747, fo. 39; *Generale missiven*, XI: 1743-1750, 29 Sept. 1747, 483-5; 31 Dec. 1747, 520. The VOC reported that four French warships helped fight the English and Portuguese pirates off Tenasserim in 1712, and subsequently their commander was rewarded by King Thaisa. In 1723, the French Director in Canton sent a ship with Chinese goods to Ayutthaya but had no success, according to the Dutch. VOC 1841, Missive Dirk Blom and Willem de Bevere to Batavia, 4 Jan. 1713, fos. 1-2; VOC 1996, Missive Van Alderwereld to Batavia, 20 Jan. 1723, fos. 17-18.

⁴¹ Anderson, *English Interchange*, 389-90.

⁴² VOC 1743, Missive Aarnout Cleur to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1706, fo. 33. In 1733, an embassy from the English Governor of Bengal arrived in Ayutthaya and failed to achieve anything. To make matters worse, opium—contraband in Siam—was found in the ambassador's ship. VOC 2286, Missive Sijen to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1733, fos. 43-5.

⁴³ VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 28 Jan. 1763, fo. 8; VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1764, fos. 19-21.

⁴⁴ The original Dutch text of the 1754 Treaty appears in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 20-2.

⁴⁵ In the eighteenth century, Banka in Sumatra became the most important source for tin for the VOC. See Gastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 124-6.

⁴⁶ VOC 3024, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 4 Dec. 1761, fos. 7-8.

⁴⁷ VOC 3125, *Generale missive*, 20 Oct. 1765, fos. 50^v-56^v.

⁴⁸ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 128; Antonio da Silva Rego, 'A Short Survey of Luso-Siamese Relations from 1511 to Modern Times', in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (ed.), *Thailand and Portugal: 476 Years of Friendship* (2nd ed., Bangkok: The Embassy of Portugal, 1987), 7-25, esp. 10.

⁴⁹ VOC 1075, Translaet van de missive van den coninck van Siam aen den gouverneur generaal [Translation of a letter [of the *Phrakhläng* in the name of] the King of Siam to the Governor-General], 5 Jan. 1622, fos. 218-9.

⁵⁰ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 8.

⁵¹ Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 101-2; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 122-4.

⁵² Smith, *The Dutch*, 112.

⁵³ Ibid. 18-20.

⁵⁴ VOC 1157, Journaelse aenteekening [Journal note] Reinier van Tzum, 17 May 1644, fo. 668^r.

⁵⁵ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 228-30.

⁵⁶ Smith, *The Dutch*, 29.

⁵⁷ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 338.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 233-4.

⁵⁹ In 1650, Van Goens, later Governor-General of the Indies (1678-81), was sent to Ayutthaya to investigate the financial problems which the former *Opperhoofd* Jan van Muijden (1646-50) had left behind and to take temporary charge of the office. He also presented the letters and gifts from Batavia to King Prasatthong and the *Phrakhläng*. Alfons van der Kraan, 'On Company Business: The Rijkloff van Goens Mission to Siam, 1650', *Itinerario*, 22/2 (1998), 42-84, esp. 74-5.

⁶⁰ VOC 1407, Memorie van Faa zaliger aan Keijts [Memorandum left by the late Faa to Keijts], 15 Jan. 1685, fo. 3215^{r-v}. Actually, Zheng Jing, the grandson and successor of Zheng Chenggong, had already been defeated in 1683.

⁶¹ For the tensions between the VOC and Siam concerning the Malay states during the 1680s, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 367-71.

⁶² Dhiravat, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict', 305.

⁶³ Van Goor also points out that, occasionally, China did send out low-ranking envoys,

or 'messengers of an imperial edict', with limited liberty to negotiate, and that Safavid Iran a few times sent envoys to Europe to seek support against the Ottoman Empire. Jurrien van Goor, 'Merchants as Diplomats: Embassies as an Illustration of European-Asian Relations', in id., *Prelude to Colonialism*, 27-47, esp. 45-7.

⁶⁴ Anthony Reid, 'Documenting the Rise and Fall of Ayudhaya as a Regional Trade Centre', in id., *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), 85-99, esp. 94.

⁶⁵ For a detailed study of this topic, see Suebsaeng Promboon, 'Sino-Siamese Tributary Relations, 1282-1853' (Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971).

⁶⁶ It should be remembered that Ayutthaya often had a 'shared sovereignty' over its vassal with a third party. For instance, Cambodia accepted the overlordship of both Siam and Vietnam. The Malay tributaries of Siam often sought help from the Dutch. Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (2nd ed., Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998), 85-8.

⁶⁷ Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 109.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 123-4.

⁶⁹ According to Van Vliet, Siam always treated Aceh as an equal power. Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 134.

⁷⁰ Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II, 234-5.

⁷¹ The first Siamese embassy to the Dutch Republic has been presented in Paul Pelliot, 'Les relations du Siam et de la Hollande en 1608', *T'oung Pao*, 32 (1936), 223-9; Duyvendak, 'The First Siamese Embassy to Holland'.

⁷² Since the seven Dutch provinces declared their independence from Spain in 1581, the Stadholders were 'appointed' by the States of the provinces and no longer by the Spanish King. Only in 1747 did the office become 'hereditary' but it was abolished in 1795 as a result of the French occupation.

⁷³ Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia: Historical Bonds with the House Orange-Nassau, 1600-1938* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1995), 'Chapter 1: The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands', 22-51, esp. 28, 30.

⁷⁴ Van Goor, 'Merchants as Diplomats', 32.

⁷⁵ M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London/New York: Longman, 1993), 60-1.

⁷⁶ Van Goor, 'Merchants as Diplomats', 38, 40.

⁷⁷ For example, King Phetracha asked for Dutch naval protection for Siamese junks in the Indian Ocean after one of his junks had been robbed by the English on its return journey from Masulipatam. His successor, King Sūa, made the same request. VOC 1623, Missive Gideon Tant to Batavia, 1698-9, fos. 59-60; Translation of a Missive *Phrakhleng* to Batavia, 6 Mar. 1699, fos. 56-60.

⁷⁸ VOC 2193, Dagregister Van Alderwereld, 3 June 1730, fo. 31; Translaet missive van het Siam's hof [Translation of a letter from the Siamese court], fos. 73-5.

⁷⁹ VOC 2438, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1738, fos. 20-1.

⁸⁰ VOC 1868, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 14 May 1715, fos. 40-5.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ See, for example, the instructions for the VOC employees of 1607 and 1617, in Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F. W. Stapel (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1927), I, 584-601. These instructions gave direction to the trade directors and assistants about how to administer such Company affairs as record- and bookkeeping, handling the VOC ships, and disciplining subordinates on the spot. The 1607 order was especially concerned with the behaviour of employees; for instance, it prohibited private trade, conversion to Asian religions, maintaining a luxurious life-style, and courtship with local women. The first and the last were difficult to prevent.

² For the ranks, titles, and insignia which the Dutch *Opperhoofd* usually received, see Smith, *The Dutch*, 106.

³ The *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang* were compiled and revised, on the basis of the surviving

laws of Ayutthaya, in 1805 at the behest of the founder of the Chakri Dynasty, King Rama I (r. 1782-1809).

⁴ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 280-5; Smith, *The Dutch*, 138-41 (English translation).

⁵ VOC 1945, Memorie door Blom aan zijn vervanger ter naricht gelaten [Instruction by (Wijbrand) Blom to his successor], 22 Dec. 1720, 30-92.

⁶ Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 100; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 112, 153-4.

⁷ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 164-5. Van Vliet's assertion that one-third of the inheritance went to the King was supported by Choisy, while Heecq emphasized the King's absolute power on matters concerning his subject's estates. Abbé de Choisy, *Journal of a Voyage to Siam 1685-1686*, tr. Michael Smithies (Kuala Lumpur, 1993), 190 (originally published in 1687); Gijsbert Heecq, 'Derde Voijagie van Gijsbert Heecq Naer Oost Indijen', ed. S. P. l'Honoré Naber, *Marineblad*, 25 (1910-11), 422-50, esp. 434.

⁸ VOC 1194, Missive Westerwolt to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1652, fo. 244r.

⁹ Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 100-1; see also Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 154. A person could prove his innocence by swallowing this charmed rice ball without spitting it out.

¹⁰ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 107; Nicholas Gervaise, *The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam*, tr. and ed. John Villiers (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998), 61. (Originally published in 1688.)

¹¹ These texts reflect the dominating concerns of Dutch law in Asia with such issues as inheritance, municipal order, control of trade, and private property. For detailed comments on the *Statutes of Batavia*, see Peter Burns, 'The Netherlands East Indies: Colonial Legal Policy and the Definitions of Law', in Hooker, M. B. (ed.), *Laws of South-East Asia*, II: *European Laws in South-East Asia* (Singapore: Butterworth, 1986), 148-298, esp. 195.

¹² For an overview of these Thai codes of law, see Yoneo Ishii, 'The Thai Thammasat (with a Note on the Lao Thammasat)', in Hooker, M. B. (ed.), *Laws of South-East Asia*, I: *The Pre-Modern Texts* (Singapore: Butterworth, 1986), 143-203. Ishii divides the content of traditional Thai law into public law and private law. The former includes the Preamble (*Phrathammasat*) which explains the authority of the law text; the king, bureaucracy, and administration; public order with emphasis on types of crime and punishment; and judicial process. The latter consisted of the legal categories of people; marriage and divorce; property; and obligations (damage caused to person or property; contract).

¹³ Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo: the Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities' (Diss., Leiden University, 1996), 197.

¹⁴ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 210-12.

¹⁵ Han ten Brummelhuis and John Kleinen, *A Dutch Picnic in Ayutthaya, 1636* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1984).

¹⁶ Van Vliet's manuscript in the form of a diary was first published as *Verbael ende Historisch verhael van 't gene den Vereenighde Oost-Indische Compagnies Dienaers, onder de directie van Jeremias van Vliet, in de Jaren 1636 ende 1637 bij den Koninck van Siam, in the Stadt Judia, wedervaren is. Vervatende de Absolute regeeringe ende strenge wetten der Siammers* [Report and Historical Account of the Events which Befell the Servants of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company, under the direction of Jeremias van Vliet in the City of Ayutthaya, in the Kingdom of Siam, in the Years 1636 and 1637. Containing an Account of the Absolute Government and Severe Laws of the Siamese] (Amsterdam: Jan Jansz, 1647). It has been translated into English as 'Diary of the Picnic Incident, 1636-7' with an introduction by Alfons van der Kraan, in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*, 37-88. [Hereafter: Van Vliet, 'Diary of the Picnic Incident'.]

¹⁷ Van Vliet, 'Diary of the Picnic Incident', 52-3; id., 'Description of Siam', 112.

¹⁸ Ten Brummelhuis and Kleinen, *A Dutch Picnic in Ayutthaya*, 14.

¹⁹ Van der Kraan, 'Introduction [to 'Diary of the Picnic Incident']', in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*, 38-9.

²⁰ Van Vliet, 'Diary of the Picnic Incident', 86-8.

²¹ For the text of this declaration, see Van Vliet, 'Diary of the Picnic Incident', 84. It is incorporated as 'Copie van de acte door den Siamschen coninck den coopman Jeremias van Vliet afgedrongen te passeren ende nae te coomen, 30 september [*sic*] 1636' [Engelse vertaling], in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I, 284-5.

²² Robert Lingat, 'La condition des étrangers au Siam au XVII^e siècle', in John Gilissen (ed.), *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, IX: *L'étranger* (Bruxelles: Editions de la librairie encyclopédique, 1958), 255-66, 262; Smith, *The Dutch*, 38; Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 38.

The extraterritoriality or the practice of the capitulation of certain rights to foreign subjects began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the northern Italian states acquired such a privilege for their subjects in the Levant. The Ottoman rulers extended the same concession to the subjects of the European powers in their realm, for example, to France in 1535 and to England in 1583. In 1612, the Dutch managed to secure the extraterritorial right in the Ottoman Empire. Despite the lack of reciprocity, the treaties of capitulation concluded in this period did not signify any Dutch and European dominance over the Turks. In return, the Ottoman Government expected, for example, from the English an active contribution towards the imperial army and navy. The capitulation was meant to be the foundation of the Dutch presence in the Empire and the Dutch collaboration against Spain.

²³ 'The Dutch-Thai Treaty of 1664', in Smith, *The Dutch*, 139.

²⁴ VOC 1415, Missive Johannes Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 896^r-897^v. See also Chapter Five, 133-4.

²⁵ For the text of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 10 December 1685, see L. de Reinach, *Recueil des traités conclus par la France en Extrême-Orient*, I: 1684-1902 (Paris: Leroux, 1902), 4-6; see also Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 346-7.

²⁶ For the text of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 11 December 1687, see Reinach, *Recueil des traités*, I, 8-13. Lingat regards this as a remarkable suggestion from the French side, an anticipation of the International Court. See Lingat, 'La condition des étrangers au Siam', 261-2.

²⁷ VOC 2193, Transport gedaen door het opperhoofd Rogier van Alderwereld aen zijn vervanger Pieter Sijen, 1731, fos. 203-6.

²⁸ Kees Zandvliet, 'Vestingbouw in de Oost', in Gerrit Knaap and Ger Teitler (eds.), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002), 151-80, esp. 167-70.

²⁹ Smith, *The Dutch*, 101; VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 10 July 1634, fo. 75^r; Missive Schouten to Batavia, 15 Nov. 1634, fo. 48^v; VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1763, fos. 12-14. Werndlij wrote that the isle remained dry, even when the neighbourhood stood three to four feet under water.

³⁰ Heecq, 'Derde Voijagie', 439-42.

³¹ Smith, *The Dutch*, 5.

³² VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 10 July 1634, fo. 75^r.

³³ Heecq, 'Derde Voijagie', 439 (this English translation is from Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 25); Gervaise, *The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam*, 48.

³⁴ VOC 1119, Dagregister Van Vliet, 6 Apr. 1636, fo. 1340^r.

³⁵ VOC 2239, Dagregister Sijen, 18 July 1732, fo. 60. For a report about the VOC's participation in the attempts to cure King Thaisa's cancer, see Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Last Year of King Thaisa's Reign: Data Concerning Politics and Society from the Dutch East India Company's Siam Factory *Dagregister* for 1732', in Winai Pongsripian (ed.), *khwan yokyon khong adeet/The Wilderness of the Past* (Bangkok, 1994), 125-45.

