

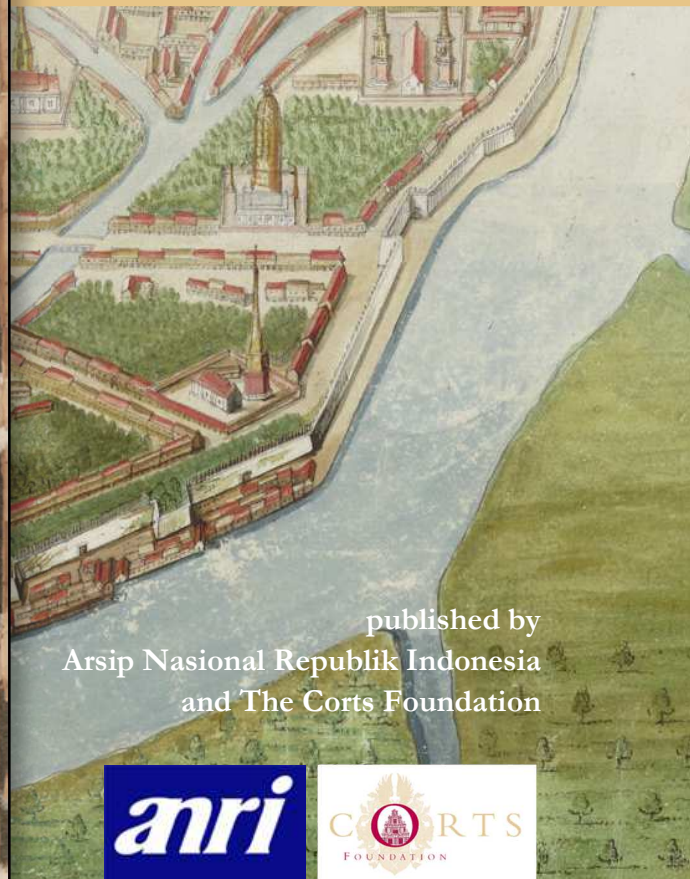
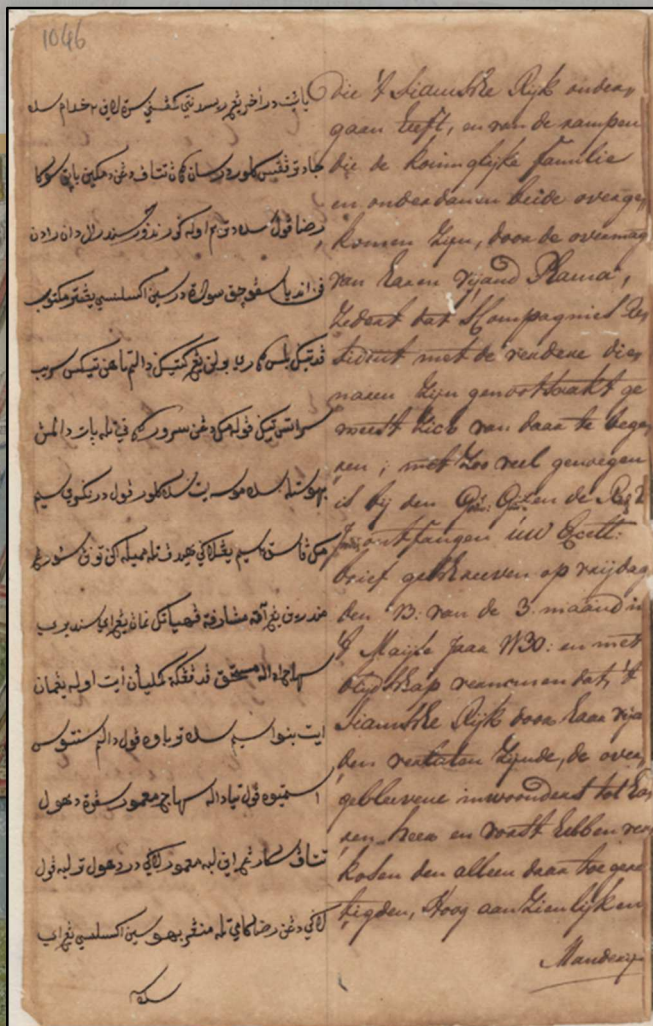


sojarah nusantara

Hooft des Schoonincrick SIAM



# The Diplomatic Correspondence between The Kingdom of Siam and The Castle of Batavia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries



published by  
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*The Diplomatic Correspondence between The Kingdom of Siam  
and The Castle of Batavia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*

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## Table of Contents:

<i>Foreword</i> By Marco Roling, The Corts Foundation	3 pages
<i>Letter from the Phrakblang on behalf of the King of Siam Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 27 January 1683 and a reply from Batavia 11 May 1683,</i> Introduced by Bhawan Ruangsilp and Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK18 24 pages
<i>Letter from the Phrakblang on behalf of King Phetracha of Siam (r. 1688-1703) to the Supreme Government, 12 February 1689 and the answer from Batavia, 4 Mei 1689,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK19 27 pages
<i>Letter from the Phrakblang on behalf of King Somdet Phrachao Sena of Siam (r. 1703-1709) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, circa March 1703, and the answer from Batavia, 27 August 1703,</i> Introduced by Dhiravat na Pombejra	HK20 23 pages
<i>Letter from the Phrakblang on behalf of King Prasatthong (r. 1629-1656) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 2 March 1641,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK21 10 pages
<i>Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 1 December 1668,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK22 8 pages
<i>Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) in Ayutthaya to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 2 March 1674, and the answer from Batavia, 27 April 1674,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK23 11 pages
<i>Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakblang on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, before March 1719, and the answer from Batavia, 18 August 1719,</i> Introduced by Dhiravat na Pombejra	HK24 20 pages
<i>Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakblang on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 9 March 1730, and the answer from Batavia, 3 August 1730,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK25 15 pages
<i>Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakblang on behalf of King Borommakot (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 22 March 1735, and the answer from Batavia, 12 August 1735,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK26 16 pages
<i>Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakblang on behalf of King Borommakot Maha Dharmaracha II (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 29 March 1740, and the answer from Batavia, 28 August 1740,</i> Introduced by Hendrik E. Niemeijer	HK27 14 pages
<i>Letter from the acting Phrakblang Phya Phiphat Kosa in Siam to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 13 January 1769, and the answer from Batavia, 29 May 1769,</i> Introduced by Dhiravat na Pombejra	HK28 12 pages



# The Diplomatic Correspondence between The Kingdom of Siam and The Castle of Batavia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries

## Foreword

The diplomatic relations between Thailand, Indonesia and the Netherlands date back to the seventeenth century. After establishing a Dutch factory in Ayutthaya the Siamese ruler Ekathotsarot sent an ambassador to Holland in September 1606. This remarkable event was highlighted in Dutch newspapers at the time. Following this, a treaty was signed in 1617. Looking at the archives from this early modern era, new documents and stories are slowly being unlocked and will shed new light on our past and the shared heritage between the three nations.

The encounters between Asia and the West become more visible with a large and unique database, with references to more than eight thousand diplomatic letters from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century archives of the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) (see figure 1). This database has been accessible on the internet since 2015<sup>1</sup>. The archival series called *The Daily Journals of Batavia Castle* contains a goldmine of historical information about the diplomatic relationships between the Dutch and numerous kings and rulers throughout the South East Asian region. This database publication is the result of a research project supported by ANRI, The Corts Foundation (TCF), Leiden University and several sponsorships. Diplomatic letters found in these archives are mostly translations of incoming and outgoing correspondence between the Castle and regional rulers, kings and sultans, emperors and other high officials.

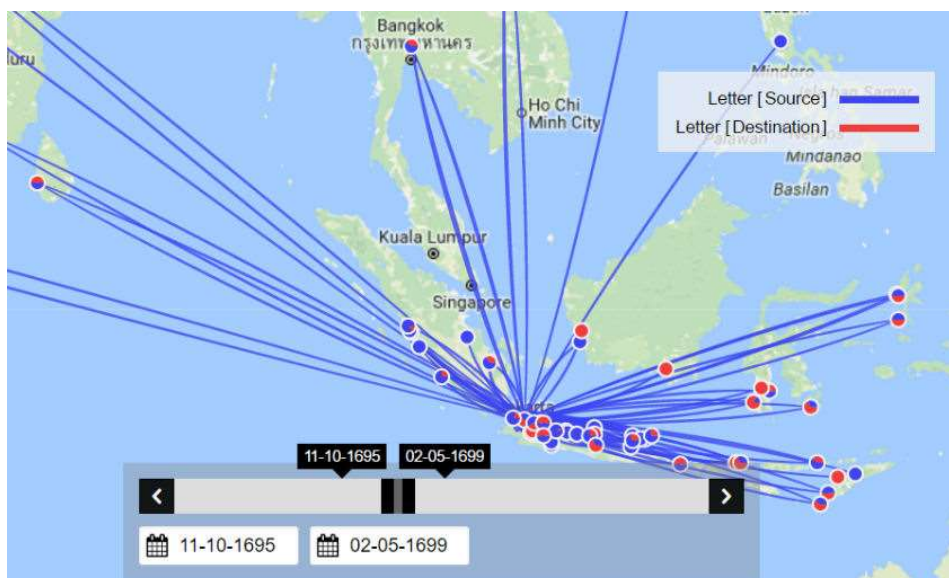


Figure 1: Online interactive map showing the full exchange of diplomatic letters with Batavia

<sup>1</sup> For more in-depth background information on the diplomatic letters, see: Niemeijer, H.E. *The Diplomatic Correspondence between Asian Rulers and Batavia Castle during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries: The Digital Reconstruction of a Lost Treasure*, in: Diplomatic Letters publication by ANRI/TCF 2015, available at <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/diplomatic-letters>

Included in this correspondence are four hundred letters that were exchanged between the nobles of the Kingdom of Siam (present-day Thailand) and the Dutch head office in Batavia (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia) in the period between 1636 and 1807. Usually the letters are translations into Dutch, but some are also translations into Malay. Most of these letters can be found in the archives, while some can only be read from the published *Dagregisters*<sup>2</sup>, and some are present in both (see figure 2). The majority of the letters were exchanged with Ayutthaya, and only a small number with the other cities of Thonburi and Bangkok in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see figure 2, 3).

Eleven letters from the Kingdom of Siam and their return letters from the Castle of Batavia have been studied in more detail by the historians Hendrik E. Niemeijer and Dhiravat na Pombejra, and are introduced and published in this book as a collection of so-called *Harta Karun* articles.<sup>3</sup>

### Acknowledgements

This publication has been made possible thanks to funding from and the cooperation of: the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Bangkok Thailand, and The Corts Foundation.

*Marco Roling*

*The Corts Foundation, The Netherlands, November 2016*

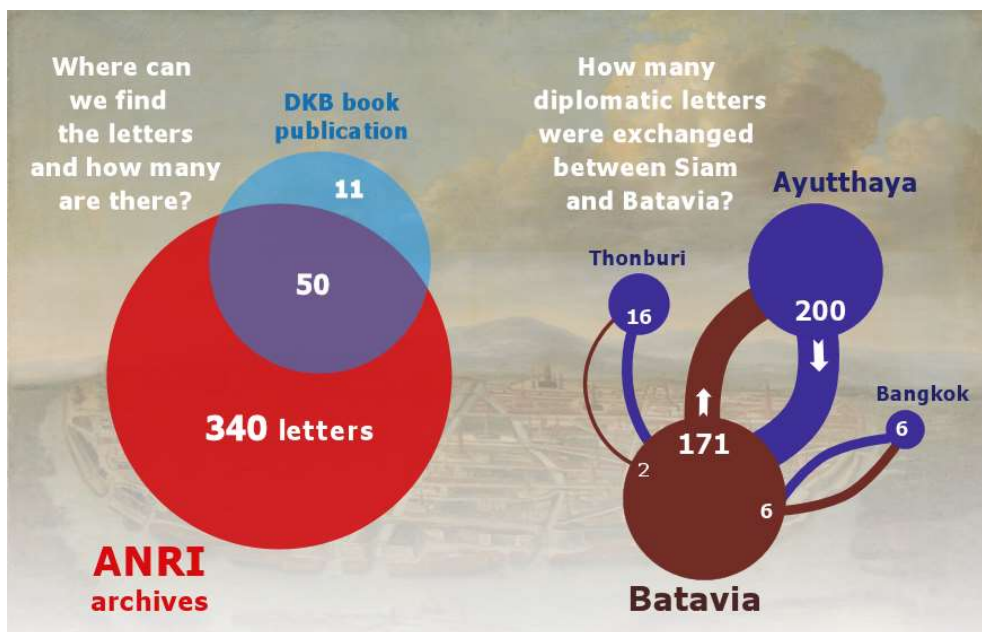


Figure 2: Infograph indicating the number and origin of the Siamese diplomatic letters

<sup>2</sup> These 31 volumes are called '*Dagregisters van het Kasteel van Batavia*' [DKB] and were published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Bataviaasch Genootschap. They cover the period 1625 - 1682, see also: [https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/daily\\_journals\\_volumes](https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/daily_journals_volumes)

<sup>3</sup> Harta Karun is Indonesian and is used as a metaphor for unique 'Archival Treasures', see also: <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarun>