³⁶ Van der Kraan, 'The Rijckloff van Goens Mission to Siam', 68.

³⁷ VOC 1596, Missive Thomas van Son to Batavia, 8 Dec. 1697, fo. 57.

³⁸ VOC 1440, Missive Joannes Keijts to Batavia, 23 Nov. 1687, fo. 2256^{r-v}.

³⁹ Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'VOC Participation in Siamese Society during the Late Ayutthaya Period, 1688-1767', in id., *Court, Company, and Campong: Essays on the VOC Presence in Ayutthaya* (Ayutthaya: Ayutthaya Historical Study Centre, 1992), 44-62, esp. 46.

⁴⁰ Heecq, 'Derde Voijagie', 446. For example, the VOC used the local Portuguese to go upcountry—where the Dutch were not allowed to visit—to buy goods, for example deer-skins. VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 19 Sept. 1636, fo. 1303.

⁴¹ Smith, *The Dutch*, 101.

⁴² In order to keep peace with the host society and to save unnecessary costs, the VOC supported the missionary activity of the Dutch Reformed Church only to a limited extent. Clerics were appointed to reside and serve in major Dutch settlements, especially Batavia, and to convert the Asians who had been Roman Catholics as a result of earlier contact with the Portuguese, in particular in Ceylon and Ambon. An itinerant minister might visit other Dutch settlements in Asia only once in several years.

⁴³ VOC 1458, Dagregister Pieter van den Hoorn, 5 Mar. 1689, fo. 501^r.

⁴⁴ VOC 2193, Dagregister Van Alderwereld, 20 & 21 Nov. 1730, fos. 47-8; Dhiravat, 'VOC Participation in Siamese Society', 49. About René Charbonneau, see Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Towards a History of Seventeenth-Century Phuket', in Sunait Chutintaranond and Chris Baker (eds.), *Recalling the Pasts: Autonomous History in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002), 89-126, esp. 120-1.

⁴⁵ VOC 2286, Originele resolutie op 11 April 1732 rakende het huwelijk van de Barquir Paulus Scheper en de jonge dochter Maria Wens [Resolution concerning the marriage of Paulus Scheeper and Maria Wens], fo. 92.

⁴⁶ Smith, *The Dutch*, 111.

⁴⁷ VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fo. 68.

⁴⁸ Ibid., fo. 69.

⁴⁹ Ibid., fo. 73.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fos. 72-3; see also Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II, 90-3.

⁵¹ VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fo. 69.

⁵² Ibid., fos. 70-1.

⁵³ Ibid., fo. 75.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fo. 75.

⁵⁵ Ibid., fo. 69.

⁵⁶ Ibid., fos. 75-6.

⁵⁷ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 19 Jan. 1689, fo. 465^r.

⁵⁸ VOC 2239, Dagregister Sijen, 5 May 1732, fo. 39.

⁵⁹ 'The Dutch-Thai Treaty of 1664', in Smith, *The Dutch*, 139.

⁶⁰ VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fo. 69.

⁶¹ VOC 2051, Memorie van overgave van Cock aan Isaac Kleeman voor het Ligor-comptoir [Instruction by (Imel) Cock to Isaac Kleeman regarding the Ligor office], 24 Sept. 1726, fo. 79.

⁶² VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fo. 70.

⁶³ The case of the murder of De Vries is presented in Dhiravat, 'VOC Participation in Siamese Society', 57. VOC 1841, Missive Dirck Blom to Batavia, 15 Dec. 1713, fos. 29-30; Translaet vonnis van de Siamse Coning over de moordenaars van de matroos Jodocus de Vries [Translation of the verdict of the Siamese King on the murderers of the sailor Jodocus de Vries], 5 Feb. 1713, fos. 38-41.

⁶⁴ For instance, as early as 1621 Van Nijenrode had written that everyone had to step outside their houses to lie prostrate and pay homage to the King's procession, and whoever failed to do so incurred heavy punishment, even death. Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 181.

⁶⁵ VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fos. 91-2.

⁶⁶ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 19 Jan. 1689, fo. 467^{r-v}.

⁶⁷ Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Ayutthaya as a Cosmopolitan Society: A Case Study of Daniel Brochebourde and His Descendants', in id., *Court, Company, and Campong*, 25-43, esp. 37; Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 47.

⁶⁸ VOC 2193, Dagregister Van Alderwereld, 30 Nov.-3 Dec. 1731, fos. 180-3.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 25 & 26 June 1731, fos. 154-5.

⁷⁰ Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II, 71.

⁷¹ Dhiravat, 'Ayutthaya as a Cosmopolitan Society', 35-6.

⁷² Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'VOC Employees and their Relationships with Mon and Siamese Women: A Case Study of Osoet Pegua', in Barbara Watson Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Hawaii: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 2000), 195-214, esp. 209-11.

⁷³ Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*

(Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 43, 76.

⁷⁴ VOC 1456, Rapport Keijts, 14 Feb. 1689, fo. 2012^v.

⁷⁵ For example, VOC 1139, Journaelsche aenteeckeninge van den commissaris Jeremias van Vliet [Journal notes of Commissioner Jeremias van Vliet], 1 Nov. 1641, fo. 776^v; VOC 1362, Missive Faa to Batavia, 26 Dec. 1680, fo. 956^v.

⁷⁶ Dhiravat, 'VOC Employees and their Relationships with Mon and Siamese Women', 206-7.

⁷⁷ Dhiravat, 'Daniel Brochebourde and his Descendants', 35.

⁷⁸ Dhiravat, 'VOC Participation in Siamese Society', 54-6.

⁷⁹ Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 55.

⁸⁰ Smith, *The Dutch*, 102.

⁸¹ Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 65-70.

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¹ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 178. All English quotations are from the translation by Han ten Brummelhuis (forthcoming, Silkworm Books) which is based on the manuscript kept at Het Utrechts Archief, Archief Hilten. Van Nijenrode served in Ayutthaya in 1611-12 and as the director there in 1617-21. For biographical details, see Leonard Blussé, *Bitter Bonds: A Colonial Divorce Drama of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2002), 29-34.

² Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 181, 188. The part 'whether English, Portuguese or Moors' which appears in the manuscript was left out of the 1854 publication.

³ In the seventeenth century, it was repeatedly reprinted in Dutch, and translated into German, French, English, Latin, and Swedish. For bibliographical details, see Smith, *The Dutch*, 188; and Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, III: 1174. For Schouten's biography, see *Generale missiven* I: 1610-1638, 370 n. 4; Boxer, *A True Description*, 139-43; and Leonard Blussé, 'Justus Schouten en de Japanse gijzeling', in *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen*, Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 5 (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1984), 69-74.

⁴ Van Vliet composed his first account 'Description of Siam' in 1638 (first published in 1692). In February 1640, he produced the second account *Cort Verhael van 't naturel eijnde der volbrachter tijt ende successie der Coningen van Siam, voor sooveel daer bij d'oude historien bekend sijn* [Short history of occurrences in the past and the succession of the Kings of Siam as far as is known from the old histories]. It appeared as *The Short History of the Kings of Siam by Jeremias van Vliet*, tr. Leonard Andaya, ed. David K. Wyatt (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1975). [Hereafter: Van Vliet, 'The Short History'.] In December 1640 the third work followed: *Historiael Verhael der Sieckte ende Doot van Pra Interra-Tsia, 22en Coninck in Siam, ende den Regherenden Coninck Pra Ongh Srij* [Historical Account of the Illness and Death of Pra Interra-Tsia, 22nd King of Siam, and of the Ruling King Pra Ongh Srij]. Its French version of 1663, on which the English translation by W. H. Mundie published in 1904 and 1938 was based, was incomplete and inaccurate. The new translation based on the complete Dutch manuscript by Alfons van der Kraan appeared as 'Historical Account of King Prasat Thong'. [Hereafter: Van Vliet, 'Historical Account'.] These three accounts and their bibliographical details are included in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*. All references are from this edition.

⁵ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 103.

⁶ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 30 Sept. 1636, fo. 1312.

⁷ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 188-9; Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 17.

⁸ VOC 1098, Wijtloopich verhael in hoedaeniger wijze de missive en de geschencken van de doorluchtichsten prince van Orangien aen den coninck van Chiam in den jare 1628 behandicht ende overgelevert zijn door Joost Schouten [Discursive narrative of the way in which the missive and gifts from the Most Serene Prince of Orange have been presented to the King of Siam by Joost Schouten in 1628], 1 Feb. 1629, fo. 24^r.

⁹ For King Songtham's request, see Smith, *The Dutch*, 17-18.

¹⁰ According to Schouten, the Governor of Bangkok was one of the most prominent grandees in Siam and son of the 'former king' of Phatthalung (Bourdelong in Dutch sources). He was married to the sole heiress of Patani but had been driven away from there by political dissension and jealousy. According to the royal chronicle of Patani, Kuning, the daughter of Queen Ungu, had been married to a Siamese nobleman, Okphraya Decha, believed to be from Nakhon Si Thammarat, who later abandoned her. With her mother's consent, Kuning later married the Sultan of Johor. See Andries Teeuw and David K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani, The Story of Patani* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), II, 179-82.

¹¹ VOC 1098, Wijtloopich verhael ... Schouten, 1628, fos. 22^v-23^r.

¹² Ibid., fo. 24^v.

¹³ Ibid., fo. 25^{r-v}.

¹⁴ Ibid., fo. 26^{r-v}.

¹⁵ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 181.

¹⁶ VOC 1098, Wijtloopich verhael ... Schouten, 1628, fo. 27^{r-v}.

¹⁷ Ibid., fos. 28^r-31^v.

¹⁸ VOC 1113, Cort verhael over de voijagie naer Jambij ende Chijam alsmede van de overleveringe der missive ende gesonden schenckagie van den prince van Orangien aen den coninck van Chijam in den jaere 1633 binnen de conincklijke hoofdstadt Judia, wel ende behoorlijck geeffectueert door den commandeur Jan Joosten de Roij [Short account of the voyage to Jambi and Siam, also of the presentation of the missive and the gifts sent by the Prince of Orange to the King of Siam in the year 1633 in the royal capital Ayutthaya, well and properly executed by Commander Jan Joosten de Roij], fos. 452^v, 453^{r-v}.

¹⁹ Ibid., fo. 454^v.

²⁰ In another capacity, Okphra Ratchamontri was a quartermaster in charge of the Portuguese. Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 149. The holder of this title was also mentioned as *syabbandar* in other VOC records.

²¹ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... De Roij, 1633, fo. 456^v.

²² Ibid., fo. 457^v.

²³ Ibid., fos. 457^v-458^r.

²⁴ Ibid., fo. 464^r. De Roij also noted that even prominent noblemen like the *Phrakhleng* had to attend an elephant of the King when it was ill.

²⁵ Ibid., fo. 460^v.

²⁶ Ibid., fos. 458^v, 460^v.

²⁷ Ibid., fo. 462^r; Reid, *Age of Commerce*, I, 44.

²⁸ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... De Roij, 1633, fo. 457^r. The official, diplomatic relations between Ayutthaya and Japan only began in 1606 and were conducted between the Thai Kings and the Shoguns. See Yoko Nagazumi, 'Ayutthaya and Japan: Embassies and Trade in the Seventeenth Century', in Breazeale (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia*, 79-103. In 1636, Schouten wrote that the missive from the Prince of Orange was stored alongside the letters from the Emperor of China and the King of Pegu.

²⁹ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... De Roij, 1633, fo. 467^r.

³⁰ VOC 1113, Translaet missive bij sijne majesteijt van Siam aen den doorluchtigen prince van Orangien geschreven [Translated missive from His Majesty the King of Siam to the Serene Prince of Orange], 28 Oct. 1633, fo. 368^r; Translaet missive van den stadthouder van den Oija Berckelengh aen den gouverneur generael Brouwer [Translated missive from the *Phrakhleng* to Governor-General Brouwer], 31 Jan. 1634, fo. 369^r; Cort verhael ... De Roij, 1633, fo. 463^r.

³¹ VOC 1109, Journaelse aenteijckeninghe Schouten, 28 Sept. 1633, fo. 48^v; VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 26 Sept. 1636, fo. 1308.

³² VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 2 Oct. 1636, fo. 1313. Schouten's appearance before King Prasatthong in 1636 is described in Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 114-15.

³³ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 2 Oct. 1636, fo. 1313.

³⁴ Ibid., 28 Sept. 1636, fos. 1311-12; 2 Oct., fo. 1314; 5 Oct., fo. 1317. The citations of Van Diemen's letter of 12 August 1636 are from Van der Kraan, 'Introduction [to 'Diary of the Picnic Incident']', 39.

³⁵ VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 20 Feb. 1635, fo. 131^r.

³⁶ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 10 Nov. 1636, fo. 1336.

³⁷ Ibid., 13 Nov. 1636, fo. 1337; *Generale missiven*, I: 1610-1638, 28 Dec. 1636, 591.

³⁸ VOC 1119, Missive Schouten to Batavia, 14 Nov. 1636, fo. 1262^v.

³⁹ Van der Kraan, 'Introduction [to 'Diary of the Picnic Incident']', 38-9. *See also* Chapter Two, 39.

⁴⁰ VOC 862, Missive Batavia to King Prasatthong, 23 Aug. 1638, and Missive Batavia to *Phrakhlung*, 23 Aug. 1638.

⁴¹ VOC 1139, Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1641, fo. 760^r.

⁴² VOC 1139, Journaelsche aenteeckeninge Van Vliet, 768^v; VOC 1139, Resolutie van de Raad (Ayutthaya) [Council resolution], 13 Apr.-10 Oct. 1641, fo. 737^v; Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1641, fos. 760^v-761^r.

⁴³ VOC 865, Missive Prince Frederick Henry to King Prasatthong, 16 Dec. 1640.

⁴⁴ VOC 1139, Journaelsche aenteeckeninge Van Vliet, 29 Oct. 1641, fos. 774^v-776^r.

⁴⁵ VOC 1139, Rapport van den commissaris Jeremias van Vliet aengaende zijn bevin-
dinge in Siam ende bocht van Pattany [Report of Commissioner Jeremias van Vliet
regarding his mission in Siam and the Bay of Patani], Van Vliet, 28 May 1642, fo. 795^v;
Missive Van Tzum to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1641, fo. 726^{r-v}. The other gifts from King
Prasatthong to the Governor-General consisted of a Siamese gold water flagon, velvet, and
Chinese gold *laken*.