### Diplomatic correspondence between Siam and Batavia 1625 - 1812

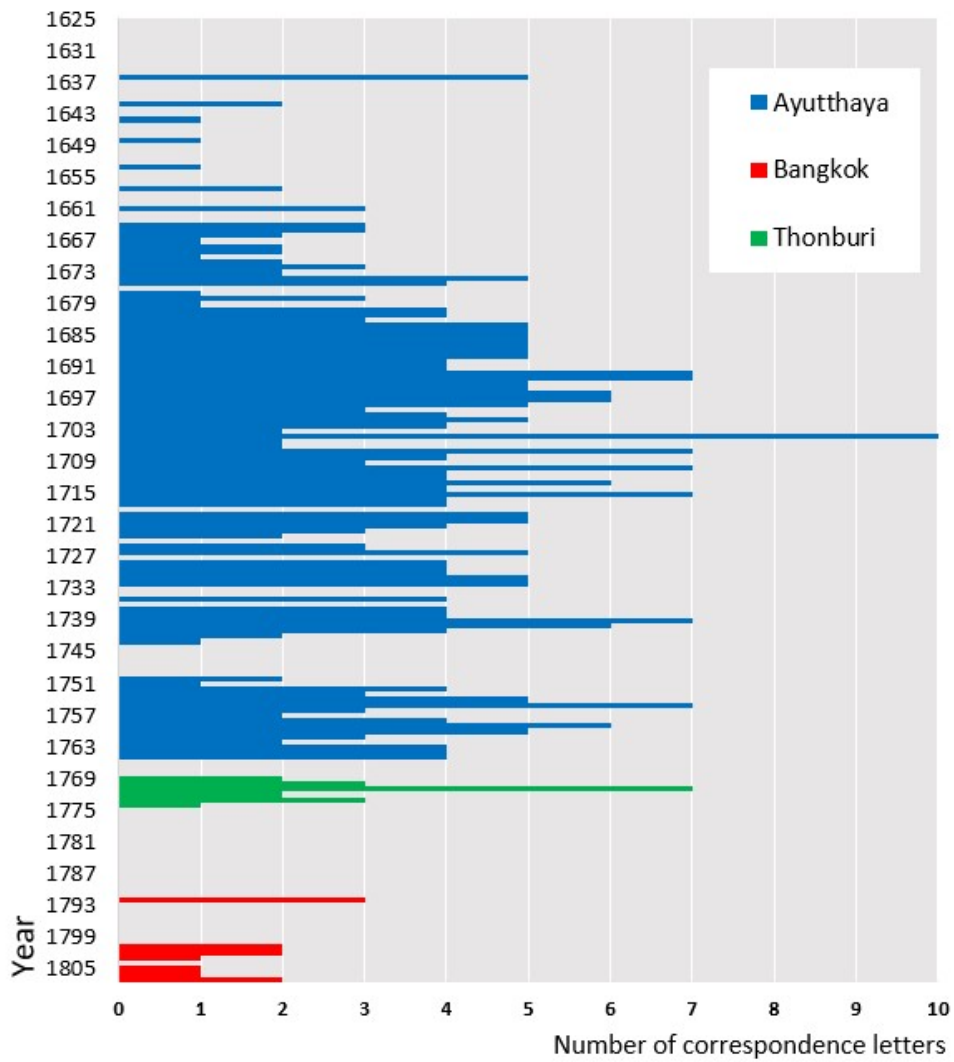


Figure 3: Chronology of the diplomatic correspondence related to the city of origin





Illustration 1. View of Judea, the Capital of Siam, attributed to Johannes Vinckboons, c. 1662 - c. 1663.

## Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of the King of Siam Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 27 January 1683 and a reply from Batavia 11 May 1683

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 6
- 3 English translation 15
- 4 Colophon 23
- 5 Folio images 24



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## 1 Introduction

Bhawan Ruangsilp and Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of the King of Siam Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 27 January 1683 and a reply from Batavia 11 May 1683”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 18. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY BHAWAN RUANGSILP AND HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

Political relations between Siam and the Dutch Republic started as early as in the 1600s when the first VOC representatives visited the royal court of Ayutthaya and established the first Dutch trading post in the kingdom. At the same time the first Siamese embassy was sent to The Hague and Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch involvement in Siam was initially motivated by its significance in the Company’s scheme of East Asian trade. Initially, the VOC hoped to make use of the commercial links between Siam and China based on Ayutthaya’s tributary relations with the Manchu court. It soon found out, however, that Thai products, especially animal skins and sappan wood, could be used to barter for Japanese silver and red copper which the VOC needed to purchase Chinese silk and Indian textiles.

From the start, the Company tried to obtain exclusive rights to buy and export these Thai goods by presenting itself to the Siamse court as a worthy trading partner, diplomatic counterpart and political ally. The Dutch business pattern, which included acquiring exclusive monopoly rights, led to frequent commercial conflicts between the Company and the court. In the context of modern historiography. This might be called a ‘clash between two monopolistic powers’.<sup>2</sup>

Siam’s fixation on state control of foreign trade expressed itself in the creation of an extensive bureaucratic apparatus, the *Phrakhlang Sinkha*, “Ministry of External Relations and Maritime Trading Affairs”. This was responsible for foreign trade, foreign affairs, and the regulation of foreign trading communities.<sup>3</sup> Its minister, Okya Phrakhlang, often spelled as Oya Berquelangh in Dutch records, was responsible for exchanging state letters and gifts with Batavia on the king’s and his own behalf. During the seventeenth century, this took place on an almost annual basis involving an intense correspondence between the two sides dominated by trade issues in which both the VOC Governor-General and the Phrakhlang sought to maximise their respective commercial advantage.

<sup>1</sup> For more details of the founding phase of the Siamese-Dutch relationships and the overview of the VOC presence in Ayutthaya, see Han ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat: A History of the Contacts between The Netherlands and Thailand* (Lochem-Gent: De Tijdstroom, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> Dhiravat na Pombejra, ‘Crown Trade and Court Politics in Ayutthaya during the Reign of King Narai, 1656-1688’, in: Kathirithamby-Wells, J. and Villiers, John (eds.), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), pp. 127-42, here p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> For the history, structure and personnel of the Phrakhlang Sinkha, see Kennon Breazeale, ‘Thai Maritime Trade and the Ministry Responsible’, in idem (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), pp. 1-54.

## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. King of Siam (Thailand) observes moon clips from his palace,  
Drawing by Jan Luyken, Aart Dircksz Oossaan, 1687

The reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688) was characterized by an avid interest in the outside world. This was expressed in many forms: the trinity of trade, war and diplomacy were crucial here but so too were more personal aspects such as King Narai's keen interest in foreign knowledge and material culture. The monarch's personality and the influence of other foreigners at court, especially the Moors, Chinese and French, posed a threat to the hitherto privileged position of the Dutch.

During Narai's reign, disagreements between the two powers became ever more evident, as the VOC tried to exert their diplomatic and political influence throughout Asia

and impose restraint upon Siam's seaborne trade. This mounting commercial competition over control of the East Asian trade eventually resulted in a Dutch naval blockade of the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. This also involved the selective capture of junks sailing to Siam from China and Japan. The blockade was eventually settled by the conclusion of the 1664 Trade Treaty between the Siamese court and the VOC ambassador, Pieter de Bitter.<sup>4</sup> This first Dutch-Siamese Treaty defined the VOC's commercial privileges and introduced new concepts of immunity and extraterritoriality for Company subjects in Siam.<sup>5</sup> These, however, ran counter to Siamese perceptions that all the

<sup>4</sup> For details and debates of the incident of the Dutch naval blockade and the following signing of the 1664 Treaty, see Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'The Dutch-Siamese Conflict of 1663-1664: A Reassessment', in: Blussé, Leonard (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), pp. 291-306.

<sup>5</sup> 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 George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand* (Illinois: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies Special Report 16, 1977), pp. 138-41.



## INTRODUCTION

lands and people in Siam were subject to the king's authority. The privileges of the Dutch were, in reality, far from absolute, and they repeatedly complained about Siamese breaches of their exclusive trading rights. This frequently resulted in shortages of trade goods to meet the quotas they claimed to be entitled to under the 1664 Treaty.

The VOC's naval capacity and control of sea routes in many parts of Asia made the Siamese court dependent on VOC co-operation. At the same time, the company had to contain the maritime ambitions of Siam. As we have seen, the Dutch had successfully used their naval superiority to force commercial concessions from King Narai. Both they and the other Europeans in Narai's Siam had enforced control over Asian waters which challenged existing indigenous Asian notions of *mare liberum* or freedom of the seas and navigation. Besides concessions to allow passage to certain areas, Siam often needed the Company's ships to connect it to the outside world.

The contents of the 27 January 1683 letter show that the Dutch lost no opportunity to tell to the Siamese about the extensive areas of the Indonesian Archipelago under their influence or direct control, such as Mataram, Cirebon, Jepara, Jambi, Palembang and Banten. The Siamese court also recognized that the Company and no other foreign merchants had the privilege of trading in certain commodities like textiles, opium and spices in these areas. The only exception was Jambi which the Phrakhlang diplomatically argued should be recognised as a Siamese vassal by virtue of its voluntary submission to Ayutthaya. The case of Jambi was complicated, however, for it pledged allegiance to both the VOC and the king of Siam.

Two further incidents addressed in this letter highlight the conflicted nature of Dutch policy towards Siam, suspended as it was between the Company's discriminatory measures designed to curb Siam's maritime activities and its support for the court's overseas enterprise. First, the VOC complained about the damage to its textile trade in Cirebon caused by one of Narai's emissaries selling large quantities of fabrics while actually on a mission to procure Javanese horses. Having long been acquainted with the use of horses for transportation, warfare and ceremonial purposes, the Siamese court had started purchasing these mounts from Java during King Narai's reign. Buying horses from Java became an issue that made the Siamese court dependent on the VOC because it needed the Dutch to grant their ships access to Javanese ports where they could procure the horses and transport them to Siam.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, the VOC trading post in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) had provided material and financial assistance to the crew of King Narai's royal junk which had been wrecked on the Ceylonese coast on a trading voyage to Persia. Following this accident, the Dutch complained that the Siamese cargoes bound for Persia were injurious to the Company's business. As with the case of the purchase of Javanese horses, they asked the Siamese to rely on their service for all destinations east of Burma such as Surat, Persia, Bengal, Masulipatnam, and Mokka.

It is apparent that the VOC was attempting to fight off competition from Asian traders, including Siam. This can be seen from the instructions drawn up in 1685 by the outgoing Trade Director, Aarnout Faa, reveal how much control the VOC believed it had over

<sup>6</sup> Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Javanese Horses for the Court of Ayutthaya', in: Greg Bankoff, et al, *Breeds of Empire: the 'Invention' of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa 1500-1950* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007), pp. 65-81, here 72-74.



## INTRODUCTION

Siamese shipping in areas outside those parts of the archipelago which it claimed were under its direct or indirect control: thus the *Opperhoofd* (trade director) instructed his successor to grant a pass to the Siamese King to enter Northern Luzon, Cambodia, Cochin China, Tonkin, Canton, Japan, Pahang, Riau, Johor, Malacca, Coromandel, Bengal, Surat, and Persia. The King's ships to West Java had to call at Batavia and were not allowed to take in textiles to sell there. Significantly, the Company barred him passage from Coxinga's Formosa, as well as from Indragiri, Jambi, and Palembang, with which the Dutch claimed they were the sole trading partner by virtue of their treaties with these places.<sup>7</sup>

Against such Dutch discrimination veiled in ostensible offers for help, the Phrakhleng argued for Siam's rights to enter these regions in its own right, insisting on the inability of the Dutch to select appropriate goods for the Siamese market due to cultural differences. In return, the Siamese court also tried to discourage the Dutch, claiming concerns for their safety from the malice of the locals, from trading in its southern territories:

Thalang, Bangkhli, and Takuathung. Earlier in the 1640s, the VOC had tried to monopolize the tin production in the Malay Peninsula by signing treaties with the heads of these tin-producing places including Phuket and Bangkhli. The tin trade in this region had a violent history and the Dutch were forced to respond to strong challenges from all parties from the local elite, the Malays, the Moors, the Chinese and, later in King Narai's reign, both the English and the French, all of whom were bent on resisting Dutch monopolistic practices.<sup>8</sup>

The 27 January 1683 letter gives a good insight into the complex relationship between the VOC and the Siamese court both during King Narai's reign and those of his successors. Despite the fact that both sides were sporadically engaged in commercial conflicts, the VOC remained the most regular European trade partner and diplomatic counterpart for Siam. Although the Dutch sought to limit Siam's maritime trade for their own benefit, they still played a vital role in contributing to the expansion of King Narai's world.

<sup>7</sup> VOC 1407, *Memorie van Faa zaliger aan Keijts* [Memorandum left by the late Faa to Keijts], 15 Jan. 1685, fo. 3215r-v. Actually, Zheng Jing, the grandson and successor of Zheng Chenggong, had already been defeated in 1683.

<sup>8</sup> Dhiravat na Pombejra, 'Towards a History of Seventeenth-Century Phuket', in Sunait Chutintaranond and Chris Baker (eds.), *Recalling the Local Pasts: Autonomous History in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002), pp. 89-126.

## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 27 JANUARI 1683.

[fol. 141]

Volgt nu de translaat missive van den Oya Berquelangh in Siam aan Sijn Edelheyt de heere gouverneur generael geschreven. Bovenaan stondt (O verthoonder van de gebeden)

Dese brieff komt aff van Tsjauparaje Seri Derma Rava [fol. 142] Detsieh Tsjada Amataja Ratsjet Pipid Ritanrata Kosa Ribaedi Apie Piri Aer Germa Pahak Tsjauparaja Bergalang aan den gouverneur generael Cornelis Speelman, raet van India, en capiteyn van Jacatra.

Voorts den gouverneur generaal heeft Nerikpi gesonden met een brieff en een schenckagie bestaende in een comptoir van caneelhout, 2 lange roers die ingeleyt sijn, nevens 2 korte, alsoock 2 piecken en een rol van goude gefigureerde damast Japansch werck, met 4 stucken goude en silvere kant, ende een kist met papier, om daarop te schrijven off schilderen; een stuck root laken met een stuck fluweel, hebbende ick al hetselve naar de gewoonte ontfangen, en den inhoud van hetgeen in die brieff vervat is, wel verstaan alsdat den gouverneur generael de stad en 't lant van Jacatra in gesontheyt en welvarentheyt regeerde, waarover ick dan oock uyttermaten verblijd en verheugt ben geweest, alsmede dat in die brieff gemelt staat aangaande de gelegentheyt van het schip off schepen die naar Siam vertrecken, dat wanneer hare coopmanschapen reeds ingeladen hebben om te verseylen dan nogh lange opgehouden werden om te wagten naar de brieven, versoeckende aldus, dat de missiven in het toekomende spoedigh wilden vervaardigen, sonder eenige tardançe opdat het schip off de scheepen oock in haast seyl mogen maecken.

Voorts wat belangt het schip dat in dit mouson hier gecomen is, wanneer den brieff stonden te beantwoorden, en dien bodem spoedigh wilde laeten vertrecken, soodanigh als in den brieff van den capiteyn vervat staet, soo seyde den capiteyn van de logie dat dit schip nogh niet naar Batavia vertrock, maar eerst naar Japan varen soude, en aldus is het dan oock bijgekomen dat die brieff niet beantwoort is geworden, dogh hiernaer en zal hierontrent geen veragteringh meer gepleegt maar alle spoedigheyt bijgebracht werden.

Voorts dat de Compagnie den zoon van den coninck van Mataram geassisteert had om hem tot coninck te helpen, en 't land van Tseribon en Japara weder in stant te brengen, alsmede dat hare hulpe oock bewesen had aan den coninck van Jambi en Palimbangh, en de Compagnie daar een groote somma zilver aen te kost geleyd en gegasteert had, en dat in alle die landen een zoodanigh contract gemaackt had, dat aan geen [fol. 143] andere coopliden den handel aldaar souden mogen laeten genieten, als alleen aan de Compagnie, ende dat Bantam nu oock door de Compagnie veroverd was, sullende de Compagnie bij dese avançe in alle die landen oock groote profijten en winsten hiernaer



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

opsteken, wesende ick oock over het verstaan van dese tijdingh bovenmaten seer verheugt geweest.

En wat aangaat des conings jonck dat naar Tsjerebon gesonden was, hetselve is voor Batavia verscheenen en van daar voorts naar Tsjerebon geseuld, en naardat 2 dagen op reys was door Javanen ontmoet, geattacqueert en verbrand geworden, daar dit nogtans een jonck van den coningh was, sullende het nu hiernae oock seer beswaerlijck vallen om 's conings joncken te senden naar de plaatsen die dicht aan de gouvernije van het Jaccatrase lant leggen, dogh den gouverneur generael weet best hoedanigh [hij] dit accomoderen en remediëren sal.

Voorts werd in die brieff oock gewagh gemaackt hoe dat een slaaff van den coning een Hollantse pascedul versogt had om op Tsjerebon paarden te mogen coopen, dog dat naar dit versoeck niet te werck gegaan [was] en die reyse ten eersten ondernomen [had], maar sigh naar Bantam en Palimbangh begeven had, en van daar weder op Jaccatra geretourneert was, versoeckende doen weder een licentie acte van den gouverneur generael om op Tsjerebon sijne kleeden te mogen verhandelen, dat hierop den capiteyn uyt een extraordinaire gunste en faveur hem oock een soodanig licentieschrift verleend had, brengende aldus een groote quantiteyt kleeden op Chirrebon aen, waardoor Compagnies doecken die op Chirebon lagen dan oock aan de hand<sup>1</sup> gebleven, en de Compagnie aldus daarbij schade geleden heeft gehad, en dat aldus geene soodanige acten meer voortaan passeeren souden.

Dat nu dese nachoda een Hollants pas verkregen hebbende om op Chirrebon paarden te mogen koopen, ende niet ten eersten derwaerts maar naar een ander lant vertrocken is, hetselve is qualijck van dien nachoda gedaan, en [hij] sal op sijn wederkomst daarover oock gecorrigeert werden, en [het] is een groote gunst en courtosye van den capiteyn geweest dat hem een soodanige acte geaccordeert heeft gehad, en [dat] comt oock overeen met de wegh van een onderlinge vruntschap en genegentheyt. En wat de kleeden belangt, dewelcke dien nachoda [fol. 144] medegenomen heeft, [deze] sijn door hem versogt en aan paarden besteet, hebbende de kleeden oock geen groote quantiteyt uytgemaackt, bedragende naar gissingh aan capitael niet meer als 9 off 10 cattis silver. En wanneer [hij] gesonden wiert om paarden op de Cust van Java te coopen, soo was het nogh de regte tijt van het mouson niet, off het mousoun was doen niet ten eynde, en [het] was het oock maar een enckele bodem die inmiddens somtijts wel elders heenen senden, en somtijts oock wel niet. En aldus is het dan hiermede gelegen.

Voorts den capiteyn van de logie heeft geseyd dat wanneer [wij] paarden willen koopen dit dan maar aan den gouverneur generael wilde bekend maken, [en hij dan] daarvan den incoop soude laten doen. Dit is wel goet, dogh de Hollanders hebben een andere keur en zinlijckheyt, en die van Siam weder een andere ontrent de paarden ende daarom soud'et oock niet wel gaan, dat de Hollanders die opkogten, omdat die [paarden] dan soodanigh niet souden wesen als deselve van de Siammers begeert werden. Den capiteyn van de logie heeft mede geseyd van een conings slaaff met de Hollanders mede te senden, en dat denselven dan weder met een Hollants schip terugh bestellen

<sup>1</sup> Onverkocht

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

souden, dogh de Hollanders en hebben geen eene spraacke<sup>2</sup> met de Siammers en souden misschien malckander niet wel verstaan, en daardoor in questie en verschil geraecken, en de onderlinge vrundschap en genegentheyt tusschen beyde [zou] daardoor een krak en breuck lijden.

Voorts dat het coninx jonck 'twelck naar Persia gestevent is, op Ceylon is komen te vervallen, hebbende den gouverneur generael van Ceylon in silver 7200 stucken daaraan verschooten<sup>3</sup> en sijne vordere hulpe daarentrent betoond, sijnde daarvan een hantschrift aldaar gepasseert om dit silver aan den capiteyn van de logie weder uyt te keeren, en is daarop dien bodem naardat deselve wat verholpen en gerepareert was, voort naar Coetchin geraeckt<sup>4</sup> alwaar den capiteyn hetselve oock met touwerck<sup>5</sup> en ander scheepsgereetschap versien heeft gehad, sonder nog regt te weten, hoeveel de onkosten aldaar gedaan wel belopen sullen, die naar gissingh al een goede somme silver te sullen bedragen. En wanneer daarvan seeckere [fol. 145] kennisse hebben, soo sullen [wij] die somma dan weder aan den capiteyn van de logie in de groote stadt van Siam restitueeren, en accordeert dese hulpe van de Hollanders aan 's coninx slaven oock met de cours van vrundschap en genegentheyt, die van den beginne en van de oude tijden af onderhouden is geworden.

Voorts dat het ondernemen van soodanige besendingen naar Persia aan de Compagnie groote schaede toebragt en dat<sup>6</sup> [wij] dit voortaan wilden nalaten. Ende soo<sup>7</sup> wanneer [wij] iets van Souratta, Persia, Bengale, Masulipatnam en Mocha, daar de Compagnie haere scheepen send, begeerden, dat<sup>8</sup> [wij] dit aan den capiteyn van de logie wilden bekend maecken en hierop dan voorts belast souden werden, om dit zoodanigh te laeten maecken als het soude willen hebben tot voorkominge van de groote schaede en nadeel, die de Compagnie bij die equipagie leedt en aldus oock niet meer voor dat vaarwater souden behoeven Hollantse paspoorten te versoecken. Dit seggen van den gouverneur generael quadreert<sup>9</sup> wel met de wegh van de onderlinge vruntschap alhier, dogh het lant van Persiën, en van Hederabath (dat is Golkonda) corresponderen mede in een soodanige harmonye en sijn aldus gewoon over en weder besendingen aan malckanderen te doen en 'tgeen te laten maecken dat [wij] begeren. Hetselve is wel waar, dogh misschien soud'et dan soodanigh niet bekomen werden als de intentie en de zinlijkheyt soude vallen, gelijk het stuck root laken dat voorleden mousoun hier gelast is aan te brengen in couleur niet overeenquam soals het gaarne hadden, dat daarom oock wederom laten geven hebbe, seggende den gouverneur aengaende dit laken dat geen coopliden in die couleur behagen hadde, en derhalven aan de hant gebleven was

<sup>2</sup> Hebben niet dezelfde taal.

<sup>3</sup> Uitgegeven.

<sup>4</sup> D.w.z. gevaren.

<sup>5</sup> Touwwerk.

<sup>6</sup> Of.

<sup>7</sup> Indien.

<sup>8</sup> Of.

<sup>9</sup> Is overeenkomstig met.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

tot schaede van de Compagnie. En soude wel eenige slaven van den coningh met de Hollantse scheepen kunnen overvaeren, gelijk eens gecontracteert, off geaccordeert is geweest dat te geschieden had, dog wanneer nu ingevolge van dit eenige goederen bijbragte, om in het Hollantse schip te laden, doen seyden de Hollanders dat er al teveel goederen en kisten waren en dat deselve niet innemen konden, en soo is 't hiermede dan oock [zodanig] gelegen [als hiervoor]. De Hollanders in Siam en kunnen oock de tael niet, om anders de Siammers in die voyagie [fol. 146] te versellen want anders mischien eenige misverstanden soude kunnen ontstaen, die de goede vrundschap van wedersijden krencken mogte, oock schoon of<sup>10</sup> nu al kennisse gaven, van de benodigde goederen die uyt alle die landen komen moesten, en dat de Compagnie deselve mede al liet aanbrengen en bestelden, wie weet off deselve dan oock niet verschillen mogte van het monster, en soude men die weder moeten geven, en dit soude aldus sonder eynde en altijd weder aen te doen, ende over en weder te gaan wesen. Maer de goederen die de Hollanders alleen maecken kunnen, daarover soude men naar Hollant [een bericht] kunnen stueren, om die daar te vervaardigen, dogh het senden van een coningxschip naar Persiën, en kan nog proffijt nog schaede bijbrengen, alsoo het senden over en weder maar alleen specteert tot onderhouding van de vrundschap die van voorige tijden af al gecultiveert is geweest.

Voorts wert daar oock aangehaelt van het contract van sijn beginne af tot nu toe dat het volck van de Compagnie daarbij gequalificeert is om de hartevelen en koehuyden op te koopen, dogh dat deselve jegenwoordigh niets en kregen soowel als voordesen omdat de joncken van Siam alle mousons naar Japan vertrocken, en de Hollanders daardoor geen genoegsame procure hiervan konden doen, en aldus de Compagnie daarbij seer groote schaede leet, dat dan bijaldien [wij] konden, aen geen anderen wilden toelaten om die op te koopen, en dat bijaldien de coopliden in de groote stad van Siam deselve quamen in te coopen en naar Japan te vervoeren om aldaar te verhandelen, dan in dit geval wanneer iemant hierin quamen te aghterhaelen ofte rescontreren, aen deselve mogten die waerdije doen betaelen tot soodanigen prijs als die in Japan sal vercocht hebben, opdat de Compagnie hierontrent van schaede mogten vrijblijven.

Hierop dient dat ontrent het contract ten tijde van De Bitter aangegaan niets verandert is geworden, werdende in schriftelijcke tractaet vooraan geseyt, dat aan de Hollanders de hartevelen en koehuyden uyt een koninglijcke genade vergunt, en aan andere coopliden verboden waer, en bijaldien er vele geprocreert werden, dat dan van de gecogte door de Hollanders 10000 stucx vellen, voor de prijs van den inkoop mogten nemen [fol. 146] en met 's coninx jonck of joncken naar Japan senden, en soo wanneer den inkoop schrael en de vellen in quanteyt niet [te] bekomen sijn, dat dan van de Hollanders maar 7000 vellen zouden nemen, in 4 jaren niet meer genomen, en met 's coninx joncken versonden als naar reequening maar 2135 stux vellen, hebbende de Hollanders aldus 18725 stux minder geleverd als het contract hout, en oock wanneer gesien hebben dat de Hollanders weynig vellen magtigh wierden, soo is aan het volck van de thresorye oock verboden geworden om gene vellen van de Hollanders af te

<sup>10</sup> Ofschoon, hoewel.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

halen, die inmiddels in de tijd van 11 jaeren een getal van 128725 stux souden belopen hebben.

En ingevalle nu naar dese reecquening de vellen van de Hollanders genomen, sooals het contract luyd, mitsgaders deselve naar Japan vervoert en aldaar verhandelt hadden, soo souden daarbij een soo notable somma van 1059 cattys, 12 thails en een maas geprofyteert hebben, en is dan aldus het voorige hooge faveur nogh soo veel te grooter en overvloediger geworden door het verbod dat er gedaan is, om van de Hollanders geene vellen meer te nemen, om die naar Japan met joncken te vervoeren, laetende deselve door de Hollanders alleen bemagtigen en houden, en is aldus de uytsteekende gunst van Sijn Mayesteyt hieruyt klaar genoegh blijckende, alhoewel misschien den capiteyn in de groote stad van Siam dit aan den gouverneur soo duydelijck niet en verthoont, en aanwijst, en kan de mindere becoming van de vellen oock voor geen veranderingh van het contract getaxeert werden, want het in den coophandel gemeenlijck soo toegaat, dat de whaaren in meerder en minder quantiteyt te krijgen sijn, naardat de koopers en verkoopers sijn, off sien aanstellen, sullende lieden van kennisse wel een groote quantiteyt kunnen bemagtigen want ten tijde van den capiteyn Enogh Poolvoet aff, tot aan capiteyn Johannes off Jansen toe, dogh men wil in 't verhandelen te naeuwen prijs op het proffijt van de Compagnie sien, gelijk oock aan den capiteyn van de logie in de groote stad van Siam wel te verstaan gegeven hebbe, met een duydelijcke vertooning, [fol. 147] hoedanigh het hiermede eygentlijck gelegen zij.