⁴⁶ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 11 July 1637, fos. 621^r-623^r.

⁴⁷ VOC 1139, Rapport Van Vliet, 28 May 1642, fos. 794^v-795^r.

⁴⁸ VOC 1139, Rapport Van Vliet, 28 May 1642, fos. 804^r-805^r.

⁴⁹ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 21 Sept. 1639, fo. 945; 25 Sept. 1639, fo. 946.
This demand clearly troubled both the VOC employees in Ayutthaya and the Siamese
courtiers who knew the court protocol. The former only feebly tried to convince the lat-
ter by saying that it was common for Asian rulers to write to the Governor-General them-
selves.

⁵⁰ Reinier Hesselink suggests that changes in the VOC's diplomatic conduct in relation
to Japan can be seen in the following instances. In response to the forced relocation of the
VOC factory from Hirado to Nagasaki in 1641 and its concomitant restrictions, Van
Diemen's letter of 1642 practically gave the Japanese authorities an ultimatum to restore
Dutch privileges (or the Dutch would stop coming) and demanded a concrete reply to it.
Another occasion concerned the Shogun's desire that a real ambassador be sent from
Holland to come and thank him on behalf of the 'King of Holland' for the good treat-
ment and release of Dutch shipwreck victims held as prisoners in Japan. To avoid the cost
of preparing an embassy from Holland, Van Diemen's successor, Cornelis van der Lijn
(1645-50), in 1649 sent a bogus ambassador who died on board before reaching Japan.
The ambassador's replacement carried out the mission to the shogunal court in 1650. *See*
Reinier H. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth-*
Century Japanese Diplomacy (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 127-9, 142-5.

⁵¹ VOC 1067, Missive Van Nijenrode to Kamer Amsterdam, 20 Sept. 1617, fo. 121^{r-v}.

⁵² Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 138-9.

⁵³ VOC 1118, Dagregister Van Vliet, 16-18 Feb. 1634, fo. 55^{r-v}; Nagazumi, 'Ayutthaya
and Japan', 93-5.

⁵⁴ Van Vliet reported the arrivals in Ayutthaya of two embassies from 'Pegu' in 1637 and
1639. His use of 'Pegu' is rather confusing in both the Company report and in his
'Description of Siam'. He wrote that the embassy of 1639 was sent by the 'Ava Emperor
in Pegu'; for the rest of the report he used 'Pegu' and 'Peguan' to describe the embassy and
its ambassador. According to established knowledge, King Thalun (1629-48) left Pegu and
made Ava his royal capital in 1635. Van Vliet's explanation of the purpose of the 1637
embassy is confusing too. To avoid even more confusion, I present the information accord-
ing to Van Vliet and leave its accuracy to further debate.

⁵⁵ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 17-19 March 1639, fos. 858-9.

⁵⁶ Victor Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, 1580-1760*
(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 55-6.

⁵⁷ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 25 May 1637, fos. 609^v-610^r; 18 June 1637, fo.

616^r; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 126.

⁵⁸ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 24 Mar. 1639, fos. 861-2.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 22 Mar. 1639, fo. 860.

⁶⁰ Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 24-6, 53-6.

⁶¹ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 26 Mar. 1639, fos. 862-3; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 134-6.

⁶² VOC 1098, Wijtloopich verhael ... Schouten, 1628, fos. 25^v, 27^v.

⁶³ VOC 1119, Dagregister Van Vliet, 22 Aug. 1636, fo. 1371. According to Van Vliet, although Ceylonese elephants were supposed to be easier to obtain and cheaper, Bengal could not procure them because the King of Kandy would not give his consent for the export of these animals as long as his kingdom was at war with the Portuguese.

⁶⁴ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 29 Mar. 1639, fo. 863. Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 143-4.

⁶⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993), 164.

⁶⁶ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 19 Sept. 1636, fo. 1302.

⁶⁷ VOC 1119, Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 13 Nov. 1636, fo. 1287.

⁶⁸ Antonio da Silva Rego, 'A Short Survey of Luso-Siamese Relations from 1511 to Modern Times', in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (ed.), *Thailand and Portugal: 476 Years of Friendship* (2nd ed. Bangkok: The Embassy of Portugal, 1987), 7-25, esp. 10; P. Manuel Teixeira, *Portugal na Tailândia* (Macao: Imprensa Nacional de Macau 1983), 139-40.

⁶⁹ I have identified his name with the help of Rego, 'Luso-Siamese Relations', 10; and Teixeira, *Portugal na Tailândia*, 139-40.

⁷⁰ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 17 Apr. 1639, fos. 869-70.

⁷¹ The name of the Franciscan father, which is not mentioned in the Dutch account, is Fr António de S. Domingos. See Teixeira, *Portugal na Tailândia*, 139.

⁷² Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 109; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 129.

⁷³ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 17 May 1639, fo. 882.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 19 May 1639, fos. 886-7.

⁷⁵ In 1636, the Shogunate, which was, instead of the Emperor, the real power in Japan, forced the Portuguese to move from Nagasaki to Deshima and kept them under strict surveillance. Later, it asked the VOC for naval help to attack Macao and Manila. The Dutch instead assisted it in suppressing the Christian-inspired Shimabara Revolt. The revolt confirmed the perceived threat presented by the local Christians and the Portuguese in the way of thinking of the Japanese authority. On 4 August 1639, the Japanese embargo on trading with Portuguese Macao was declared.

⁷⁶ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 19 May 1639, fos. 887-90.

⁷⁷ Ibid., fos. 890-1.

⁷⁸ Ibid., fo. 891.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 24 May 1639, fos. 898-9.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 30 May 1639, fos. 902-3.

⁸¹ Van Vliet, 'Short History', 243; id., 'Historical Account', 321.

⁸² VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 7 June 1639, fo. 910.

⁸³ Ibid., 13 June 1639, fos. 912-13.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 23 June 1639, fo. 917; 29 June 1639, fo. 919; Rego, 'Luso-Siamese Relations', 10; Teixeira, *Portugal na Tailândia*, 139-40.

⁸⁵ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 19 July 1639, fo. 925.

⁸⁶ For instance, the Dutch reported that practising Roman Catholicism in Siam was prohibited for a certain period to anyone who did not belong to the Portuguese community. VOC 1139, Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 4 Nov. 1641, fo. 748^r.

⁸⁷ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 6 Nov. 1636, fo. 1332.

⁸⁸ King Prasatthong treated the Mon refugees well, putting them under the supervision of chiefs of their own nationality and giving them a good settlement site. Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 125-6.

⁸⁹ VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 27 June 1634, fo. 74^v; 19 July, fo. 75^v; 28 July, fo. 76^r; 28 Sept., fo. 78^r; 2 Oct., fo. 78^r; 10, 14 & 16 Oct., fos. 78^v-79^v; 2 Nov., fo. 79^v.

⁹⁰ Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 98-9; Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 85; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 117. Van Vliet estimated a lower number of the participants but confirmed Schouten's impression.

⁹¹ VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 22 Oct. 1636, fos. 1323-4; *see also* Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 117, 119.

⁹² VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 12 Aug. 1637, fo. 629^{r-v}.

⁹³ VOC 1139, Dagregister Van Vliet, 26 Oct. 1641, fo. 774^v.

⁹⁴ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 19 Aug. 1637, fos. 630^r-631^r.

⁹⁵ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 156; *id.*, 'Short History', 243, 244.

⁹⁶ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 19 Aug. 1637, fo. 630^v.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 Aug. 1637, fo. 631^r.

⁹⁸ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 182, 188.

⁹⁹ Choisy, *Journal of a Voyage to Siam*, 174-5.

¹⁰⁰ For Prasatthong's millennium crisis, *see* Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 198-200.

¹⁰¹ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 16 Apr. 1639, fos. 868-9.

¹⁰² Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 98; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 117.

¹⁰³ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 29 Aug. 1637, fo. 633^r.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 181; Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 98; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 112-13, 117.

² Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 97.

³ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 107.

⁴ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 114 (citation); *id.*, 'Short History', 196, 234.

⁵ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 182, 188; Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 109-10.

⁶ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 112, 145.

⁷ VOC 1119, Dagregister Van Vliet, 28 Mar. 1636, fo. 1340^{r-v}.

⁸ VOC 1127, Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1638, fos. 301^r, 303^r.

⁹ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 20 Sept. 1637, fo. 635^v.

¹⁰ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... De Roi, 1633, fo. 465^v.

¹¹ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 22 Sept. 1637, fo. 636^r; Van Vliet, 'Short History', 243; *id.*, 'Description of Siam', 114, 146-7.

¹² VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 6 May 1637, fo. 603^v.

¹³ VOC 1139, Missive Van Vliet and Reinier van Tzum to Joan van Twist, Governor of Malacca, 22 Oct. 1641, fos. 756^v-757^r.

¹⁴ Van Nijenrode, 'Remonstrantie', 189; Schouten, 'Description of Siam', 100; Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 259.

¹⁵ VOC 1132, Verhael van d'onwettige, erchlistige, ende geweldige successie der Coningen in Siam, Schouten, 1639, fos. 483-9.

¹⁶ For an analysis of the plot of 'Historical Account', *see* Dhiravat na Pombejra and Chris Baker, 'Introduction [to Van Vliet's 'Historical Account']', in Van Vliet, *Van Vliet's Siam*, 247-54, esp. 250-1.

¹⁷ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', "Chapter 1: The Usurpation of the Throne, 1628-1629", 121-52.

¹⁸ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fo. 483.

¹⁹ Yamada Nagamasa, born around 1590 in present-day Shizuoka, arrived in Ayutthaya in 1612. By 1621, he became one of the heads of the Japanese community there and entered royal service. Schouten did not mention this person but only the Japanese guards (in passing).

²⁰ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fo. 483; Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 259.

²¹ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fo. 483.

²² Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 262-5.

²³ *Ibid.* 265.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 269, 271-3.

²⁵ Ibid. 272-3.

²⁶ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fos. 485-6; Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 280-1.

²⁷ Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 299.

²⁸ The *Wangna* Prince or the *Uparat* was mostly understood to be the heir-apparent; however, it was not always so in reality. Dutch records of the later period often mention the holder of this office as the 'Crown Prince' (*kroonprins*).

²⁹ Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 300-1.

³⁰ Ibid. 304-7.

³¹ Okya Phitsanulok himself told Van Vliet the story about the white elephants, which the latter put down in his writing. Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 176.

³² VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fos. 488-9; Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 315-18.

³³ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fo. 487.

³⁴ Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 312.

³⁵ VOC 1157, Dagregister Van Tzum, 9 June 1644. Cited in Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Thasai Prince's Rebellion of 1642: A Forgotten Event in Ayutthayan History', in *Dedication to Her Royal Highness Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra on Her 80th Birthday* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2003), 145-52, esp. 151.

³⁶ VOC 1132, Verhael ... Schouten, 1639, fo. 489; Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 321. Van Vliet wrote: 'The events I have related show how this King, through crafty plots and many murders, has succeeded in usurping the Crown, and how after having acquired that Crown illegally, he shed a great deal of blood to confirm his possession of it. Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that in matters relating to government and well-being of his Kingdom, His Majesty has been a wise, careful, and mighty Prince, who has possessed his Kingdom in prosperity and peace.' The main difference is: in the original signed by the author himself, Schouten used the word 'moderate' (*matich*, or *matig* in modern Dutch), while Van Vliet, according to Van der Kraan's translation based on the transcription by Seichi Iwao in 1958, used the word 'mighty' which is *machtig* in Dutch.

³⁷ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 116; *Generale missiven*, II: 1639-1655, 18 Dec. 1639, 79.

³⁸ Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 321-2.

³⁹ Sombat Chantornwong, 'khamson thang kanmuang khong van Vliet rue withesobai khong prachao prasatthong [Van Vliet's political teaching or foreign policy of King Prasatthong]', *warasan thammasat* [Journal of Thammasat University], 6-1 (1976), 71-118. The author shows that Van Vliet's 'Historical Account' follows the tenor in Machiavelli's writings.

⁴⁰ See Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 22-4; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 176-85; Smith, *The Dutch*, 26-7; see also Chapter One, 27.

⁴¹ VOC 1113, Bedencking over 't versoeck des Conincx van Siam, om d'assistentie eeniger scheepsmacht tot conquete van Patany [Consideration of the King of Siam's request for naval assistance to conquer Patani], Schouten, 9 May 1634, fos. 486^r-490^r.

⁴² VOC 1113, Bedencking ... Schouten, 1634, fo. 487^{r-v}. On this point, Van Vliet listed in detail how the Dutch-Siamese alliance had been of assistance to each other in the past. See Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 130.

⁴³ Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 33.

⁴⁴ VOC 1113, Bedencking ... Schouten, 1634, fo. 489^v.

⁴⁵ Patani asked Prasatthong's brother, the *Phrakhleng*, and the prominent monks of Wat Mahathat and 'Wat Deun' to help it reconcile itself with the King. ('Wad Deun' is either Wat Doem (now known as Wat Ayotthya) or Wat Phutthaisawan. See the explanation in *Van Vliet's Siam*, 120 n. 67.) Its tributary mission arrived in Ayutthaya in September 1637, after Queen Ungu's death. VOC 1119, Dagregister Van Vliet, 23 Mar. 1636, fo. 1340^r; 6 Aug. 1636, fo. 1361^v; VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 18 Sept. 1636, fo. 635^v; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 132.

⁴⁶ VOC 1113, Instructie Schouten aan Van Vliet [Instructions by Schouten to Van Vliet], 4 Feb. 1634, fo. 419^v.

⁴⁷ VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 6 Mar. 1635, fo. 131^r.

- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 28 Oct. 1634, fo. 79^v.
⁴⁹ Ibid., 25 Sept. 1634, fo. 77^v.
⁵⁰ VOC 1113, Dagregister Schouten, 11 Jan. 1634, fo. 443^v.
⁵¹ VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 15 June 1634, fo. 73^r.
⁵² Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 107, 146 (citation).
⁵³ Ibid. 148.
⁵⁴ VOC 1113, Instructie Schouten aan Van Vliet, 4 Feb. 1634, fo. 419^v.
⁵⁵ VOC 1139, Rapport Van Vliet, 1641-2, fo. 793^v.
⁵⁶ VOC 1105, Schriftelijk rapport van seker besendinge gedaen met vyff scheepen en jachten zoo op negotien als tot affbreuck van onse algemeyne vyanden alsmede om onse missive en medegegeven presenten van d' Ed. heer generael aende Coninginne van Patani ende Coninck van Chiam te presentieren [Written report of the sending of five ships and yachts for trading and fighting our enemies as well as to present our missive and presents given by the Honourable General to the Queen of Patani and the King of Siam], Antonij Caen, 1632, fo. 276^r.
⁵⁷ VOC 1105, Schriftelijk rapport ... Caen, 1632, fo. 274^{r-v}.
⁵⁸ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... De Roij, 1633, fo. 466^{r-v}.
⁵⁹ VOC 1113, Dagregister Schouten, 2, 17 & 18 Jan. 1634, fos. 442^r-444^v.
⁶⁰ VOC 1219, Rapport van Westerwolt aan Gouverneur-Generaal wegen den toestand van 's Compagnies negotie in Siam sedert 26 februari 1656 [Report by Westerwolt to the Governor General concerning the state of the Company's trade in Siam since 26 February 1656], 16 Nov. 1656, fos. 811^r-812^r.
⁶¹ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 148-9.
⁶² VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 11 July 1637, fos. 621^r-623^r.
⁶³ VOC 1118, Dagregister Van Vliet, 26 Apr. 1634, fo. 64^v.
⁶⁴ VOC 1216, Missive Westerwolt to Batavia, 16 Feb. 1656, fo. 393^r.
⁶⁵ VOC 1113, Dagregister Schouten, 22 Dec. 1633, fos. 389^v-390^v. For Van Meerwijk's case, see Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 21.
⁶⁶ VOC 1118, Dagregister Schouten, 26 July 1634, fo. 75^r.
⁶⁷ VOC 1113, Rapport Schouten, 6 Apr. 1634, fo. 431^v.
⁶⁸ VOC 1118, Dagregister Van Vliet, 14 Mar. 1634, fo. 59^v.
⁶⁹ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 1 Mar. 1639, fo. 855.
⁷⁰ Ibid., 13 Mar. 1639, fo. 858.
⁷¹ Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 116.
⁷² VOC 1139, Rapport Van Vliet, 28 May 1642, fo. 790^r.
⁷³ VOC 1113, Missive Van Vliet to Batavia, 4 Feb. 1634, fo. 412^{r-v}.
⁷⁴ VOC 1113, Dagregister Schouten, 16 Jan. 1634, fo. 444^r.
⁷⁵ VOC 1118, Dagregister Van Vliet, 29 Mar. 1634, fo. 61^r.
⁷⁶ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 21 Oct. 1637, fo. 641^r.
⁷⁷ VOC 1131, Dagregister Van Vliet, 25 Feb. 1639, fo. 852.
⁷⁸ VOC 1125, Dagregister Van Vliet, 9 May 1637, fo. 604^v.
⁷⁹ VOC 1119, Dagregister Van Vliet, 8 June 1636, fo. 1361^r.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹ VOC 1175, Rapport Van Goens, 8 Jan. 1651, fos. 348^v-349^r; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 248-9.

² Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 'Chapter 4: Conflict among the Princes, 1650-1657', 248-82; Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Accession of King Narai according to Dutch Sources', paper given at the Seminar *Crossroad of Thai-Dutch History*, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 9-11 September 2004.

³ The 1657 conspiracy is mentioned in VOC 1223, Missive Van Rijck to Batavia, 22 Feb. 1657, fo. 806^v; *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, tr. Richard D. Cushman, ed. David K. Wyatt (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2000), 235-43; see also Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 310. The conspiracy of 1670 to replace King Narai with his half-brother involved not only prominent officials but also some women who served as mes-

sengers and some monks who gave the plotters their blessing. VOC 1278, Missive N. de Roij to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1670, fos. 1882^v-1883^r.

⁴ VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fos. 815^v-816^r.

⁵ Ibid., fos. 815^v, 818^{r-v}.

⁶ VOC 1113, Cort verhael ... J. J. de Roij, fo. 457^v; VOC 1119, Dagregister Schouten, 4 Oct. 1636, fo. 1316; VOC 1157, Journaelse aenteekening Van Tzum, 18 & 19 Mar. 1644, fos. 660^v-661^r.

⁷ The Thai chronicles and Gervaise explain that Sisuthammaracha wanted to take a 'uterine sister' of Narai as his wife and thereby offended the Prince who considered his uncle's passion for his sister improper. In view of the fact that Narai himself later made one of his half-sisters his queen, the conflict between him and his uncle had rather a political than a moral cause. *The Ship of Sulaiman*, an account written by a member of the Persian embassy to Siam in 1685, suggests that this conflict arose from Narai's political ambitions. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 228; Gervaise, *History of Siam*, 158; Muhammad Rabi Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, tr. John O'Kane (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 94-7; for an analysis of the conflict between Narai and Sisuthammaracha, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 260-7.

⁸ Thai chronicles mention the help from the Javanese, the Cham, the Japanese, and the Mon. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 363-4, 366-8. *The Ship of Sulaiman* (95) claims that the Persians and 'Mughals' (probably Indian Muslims) made a significant contribution to Narai's victory. Gervaise (158) mentioned Portuguese aid.

⁹ VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fo. 805^v.

¹⁰ This explains not only why foreign forces were needed in times of troubles but also why foreign groups, who were allowed to be armed perhaps because they were maritime traders, sometimes made a bold and almost successful attempt to attack the royal palace, as did the Japanese during King Songtham's reign in 1611-12, the Makassarese in 1686, and the Chinese in 1733.

¹¹ VOC 1216, Missive Westerwolt to Batavia, 16 Feb. 1656, fo. 394^{r-v}.

¹² VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fo. 810^v.

¹³ Ibid., fo. 824^v.

¹⁴ VOC 1223, Missive Van Rijck to Batavia, 8 Jan. 1657, fo. 787^v.

¹⁵ Ibid., fos. 793^v-795^r.

¹⁶ No Dutch report is available on the Makassarese uprising. The Makassarese plotted to replace King Narai with one of his brothers who was supposed to embrace Islam but failed to do so. For an analysis of the event, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 405-10; Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 396-401; Michael Smithies, 'Accounts of the Makassar Revolt, 1686', *JSS* 90/1&2 (2003), 73-100.

¹⁷ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 326.

¹⁸ Ibid. 290; VOC 1236, Missive Van Rijck to Batavia, 25 Feb. 1661, fo. 145.

¹⁹ VOC 1290, Rapport Nicolaas de Roij, 20 Nov. 1672, fo. 245^r.

²⁰ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 326.

²¹ VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fo. 813^v.

²² For a detailed study of King Narai's war efforts, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 'Chapter 5: Expansion and Conflicts, 1658-1672', 284-319.

²³ VOC 1278, Missive N. de Roij to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1670, fos. 1876^r-1879^r. For the tin trade at Phuket, see Dhiravat, 'Towards a History of Seventeenth-Century Phuket'.

²⁴ *Generale missiven*, III: 1655-1674, 31 Jan. 1673, 869; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 312-13.

²⁵ VOC 1278, Missive N. de Roij to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1670, fos. 1876^r-1879^r.

²⁶ Dhiravat, 'Crown Trade and Court Politics', 140.

²⁷ VOC 1278, Missive N. de Roij to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1670, fo. 1880^r.

²⁸ VOC 1290, Rapport N. de Roij, 20 Nov. 1672, fo. 258^r. Aqa Muhammad was originally from Astarabad. About this person, see Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 98-103; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 326-7.

²⁹ VOC 1339, Instructie Dirk de Jongh aan Aernout Faa [Instructions by Dirk De Jongh to Aarnout Faa], 10 Dec. 1678, fo. 476^{r-v}.

³⁰ De Bèze, *1688 Revolution in Siam*, 10-16.

³¹ VOC 1386, Missive Faa to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1684, fos. 652^v-653^r.

³² VOC 1175, Rapport Van Goens, 8 Jan. 1650, fo. 348^v.

³³ A short but detailed study of this subject is Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Okya Sombattiban and the VOC, c. 1648-1656', in id., *Court, Company and Campong*, 9-24, esp. 21.

³⁴ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 290; *Generale missiven*, III: 1655-1674, 26 Jan. 1660, 327-8.

³⁵ VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fos. 812^{r-v}, 813^v.

³⁶ Nidhi, *kanmuang thai samai phra narai*, 24-53.

³⁷ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 350-3.

³⁸ The *Société des Missions Étrangères* was founded in 1659 under the auspices of the French Church and with the Pope's sanction with the primary purpose of training indigenous clergy in East Asia (the southern and north-eastern provinces of China and the states of so-called 'Further India', namely Korea, Laos, Cochín China, Tonkin, and Annam). Up till then, the Archbishopric of Goa (first established in 1534) had been claiming, under the terms of the *Padroado real* (royal patronage system), exclusive jurisdiction over all priests working in Asia; this in effect subverted the papal authority. The post-Reformation papacy, which also aimed at promoting Christian missions overseas (in which the Portuguese patronage had not been successful), created in 1622 the *Propaganda Fide* (Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) to co-ordinate missionary work around the world and to end the national patronage system and develop indigenous churches answering directly to Rome.

³⁹ For a discussion about the strategy and the mistakes of the *Missions Étrangères* in Ayutthaya, see Ronald S. Love, 'Monarchs, Merchants, and Missionaries in Early Modern Asia: The Missions Étrangères in Siam, 1662-1684', *The International History Review*, XXI/1 (March 1999), 1-27, esp. 9-10, 11-12.

⁴⁰ Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 10.

⁴¹ VOC 1219, Rapport Westerwolt, 16 Nov. 1656, fos. 827^v-828^r.

⁴² VOC 1304, Missive Johannes van der Spijck to Batavia, 5 Aug. & 20 Nov. 1674, fo. 22^r; VOC 1311, Missive Van der Spijck to Batavia, 10 Dec. 1674, fo. 297; VOC 1314, Missive Van der Spijck to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1675, fo. 14^v.

⁴³ There are several, but unsatisfactory, biographies of Constantine Phaulkon. For comments on this point and a short survey of Phaulkon's life and career, see Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 'Chapter 3: Phaulkon, the Greek Favourite', 193-204.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 201.

⁴⁵ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 909^v-910^r.

⁴⁶ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 348-9; for an analysis of Phaulkon's intermediary function, see Jurrien van Goor, 'Merchants in Royal Service: Constant Phaulkon as Phraklang in Ayutthaya, 1683-1688', in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 445-65.

⁴⁷ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 357-8; De Bèze, *1688 Revolution in Siam*, 17; VOC 1386, Missive Faa to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1684, fos. 652^v-653^r. Okya Wang's father had been an interpreter for the Dutch.

⁴⁸ VOC 1377, Missive Faa to Batavia, 27 Jan. 1682, fo. 528^v.

⁴⁹ VOC 1407, Memorie Faa zaliger aan Keijts [Memorandum from the late Faa to Keijts], 15 Jan. 1685, fo. 3218^r.

⁵⁰ Van Goor, 'Merchants in Royal Service', 458.

⁵¹ VOC 1386, Missive Faa to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1684, fos. 658^v-659^r. Charles II sent Phaulkon an autograph letter acknowledging the presents. See Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 127.

⁵² For this episode, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 410-16.

⁵³ Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 98-9.

⁵⁴ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fo. 909^r; *Generale missiven*, IV: 1675-1685, 18 Mar. 1685, 786.

⁵⁵ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fo. 916^r. De Choisy described the first celebration, on 1 November 1685, as being accompanied by Siamese, Chinese and Peguan performances, and that the second event, on 4 and 5 November 1685, had a

fireworks display. De Choisy, *Journal of a Voyage to Siam*, 178, 180-1.

⁵⁶ Claude Count de Forbin and six Jesuits came to Siam with the first French embassy to King Narai's court under the leadership of the Chevalier De Chaumont in 1685.

⁵⁷ See Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 224-8.

⁵⁸ VOC 1415, Rapport Keijts, 6 Feb. 1686, fos. 932^v-933^r.

⁵⁹ VOC 1320, Briefie [Letter] Van der Spijk to Batavia, 21 Jan. 1676, fo. 311^r.

⁶⁰ NA 1330, Missive De Jongh to Batavia, 20 Dec. 1677, fo. 688^r.

⁶¹ VOC 1415, Rapport Keijts, 6 Feb. 1686, fo. 934^r.

⁶² Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 267.

⁶³ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fo. 910^r.

⁶⁴ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1687, fos. 643^{r-v}, 648^r.

⁶⁵ VOC 1415, Rapport Keijts, 6 Feb. 1685, fos. 932^v-933^r.

⁶⁶ See Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 393-4.

⁶⁷ VOC 1440, Keijts to Batavia, 23 Nov. 1687, fos. 2259^r-2261^r.

⁶⁸ Claude de Forbin, *The Siamese Memoirs of Count Claude de Forbin, 1685-1688*, ed. Michael Smithies (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1996), 77, 143.

⁶⁹ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1687, fos. 646^v-647^r.

⁷⁰ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 305.

⁷¹ VOC 1253, Missive Enoch Poolvoet to Batavia, 26 Oct. 1665, fos. 1833-5.

⁷² VOC 1278, Missive N. de Roij to Batavia, 20 Oct. 1670, fo. 1883^v.

⁷³ VOC 1290, Rapport N. de Roij, 20 Nov. 1672, fo. 254^r.

⁷⁴ Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 28-57; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 306.

⁷⁵ VOC 1311, Missive Van der Spijck to Batavia, 10 Dec. 1674, fo. 304^r.

⁷⁶ VOC 1240, Rapport Van Rijck, 3 Nov. 1662, fo. 1489^{r-v}.

⁷⁷ VOC 1236, Missive Van Rijck, 7 & 10 Oct. 1661, fos. 674-7.

⁷⁸ VOC 1240, Rapport Van Rijck, 3 Nov. 1662, fos. 1499^r-1501^r. The VOC had established a trading office in Sukadana as early as 1617, only to see it destroyed by troops from Mataram five years later.

⁷⁹ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 367-9; VOC 1377, Missive Faa to Batavia, 27 Jan. 1682, fo. 528^v.