Voorts heeft den capiteyn van de logie oock bekent gemaect dat de Chinese cooplieden de vellen te sluycx opkogten en naar Japan bragten, en is daarop dan oock aan de sabandhaar gelast geworden, om dierwegens een verbod aan alle de Chinesen te doen, alsmede aen den capiteyn van de logie te notificeren dat wanneer het zaysoen sal wesen om de vellen op te kopen, dan oock een persoon sal hebben te stellen om daar op te passen, en dat den capiteyn dan oock iemant van sijn volck wilden ordonneren om daar op te waacken, en toesigt te nemen dat geene vellen ter sluycx mogten bemagtigt werden en dus is 't dan hiermede gelegen. Nog soo wert in die brief mentie gemaect van Hollanders tot den handel te willen plaetsen op Salang Bangirei en Tokoet, dogh bij een brief hebben [wij] reeds de gelegentheyte en hoe het gestelt is, bekent gemaect, soodanigh dat de Hollanderen aldaar in gerustheyt en volkomen theyt geen thin soude kunnen negotieeren, alsoo het lant aldaar in geen esse is en de inwoonders boosaardigh en oock nogh met volck van andere landen in verstant sijn, en corresponderen, ja selffs aan het hoeft van dat lant hare wreedelijckheyt toonen, soodanigh als de vreemde handelaars aldaar oock dickmaals te kennen gegeven hebben. En soo men nu de Hollanders daar liet resideren, om te handelen, soo soude het ligt kunnen gebeuren, dat trouwlooslijck en schelmagtigh met de Hollanders omgingen, ende deselve daardoor schade aan haar goet leden, 'tgeen dan niet de wegh die tot een goede vrundschap leyd, en tot de onderhoudingh van dien streckt, soude komen te strijden, en deselve misschien daardoor oock een krack leyden off gebroocken werden. En aldus is het hiermede dan inderdaet gelegen, en hebben nu hiervan oock kennisse gedaan aan den capiteyn die in de logie van de groote stad Siam resideert.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Aangaande de quaedaardigheyt en de schelmagtigheyt van de luyden op Salang, Banggirei en Takoet, sijnde oock aan den capiteyn haare [fol. 149] boose dadelijckheden van den beginne af in schrift opgegeven om hetselve aan den gouverneur bekent te maecten, wesende voorts het gebruyck en de stijl van alle landen wanneer een onderlinge vruntschap aangeaan is, dat men alles moet contribueeren om die te onderhouden ende sijn overlegh en sijne gedagten daartoe leyden en de saken en actiën daarnaer stieren dat er geen verschil en onlusten tusschen beyde komen te spruyten ende t'ontstaan. En nu ben ick met den generael in vrundschap verbonden, en daarin oock van den beginne gebleven ende continuere daar noch in. Ende met het land van Salang, Banggirei en Takoet staet het soodanigh als hiervooren verclaart is. Soo dit nu niet bekent maecten, en aldus de Hollanders aldaar residentie lieten nemen, ende aldus dit quaat slagh van volcke iets aan de Hollanders mogt komen te misdoen, soo soude dit met onse vruntschap strijdigh wesen, en t'eenemaal van die wegh afleyden. En om dese reden doen dan dese notificatie opdat de Hollanders hierontrent niets quaats mogten ontmoeten.

Voorts soo werd oock gesproocken wegens het goude koffertje dat gesonden was om te esmaileren, seggende dat [jullie] dit naar Hollant geschickt hadden, om dat daar te laten doen, dogh dat het groote schip, waarmede dit kofferken weder terugh gevoert werd in sijne herwaerts reyse vermist en nogh niet op Jaccatra te voorschijn gekomen was, werdende vertrouwt, dat deselve in zee sal gebleven wesen, waarbij de Compagnie dan oock 2100 kattis soude komen te verliezen, en dat den generael hierover seer bedroeft was, alsmede dat dit kofferken daaronder oock quyt geraeckt soude wesen. Dog wat reat is hiertegens, alsoo dit de fortuyn van de zee is, hebbende de Compagnie daerbij oock soo veele goederen te missen, willende den generael dit oock niet al te seer ter harte nemen.

Vorders werd oock in die brieff aangehaalt dat den generael verheugt was, over dat den esmailleerder aangenomen hadden, dogh dat een weynigh bedroeft was, doordien den metselaar en den beelthouwer weder terugh laten gaen hadden, seggende mede dat op Batavia geen fortificatiemeester, nogh de andere werckmeester waren, alsoock dat de modellen van alle de goederen die overgesonden waren, om het werck daernaer te maecten reeds al voortgeschickt waren, hadden hetselve oock [fol. 150] herwaerts te bestellen, wanneer al dit goet met de scheepen uyt Holland soude aangebragt wesen, en dit correspondeert oock met de goede vrundschap die onder ons is, en wanneer dan aldus al het voorsz. uyt Hollant met de scheepen komt, soo wil togh die aanbesteden goederen, met den eersten nae de groote stad van Siam doen transporteeren alsmede de Hollanders die kennisse en practijcq hebben om fortificatiewercken, casteelen en bolwercken te leggen en op te bouwen, gelijk oock soodanige Hollanders die in groff en fijn smeden ervaren sijn, en uyt Hollant daar komen aen te landen.

Eyndelijck werd aan den gouverneur generaal bij dese oock kennisse gedaan dat in dese tijt den coninck van Jamby in onderdanigheyt eenige bloemen van goud en silver opgeoffert heeft gehad, met versoeck dat voor een slaaff van Sijn Mayesteyt erkent en sijn lant oock voor onderdanigh aan de groote stad van Siam mogt gereeckent en aangenomen werden, biddende seer instantelijck om de aelmoesse van Sijne Hooge Gen-

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

de, en om hem oock een goede somma te leenen en heeft Sijne Hooge Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt hem oock met barmhertighe oogen aengesien en aldus sijn begeren genadelijck toegestaen, en wil den gouverneur generael hierontrent oock onse mutuele vruntschap die van den beginne aan tot nu toe geduurt heeft, in aanschouw nemen, en sigh daarnaar oock voegen. En ingevalle aan den coninck van Jamby iets mogt overkomen, dat den gouverneur hem daarin oock behulpsaam wil wesen, aengesien nu in dese tijt het lant van Jamby onder de groote stad van Siam gehoorigh is.

Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt, mijn heer, schenckt aan den gouverneur uyt een goedertierenthey 32 bharen thin in de negorije van Ligoor, en send ick aan den gouverneur generaal oock 7 bharen thin toe. Voorts de onderlinge vruntschap en genegenthey blijve onafscheydelijck tusschen ons beyde, tot den dagh der opstandinge toe, soo lange als de maan en son sullen schijnen, en dit wil den gouverneur generael sigh oock soodanigh ter herten laeten gaan.

Dit is geschreven den 22 dagh van de 11 maant op een vrijdagh in het hondenjaar. Eynde.

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 11 MEI 1683.

[fol. 474]

De brief die de koning aan ons heeft geschreven is ons op 18 januari 1683 wel toegebracht en met de gewone statie ontvangen. De brief is in antwoord op onze brief die wij in 1682 aan Zijne Majesteit hadden geschreven.

De koninklijke Majesteit werd bij dezen bedankt voor het onderhouden van het verleende monopolie op de huidenexport aan de Compagnie. [Ook] dat de syahbandars tot dat einde is gelast om alle sluikhandel van de Chinezen en andere naties te verhinderen, met toestemming aan onze kapitein dat hij daarop ook toezicht zal mogen nemen. [Ook] dat de koninklijke tresauriers voortaan geen huiden zullen mogen innemen van de Compagnie, maar deze de kapitein laten houden om voor rekening van de Compagnie naar Japan gezonden te worden, waar de Japanse groten te Nakasaki die huiden tegen zeer lage prijzen inkopen, in groot verschil met voorgaande tijden. Dit heeft de koning zonder twijfel verstaan, zodat onze kapitein geen ongelijk heeft dat hij de huiden in Siam ook tegen een schappelijke prijs probeert te bedingen.

Uit het vaderland zijn met de laatste schepen volgens de modellen ons toegekomen de gevraagde 28 stuks zeer fijne kastoorroeden<sup>11</sup>, alle geverfd zoals opgegeven, gezonden in een kist van binnen met lood beslagen, met last aan onze kapitein om deze te bezorgen opdat deze Uwe Majesteit tot voldoening van zijn smaak ten spoedigste mochten gebracht worden. Wij twijffelen er niet aan of zij zullen U Majesteit zeer goed bevallen en aangenaam zijn.

Alhoewel wij er zeker van zijn dat de koning al bericht zal hebben ontvangen van het verongelukte schip in de rivier van Suratte, hebben wij niet willen nalaten onze kapitein in de grote stad Siam te berichten wat de toedracht is geweest, opdat hij de

<sup>11</sup> Kastoren hoed: een zwarte, van beverwol / bevervilt gemaakte hoed. Het Siamse hof begon zulke hoeden te bestellen tijden de regering van Koning Narai. Het is niet duidelijk bij welke gelegenheden ze werden gedragen.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

koning of de phrakhlang indien het gevraagd werd daarvan communicatie kan doen. De dienaren van de koning aldaar [in Suratte] hebben van onze directeur een grote som van geld gevraagd ter grootte van 3000 rupiah om daar een nieuw schip te bouwen. Dit heeft de directeur niet durven besluiten uit vrees om de koning te mishagen. En ook omdat de scheepstimmering niet alleen zeer duur is maar ook langzaam verloopt. Niettemin heeft hij hen 15000 rupiah aangeboden, of hen met hun goederen per compagnieschepen te laten vertrekken.

Maar de commandeur van Cochin heeft nog niet laten weten welke hulp is geschonken aan het koningsschip aldaar. Het staat de Gouverneur-Generaal en raden van India niet bij dat het de onderdanen van de koning geweigerd zou zijn om hun goederen in compagnieschepen te laden omdat de kwantiteit te groot was. Integendeel, de Gouverneur-Generaal herinnert zich zeer wel dat enkele jaren gelden de koningsdienaren met zo veel goederen als in compagnieschepen geborgen konden worden uit Surat te herwaarts [naar Batavia] gebracht zijn. En dat wij de 2000 rupiah die de directeur van Suratte voor vrachtgeld had bedongen niet hebben gevorderd uit respect voor de koning. De dienaren zijn na een goed onthaal van hier [uit Batavia] met hun goederen naar Siam overgevoerd en hierin zullen wij nooit in gebreke blijven.

Maar wat nu de koning en het land van Jambi betreft, hebben wij verleden jaar in onze brief aan Uwe Koninklijke Majesteit laten weten hoe het tussen Jambi en de Compagnie gelegen was volgens het laatst gemaakte contract.<sup>12</sup> De koning [van Jambi] heeft ons niet alleen evenals de koning van Palembang, de Susuhunan van Mataram<sup>13</sup> en de prinsen van Cirebon de vrije handel vergunt in zijn rijk, met uitsluiting van alle andere natiën. Hij heeft zichzelf ook gesteld onder de bescherming van de Compagnie, zoals onze kapitein in de grote stad Siam U Majesteit, indien het gevraagd werd, daarvan nader zou kunnen berichten. [De koning van Jambi] kan zichzelf buiten voorkennis en toestemming van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië niet onder andere heren stellen. Het verwonderd ons dus dat hij met dat doel zijn gezanten met gouden en zilveren bloemen tot een teken van onderdanigheid naar Uwe Majesteit had gezonden. Zonder twijfel om daardoor geld te kunnen lenen en om de geschenken die hij krijgt bij de terugkomst van zijn eigen gezanten en de Siamse afgezanten. Maar Uwe Majesteit zal uit het hiervoor gezegde genoegzaam begrijpen dat wij dit gedrag van de koning van Jambi tot nadeel van de Compagnie niet kunnen accepteren. En dat wij derhalve ook het land en de onderdanen of het volk van Jambi niet kunnen erkennen voor slaven of onderdanen van Uwe Majesteit, aangezien zij eigenlijk onder de bescherming van de Compagnie staan, en de Compagnie grote onkosten heeft gemaakt om de [autoriteit van] de koning over zijn gebied zeker te stellen en de rust in het land [van Jambi] te herstellen. Bovendien zijn de koning en de inwoners van Jambi aan de Compagnie nog een grote som van geld schuldig. Daarnaast zijn die van Jambi van zeer oude tijden her, evenals de inwoners van Palembang, een vazal van de Susuhunan geweest.

<sup>12</sup> Het contract van 20 augustus 1683 tussen Sultan Ingalaga (1679-1687) en de VOC in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Derde Deel (1676-1691), pp. 280-282.

<sup>13</sup> Susuhunan van Mataram was ten tijde Amangkurat II

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Wij maken Uwe Majesteit mede bekend, dat [de Susuhunan] eveneens onder de bescherming van de Compagnie was geaccepteerd.<sup>14</sup> En zo is het met Jambi gelegen en wordt Uwe Majesteit verzocht daarop te reflecteren. Wij hebben het nodig geacht dit uitvoerig te verklaren opdat hierdoor geen disputen veroorzaakt mogten worden. De rebellen van Banten die tegen hun koning<sup>15</sup> waren opgestaan zijn nu volledig verslagen en door de wapens van de Compagnie gedwongen zichzelf voor hun koning te verootmoedigen, zodat dat land onder de bescherming van de Compagnie nu eveneens opnieuw in rust is hersteld, hetgeen God de Heere believe te laten voorduren.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en raden van India hebben geen moeite gespaard om tot een wedergeschenk zodanige curieuze goederen te selecteren die volgens onze gissing Uwe Majesteit het allermeest zouden mogen behagen, bestaande in het volgende:

twee zeer unieke, fijne vergulde snaphanen expres voor de Koning uit Holland besteld

twee paar unieke, fijne vergulde pistolen

twee stuks fijne vergulde kromme zwaarden

twee stuks fijne vergulde rechte zwaarden

twee stuks fijne vergulde karabijnen

twee stuks spiegels van 1 1/3 pond met vergulde lijsten met houtsnijwerk

lofwerk van bloemen en fruit

een stuk aurora fluweel

een stuk kanten satijn met kant van witte en gouden bloemen

een uniek ebbenhouten kistje met snijwerk en zilveren beslag

een zwaar, kostbaar gouden laken

een witte *boudaar*<sup>16</sup> met dichte gouden bloemen

een rode *boudaar* met gouden en gekleurde bloemen

zes zeer mooie papegaaien met rode koppen

een flesje met kaneelolie

een flesje met kruidnagelolie

een flesje met foelie-olie

een flesje met olie van muskaatnoten,

welke oliën tot behoud van de gezondheid en versterking van het lichaam zeer noodzakelijk en kostbaar zijn.