⁸⁰ For an analysis of the Dutch-Siamese frictions in the 1680s, see Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 367-71, 388-90.

⁸¹ For the Siamese embassy to Portugal, see Michael Smithies and Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Instructions given to the Siamese Envoys sent to Portugal, 1684', *JSS* 90/1&2 (2002), 125-35. For the exchange of embassies between Siam and France, see Van der Cruysse, *Siamese and the West*. For the Persian embassy to King Narai, see M. Ismail Marcinkowski, 'A Unique Source in Persian: The Ship of Sulaiman', in id., *From Isfahan to Ayutthaya: Contacts between Iran and Siam in the 17th Century* (Pustaka Nasional: Singapore, 2005), 18-43. Another mission which has been well researched is the Siamese embassy to the Vatican which arrived there only after Narai's death. See Michael Smithies and Luigi Bressan, *Siam and the Vatican in the Seventeenth Century* (River Books: Bangkok, 2001).

⁸² Smithies and Dhiravat, 'Instructions given to the Siamese Envoys sent to Portugal, 1684', 133.

⁸³ VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 247^v.

⁸⁴ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 896^r-897^v.

⁸⁵ VOC 1314, Missive Van der Spijck to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1675, fos. 11^r, 14^{r-v}.

⁸⁶ Love, 'Monarchs, Merchants, and Missionaries', 15, 18.

⁸⁷ De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 154.

⁸⁸ Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 44-5.

⁸⁹ De Chaumont, *Embassy to Siam*, 43; De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 155, 197.

⁹⁰ The scenes of delivering the state missives from Persia and France are described by Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 60-1, 63-4; De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 157-8, 161; De Chaumont, *Embassy to Siam*, 47-51.

⁹¹ Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 60; De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 154.

- ⁹² De Chaumont, *Embassy to Siam*, 51.
- ⁹³ Ibid. 79.
- ⁹⁴ Marcinkowski, 'The Ship of Sulaiman', 28.
- ⁹⁵ Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 68, 77-8, 94, 95, 99-100.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid. 59.
- ⁹⁷ John E. Wills, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), 176.
- ⁹⁸ De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 201.
- ⁹⁹ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1687, fos. 652^v-653^r; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 386-7.
- ¹⁰⁰ VOC 1415, Rapport Keijts, 6 Feb. 1686, fo. 934^r.
- ¹⁰¹ Van Goor, 'Merchants as diplomats', 40.
- ¹⁰² VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 917^{r-v}, 918^r.
- ¹⁰³ VOC 1440, Keijts to Batavia, 23 Nov. 1687, fos. 2258^r-2259^r.
- ¹⁰⁴ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fo. 918^v; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 396-8.
- ¹⁰⁵ VOC 1216, Missive Westerwolt to Batavia, 16 Feb. 1656, fo. 394^{r-v}. Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 256.
- ¹⁰⁶ VOC 1362, Missive Faa to Batavia, 17 Nov. 1680, fo. 940^v; VOC 1362, Translaet missive in't Maleys geschreven door den koning van Siam aen Haer Eds., ontfangen tot Batavia den 4 februari anno 1681 [Translation of a Malay letter written by [the *Phrakhleng* in the name of] the King of Siam to Their Honours, received in Batavia on 4 February 1681], fo. 993^v.
- ¹⁰⁷ VOC 1453, Eijsch van diverse benodigheden voor den Siamsen majesteijt [List of various items required for the Siamese King], 18 Jan. 1688, fo. 236^v.
- ¹⁰⁸ VOC 1304, Missive Van der Spijck to Batavia, 5 Aug. 1674, fos. 16-23, 20^v-21^r.
- ¹⁰⁹ VOC 1407, Memorie Faa zaliger aan Keijts, 15 Jan. 1685, fo. 3214^r.
- ¹¹⁰ VOC 1330, Missive De Jongh to Batavia, 20 Dec. 1677, fo. 690^r.
- ¹¹¹ VOC 1227, Missive Van Rijck and Poolvoet to Batavia, 18 Dec. 1657, fo. 434^{r-v}.
- ¹¹² VOC 1350, Missive Faa to Batavia, 18 Jan. 1679, f. 441.
- ¹¹³ VOC 1440, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 1 Nov. 1687, fo. 2227^{r-v}.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 20 Jan. 1687, fos. 641^v-642^r.
- ¹¹⁶ VOC 1339, Missive Faa to Batavia, 13 Nov. 1678, fos. 444^r-455^r, 450^r, 454^{r-v}; VOC 1362, Missive Faa to Batavia, 17 Nov. 1680, fo. 940^v.
- ¹¹⁷ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 20 Jan. 1687, fo. 651^v.
- ¹¹⁸ VOC 1253, Missive Poolvoet to Batavia, 22 Dec. 1665, fo. 1986.
- ¹¹⁹ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1687, fo. 647^v.
- ¹²⁰ Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 420.
- ¹²¹ VOC 1362, Missive Faa to Batavia, 17 Nov. 1680, fo. 940^v.
- ¹²² VOC 1438, Brieven van den coningh van Siam en Oija Berquelangh geschreven aan haar Edelen [Letters from the King of Siam and Okya *Phrakhleng* [written by Okya Phrasadet in place of the *Phrakhleng*] to Their Honours in Batavia], 1687, fo. 656^r.
- ¹²³ VOC 1386, Missive Faa to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1684, fos. 658^v-659^r. Phaulkon also offered his services to the French envoys to procure Asian curiosities for Louis XIV. De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 209.
- ¹²⁴ VOC 1438, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1687, fos. 646^v-647^r.
- ¹²⁵ Simon de la Loubère, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, ed. David K. Wyatt (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), 99-100.
- ¹²⁶ De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 195.
- ¹²⁷ VOC 1322, Missive De Jongh to Batavia, 26 Dec. 1676, fo. 1213^v; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 325-6; Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 101.
- ¹²⁸ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 277.
- ¹²⁹ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 918^v, 916^r.
- ¹³⁰ De Choisy, *Journal of Voyage to Siam*, 180.
- ¹³¹ VOC 1415, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 17 Dec. 1685, fos. 918^v, 916^r.
- ¹³² La Loubère, *Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, 99-100.

¹³³ VOC 1362, Missive Faa to Batavia, 17 Nov. 1680, fo. 960^v.

¹³⁴ Ian Hodges, 'Time in Transition: King Narai and the Luang Prasoet Chronicle of Ayutthaya', *JSS* 87/1&2 (1999), 33-44, esp. 35-6.

¹³⁵ VOC 1415, Korte aenteeckeningen van't gewesene opperhoofd Faa [Brief notes from former *Oppelhoofd* Faa], 17 Jan. 1685, fo. 887^{r-v}; Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 396-7.

¹³⁶ The traditional form of time-measurement was to establish a system of time-keeping from the regular motions of the planets by astrologers.

¹³⁷ Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 255-60.

¹³⁸ Michael Smithies, 'Eclipses in Siam, 1685 and 1688, and Their Representation', *JSS* 91 (2003), 189-204.

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¹ Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 192-3.

² Wyatt, *Thailand*, 117.

³ Dhiravat, 'Shift to Isolation?'; Raben, 'King Phetracha'.

⁴ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 452-3; id., 'Shift to Isolation?', 252.

⁵ Raben, 'King Phetracha', 16.

⁶ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 'Chapter 8: 1686-1688, The End of the Prasatthong Dynasty', 405-53; Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 'Chapter 20: The Revolution in Siam (1688)', 427-67.

⁷ The original report is in VOC 1444, Beknopt verhaal van de wonderlyke verandering voorgevallen in het koninkryke Siam desen jare 1688 [Concise story of the astounding change occurred in the Kingdom of Siam this year 1688], 30 Nov. 1688, fos. 1639-1651. It was first published under the same title in 1689 (Amsterdam: Aert Dircksz. Oossaen), then as *Kort-bondig verhaal van den op en ondergang, van d'heer Faulkon, ridder der ordre van St. Michiel, en voornaam gunsteling des konings van Siam: mitsgaders van de dood des konings, en 't verdrijven der Franschen uit dat Rijk, alles kort op den anderen gevolgd, binnen 't jaar 1688 en in Indiën zelve t'zamen gesteld* (Amsterdam: Gerardus Borstius, 1690). It was also published in Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indië*, 3, 1, 80-9. Based on a French version, the English translation 'Succinct Account of What Occurred in the Kingdom of Siam in the Year 1688' appears in Michael Smithies (ed. and tr.), *Witnesses to a Revolution: Siam 1688* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2004), 124-34. (Hereafter: 'Succinct Account 1688'.) All references are from this edition.

⁸ Sources mentioning the backgrounds of Phetracha and Sorasak are *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 300-1, 308-14; La Loubère, *The Kingdom of Siam*, 99; Claude de Bèze, *1688 Revolution in Siam: The Memoir of Father de Bèze, s.j.*, tr. with commentary by E. W. Hutchinson (repr., Bangkok: White Lotus, 2002), 58-62.

⁹ VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 240^r.

¹⁰ 'Succinct Account 1688', 125.

¹¹ VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 247^r.

¹² Ibid., fo. 247^v. Keijts noted that this was the title according to the instruction for the Thai Ambassador to the King of Portugal in 1684.

¹³ VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 247^v. See also Anonymous, 'Relation of the Principal Circumstances Which Occurred in the Revolution in the Kingdom of Siam', in Smithies (ed.), *Witnesses to a Revolution*, 5-34, esp. 13. The author claimed that King Narai declared his daughter Queen, and whichever uncle she were to marry would succeed him.

¹⁴ VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 250^r.

¹⁵ Ibid., fo. 250^{r-v}.

¹⁶ Ibid., fo. 247^r.

¹⁷ 'Succinct Account 1688', 132. This was the first time that the Dutch mentioned the Siamese court seizing Eurasian children as a means to punish the Europeans in Ayutthaya. I cannot confirm that this was the first time in Ayutthaya's history and that it was Phetracha's innovation. In the course of the eighteenth century, the Dutch were to face

this punitive measure a few times. It is not impossible that Keijts attempted to save these mestizo children, not just for the sake of humanity, because the VOC was usually anxious about guarding Eurasian children from local influence: being brought up with the 'heathen' belief. Despite the rivalry between the European nations, the Europeans in Asia shared a common identity in the Christian faith which distinguished them from the Asian adherents of indigenous religions.

¹⁸ Ibid. 129.

¹⁹ Ibid. 130.

²⁰ Jean Rival, 'Deposition Made on 18 July 1688 (by Coun Rot?) Living in Ligor, Sent on 25 September 1691', in Smithies (ed.), *Witnesses to a Revolution*, 169-75, esp. 171. Smithies considers the deposition an unsupported concoction of Rival, the French Governor of Takuapa (nearby Phuket) during King Narai's reign. Brochebourde, being a French Huguenot and working for the Dutch, must have been regarded as a traitor and hated by the French.

²¹ Anonymous, 'An Account of What Occurred in Louvo in the Kingdom of Siam, and a Summary of What Occurred in Bangkok during the Siege in 1688', in Smithies (ed.), *Witnesses to a Revolution*, 94-123, esp. 108.

²² VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 247^r.

²³ 'Succinct Account 1688', 132.

²⁴ The English subjects imprisoned as a result of the war between Siam and the EIC in 1687 were released during the coronation of King Phetracha as an act of merit performed on an auspicious occasion. Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 34.

²⁵ The original text of the treaty signed on 14 November 1688 appears in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, III, 473-9.

²⁶ VOC 1456, Rapport Keijts, 14 Feb. 1689, fos. 1998^r, 1999^v, 2001^r-2002^r.

²⁷ VOC 1456, Missive Van den Hoorn to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1689, fo. 1963^v.

²⁸ VOC 1456, Translaet Maleijts missive van den Coningh in Siam aen haer hoogh Eds. tot Batavia [Translation of a Malay letter from [the *Phrakhlang* in the name of] the King of Siam to Their Honours in Batavia], 10 Feb. 1689, fos. 1964^v-1965^v.

²⁹ Desfarges and his force sailed from Pondicherry to Phuket hoping to intimidate the Thai into compensating the French losses with tin. Achieving nothing, he finally withdrew and released the Thai hostages taken during the French withdrawal from Ayutthaya in 1688. Michael Smithies doubts whether Desfarges ever reached Phuket. Michael Smithies, *A Resounding Failure: Martin and the French in Siam, 1672-1693* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998), 122. But according to the Dutch, King Phetracha was informed that the French ships had appeared off the island.

³⁰ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 20 Aug. 1689, fos. 593^v-594^r.

³¹ Ibid., 27 & 28 Sept. 1689, fo. 622^{r-v}; 2 Dec. 1689, fo. 638^{r-v}.

³² Ibid., 3 Feb. 1689, fo. 480^r.

³³ Ten Brummelhuis has mistakenly attributed the following list of goods for 1688 to King Phetracha: a smith's bellows, Hindustani medicines, Dutch painted tiles, Persian wine, various Dutch foodstuffs, and the like. Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 41. The order was made sometime in the last months of King Narai's reign. See VOC 1453, Missive van den Oja Berquelangh tot Siam [Letter from Okya *Phrakhlang* in Siam], 18 Jan. 1688, fo. 236^{r-v}.

³⁴ VOC 1456, Rapport Keijts, 14 Feb. 1689, fo. 2002^v.

³⁵ For example, VOC 1580, Memorie der geschenken welke geoordeelt wierden den coning en Oija Berquelangh voor den jaare 1696 te zullen aengenaam sijn [List of gifts which were considered agreeable for the King and Okya *Phrakhlang* for the year 1696], fos. 49-51; Missive Thomas van Son to Batavia, 17 Feb. 1697, fo. 267; *Generale missiven*, V: 1686-1697, 27 Dec. 1688, 217; Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 41.

³⁶ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 26 Aug. 1689, fo. 601^r.

³⁷ Dhiravat, 'Shift to Isolation', 44-5; see also Chapter One, 22.

³⁸ Raben, 'King Phetracha', 3.

³⁹ Smithies, *A Resounding Failure*, 134-6, 136 (citation).