<sup>14</sup> Een verwijzing naar het contract van 25-28 februari 1677 met de Susuhunan van Mataram Amangkurat II, zie *Corpus Diplomaticum, Tweede Deel (Derde Deel, 1676-1691)*, pp. 40-41 artikel 2.

<sup>15</sup> Sultan Abu Nasr Abdul Kahar ofwel Sultan Haji (1682-1687).

<sup>16</sup> *Boudaar*, niet hetzelfde als het woord *boudoir*. Wellicht *boutidars*, een zachte doek, erg duur en met sierlijke gouden draad.





### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA CASTLE, 27 JANUARY 1683.

[fol. 141]

Below follows a translation of the letter written by the Oya Berquelangh in Siam to His Excellency the Lord Governor-General. Above was a presentation of the salutations).

This letter comes from Tsjauparaje Seri Derma Rava [fol. 142] Detsieh Tsjada Amataja Ratsjet Pipid Ritanrata Kosa Ribaedi Apie Piri Aer Germa Pahak Tsjauparaja Bergalang to the Governor-General Cornelis Speelman, Councillor of Asia and Captain of Batavia.

The Governor-General has dispatched Nerikpi as messenger to Siam with a letter and gifts consisting of a writing-slope of cinnamon wood, two long inlaid muskets, as well as two short side-arms of the same, and also 2 pikes and a bolt of damask embroidered with gold thread Japanese work, four pieces of gold and silver lace, and a chest of paper, on which can be either written or painted; a piece of red broadcloth with a piece of velvet, and I have received these same in the customary fashion. From the content of what is written in the letter, [I] understand that the Governor-General rules the city and countryside of Jaccatra in health and prosperity. I am greatly delighted and pleased with this. As well as with the contents of the letter about the opportunity for a ship or ships to depart for Siam, [namely] that when their cargoes have been loaded to sail will be yet longer delayed in order to await letters, [and I] request that the letters will swiftly be composed, without further delay, so that the ship or ships will be able to make sail right soon.

Now, concerning the ship which has arrived on this monsoon. As we were on the point of answering the letter, and wished that the ship might depart with all speed, as has been noted in the letter of the captain, the captain of the trading-post said that the vessel would not yet sail to Batavia, but would depart for Japan first. This is the happenstance whereby that letter has not been answered. Nevertheless, after this there will be no longer any such delays but all will be expedited with the utmost speed.

Furthermore, that the Company has assisted the son of the king of Mataram in his efforts to become king, that peace has been restored to the countries of Cirebon and Jepara and that the Company has also lent its assistance to the king of Jambi and Palembang, and [that] the Company had spent and bestowed a large sum in gold [on this enterprise] and that a contract has been drawn up with all three countries, so that [fol. 143] no other merchants might enjoy the privilege of trading there, but the Company alone, and that Bantam has now also been conquered by the Company and this development foreshadows that in all these places it will be able to make great profits and gains in the future. I desire to state that I have been greatly delighted to have taken note of these tidings.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

And now concerning the royal junk which had been dispatched [from Siam] to Cirebon, the same put in to Batavia, whence it sailed on to Cirebon, but two days into her voyage she was met by Javanese, attacked and burned, even though it was a junk which was the property of the king. After this [incident], it will be extremely problematic to send royal junks to places which lie in close proximity to the governorship of the country of Jaccatra. Nevertheless, the Governor-General knows best how he will deal with and remedy this [problem].

Furthermore, this letter also announces that a servant of the king had requested a Dutch licence to buy horses in Cirebon, but when this request was disallowed and he could not undertake his first voyage, he had journeyed first to Bantam and Palembang, and had returned to Jaccatra and from there once again submitted a request to the Governor-General for a licence [to trade] which would enable him to trade his textiles in Cirebon. Whereupon displaying extraordinary favour and goodwill the Governor-General had granted him such a licence. Wherefore he took large quantities of textiles to Cirebon, as a result of which the Company textiles which were in Cirebon remained unsold, and therefore the Company suffered great damage, and that henceforth [the Company] will no longer grant any more such licences.

That now that this sea captain had been granted a Dutch pass to enable him to sell horses in Cirebon, and did not go there directly but first sailed to another country is the fault of the captain himself. And upon his return [he] will also be punished for it and it was a great favour and courtesy of the captain of the lodge that [he] had granted him this licence, and is also in accordance with the path of reciprocal friendship and amity. And as far as the textiles which that sea captain [fol. 144] had brought with him, [these] were sold by him and spent on horses. These textiles did not amount to any great quantity, being worth at an estimate a capital of no more than 9 or 10 *catties* silver. And, when he was sent to purchase horses on the Coast of Java, it was not yet the right monsoon season, and the West monsoon had not yet ended. [It] was also only rarely that [we] sometimes send a few vessels elsewhere in the middle of the monsoon, but again sometimes do not. And therefore the matter is now closed.

Furthermore, the captain of the trading-post in Cirebon has said that if [we] wish to purchase horses [we] should make this known to the Governor-General, [and then he] will order that they be bought for us. Although this is a good way to arrange matters, nevertheless the Hollanders have a different choice and taste than the people of Siam and yet another in the purchase of horses and hence it will not be a success should the Hollanders buy them because [the horses] would then not be same as those the Siamese desired. The captain of the trading-post has said that he would send a royal servant with the Hollanders, and that that same [the servant] would then be brought back on a Dutch ship. However, the Dutch have no common language with the Siamese and therefore they might not be able to understand each other, and hence will fall into disputes and quarrels, and the reciprocal friendship and amity between both [peoples] will therefore be dented, even breached.

Furthermore, about the royal junk which set sail for Persia had foundered in Ceylon, the Governor of Ceylon has spent 7,200 silver pieces on her and also shown proof of



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

other services to do with her. A decree has been passed here by which this silver will be repaid to the captain of the trading-post [in Siam]. Thereafter this vessel, when she had been rescued and repaired, sailed to Cochin where the captain was supplied with cordage and other nautical requirements, but we do not know precisely how many costs were incurred, but which can be estimated to amount to a goodly sum in silver. When we have exact [fol. 145] knowledge of this, [we] shall reimburse that amount to the captain of the trading-post in the great city of Siam, and repay this help from the Hollanders to the king's servant with the same friendship and amity, as it has flourished since the beginning and in yesteryear.

Furthermore, the enterprise of the dispatch of such cargoes to Persia has been highly injurious to the Company and that in future [we] should like to abandon [it]. Therefore, whenever we desire anything from Surat, Persia, Bengal, Masulipatnam and Mokka, whither the Company dispatch its ships, henceforth we shall make this known to the captain of the trading-post. And that the in the wake of this Company will arrange these matters as the King of Siam would like them to be, so as to prevent any great damage or detriment to the Company were the Siamese themselves to dispatch ships and that then these Siamese ships would no longer be required to submit a request for Dutch passports for these waters.

What the Governor-General says accords with the path of true friendship in our country and also because the country of Persia, and of Hyderabad (which is Golkonda) also relate to each other in such harmony and have therefore agreed to engage in reciprocal trade with each other and to demonstrate it, so that we also desire the same. This is in accordance with the reciprocal friendship, but perhaps it will transpire to that we shall not receive a cargo corresponding with our preferences and taste, such as the piece of red broadcloth which last monsoon did not correspond in hue to that which we had really wanted, and therefore once again [we] had returned it. Therefore [the message] is passed on that this colour pleases none of the merchants and therefore has remained unsold to the detriment of the Company. If indeed several of His Majesty's subjects might sail on the Dutch ships, as it was once agreed and set down in a contract. And indeed, even if [they, the servants] in fulfilment of this agreement be able to sail on the Dutch ships and had gathered together some goods to be loaded into the Dutch ship as a consequence [of this agreement], the Hollanders said that there were too many goods and chests and that [they, the Hollanders] could not take them on board, and so the matter was left [as it was before].

The Hollanders in Siam are also unacquainted with the [Siamese] language and are therefore cannot accompany the Siamese on the voyage [to Persia] [fol. 146], as various misunderstandings could arise, which might sour the friendship between both parties. Even though we might now pass on the knowledge of the goods required from those lands [and] even though the Company itself might carry them and order them, we do not know if these might deviate from the sample, and once again might have to be given back. And this [situation] might endure, [going] back and forth endlessly and always. However, as for the goods which only the Dutch can produce, [a message] about them could be sent to Holland, that they be made there. The dispatch of a royal



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ship to Persia, would bring us neither profit nor loss, as the sending of such a ship there and back is only intended to maintain the friendship which was cultivated in former years.

Furthermore, in the letter [from the Supreme Government] the subject of the contract which has existed from the very beginning up to the present time, under whose terms the people of the Company are granted permission to buy up deer skins and cattle hide has been raised, however these same are no longer be obtained [in such quantities] as once [was the case], because junks from Siam sail to Japan irrespective of the monsoon, and consequently the Hollanders are unable to purchase them in sufficient [quantities] as they once were, whereby the Company suffers great [financial] damage. Therefore, if [we] were able permit no other [traders] to participate in the purchase, and that if the merchants from the great city of Siam came to buy these same and send them to Japan in order to trade them there and if we were to grant anybody [permission] to take over and carry on, that same would have to [be prepared] to pay that sum which is the same as the price against which they would have been sold in Japan, to ensure that the Company will suffer no loss.

In this respect, the contract drawn up in De Bitter's time has not changed, being said at the beginning of [this] written document that the Hollanders have been granted a royal warrant for deer skins and cattle hides, and that other traders are forbidden [to buy up] these wares, and that should a great many of them be procured, that the Hollanders can have 10,000 pieces for the purchase price [fol. 146] and they might send [these] to Japan with the royal junk or junks. Conversely, when the hides cannot be got in any quantity, the Hollanders will take no more than 7,000 skins. [In view of the fact that we] during the last four years have taken no more, and have sent [to Japan] an estimated 2,135 hides on the royal junks, therefore we have supplied the Hollanders with 18,725 fewer hides than the contract specifies. And when we realized that the Hollanders could procure so few hides, the treasury forbade the people to take any hides whatsoever from the Hollanders, who in the meantime have been able to procure the sum of 128,725 pieces in the space of eleven years.

And should this be the case that according to this calculation the skins taken by the Hollanders, as specified in the contract, and moreover transported to Japan and traded there, so will [it, that is, the Company] will have made the very notable profit of 1,059 catties, 122 taels and 1 maas profit. Therefore the previous high profit has become so much greater and more generous because the ban was put in place, namely not to take [parties of hides intended for] the Hollanders, to transport to Japan on junks, leaving these same for the Hollanders and they alone to procure and keep, and this [gesture] is more than enough to display the extraordinary favour of His Majesty. Although it might be that the captain in the great city of Siam has not explained this clearly enough to the Governor, the weaker supply of the hides cannot be interpreted as a change in the contract. Because, generally speaking, in trade it is usual for wares to be obtainable in greater or lesser quantities, depending on the numbers of buyers and sellers, and skilled people will certainly be able to procure a larger quantity. Because since the time of Captain Enogh [Enoch] Poolvoet, to that of Captain Johannes or



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Jansen, people have sought too great a margin on the profit of the Company, and will have informed the captain of the trading-post in the great city of Siam of this, adducing the unequivocal argument [fol. 147] of how matters really stand.

Furthermore, the captain of the trading-post will have also passed on the information that Chinese traders have bought up hides illegally and taken them to Japan, and that for this reason a *shah bandar* [harbour master] has been ordered to place a ban on all Chinese, and to notify the captain of the trading-post that when the season will have [arrived] to buy the hides, he will also have to have appointed a person to purchase the hides, and will also have installed a person to keep an eye on the contraband trade. Moreover, that the captain will also order someone among his personnel to stand guard and take care that no hides are procured illegally, and this is what has happened.

Also in the letter there was some mention that the Hollanders want to trade in the places Salang, Bang[g]erei and Tokut, therefore in a letter [we] have already given notification of the situation and what it is like [in these places], which is such that the Hollanders will not be able to trade for tin peacefully and undisturbed, because in those areas there is no tranquillity and the inhabitants are vicious and are also allied to people of other countries and correspond with them, yea even display their cruelty to the head of that country, and this is what foreign traders there have also often said. And should the Hollanders be permitted to reside there to trade, it could perhaps very well happen that they will be treated treacherously and villainously, and through this they will suffer damage to their goods, the which [would not be in agreement with] the path which leads to good friendship, and the relationship which corresponds with this, and indeed that same could also cause a breach or be broken off. And therefore for this reason, knowledge of it has been passed on to the captain who resides in the trading-post in the great city of Siam.

In relation to the viciousness and villainy of the people of Salang, Banggirei and Takut, from the beginning their [fol. 149] evil deeds have been told to the captain in writing so that he could make them known to the Governor, being again the usage and style of all countries in which mutual friendship has been made, that one must contribute to maintaining it and their discussion and thoughts lead to this and all affairs and actions are directed by it, so that no dissension and troubles will take root between them both and grow. And now I am bound to the [Governor-]General in friendship, and have remained in this from the beginning and shall continue in it. And in the countries of Salang, Bang[g]irei and Takut the situation is as has been declared above. Were [we] not to make this known, and thereby allowed the Hollanders to take up residence there, consequently this pernicious sort of people might have caused the Hollanders some harm, this would be contrary to our friendship, and at once stray from the path. This is the reason we pass on this notification, so that no harm might befall the Hollanders.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[—]

Finally in this [letter] the Governor-General is also informed that at this time the king of Jambi has offered some gold and silver flowers as sign of his tributary status, requesting that a servant of His Majesty recognize and shall also count his country as a vassal of the great city of Siam, praying most fervently as the gift of recognition of a tributary from His Illustrious Graciousness that he be lent a goodly sum and His High Illustrious Majesty has also cast his merciful eye upon him and has graciously granted him all he wished. Therefore, in this matter, will the Governor-General take into consideration our mutual friendship which has endure from the beginning up to the present, and concur with this. Should anything befall the king of Jambi, will the Governor-General also lend his aid, in view of the fact that now at this time the land of Jambi is subject to the great city of Siam.