⁴⁰ For Tachard's last mission to Siam, see Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 182-4; Van

der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, 472-4; Michael Smithies, 'Tachard's Last Appearance in Ayutthaya, 1699', *JRAS Series 3*, 12/1 (2002), 67-78. The Dutch heard that the priest requested, in the name of his King, that the French be allowed to build a fort in Tenasserim and a factory in Phetburi as King Narai had promised. Instead the Siamese court demanded that the French pay their debts before they be allowed to re-establish a lodge in Siam. VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 24 Dec. 1699, fo. 3.

⁴¹ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1699, fos. 8-9; 25 Jan. 1699, fo. 27; 25 Dec. 1699, fos. 38-9.

⁴² See also Chapter Two, 52-3.

⁴³ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fo. 39. This minister replaced Okya Mamath (Maha Amath), the favourite and distant relative of the King.

⁴⁴ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1699, fo. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fos. 12, 27.

⁴⁶ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 11 Jan.-31 Oct. 1689.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1689, fo. 506^r.

⁴⁸ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 326-7.

⁴⁹ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 4 Mar. 1689, fos. 500^v-501^r, 24 & 25 Apr. 1689, fos. 533^v-534^r.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 Apr. 1689, fos. 534^v-535^v.

⁵¹ The Thai chronicles state that many districts in Saraburi and Lopburi were deserted because those implicated in the uprising fled into the jungle for fear of punishment. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 327.

⁵² VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 28 Apr. 1689, fos. 535^v-537^r; 30 Apr. 1689, fos. 537^v-538^r.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 4 May 1689, fos. 540^v-541^r.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 June 1689, fo. 559^v. Kaempfer certainly based his short description of this event, which occurred before his visit to Ayutthaya in 1690, on Van den Hoorn's experience. Engelbert Kaempfer, *A Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1998), 37.

⁵⁵ VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 12 Mar. 1689, fos. 502^v-503^r; 23 May 1689, fo. 553^v.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12 June 1689, fo. 563^v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 Jan. 1689, fo. 475^v; 16 Feb. 1689, fo. 489^v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 May 1689, fo. 540^{r-v}.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 27 Aug. 1689, fo. 601^r.

⁶⁰ Dhiravat, 'The Prasatthong Dynasty', 450-1; Kaempfer, *A Description of the Kingdom of Siam*, 23-4.

⁶¹ Kaempfer, *A Description of the Kingdom of Siam*, 38.

⁶² VOC 1456, Rapport Keijts, 14 Feb. 1689, fo. 2002^v; VOC 1458, Dagregister Van den Hoorn, 29 Jan. 1689, fo. 477^v; 14 & 15 Jan. 1689, fo. 462^r.

⁶³ VOC 1498, Missive Van den Hoorn to Batavia, 5 Nov. 1691, fos. 263^r-265^r, 273^{r-v}.

⁶⁴ For example, *Opperhoofd* Cleur recommended handing in a petition to King Sūa *en passant* to complain about the behaviour of the *Phrakhleng*. VOC 1728, Berigt van Cleur, 6 juni 1705-3 februari 1706 [Report by Cleur, 6 June 1705-3 February 1706], 12 June 1706, fo. 132.

⁶⁵ For example, in 1692, King Phetracha fitted out four junks to Japan, one to Canton, and one to Batavia. See Raben, 'King Phetracha', 12.

⁶⁶ VOC 1536, Missive Thomas van Son to Batavia, 27 Nov. 1693, fo. 107^v. It is not clear which 'treason and conspiracy' Van Son meant here.

⁶⁷ VOC 1517, Missive Van Son to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1692, fos. 356^r-361^v, 364^r.

⁶⁸ VOC 1536, Missive Van Son to Batavia, 27 Nov. 1693, fo. 107^{r-v}.

⁶⁹ In 1688, Keijts reported that Cambodia had asked naval assistance of Ayutthaya (probably also to fight against the pirates) but the Siamese court refused, because Phaulkon, even after his death, left as his legacy a policy of keeping Cambodia weak. De Choisy also mentioned that King Narai had discussed the Cambodian problem with Phaulkon. Undoubtedly, this policy had always been part of Ayutthaya-Cambodia relations. VOC 1453, Missive Keijts to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1688, fo. 251^v; Choisy, *Journal of a*

Voyage to Siam, 205.

⁷⁰ Ayutthaya's royal chronicles mention only that King Phetracha sent some officials to collect the albino elephant which Cambodia had found and offered to him and not that the animal became a part of a political game between the two states. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 325-6, 357-8.

⁷¹ VOC 1609, Eenige agter een geschreven extracten uijt het dagregister gehouden in Siam in de maend dec. 1697 en jan. 1698 raeckende den oorlog tusschen de Siammers en die van Cambodia [Something according to a written extract from the journal notes kept in Siam in the months of December 1697 and January 1698 regarding the war between the Siamese and the Cambodians], Reinier Boom, 1 & 2 Jan. 1698, fos. 5-7; Missive Boom to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1698, fo. 12.

⁷² VOC 1609, Missive Boom to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1698, fo. 22.

⁷³ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 358-60.

⁷⁴ VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 17 Jan. 1700, fo. 12.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fos. 8-9.

⁷⁶ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 20 Dec. 1699, Appendix, 25 Dec. 1699, fo. 67. French sources describe King Phetracha as the shaper and manipulator of the events. He was thought to have used the unrest as an excuse to eliminate the old *khunnang* group, which he considered to pose a threat to his chosen heir, Phra Khwan. It can be said that the Dutch saw the Nakhon Ratchasima rebellion as the cause and the French considered it a pretext for a purge of the leading officials. For a comparison of Dutch and French sources regarding the purge of 1699, see Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Dutch and French Evidence Concerning Court Conflicts at the End of King Phetracha's Reign, c. 1699-1703', *Silpakorn University International Journal*, 2/1 (Jan.-June 2002), 47-70.

⁷⁷ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 20 Dec. 1699, fo. 62.

⁷⁸ VOC 1609, Missive Boom to Batavia, 5 Dec. 1698, fo. 23.

⁷⁹ M. C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726-49* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 8; Clara Brakel-Papenhuijzen, *The bedhaya Court Dances of Central Java* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

⁸⁰ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fos. 61, 63. As was his father, Sorasak, when ruling as King Siia, was very much interested in exotic performance art. In 1705 his court asked the VOC for fifteen to twenty 'caffers' (black slaves from Eastern Africa) who could play the trumpet. When Batavia answered that they had none, the Siamese claimed that there used to be one or two in the Company lodge at Ayutthaya. They even wanted to borrow one of these men to train young musicians at court. VOC 1711, Translaat Maleitse Missive van den *Phrakhläng* aan Haar Eds. de Hoge Regering tot Batavia [Translation of a Malay letter from the *Phrakhläng* to Their Honours the High Government in Batavia], received 25 Nov. 1705, fos. 114-15.

⁸¹ VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 16 Nov. 1700, fo. 26^v.

⁸² *Generale missiven*, VI: 1698-1713, 17 Feb. 1701, 152.

⁸³ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 25 Dec. 1699, fos. 39-40, 56. A French source dates his death to mid-1700. See Dirk van der Cruysse, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *The Diary of Kosa Pan: Thai Ambassador to France June-July 1686* (Chiang Mai: Silk Worm Books, 2002), 1-26, esp. 25.

⁸⁴ VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 17 Jan. 1700, fo. 12.

⁸⁵ VOC 1648, Missive Tant to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1700, fo. 24. Tant wrote that Okya Maha Amath replaced Chao Phraya Thammasena, who had served in this post for nine months (after Kosa Pan) before being dismissed on account of his old age.

⁸⁶ VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 16 Nov. 1700, fo. 26^v; 28 Dec. 1700, fo. 29^v.

⁸⁷ Raben, 'King Phetracha', 12.

⁸⁸ VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1700, fo. 59^r.

⁸⁹ VOC 1648, Missive Tant to Batavia, 24 Nov. 1700, fo. 17.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 Feb. 1701, fos. 104, 109.

⁹¹ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 20 Dec. 1699, Appendix, 25 Dec. 1699, fo. 67.

⁹² VOC 1637, Missive Tant to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1700, fo. 60^v.

⁹³ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fos. 58-9.

⁹⁴ Dhiravat, 'Dutch and French Evidence', 50.

⁹⁵ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fo. 59.

⁹⁶ Dhiravat, 'Dutch and French Evidence', 49.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 55-6.

⁹⁸ VOC 1580, Missive Van Son to Batavia, 27 Nov. 1696, fo. 204. Thai chronicles also mention this preference of King Süa, besides other flaws in his character, such as cruelty and excessive drinking. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 391.

⁹⁹ VOC 1609, Dagregister Boom, 4 Dec. 1697, fo. 4. During King Narai's reign, a sister of the then Okphra Phetracha who was a royal consort had caused scandals because of her recurrent 'visits' to the Portuguese camp. She eventually seduced Chaofa Noi, and ruined both herself and him when their affair was exposed. She was condemned to death, while he was handicapped as a result of a severe flogging, which was tantamount to political assassination—he lost Narai's favour and a chance to contend for the throne. De Bèze, who mentioned this episode, believed that Chaofa Noi's betrayal caused King Narai to turn his attachment to Phra Pi. De Bèze, *1688 Revolution in Siam*, 53-7.

¹⁰⁰ VOC 1580, Missive Van Son to Batavia, 27 Nov. 1696, fos. 204-5.

¹⁰¹ VOC 1623, Missive Tant to Batavia, 25 Dec. 1699, fos. 61-3.

¹⁰² VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fo. 60. According to the Thai chronicles, King Ong Wiet of Vientiane presented his fifteen-year-old daughter, Phra Kaew Fa, to King Phetracha in gratitude for Ayutthaya's aid against the attack from Luang Prabang in 1701. The Princess, however, became one of Sorasak's consorts. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 363-5.

¹⁰³ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1703, fos. 59-60.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 8 Feb. 1703, fos. 100-1.

¹⁰⁵ VOC 1691, Relas van 't voorgevallene by de ziekte en overlyden van den Siamse koning Phra Trong Than genaamt [Relation of What Occurred upon the Sickness and Death of the Siamese King Named Phra Trong Than], (1703 or 1704), fos. 61-74.

¹⁰⁶ Dhiravat, 'Princes, Pretenders, and the Chinese Phrakhleng', 107-30.

¹⁰⁷ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 8 Feb. 1703, fos. 100-3.

¹⁰⁸ De Chaumont, who visited the Ayutthayan court in 1685-6, wrote that Kromluang Yothathep, or the 'Princess-Queen', exercised her own justice in her own household, and that she was 'inclinable [inclined] to great severities'. When her servants had been proved guilty of great slanders, or revealing important secrets, she had their mouths sewn up. Chaumont, *Aspects of the Embassy to Siam 1685*, 106-7.

¹⁰⁹ This tale occurs only in Cleur's 'Relation'.

¹¹⁰ VOC 1676, Missive Tant to Batavia, 8 Feb. 1703, fo. 42. Some of the commercial disputes during this period resulted from the differences between the Thai and Dutch versions of the 1688 Treaty concerning the clause about the tin trade. According to the Dutch, the VOC had an exclusive right to tin and granted the Siamese King only what he needed for daily use (constructing temples and buildings). The Thai text read that the King owned all tin and only what he did not need was to be sold to the VOC exclusively. See Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 45.

¹¹¹ VOC 1711, Bericht van den oppercoopman en voormaels gewesen opperhoofd in Siam Gideon Tant aen haer Eds. de hoge regeringe tot Batavia overgelevert dato 20 Maert 1705, sprekende van den slechten toestand van Compagnies negotie aldaer, mitsgaders op hoedanige wijze na zijn gevoelen sulx bij den vorst van dat rijk en desselfs hoge ministers ten besten zouden kunnen werden verholpen [Report by *Opperkoopman* and former *Opperhoofd* in Siam Gideon Tant delivered to Their Honours the High Government in Batavia on 20 March 1705, speaking of the poor state of the Company's business there, and how according to him it could best be improved with the ruler of that kingdom and his high ministers], fos. 15-17.

¹¹² VOC 1728, Berigt aan den Gouverneur Generaal van 't voorvallen in Siam, 6 juni anno passato tot 3 februari jongstleden over 't opbreken van't nederlants comptoir ... en hoedanig die op de honorabelste wyse aldaar kan herstelt werden [Report to the Governor General on the situation in Siam, 6 June last year [1705] to 3 February [1706] about the closing of the Dutch *comptoir* ... and how it can be restored in the most honourable way], Arnout Cleur, 7 May 1706, fo. 116.

¹¹³ VOC 1728, Jan van Velsen to Batavia, 17 Mar. 1706, fos. 39-41.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., fos. 11-12.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., fos. 42-6. *See also* Chapter Two, 53.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., fos. 58-9.

¹¹⁷ VOC 1759, Missive *Phrakhlang* to Batavia, (1707 or 1708), fo. 29.

¹¹⁸ *Generale missiven*, VI: 1698-1713, 31 Mar. 1706, 392, 406.

¹¹⁹ In 1691, King Phetracha employed a Christian native of Siam, Vincent Pinheiro, as his envoy to visit the French in Pondicherry. In 1706, King Sūa appointed a local Portuguese, Jan Domingos de Matto, as envoy to negotiate with the English in Madras. VOC 1719, Missive Cleur to Batavia, 22 Oct. 1706, fo. 1837. The descendants of Daniel Brochebourde also remained in royal service.

¹²⁰ VOC 1776, Missive Cleur to Batavia, 29 Jan. 1709, fo. 9. Cleur was one of the *Opperhoofden* who enjoyed the court's favour. When he died in early 1712, some important officials were sent to attend his funeral. VOC 1827, Missive Willem de Bevere to Batavia, 25 Feb. 1712, fo. 17-18.

Notes to Chapter Seven

¹ Wyatt, *Thailand*, 129. The social and political organization, including the pattern of monarchy and royal traditions, developed during the Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty was the model for the first kings of the Bangkok Period. *See* Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 9.

² Wyatt, *Thailand*, 130-2.

³ The Thai chronicles report, for example, an accident with the elephant King Sūa was riding during an elephant-hunting trip in 1708, which aroused his suspicion that his sons, Chaofa Phet and Chaofa Phon (later Kings Thaisa and Borommakot), might be plotting against him. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 386-9. French missionaries in Ayutthaya also mentioned that the King placed little trust in his sons and often had them flogged. Archives de la Société des Missions Étrangères, De Cicé to Directors, Vol. 863, 6 Oct. 1703, 521, mentioned in Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 53.