In his graciousness, His Most Illustrious Majesty, My Lord, presents 32 *bhaar* of tin from the *negeri* of Ligor as a gift to the Governor, and I also personally send the Governor-General 7 *bhaar* of tin. Furthermore, may the mutual friendship between the both of us remain indestructible, until the Day of the Resurrection, as long and the sun and moon shall shine, and that the Governor-General will accept this in the spirit in which it is given.

This is written on 22nd day of the 11th month on a Friday in the Year of the Dog. Finis.

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA CASTLE, 11 MAY 1683

[fol. 474]

The letter which the King has sent us was delivered to us on 18 January 1683 and was received with the usual state. The letter is in answer to our letter which we had written to His Majesty in 1682.

His royal Majesty is hereby thanked for maintaining the monopoly granted to the Company on the export of hides. [Also] that to that end the syahbandars have been instructed to hinder the smuggling by the Chinese and other nations, with permission to our captain to be allowed to supervise this. [Also] that the royal treasurers henceforth will not be allowed to seize any hides of the Company, but have the captain keep them, to be sent to Japan at the expense of the Company, since the Japanese rulers at Nagasaki buy these hides at very low prices, in great contrast with former times. The King has without doubt understood this, so that our captain is not at fault when he attempts to get the skins for a reasonable price in Siam.

From the fatherland the latest ships have, according to the models, brought us the requested 28 very fine castor hats<sup>1</sup>, all varnished as indicated, and sent in a case lined with lead, with the instruction to our captain to deliver these so that they may be brought to Your Majesty with all haste for the satisfaction of your taste. We do not doubt that they will give very great satisfaction and be pleasing to Your Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> Castor hat: or beaver (hat), a black hat made of felted beaver fur. The court of Siam began ordering European-style hats from the reign of King Narai onwards. It is not clear on which occasions these hats were worn.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Although we are certain that the King will already have had news about the ship that came to grief in the river of Surat, we did not wish to omit informing our captain in the great city of Siam about the facts of the case, so that he can communicate these to the King or the Phrakhlung if asked about it. The servants of the King there [in Surat] have asked a large sum of money, to the amount of 3,000 rupees from our director to build a new ship there. The director did not dare to decide this out of fear of displeasing the King, and also because the shipbuilding is not only very expensive but also takes a long time. Nevertheless he has offered them 15,000 rupees, or to let them depart with their goods on Company ships.

But the commander of Cochin has not yet informed us of what help was given to the royal ship there. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies cannot recall that the servants of the King were refused permission to load their goods in Company ships because the quantity was too great. On the contrary, the Governor-General does remember well that some years ago the King's servants were brought hither [to Batavia] from Surat with as much of their goods as could be stowed in Company ships, and that we did not demand the 2,000 rupiah that the director had fixed as freight charge, out of respect for the King. After being well entertained the servants have been transferred from here [Batavia] with their goods to Siam, and we shall never be remiss in this.

But now with regard to the king and the land of Jambi, last year in our letter to Your Royal Majesty we informed you of the situation between Jambi and the Company according to the recently made contract.<sup>2</sup> The king [of Jambi], and likewise the king of Palembang, the Susuhunan of Mataram<sup>3</sup> and the princes of Cirebon, has granted us free trade in his realm, to the exclusion of all other nations. He has also placed himself under the protection of the Company, as our captain in the great city of Siam would be able to further inform Your Majesty, if this was asked. [The king of Jambi] may not place himself under other lords without the prior knowledge and agreement of the Governor-General and the members of the Council of the Indies. It dismays us that he had sent his emissaries with golden and silver flowers with that aim, as a token of submission to Your Majesty, without doubt in order to borrow money thereby and for the gifts that he obtains on the return of his own emissaries and those of the Siamese. However, Your Majesty will understand well enough from what has been said above that we cannot accept this conduct of the king of Jambi to the detriment of the Company; and that we therefore also cannot recognize the land and the subjects or the people of Jambi as slaves or subjects of Your Majesty, seeing that actually they are under the protection of the Company, and the Company has incurred great expenses in order to ensure the [authority of] the king over his territory and the restore peace in the land [of Jambi]. Moreover the king and the inhabitants of Jambi still owe the Company a large sum of money. As well as this the people of Jambi have from very early times, as also

<sup>2</sup> The contract of 20 August 1683 by Sultan Ingalaga (1679-1687) and the VOC in *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Volume 3 (1676-1691), pp. 280-282

<sup>3</sup> Susuhunan of Mataram was at this stage Amangkurat II.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

the inhabitants of Palembang, been a vassal of the Susuhunan.

At the same time we inform Your Majesty that [the Susuhunan] has likewise been accepted under the protection of the Company.<sup>4</sup> Such is the situation with Jambi, and Your Majesty is invited to reflect on this. We have considered it necessary to explain this at length, so that no disputes should be caused by this. The rebels of Banten who had risen against their king<sup>5</sup> are now completely defeated and have been obliged by the Company's weapons to humble themselves before their king, so that under the protection of the Company the land is likewise once more restored to peace, which it may please the Lord God to allow to continue.

As a return gift the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have spared no trouble to select such curious items as in our estimation might please Your Majesty most of all, consisting of the following:

two very splendid and fine gilded flintlocks ordered expressly for the King from Holland

two pairs of splendid and fine gilded pistols

two fine gilded curved swords

two fine gilded straight swords

two fine gilded carbines

two mirrors of 1½ pounds with gilded frames with carved leafwork of flowers and fruit

one piece of aurora velvet

one piece of satin with lace of white and gold flowers

one splendid ebony box with fretwork and silver fittings

one heavy, valuable piece of gold worsted

one white *boudaar*<sup>6</sup> with closed golden flowers

one red *boudaar* with gold and coloured flowers

six very fine parrots with red heads

one little bottle of cinnamon oil

one little bottle of oil of cloves

one little bottle of mace-oil

one little bottle of oil of nutmeg

which oils are very necessary and expensive for maintaining the health and strengthening the body.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the contract of 25-28 february 1677 with the Susuhunan of Mataram Amangkurat II, see Corpus Diplomaticum, Volume 2 (Third part, 1676-1691), pp. 40-41 article 2.

<sup>5</sup> Abu Nasr Abdul Kahar or Sultan Haji (r. 1682-1687).

<sup>6</sup> Boudaar, not the same as the word boudoir. Perhaps boutidars, a soft cloth and expensive with elegant golden embroidery.





## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Bhawan Ruangsilp and Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of the King of Siam Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 27 January 1683 and a reply from Batavia 11 May 1683”. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 18. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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## 5 Folio image

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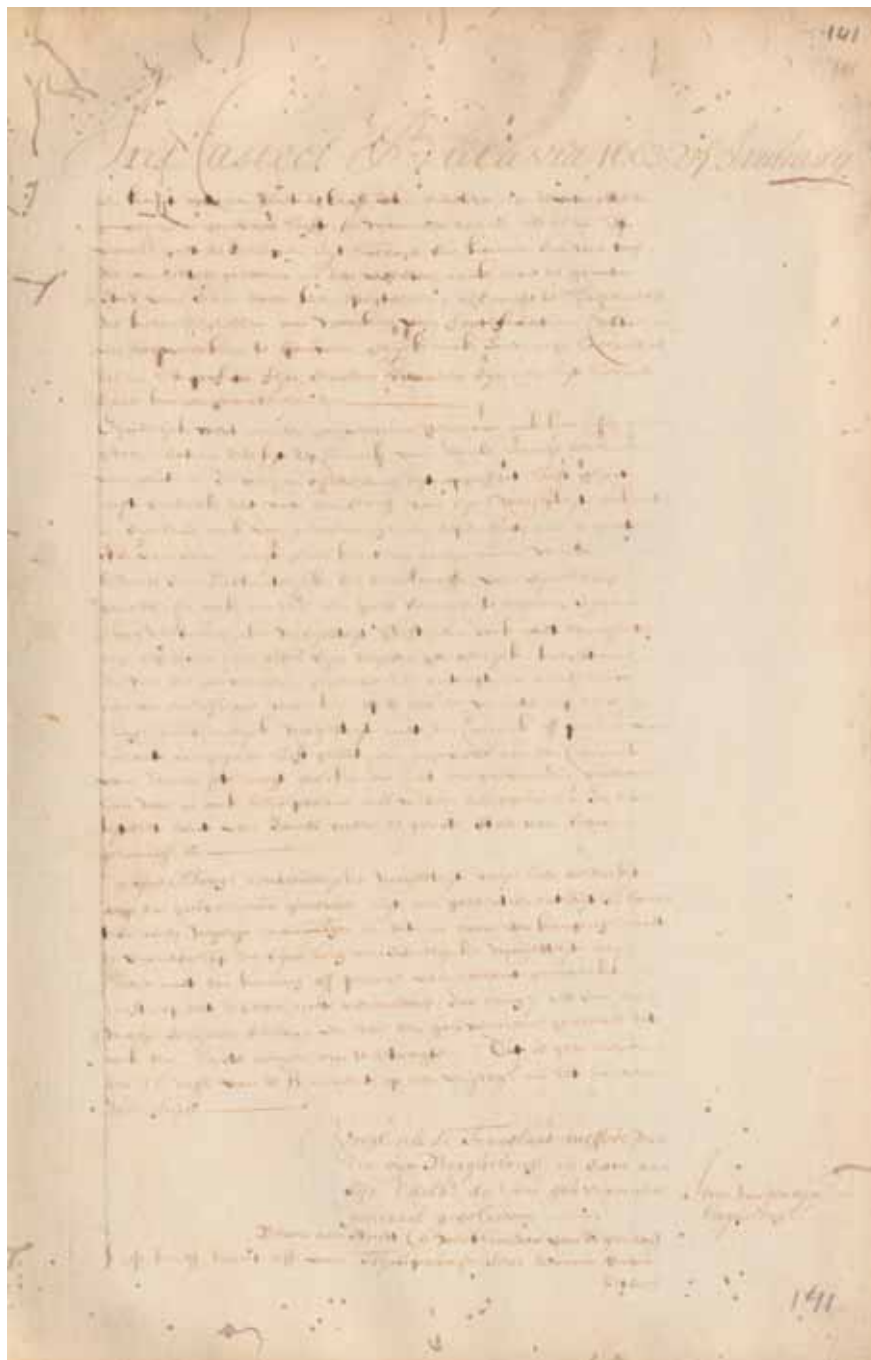




Illustration 1. Landscape in Siam (Thailand) with boats. Jan Luyken, Aart Dircksz Oossaan, 1687.

## Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of King Phetracha of Siam (r. 1688-1703) to the Supreme Government, 12 February 1689 and the answer from Batavia, 4 Mei 1689

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 6
- 3 English translation 16
- 4 Colophon 26
- 5 Folio images 27





## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Phra-khlang on behalf of King Phetracha of Siam (r. 1688-1703) to the Supreme Government, 12 February 1689 and the answer from Batavia, 4 Mei 1689. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 19. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

When the Siamese King Narai (r. 1656-1688) died during the night of 11 July 1688, it had become clear at the court of Ayutthaya, the capital city of the Kingdom of Siam, that one of the king’s highest officials, Phra Phetracha, had seized power. The “Palace Revolution of 1688” is one of the most well-known events in early modern Siamese history, marking as it did a fundamental shift in the Siamese court’s foreign policy. The French, as well as the English, were either expelled from Siamese territory or ended up in grievous circumstances in jail.

The immediate loser was the Greek adviser to the former king, Constantine Phaulkon, who was promptly executed. Born in Kephalaria (Greece) in 1647 Phaulkon had worked for the English *East India Company* (EIC, 1600-1874) before settling in Ayutthaya in 1678. Following his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1682, he had become closely associated with the French. During the last year of Narai’s reign, the French monarch, Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) had dispatched two diplomatic missions to Ayutthaya, the first in 1685 led by the Chevalier de Chaumont and accompanied by the famous Jesuit missionary, Père Guy Tachard

(1651-1712), and one in 1687 led by the experienced French diplomat, Simon de la Loubère

(1642-1729) and the French East India Company (*Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes Orientales*, 1664-1794) director Claude Céberet du Boullay (1647-1702). The French king, meanwhile, received three Siamese diplomatic missions at his court at Versailles in 1684 and 1685. This extraordinary, but short-lived, Siamese-French diplomatic engagement, aroused the suspicions of France’s principal European competitors, in particular the Dutch and the English. According to the VOC’s representative in Ayutthaya, Joannes Keyts, both Phaulkon and the French missionaries were playing on King Narai’s desire for international recognition, particularly from leading European, Indian and Persian powers. Gifts of luxury goods presented during these diplomatic missions, such as clocks, sculptures, glasswear, books, and hundreds of glass mirrors, which graced his palace, were a way of advertising Narai’s new-found prestige. But the court élite grew weary of the king’s expensive diplomacy and Phaulkon was arrested in the palace coup and put to death.

Several leading international historians of early modern Siam, including Dhiravat na Pombejra, Bhawan Ruangsilp, Dirk van der Cruysse and Remco Raben, have debated whether the usurping Phetracha’s reign ushered in a new isolationist era in Siam’s foreign policy with regard to the West. Another obvious question is what Siam might have had to gain from a renewed treaty with the VOC. A more difficult question is how the 1688 Siamese “Revolution” might have influenced the relationship between Siam and the other Southeast Asian powers around the Sunda Shelf and Java Sea.