⁴ The Dutch reported that the *Phrakhlang* was arrested on 12 October 1706 for having given the annual gifts to the King's cousin or nephew (referred to as *neef* in the report) who had been apprehended for treason on 30 September. VOC 1743, Missive Aernout Cleur to Batavia, 18 Feb. 1707, fo. 53. This was probably Phra Phichaisurin, who was a nephew of King Phetracha and thus a cousin of King Sūa. The Thai chronicles relate that Phetracha was so upset by Sorasak's killing of Phra Khwan that he named Phichaisurin his successor. The latter, however, refused the throne and begged Sorasak to accept it. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 377.

⁵ VOC 1827, Missive D. Blom and De Bevere to Batavia, 30 Dec. 1712, fo. 23; VOC 1841, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 15 Dec. 1713, fo. 35; VOC 1841, Missive *Phrakhlang* to Batavia, 1713, fos. 61-2.

⁶ VOC 1827, Missive De Bevere to Batavia, 25 Feb. 1712, fo. 19; Missive D. Blom and De Bevere to Batavia, 30 Dec. 1712, fos. 18-19; VOC 1841, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 15 Dec. 1713, fos. 35-6.

⁷ VOC 1862, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 10 Dec. 1715, fo. 2390^v; *Generale missiven*, VII: 1713-1725, 19 Feb. 1716, 219; 23 Mar. 1717, 281.

⁸ VOC 1862, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 10 Dec. 1715, fo. 2387^v.

⁹ VOC 1926, Missive W. Blom to Batavia, 31 Jan. 1719, fos. 28-62. This document includes details of the Spanish embassy (such as lists of the entourage and gifts), correspondence between Ayutthaya and Manila, and the proposed contract by the Spanish, but no description of how the embassy was received at court.

¹⁰ VOC 1883, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 26 Jan. 1716, fos. 86-91. Blom gave some details about how the ceremony was arranged and how the Dutch were excellently treated during this one-day feast.

¹¹ VOC 1841, Missive D. Blom to Batavia, 30 Jan. 1714, fo. 50.

¹² VOC 2239, Missive Pieter Sijen to Batavia, 25 Nov. 1732, fos. 40-1.

¹³ Ibid., fo. 43; Missive Sijen to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1732, fo. 9.

¹⁴ VOC 2286, Missive Sijen to Batavia, 31 Jan. 1733, fos. 1-3; *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 413, 416-8.

¹⁵ VOC 2286, Missive Sijen to Batavia, 31 Jan. 1733, fos. 1-3; 26 Feb. 1733, fo. 5; 30 Nov. 1733, fo. 41.

¹⁶ VOC 2286, Missive Sijen to Batavia, 31 Jan. 1733, fos. 1-4; 26 Feb. 1733, fos. 4-6; 30 Nov. 1733, fo. 41. *See also* Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 78-81; Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 67. A short account of the Chinese rebellion in 1734 is given in *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 437-8. For the rise and fall of the Chinese *Phrakhlung*, *see* Dhiravat, 'Princes, Pretenders and the Chinese Phrakhlung'.

¹⁷ Wyatt, 'King Borommakot', 55; Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 283-7.

¹⁸ Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 68.

¹⁹ *Generale missiven*, IX: 1729-1737, 8 Dec. 1732, 376; 1 Feb. 1733, 431; 31 Oct. 1733, 493.

²⁰ VOC 2383, Missive *Phrakhlung* to Batavia, 19 Apr. 1736, fo. 201; VOC 2534, Missive *Phrakhlung* to Batavia, received 2 June 1741, fo. 355.

²¹ VOC 2383, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 14 Jan. 1737, fo. 12.

²² VOC 2438, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1738, fos. 48-9.

²³ VOC 2383, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1736, fo. 19. *See also* Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 68.

²⁴ VOC 2383, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1736, fos. 37-8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 19.

²⁶ In 1746, a person called the 'Eminent Som' gathered people in Lopburi to rebel but they were put down by some three hundred soldiers. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 443.

²⁷ Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 68, 71, 72.

²⁸ VOC 2383, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1736, fos. 20-5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1737, fos. 15-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14 Jan. 1737, fos. 7-9.

³¹ VOC 2438, Missive Meyboom to Van den Heuvel, 14 Feb. 1737, fos. 63-6.

³² VOC 2193, Dagregister Van Alderwereld, 17, 23 & 26 Apr. 1730, fos. 26-8.

³³ Raben and Dhiravat, 'Tipping Balances', 63.

³⁴ VOC 2410, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 20 Apr. 1737, fo. 7.

³⁵ Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel, 'A Journey to Phra Phutthabat, 1737', tr. S. A. W. Mottau and Remco Raben, in Raben and Dhiravat (eds.), *In the King's Trail*, 11-41.

³⁶ Van den Heuvel, 'A Journey to Phra Phutthabat', 16-17.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 18.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 20.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 19-20, 24.

⁴⁰ VOC 2193, Dagregister Van Alderwereld, 14 Oct. 1730, fos. 50-1; Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam*, Documents historiques, II: 1696-1811 (repr., Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, 2000), 129-31.

⁴¹ Van den Heuvel, 'A Journey to Phra Phutthabat', 30-1. On another occasion, in 1732, the Dutch reported that a rumour that the Buddha image at Wat Phananchong was sweating blood had spread throughout the whole kingdom and had caused confusion 'among these blind heathens, among the grandees as well as the commoners'. *Opperhoofd* Pieter Sijen understood that the Siamese considered this phenomenon a bad omen. Yet, he categorically rejected the idea as superstitious and explained it in scientific terms instead. The Dutch believed that the 'blood' was the result of the brownish-red varnish made from *namrak* which covered the Buddha's statue (underneath the gold layer) reacting with the water used in cleaning the image. Probably, it disturbed the Dutch merchants even more that King Thaisa forbade any business transactions and ordered his subjects to allocate their resources instead of worshipping the image, in the hope of improving the fortune of the kingdom. VOC 2239, Dagregister Sijen, 16 Apr. 1732, fos. 33-4. This journal has been published in paraphrase and partially translated in Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Last Year of King Thaisa's Reign: Data Concerning Politics and Society from the Dutch East India Company's Siam Factory *Dagregister* for 1732', in Vinai Pongsripian (ed.), *kwam yok yon kong adeet/The Wilderness of the Past* (Bangkok: 1994),

125-45.

⁴² VOC 2438, Dagregister Van den Heuvel, 28 & 29 Jan. 1738, fos. 502-9. Van den Heuvel's short report of this royal cremation should be read as a complement to the passage on the cremation of King Prasatthong's daughter in February 1650 by Jan Struys. Struys came to Ayutthaya in that year in the service of the VOC. Although some parts of his account (first published in Dutch in 1676) regarding other aspects of Siam invite suspicion, his and Van den Heuvel's descriptions of the royal cremations rather agree with each other on several points. Struys emphasizes that people, especially women, were obliged to express or even 'feign' their sorrow throughout the ceremony. Michael Smithies (ed.), 'The Perillous and most Unhappy Voyages of John Struys ...', translated by John Morrison, London 1683', *JSS* 94 (2006), 177-209, esp. 196-8.

⁴³ VOC 2438, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1738, fo. 49.

⁴⁴ VOC 2410, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1738, fos. 9-13, fos. 18-23; VOC 2438, Dagregister Van den Heuvel, 10 Nov. 1738, fo. 580; 14 Nov. 1738, fo. 581.

⁴⁵ VOC 2534, Dagregister Willem de Ghij, 5 Sept. 1740, fos. 170-1; 13 Sept. 1740, fo. 176.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 13 Dec. 1740, fo. 205; 31 Dec. 1740, fo. 210; 8 Jan. 1741, fo. 221.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 29 Jan. 1741, fo. 227; 10 Feb. 1741, fos. 251-3; 11 Feb. 1741, fo. 258.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 11 Feb. 1741, fos. 253-7.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 12 Feb. 1741, fos. 263-4.

⁵⁰ *Realia: Register op de generale resolutiën van het Kasteel Batavia, 1632-1805* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1886), III, 204.

⁵¹ Van den Heuvel, 'A Journey to Phra Phutthabar', 13.

⁵² VOC 2438, Missive Van den Heuvel to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1738, fos. 45-7.

⁵³ Van den Heuvel, 'A Journey to Phra Phutthabar', 21.

⁵⁴ Chao Phraya Chamnan Borirak was made the *Phrakhlāng* and Chao Phraya Maha Uparat at the same time. The latter title was not a princely one but the person in this capacity was treated with the honour due to a prince; that may explain the Dutch nomination of this official as the 'under-king' (*onderkoning*). For Chao Phraya Chamnan Borirak, see Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 248.

⁵⁵ VOC 2534, Dagregister De Ghij, February 1740, fos. 134-41; April 1740, fos. 148-50; 27 Sept. 1740, fo. 181.

⁵⁶ VOC 1945, Memorie W. Blom, 22 Dec. 1720, fos. 64-5.

⁵⁷ VOC 2741, Missive Nicolaas Bang to Batavia, 10 Jan. 1749, fos. 27-8.

⁵⁸ From now on the head of the VOC factory in Ayutthaya was designated by this title.

⁵⁹ VOC 2781, Missive Bang to Batavia, 15 Jan. 1751, fos. 14-15.

⁶⁰ VOC 2934, Missive Bang to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1758, fo. 15; Missive *Phrakhlāng* to Batavia, 1757/8, fo. 34.

⁶¹ VOC 2934, Missive Bang to Batavia, 25 Jan. 1758, fos. 5-8; 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 10.

⁶² VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fos. 1-3, 10-11, 16; VOC 3024, Missive *Phrakhlāng* to Batavia, received 1 Dec. 1761, fo. 31.

⁶³ Sri Vijaya Rajasimha ascended the Kandyan throne on the grounds that he was the younger brother of the queen of King Narendrasimha, who died without a legitimate heir. Likewise, his brother-in-law, Kirti Sri Rajasimha, succeeded him as another Hindu-Nayakkar King of Kandy. They both formally embraced Buddhism to win the support of the Buddhist Sri Lankans. For a short history of the development of Buddhism in Ceylon—including the explanation for its 'decline'—up to the Kandy Period, see Kitsiri Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society 1750-1900: A Study of Religious Revival and Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 'Chapter I: Background', 11-69.

⁶⁴ Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 61-4; Lorna Dewaraja, 'Thailand's Sublime Gift to Sri Lanka: the Services Rendered by Upali Maha Thera and his Associates', *JRASSL* NS 48 (1996), 91-110; Lodewijk Wagenaar, 'The Arrival of Buddhist Monks from Siam in 1753. Mid-eighteenth Century Religious Contacts between Kandy and Siam, as Recorded by the Dutch East India Company', paper given at the Seminar *Crossroads of Thai and Dutch History*, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 9-11 September 2004.

⁶⁵ K. W. Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years and Its Triangular Relation with the V.O.C. and Sri Lanka', *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, VI/1-2 (1980),

1-47, esp. 10, 12. Contrary to Goonewardena's suspicion, Abraham Arnouts had indeed served in Siam as the commissioner of the VOC ship to Ayutthaya in 1743.

⁶⁶ VOC 2718, Missive Gerrit Fek and Bang to Batavia, 27 Jan. 1748, fos. 47-8.

⁶⁷ Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 14-15.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 20.

⁶⁹ VOC 2718, Missive Fek and Bang to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1747, fos. 31-2; Missive Fek and Bang to Batavia, 27 Jan. 1748, fo. 51.

⁷⁰ VOC 2718, Missive Fek to Batavia, 15 Nov. 1747, fos. 4^v-6^r; Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 17.

⁷¹ Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 20-1, 22.

⁷² Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 61-4; Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 21-2.

⁷³ Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 15, 17-18.

⁷⁴ VOC 2718, Missive Fek to Batavia, 15 Nov. 1747, fos. 7^v-8^v; Missive Fek and Bang to Batavia, 27 Jan. 1748, fos. 48-9; *Generale missiven*, XI: 1743-1750, 31 Dec. 1748, 655.

⁷⁵ For a description of the reception of the embassy in Ayutthaya by the Kandyan Ambassador, see P. E. Pieris, 'An Account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)', *JRASSL* NS 48 (1996), 111-48, esp. 118.

⁷⁶ VOC 2781, Missive Bang to Batavia, 22 Nov. 1751, fos. 49-55; Missive Bang to Batavia, 18 Dec. 1751, fo. 8.

⁷⁷ For a detailed study of this journey, see Wagenaar, 'The Arrival of Buddhist Monks'.

⁷⁸ Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 62.

⁷⁹ Wagenaar, 'The Arrival of Buddhist Monks', 20.

⁸⁰ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 83-4, 167-8, 178.

⁸¹ VOC 2860, Missive Bang to Batavia, 15 Dec. 1754, fo. 16; VOC 2883, Missive Bang to Batavia, 15 Jan. 1756, fo. 26.

⁸² Saichon, 'setthakit lae sangkom thai nai samai plai ayutthaya', 14-18.

⁸³ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 428-9, 432-3; see also Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 89-90.

⁸⁴ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 101-2.

⁸⁵ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 454-7.

⁸⁶ VOC 2883, Missive Bang to Batavia, 8 Jan. 1757, fos. 14-18.

⁸⁷ Sunthonthep resided at Wang Sa Kaew (the Residence of the Crystal Pool). *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 455, 463.

⁸⁸ VOC 2883, Missive Bang to Batavia, 8 Jan. 1757, fos. 14-15.

⁸⁹ Ibid., fos. 15-17.

⁹⁰ Ibid., fos. 17-18.

⁹¹ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 8.

⁹² *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 458-9. Busakorn has suggested that Borommakot's alleged statement should not be taken at its face value because its source, the *Phra Racha Phongsawadan Chabab Phra Racha Hattalekha* (the Royal Autograph version), was composed by the political elite of the Bangkok Period which sought not least to blame King Ekathat for the fall of Ayutthaya. See Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 104.

⁹³ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 8.

⁹⁴ The granting of royal amnesty to prisoners on auspicious occasions was a persistent tradition and is still practised in Thailand. Van Vliet, for example, had mentioned this practice on the occasion of King Chetthathirat's enthronement in 1628. Van Vliet, 'Historical Account', 264.