In September 1688, just a few months after Narai’s death, Joannes Keyts was able to renew the quarter century old 1664 VOC-Siam contract.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was signed on 14 November 1689, see *Corpus Diplomaticum*, Vol. 3 (1676-1691), pp. 473-479.



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. The ruin of Wat Borom Phuttharam, The north-facing temple built during the reign of King Phetracha (ca. 1688 – 1703).

This is remarkable, as the news of Narai's death only reached Batavia via a Chinese vessel from Melaka on 9 December.<sup>2</sup> Only on 2 January, with the arrival in Batavia's road of the ship, *De Vrijheid*, did more detailed news from Siam finally reach the Supreme Government. This news was inserted in the Daily Journals of Batavia Castle.<sup>3</sup> Just a month later, on 12 February, the official Siamese diplomatic letter was received and the accompanying Siamese diplomats treated to the requisite official carriage tour through Batavia to celebrate the original 1664 "Treaty of Renovation".<sup>4</sup>

The renovation of this outdated contract meant the resumption of "business as usual" between the VOC and the Siamese court. The usurping

king realized that the contract did not cover all business arrangements. So offers were made in his official letter to provide help in matters omitted in the original contract. The VOC was permitted to import textiles from India and act as a local supplier, thus maintaining its privileged position as the premier exporter of deer skins and tin. Just how far VOC-Siamese business dealings during King Phetracha's reign remained mutually profitable is moot as Siam seems to have maintained strong business ties with textile producers in India to avoid dependence on VOC and other monopolist trading companies. It also kept a critical eye on the quality and prices of Dutch imported goods.

This crucial 12 February letter has been identified and summarized by Bhawan Ruangsilp, who

<sup>2</sup> ANRI, *Daily Journals of Batavia Castle*, file 2503, folio 563.

<sup>3</sup> ANRI, *Daily Journals of Batavia Castle*, fil. 2504, folios 2-8.

<sup>4</sup> ANRI, *Daily Journals of Batavia Castle*, file 2504, folios 125-153.



## INTRODUCTION

terms it the first letter from Phetracha and the new Phrakhleng or Minister of the Royal Treasury and Foreign Affairs, Kosa Pan, formerly King Narai's first Ambassador to France in 1686-7.<sup>5</sup> This proves that there was substantial continuity in foreign policy at Petracha's court. Certainly, existing experts on European politics continued to be consulted. The Siamese foreign policy experts probably had a good knowledge of the continuous crises in Europe and were also able to follow these at a distance. Ayutthaya, like other Southeast Asian kingdoms, had become an integral part of the emerging global order of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Franco-Dutch War of 1672-1679, a conflict waged to ensure the incorporation of the southern Netherlands in Louis XIV's burgeoning European empire, directly influenced European positions in Asia. Siamese politicians may have known about Dutch military weakness and may have betted on an alliance with what they considered the strongest European power (although the secret Anglo-French alliance negotiated by Charles II's ministers was terminated in 1674). The French could demonstrate their full power to the Siamese diplomats in Versailles in the mid-1680s, this displaying the Sun King's model of Absolutist royal rule to their astonished Asian guests.

Siamese court advisors could certainly not have foreseen the major events in Europe which were just then unfolding: in September 1688, the very month when the new King Phetracha concluded a deal with Joannes Keyts, Louis XIV invaded the Rhineland-Palatinate and in November 1688, the Sun King's ally, King James II of England, was dethroned, and the Dutch Stadholder William III placed on the English throne, ushering in what became known as the Glorious Revolution. At the end of the subsequent Nine-Years War (1688-

1697) France lost her seaborne hegemony to the newly revived English navy. As a consequence of these developments, the Dutch in Batavia had fewer concerns about a possible French naval expedition to the Sunda Straits. But more gallingly, they now had to treat their arch-rivals, the English, as a friendly nation, and this just a short five years since they had successfully helped the Sultan of Banten to expel the English from that strategic pepper port.

Another strategic consideration behind Phetracha's letter concerned Siam's place in relationship to the Malay kingdoms in the south. It was in the interest of the Siamese kings to make a display of their traditional influence in these southern Malay regions: Patani, Phatthalung, Kedah and Cambodia were at this time all vassal states of Ayutthaya. Contemporary diplomatic letters indeed refer to the Siamese sphere of influence in this wider Southeast Asian region, in particular the Malay kingdoms of Johor and Jambi. Phetracha wrote that he had sent two diplomats to the Johor-Riau Sultanate where Mahmud Shah II (r. 1685-1699) was ruling. The "city and the land of Johor", Phetracha's official letter to the Supreme Government declared, "is subject to the Reign of Siam since time immemorial". Indeed, in his letter King Phetracha presents himself as the neutral mediator between the Governor of Melaka and the Sultan of Johor, who had written to Siam that he expected an attack from Melaka. This statement is similar to the one in King Narai's letter received in Batavia on 27 January 1683. In this earlier letter, King Narai gives notice to Batavia that the ruler of Jambi, Duli Sultan Ingalaga (i.e. Sultan Abdul Muhyi, r. 1679-1687), had sent the requisite gold and silver flower offerings (*bunga mas dan perak*) to Siam as an official request to become a vassal of the King of Siam (and seeking at the same time the

<sup>5</sup> Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 156-157.



## INTRODUCTION

loan of a sizeable sum of money). King Narai had accepted this and informed Batavia that Jambi was now subject to Siam.<sup>6</sup>

The diplomatic contacts between Siam and the Malay kingdoms are perhaps the most intriguing part of the present letter. The world of Southeast Asia was one of “multiple centres of diplomacy”.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, most of the diplomatic letters of exchange between Malay, Javanese, Siamese and other kingdoms have not survived. That makes it impossible to estimate, let alone visualize using modern digital technology, the frequency and nature of these contacts. It may seem from the “Diplomatic Letters” project of the Sejarah Nusantara website that Batavia was always at the centre of diplomatic activity. But actually Batavia should best be seen as just one of the main diplo-

matic centres albeit a very important one.

## References

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<sup>6</sup> See Harta Karun document 18 introduced by Bhawan Ruangsilp.

<sup>7</sup> This is my (H.E. Niemeijer's) paraphrasing of Barnard's concept of “multiple centres of authority”.



## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 12 FEBRUARI 1689.

[fol.127]

En vooreerst de translaat Maleytse missive door den Oya Bercquelangh ter ordre van den Siamen Coninck aan Haar E. Edelen de Hoge Regeringh tot Batavia geschreven.

Bovenaen stont die is een teken van vruntschap.

Dese missive komt van Tsjau Pija Sirderma Ratditsjah Tsjadimata Taya Noetsjit Pipid Zadua Koesa Tiboedi Oepi Piri Iber Akramma Pahokh Tsjau Kija Pakelangh aen de heer gouverneur generael die de saeken van de Compagnie en ook alle de Hollanders in de stadt van Batavia bestiert en regeert.

Voorts zoo is den brief dewelcke den gouverneur generael ende raden van India geschreven hebben met zijne schengaie door den schipper Windjen en het opperhoofd Pieter van den Hoorn ons wel toegebracht die ook naar de gewoonlijke coustume ontfangen hebben, sijnde ons in 't lesen van 'tselve den inhoud van dien volkomentlijk gebleken.

Hebbende ik daaruyt met groote blijtschap vernomen dat den gouverneur generael nog in volle vigeur en kragt het gebiet over het lant van Jaccatra voerde en beheerschte, wenshende ik daarvan voor altoos de continuatie (aan Sijn Edelheyt) toe nevens een accressement van alle verdere prosperteyt en een gewenste staat.

Vorders zoo is Zijn Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt die het Rijk van Ziam bestierde in dese tijt een swaare [fol. 128] kranckheyt overgekomen en eenige tijt daernaee ook overleden zoodat desen jegenwoordige Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt in het Rijk van Ziam gesuccedeert is, in plaatse van den overledene Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt invoegen altans dit bevelschrift van Sijn Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt alleen sijn reflexie op mijn heeft en van mij affdaalt.

Wat belangt nu het gedoente van Constant in 't reguart van alle cooplyuden die in 't lant van Ziam om te handelen quamen off waren, zoo heeft aan haar alle overlast en onredeljkheyt aangedaan mitsgaders zoodanig onderdruckt, geïntimideert en kleynhartig gemaakt dat niemant eens heeft durven kikken en sijn mont opendoen. Ook heeft dese Constant alle de goederen die in de thresory ende maguasijnen van Sijn Mayesteyt waeren nae sijn genomen en daarvan een groote quantiteyt verdaan en 't zoek geraakt behalven dat nog veele andere fauten en misdrijven vlak tegens het oude gebruyck ende usantie aan begaen heeft gehad die in dese brief niet gespecificeert werden vermits den Lowang Feiwari<sup>1</sup> nu selver in persoon vertreckt aan wien alle de gelegenheden en saaken van dien persoon ten tijde van de overledene Zijne Hoog

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note: "Dit is de titul die aen een opperhoofd van de E. Compagnie gegeven wert wanneer die bij Sijn Mayesteyt wel gesien is ende een van sijne genegentheyt heeft"; Luang Aphai Wari, rang en koninklijke titel verleend aan het Compagnies opperhoofd in Ayutthaya, in dit geval Joannes Keyts.





## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Aansienelijke Mayesteyt gepasseert seer wel bewust sijn, die dan alle deselve aan Sijn Edelheyt in onderdanigheyt te vertoonen heeft tot al hetwelcke verste<sup>2</sup> dien Constant gelegentheyt gehad heeft om 'tselve in 't werck te stellen vermits dien Hoog Aansienelijke Mayesteyt hem uyttermaten zeer beminde en ongemeen gesint hadt.

Voorts zoo is het tijde van den capiteyt Enogh Poolvoet wanneer Lowang Feiwari geworden en het bestier van de E. Compagnies affaires in haar logie tot Siam waarnam gebeurt dat eenen Abdul Vrerzaaken<sup>3</sup> een soon van een mogul off een mogul selver Feja Felatis<sup>4</sup> geworden en aldus een bewint van gebiet in de stad van Ziam gekregen [fol. 129] hebbende aan den Capitein van de Hollanders veele onredelijke proceduren en vexatiën toegebracht heeft gehad haar niet toelatende dat haar verkoop en inkoop sooals vereyste konden doen, hebbende den jegenwoordigen Sijne Hoog Aensienelijke Mayesteyt in die tijt dese saeken geaccomodeert gehad, en is daarop ook Feja Felatib door den overledene mayesteyt uytgestooten geworden, waarna dan ook alle de vreemde coopluyden en de Hollanders haare negotie in Ziam (een seer lange tijt) met rust en vrede gedreven hebben. Dog wanneer daerna dien Constant is Felja Witsieym en raadsheer geworden zoo heeft dese weder veele quellingen en onredelijkheden aan alle de vreemde coopluyden ende Hollanders laten wedervaaren, sijnde alle wel geïnklineerd geweest om hetselve aan den overleden mayesteyt in eerbiedigheyt te representeren, maar alsoo hij zoo diep bij dien Mayesteyt in sijne gratie en gunst stont, veel meer als wel Feja Felatib oyt voordesen geweest was, soo vont men niemant om 'tselve in onderdanigheyt aan Sijn Mayesteyt te vertonen, maar wagteden alle maar alleen totdat daartoe een bequame wegh en gelegentheyt souden open ...<sup>5</sup> en zoodanig dat hij daarover ook zijn straff erlangen mogt. Alsnu dan overledene Sijne Hoog Aansienelijke Mayesteyt seer swaarijck kranck lag soo spande desen Constant met de Franse, Engelse, Chinesen en ook met eenige militaire grooten van Siam die aan sijne sijde gekregen hadt tesamen, al hetwelcke dan aan den jegenwoordigen Zijne Conincklijke Mayesteyt ter ooren gekomen sijnde, zoo heeft desen Constant laten vatten en ook belast hem om 't leven te brengen, en is dit dan nu aldus het wedervaaren van dien persoon.

Voorts zoo is het bevel van den jegenwoordige Sijne Hoog Aensienelijke Mayesteyt om alhier te verklaren dat de Hollanders in alle dien tijt dat in het rijk van Siam gere-sideert hebben noyt eenige quaade practijten en machinatiën tegens dit rijk ondernomen en in 't werck gestelt hebben, maar hebben altoos met ons een goede eendragt, verstant en overeenkomst onderhouden gehad. Het is dan nu ook behoorlijck die goede genegentheyt en wille van de Hollanders te recompenseren en agten het betamelijck hare intentie in [fol. 130] dese tijt te accompliseren, vermits er nu niemant meer en geen verder obstacul is die daarentrent hinder geven kan en werden nu alle saaken die

<sup>2</sup> Reading unclear.

<sup>3</sup> Reading unclear.

<sup>4</sup> Marginal note: "Dit is een titul van honeur die aen een seker charge geapliceert wert".

<sup>5</sup> Illegible word.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

bedongen en gecontracteert sijn g'observeert en nagekomen in soodaniger voegen als beslooten en overeengekomen is, sonder in het minste daarvan aff te wijken, en ingevalle er noch iets mogte wesen dat bij het contract niet gestipuleert is 'tgeen de Hollanders souden mogen begeeren, zoo sullen wij haar in alles nae de reeden en billickheyt daeromtrent accomoderen en behulpsaam sijn. Dit is mijn voornemen ende intentie bijaldien de Hollanders aan mij de effecten van een opregten ende ware vruntschap ende genegentheyt betonen om selfs haar daarenboven in haare affaires nog meer te favoriseren en te beneficeren, hebbende ik in het minsten geensints de gedagten nog het voorneemen om aen de Hollanders eenige schade te laeten toekomen en soo sij ergens bij schade komen te lijden, zoo willen het maar te kennen geven wanneer ik hetselve aan haar niet sal laeten wedervaren maar beletten.