⁹⁵ Thai sources mention that King Borommakot ordered Ekathat to be ordained to prevent him from contending the throne. The French also wrote that Ekathat was suffering from leprosy. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 459; Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam* II, 208.

⁹⁶ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 9; Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam* II, 208.

⁹⁷ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1373^v.

⁹⁸ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 9.

⁹⁹ Ibid., fo. 8; VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1372^v.

¹⁰⁰ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 463-5.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 466-7; VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 9; VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1372^v.

¹⁰² See also Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 108-9.

¹⁰³ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 17; VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1373^v.

¹⁰⁴ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 468-9; Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 112.

¹⁰⁵ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 222.

¹⁰⁶ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 17.

¹⁰⁷ VOC 2991, Missive Beerendrecht to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1760, fo. 17.

¹⁰⁸ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1375^r.

¹⁰⁹ There are different versions in Burmese, Thai and English sources about the reason of Alaungpaya's retreat, as summarized by Helen James, 'The Fall of Ayutthaya: A Re-assessment', *Journal of Burma Studies*, 5 (2000), 75-108, esp. 88-9.

¹¹⁰ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1375^v-1376^v.

¹¹¹ Ibid., fo. 1377^{r-v}. The French priests wrote that the 'princesses' now had as much power as King Ekathat himself and, because of their greed, they demanded confiscation of property instead of the usual death sentence for treason, murder, and fire/arson. The officials were following their example. Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam* II, 214.

¹¹² VOC 2991, Missive Beerendrecht to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1760, fo. 5; Missive Phrakhleng to Batavia, 1760, fos. 20-1. James has identified the above-mentioned three European captives as the three Dutchmen whose release the Englishman Walter Alves tried to secure, when he was negotiating for the freedom of his own men. However, the Dutch were held back by the Burmese who believed that they could help make gunpowder. See James, 'The Fall of Ayutthaya', 85.

¹¹³ VOC 3024, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 4 Dec. 1761, fos. 4-5; VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 28 Jan. 1763, fos. 2-3; VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1764, fo. 12.

¹¹⁴ VOC 3024, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 4 Dec. 1761, fos. 6-7.

¹¹⁵ VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1763, fos. 20-6.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., fos. 9-11, 16-18.

¹¹⁷ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1377^{r-v}; VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1763, fos. 3-7. This Phrakhleng was probably the former Okya Phiphatkosa who succeeded Chao Phraya Chamnan Borirak, who was also his father-in-law. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 452.

¹¹⁸ VOC 3024, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 4 Dec. 1761, fos. 7-8.

¹¹⁹ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 468-9; Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 112-3.

¹²⁰ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 17; VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1373^v, 1374^v; *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 468.

¹²¹ VOC 2965, Missive Bang to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1759, fo. 20.

¹²² Lorna Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom* (Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1988), 122-3, 125-6; VOC 2986, Translaat Singhalese ola relaterende het voorgevallene te Candia nopens de onderneming der Siamse priesters tegen den koning [Translation of a Sinhalese *ola* (letter) relating the events in Kandy regarding the actions of the Siamese monks against the King], 23 Aug. 1760, 1695^r-1697^r; Translaat Singhalese ola gerigt aan den dessave der Colombose ommelanden D. E. Robertus Cramer door den dessave der drie en vier Corles te Candia Doembere Ralehamy [Translation of a Sinhalese *ola* addressed to the *Dessave* of the Colombo surrounds Robertus Cramer from the *Dessave* of the Three and Four *Corles* in Kandy Doembere Ralehamy], 10 Sept. 1760, fos. 1698^r-1699^v.

¹²³ SLNA 1/4873, Secret letter, Batavia to Van Eck, 6 Aug. 1762, not foliated; Secret letter, Batavia to Van Eck, 19 Nov. 1762, not foliated, quoted in K. W. Goonewardena, 'A Dutch Mission to Tenasserim and Glimpses of the Mid-Eighteenth Century Ayutthayan Kingdom', paper given at the International Conference on Thai Studies,

Bangkok, 22-24 August 1984, 6.

¹²⁴ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1385^r, 1386^v. The Dutch mentioned that Thepphiphit's son who had been with the Prince in Ceylon died on the return trip from Ceylon, and two other lived as 'outcasts' in the temple where Prince Uthumphon resided, and in that way were held as quasi-hostages by the court.

¹²⁵ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fo. 1379^v.

¹²⁶ Ibid., fo. 1378^{r-v}.

¹²⁷ Ibid., fos. 1381^r, 1386^r, 1392^r.

¹²⁸ This point contrasts with Lorna Dewaraja's assertion (supposedly based on Sri Lankan sources) that the Kandyan plot of 1760 was supported by the Ayutthayan court. There is no evidence in either Thai or Dutch records that the Siamese King had an interest in dethroning the King of Kandy which lay beyond his political interest. It is also unlikely that King Ekathat wanted to see his renegade brother and political opponent rule another kingdom, even one so far away. See Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom*, 119-25.

¹²⁹ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1388^r-1389^r. The Powney family was well established in Calcutta in the eighteenth century. See Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 192.

¹³⁰ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1390^r-1391^r.

¹³¹ Ibid., fos. 1391^v, 1392^v.

¹³² The colourful episode of Van Damast Limberger's mission to Mergui and the revealing account of Siam by De St. Joachim are presented in Goonewardena, 'A Dutch Mission to Tenasserim'. VOC 3109, Relas [Account] Fr. Manuel de St. Joachim, 14 & 18 May 1764, fos. 219^r-224^r.

¹³³ VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Nov. 1765, fo. 15. Werndlij also mentioned that the Ayutthaya office had asked the Company to consider a withdrawal from Siam in the letters of 13 Oct. 1757, 30 Sept. 1760, and 24 Sept. 1761.

¹³⁴ VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1763, fos. 12-14.

¹³⁵ VOC 3089, Missive *Phrakhlang* to Batavia, 1763, fos. 16-19, 28.

¹³⁶ VOC 3032, Missive Huysvoorn to Batavia, 13 Dec. 1762, fos. 1384^v, 1387^v.

¹³⁷ VOC 3089, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1763, fos. 3-7.

¹³⁸ VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 28 Dec. 1764, fos. 5, 7, 40.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 15 Feb. 1765, fo. 68.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 18 Nov. 1765, fos. 4-5.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., fo. 5. English translation from Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Fleeing the "Enemy": the Final Dutch Letter from Ayutthaya, November 1765', in Vinai Pongsripian (ed.), *Chatusansaniyachan* (Bangkok: the Historical Commission, Ministry of Culture, 2004), 327-45, esp. 334.

¹⁴² VOC 3152, Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Nov. 1765, fo. 7.

¹⁴³ Ibid., fo. 10.

¹⁴⁴ Wood, *A History of Siam*, 245-6; Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 192.

¹⁴⁵ VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Nov. 1765, fos. 13-14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 15 Feb. 1765, fo. 68.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 18 Nov. 1765, fo. 5.

¹⁴⁸ For a (commercial) deliberation on the VOC's withdrawal from Siam in 1765, see VOC 3125, Generale missive Batavia aan Heren XVII, 20 Oct. 1765, fos. 50^v-56^v. See also Chapter One, 25.

¹⁴⁹ VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Nov. 1765, fos. 11-12.

¹⁵⁰ According to the royal chronicles, Chaofa Cit fled with his helpers to Phitsanulok where he caused trouble and consequently was executed by the order of the city governor. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 497-8.

¹⁵¹ VOC 3152, Missive Werndlij to Batavia, 18 Nov. 1765, fos. 12-13, 14.

¹⁵² J. J. Boeles, 'Note on an Eye-witness Account in Dutch of the Destruction of Ayudhya in 1767', *JSS* 56/1 (Jan. 1968), 101-11. The information about Anthony Goyaton invites further research. Firstly, was Batavia's description of Goyaton as the former 'head of the foreign Europeans' in Siam correct? The VOC reports from Siam at least never mention this person. If the position did exist, it was perhaps created after the departure of the VOC and the French priests to co-ordinate the remaining Europeans.

Secondly, was there any connection between Goyaton and the Armenian in Mergui mentioned by Van Damast Limberger? The Dutchman reported that the deception of De St. Joachim was revealed to him by an Armenian who was employed by the local authorities to deal with foreigners and acted as an intermediary between the Dutch and the Governor of Tenasserim in 1764. This Armenian may have been Goyaton, who probably fled to Ayutthaya after Mergui and Tenasserim had been ransacked by the Burmese at the end of 1764. Still, it would not be surprising if they were different persons because the Armenian community had long been established in Ayutthaya. De Chaumont mentioned that a great part of the sixteen families of Ayutthayan Armenians served as horsemen in King Narai's guard. Michael Smithies (ed. and tr.), *The Chevalier De Chaumont and the Abbé De Choisy: Aspects of the Embassy to Siam 1685* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1997), 84. For the Armenian intermediary in Mergui, see Goonewardena, 'Ayutthaya in the Twilight Years', 12-13, 20.

¹⁵³ For a survey of other accounts of the destruction of Ayutthaya, see James, 'The Fall of Ayutthaya', 97-100.

¹⁵⁴ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 118. In 1766, Thepphiphit raised an army in an attempt to rescue the capital. However, he was defeated by the enemy and fled to Nakhon Ratchasima where he took over the governorship. His royal blood made him popular and his position was further strengthened when some officials escaped from Ayutthaya and joined him. After the ultimate fall of Ayutthaya in early 1767, he was invited to Phimai where he was crowned as the legitimate King of the Thai. Thepphiphit's journey and life came to an end when he was defeated by Taksin.

¹⁵⁵ Busakorn, 'The Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty', 192.

Notes to Conclusion

¹ Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*, 56.

² VOC 2193, *Memorie van overgave door Rogier van Alderwereld aan Pieter Sijen* [Instruction by Rogier van Alderwereld to Pieter Sijen], 28 Dec. 1731, fo. 229.

³ One exception is Valentyn, who was a minister of the Dutch Protestant Church in the VOC service and who claimed that the Dutch and other Europeans managed to convince the Siamese court to drop the practice of human sacrifice, which had been described by Van Vliet in the 1630s. Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, III: B, 60; Van Vliet, 'Description of Siam', 114-5.

APPENDIX 1

VOC OPPERHOOFDEN AND RESIDENTEN IN AYUTTHAYA

Lambert Jacobz Heijn	1608-1611
Maerten Houtman	1611-1612, 1612-1617
Cornelis van Nijenrode	1611-1612, 1617-1621
Jan Mibaise	1622
<i>Office closed</i>	1623-1624
Pieter van der Elst	1624-1626
Jacob Spanjaart	1626-1627 (acting)
Adriaen de Marees	1627-1629
<i>Office closed</i>	1629-1633
Joost Schouten	1633-1636
Jeremias van Vliet	1636-1641
Hendrick Jansz Nachtegael	1637-1638 (acting)
Reinier van Tzum (van 't Zum)	1641-1645
Isaac Moerdijk	1645
Jan van Muijden	1646-1650
Rijckloff van Goens	1650 (acting)
Volkerus Westerwolt	1650-1651 (acting), 1652-1656
Hendrick Craijers	1651-1652
Jan van Rijck	1656-1662
Enoch Poolvoet	1662-1663 (acting), 1664-1668
<i>Office closed</i>	1663-1664
Johannes van der Spijck	1668-1669 (acting), 1672-1676
Nicolaes de Roij	1669-1672
Gilles Goosens	1676 (acting)
Dirk de Jongh	1676-1678
Aarnout Faa	1678-1685
Johannes Keijts	1685-1688
Pieter van den Hoorn	1688-1691
Joannes van Wagenvelt	1691-1692
Thomas van Son	1692-1697
Reinier Boom	1697-1698
Gideon Tant	1699-1703
Arnout Cleur	1703-1712
<i>Office closed</i>	1706
Dirk Blom	1712-1717
Wijbrant Blom	1717-1720
Hendrik Verburg	1721-1722
Gregorius Hendrik Praagman	1723-1726
Imel Christiaan Cock	1726-1727
Rogier van Alderwereld	1722-1723 (acting), 1728-1731
Pieter Sijen	1732-1733
Willem de Ghij	1734-1735, 1740-1741
Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel	1735-1740
<i>Office closed</i>	1741-1747
Nicolaas Bang	1747-1760
Nicolaas van Berendrecht	1760-1761 (acting)
Abraham Werndlij	1761-1765

Sources: VOC 1614-1765; W. Wijnaendts van Resandt, *De gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare buiten-comptoiren in Azië* (Amsterdam: Liebaert, 1944); Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand*; Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat*.

APPENDIX 2

THE KINGS OF AYUTTHAYA
IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

King Naresuan	1590-1605
King Ekathotsarot	1605-1610/11
King Sisaowaphak	1610/11
King Songtham	1610/11 - 12 December 1628*
King Chetthathirat	December 1628 - August 1629
King Athityawong	August 1629 - September 1629
King Prasatthong	September 1629 - 7/8 August 1656*
King Chai	8 August 1656
King Sisuthammaracha	August - 29 October 1656*
King Narai	October 1656 - 11 July 1688*
King Phetracha	August 1688 - 5 February 1703*
King Süa	February 1703 - 9 February 1709*
King Thaisa	February 1709 - 13 January 1733*
King Borommakot	January 1733 - 29 April 1758*
King Uthumphon	May 1758 - 1 June 1758**
King Ekathat	June 1758 - March/April 1767

* Dates of deacease according to the VOC sources.

** Date of abdication according to the French sources.

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Batavia's uitgaand briefboek (Batavia's outgoing letterbook)
862, 865, 879.

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1067, 1075, 1098, 1109, 1113, 1118, 1119, 1125, 1127, 1131, 1132, 1139, 1157,
1175, 1194, 1206, 1216, 1219, 1223, 1227, 1233, 1236, 1240, 1253, 1278, 1283,
1290, 1304, 1311, 1314, 1320, 1322, 1330, 1339, 1350, 1362, 1377, 1386, 1407,
1415, 1438, 1440, 1453, 1456, 1458, 1498, 1517, 1536, 1580, 1596, 1609, 1623,
1637, 1648, 1676, 1691, 1711, 1728, 1743, 1759, 1776, 1827, 1841, 1862, 1868,
1883, 1926, 1945, 1996, 2051, 2193, 2219, 2239, 2286, 2383, 2410, 2438, 2534,
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