Voorts ingevalle elders onder het resort van het Rijk Ziam een schip van de E. Compagnie komt te blijven zoo sullen in alle billickheyt en naar behooren haar daaromtrent behulpig wesen, ja selfs die accomodatie mede presteren aan alle vreemde handelaars die in 't rijk van Ziam comen negotiëren, dog alle die lieden zijn nog onkundig van die overvloedige genade en goedertierenheyt die Sijne Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt aen alle die vreemdelingen wil bewijsen en bij aldien nu niemant en gedenckt en geen sentiment nog extime heeft van een soodanige vruntschap zoo is men ook ongenegen cortoisye te betonen off van haar eenig werck te maaken, maar ingevalle hij ter contrarie sinceer en opregt handelt mitsgaders daar [fol. 131] aan gedagtig zijn, zoo is men ook prompt en gereet om denselven door courtoisye te obligeeren, dog bijaldien sijne proceduren niet opregt en suyver sijn, soo en heeft men ook gene inklinatie om met deselve eenige vruntschap t'onderhouden.

Wat nu het jegenwoordige belangt, soo en heeft Sijne Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt voor althans nog geen negotie hier bij desen voor, maar versoekt alle de volgende kleeden alleen om daarmede de lijkceremoniën en -statie van den overledene Zijne Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt te celebreren, en bestaan de kleeden die daartoe dienen en bequaam sijn in twintig soorten, monterende de quantiteyt daarvan 1032 corgies nevens nog 10 stux. Ingevalle dan den gouverneur generaal aan mij eenige genegentheyt en liefde toedraagt soo believe hetselve tot die lijkstatie spoedig te laten vervaardigen.

Voorts zoo werden nog zodanigen kleden g'eyst als de monsters aanwijzen die in de nevensgaande lijst gespecificeert staan teneynde om die kleden uyt te delen aan alle degeene die zig wel gedragen hebben en omtrent Sijne Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt van een opregt en suyver herte sijn, bestaande in drie en vijftig<sup>6</sup> sorteringen maakende uyt een quantiteyt van 1616 corgies. Bijaldien nu den gouverneur generaal mij genegen is, zoo willen tog alle die kleeden met den eersten herwaarts bestellen om deselve mede ten tijde van de lijkceremoniën hoe eer hoe liever te employeren.

Verders bijaldien d'E. Compagnie een schip off scheepen naar Siam wil senden zoo brenge daarmede soodanige kleden aan die met hoofden en geschildert zijn in confor-

<sup>6</sup> Marginal note: 'De monsters van deese 53 soorten manqueeren, seggende de heer Keyts dat deselve aan Sijn E. niet ter hant gestelt zijn'.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

mite van de monsters<sup>7</sup> die hiernevens gevoegt gaan, en ingevalle de E. Compagnie die waren begeert dewelke in het lant van Siam vallen, zoo moetse aan degeene die harentwegen op de Cust van Cormandel [fol. 132] resideren gelasten om sulcke doeken en kleeden te bestellen, die met en ook sonder hoofden sijn om deselve dan in Ziam aan te brengen teneynde om die altijt uyt te venten en bijaldien eenige daarvan ons dienstig mogten sijn, soo zullen aan de bediende van de tresorye dan gelasten, om deselve aan te slaan en te ruylen tegens andere zoodanige coopmanschappen die van der Hollanders gading sijn.

Bijaldien ook er iets van Sijn Hoog Aansienlijcke Mayesteyts begeerte zij en hetselve off op Jaccatra off in eenig ander lant daar de Hollanders resideren off wel buyten hetselve elders anders extere daar de Compagnie sijn voyagiën om te handelen maakt, soo willen dan tog dien eysch van Sijn Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt voldoen, gelijk mede aan deese kant alle 'tgeen dat de Hollanders hebben willen en onder het resort van Siam valt off te krijgen is zeekerlijck staat besorgt te worden sonder aan de Hollanders daaromtrent eenig verlies maar wel profijt toe te brengen.

Voorts ingevalle d'E. Compagnie nu een schip sent om coopmanschappen bij inkoop te bemagtigen soo neemt dit schip een gedeelte van die waren mede, blijvende de rest leggen, en derhalve zoo stiere dan (in plaats van dat eene) 2 à 3 scheepen af om alle de restanten van de coopmanschappen te kunnen laeden vervullende de rest met andere waaren aldus leyt eygentlijck mijn intentie en had ik het oock zoo gaarne. En aldus sent nu den opperste thresorier 200 picols sapanhout, 200 potten oly en 100 bharen thin, mitsgaders 20 volle groote koyans rijs welckers vliessen off basten affgestampt sij off wit gestampte reys nevens nog 40 zoodanige koyangs rijs daar het vliessen aan is, alsook 100 picols root cooper met 's Compagnies bodem onder versoek dat de Hollanders daaromtrent haare hulpe willen bewijzen om daarvoor soodanige kleeden te coopen als in de lijst van den Maleytsen toclk g'exprimeert staan [fol. 133] en bijaldien de Compagnie gunst wil betonen zoo vervaardighe hetselve tezamen met de andere kleeden die tot de lijkstatie behooren en ingevalle de kleden aldaar voormelt op Jaccatra niet te bekomen waaren, zoo willen dan zoo veel doen om die op andere plaatsen daar deselve vallen te bemagtigen.

Indien nu dese overvoerde coopmanschappe op Batavia haar prijs niet behalen mogten, soo houden die op om off deselve op de plaatsen daar de Compagnie haare residentien heeft off daar maar alleen om te negotiëren varen voor de behoorlijke prijs konden gedebiteert werden, willende de Hollanders daaromtrent zoo veel behulpig weesen om die waaren op de beste wijze aan de man te helpen, en wanneer die dus tot een goede prijs omgeset sijn, zoo willen voorts haar ajude verder betonen met het inkopen van die kleeden die in de Maleytse lijst gespecificeert staan.

<sup>7</sup> Marginal note: *'De monsters ontbreeken mede zoo wel als de Maleyts lijste waarvan hier agter gemelt en aan deselve ook gerefereert wert die aan de heer Keyts mede niet toegebracht zouden zijn, dog in plaats van alle dese lijsten heeft men [fol. 132] een Persiaanse rol van de gantsen kleedenlijst voor coning en nog 3 distincte notitiën uyt die generale getrocken met aenwijsing welke doeken daarvan in de quartieren van Bengalen, de Cust Cormandel en Souratta respectievelijk vallen off geprocuereert dienen te werden'.*



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Voorts zoo wert in de missive van den gouverneur generaal geseyt hoe dat den Lowang Feiwari sijne verlossinge verkregen en in desselfs plaats nu eenen Pieter van den Hoorn gesonden wiert om hem te vervangen. Wat nu den Lowang Feiwari belangt, deselve is kundig in de regeringe en de coustumen van het Siamse Rijk vermits een geruymen tijt alhier geresideert ende saaken en affaires van de E. Compagnie waargenomen heeft gehad, behalven dat ook weet op wat wijze men sig tusschen de 2 lantschappen (van Ziam en Batavia) gouverneren moet, hebbende hij zig in alles volcomen wel gedragen en uyt dien hoofde ook Sijne Hoog Aansienelijke Mayesteyt hem in deese tijt met een Eernaam en een goude doose gehononeert. En naedat desen Pieter van der Hoorn alhier tot vervanger van den andere g'arriveert was, soo heeft den Lowang Feiwari hem in alle zaaken men omtrent dit rijk waar te nemen g'instrueert en voorts onderrigt wegens de coopmanschappen die in Siam om te verhandelen dienden aan te brengen alsmede in hetgeen hem nog verder om te weeten nodig was. En ingevalle nu aan desen Pieter van den Hoorn [fol. 134] eenige swaarigheyt off moeyelijkheid mogt voorkomen soo en zal ik geensints hem daarin laten blijven ende sijne saaken dus laten drijven. Aan den Lowang Feiwari is mijne hulpe en accommodatie omtrent d'affaires van de E. Compagnie genoeg bekend, zullende hij al hetselve aan den gouverneur generaal ook wel weeten te vertonen.

Voorts soo wert in den brief van de gouverneur generaal geseyt dat ten tijde als Lowang Tsjoela<sup>8</sup> derwaarts vertrocken was sijn seggen en voordragen voor haar wat duyster was, en niet wel begrepen hadden, dog dat nu uyt den brief van Lowang Feiwari hetselve eerst verstaan, waarop dan dienen dat de gunsten en faveuren van Sijne Hoog Aansienelijke Mayesteyt aan de Compagnie betoont extraordinair groot<sup>9</sup> en seer overvloedig zijn.

Nog soo wert in de missive van de Compagnie voorgehouden dat ingevalle ymant iets mogt aanbrenge 'tgeen onlusten en misverstant soude kunnen verwekken dat Sijne Hoog Aansienelijke Mayesteyt hetselve eerst wilde ondersoeken en zulx zeggen niet ligt beliefd aan te nemen en daarnae te luysteren.

Ook soo wert geseyt dat den Coning van Dzjohor en den gouverneur van Malacca van den beginnen ende voorledene tijden aff tot nu altoos goede vruntschap met den anderen gecultiveert gehat hebbe, voorts dat een sekeren Chinees over Malacca op Batavia g'arriveert wesende aldaar verhaalt had dat 47 vaartuygen van Padoeka Radzjas volcq omtrent Poelo Pandzjang gerecontreert had die hem geseyt hadden dat den Paducca Radia aan den coning den oorlog aan doen wilde. Het is een observantie in het Rijk van Siam, wanneer imant iets aanbrengt off iets valsch voorgeeft dat tot quaatstooking dient, dat daarop niet haastig te werck gaan maar hetselve eerst wel ondersoeken wat daarvan de waarheyt off de leugen sij om daarop dan sijn oordeel te vestigen ende de straffe te exerceren in maniere als de coustumen en usantiën medebrenge. En dit is

<sup>8</sup> Marginal note: 'Dit is de naam van de Ziamsen ambassadeur die tevoren met de heer Keyts op Batavia geweest is'.

<sup>9</sup> Marginal note: 'Sijn Mayesteyt schijnt hiermede bedeckelijck te willen verstaan geven dat dese zoo ongemene gunsten van Sijn Mayesteyt aldus de versogte accomodatie aan haar Hoog Edele met de vergunning van haare vaart op Java geen 't subject van dit point is wel gemeriteert hadden'.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

dan aldus de practijque in het [fol. 135] lant van Ziam en behoort dierhalven ook al hetgeen dat de heer gouverneur na Siam aankundigt mede volkome waar en waaragtig te wesen, doordien de regte en seekere waarheyt een onderlinge goede vruntschap best past. En bijaldien dan aldus iemant aan den gouverneur generaal iets aanbrengt, dat strecken kan om onlusten en misverstanden te causeren hetselve en believe niet ligtelijck aan te nemen, maar wille daarnae eerst terdegen inquireren ende een volkomen ondersoek doen opdat de vruntschap tusschens ons bijde ewig en bestendig blijve, ende dus betoont het ook te sijn.

Voorts soo hebbe Kon Sorserit en Monrat Pitsji die naar de negerij van Riau gegaan waaren, op haar wederkomst in Siam, die op den 9e maant voorgevallen is, gerapporteert dat Padoeka Radzja mitsgaders sijne zoonen den tommagon en Siri Bidziji Deradzja de spraek hadden laten gaen alsdat de Hollanders van Malacca voornemens waren om die van Johor te beledigen en quaat toe te brengen, dat hierop nu Padoeka Radzja den Tommagon Siri Bidziji Derardzja de sakis van de zee (dat is de zee inwoonders) ter getalle van ontrent 400 man en 29 zoo groote als kleyne vaartuygen alle met haar toegehooren versien en g'armeert versamelt hadden, met intentie om den Coning van Johor daartoe te disponneren en te brengen dat zig naar Taranganoe wilde transporteren. En wanneer nu in ruyme zee quamen zoo hadden voor om den bendahara en de verdere rijxministers van Johor te masacrereren. En naardat dit volbragt soude wesen, zoo wilden den Coning van Johor naar het lant van Tsiampa voeren, dog de sakis van de zee approbeerden dit besluyt en desseyen van den Paducca Radzja niet meer, waaren hiertegens, invoegen aldus deesen saak aan den bendahara ter kennisse gekomen sij, hetwelck dan Panducca Radia vernemende, zoo heeft hij het op een vlugten aangesteld, waarop dan den bendahara hem 5 bodems naegesonden [fol. 136] heeft gehadt waartegens hij Paducca Radzja dan ook tekeer gegaen is bestrijdende deselve, maar de affgesondene van den bendahara kregen hem en bragten hem uyt met sijn zoon Siri Bidji de Radzja om wesende nog 4 zoonen van deesen Panducca Radzja ontsnapt, als namentlijck den eerste den Lakchsamana, den 2de den Tommagong, den 3den Sri Nara Diradzja en den 4den den Paradara Menter, die alle naar Patani gevlugt sijn.

Hierna heeft den Coning van Johor met den bendahara ende verdere rijxgrooten sig op Djzohor weder ter neder geset en sijn residentieplaats aldaar genomen, en is de stat en het landt van Johor al van oude tijden aff van het Rijk van Ziam onderhorig geweest, gelijk dat ook aan den gouverneur generael door Lewang Tsjoela ten tijde als op Batavia was klaarlijck geremonstreert is geworden, hebbende den Koning van Johor mede na Ziam aan Sijn Hoog Aansienlijcke Mayesteyt in eerbiedigheyt geschreven dat de Hollanders van Malacca van sins waren om het lant van Johor te attaqueren, dog hadt den gouverneur generael aan de regeringe van Malacca gelast geen quaat aan die van Johor nog ook aan desselfs onderhorige te doen ofte haar te beledigen, gelijk ik mede bij een missive aan die van Johor bevolen heb gehadt om geen hostiliteyten nog offensiën aan die van Malacca te plegen. Zoo wanneer nu die van Johor sig daarvan tegens die van Malacca onthouden, soo laten die van Malacca ook aan haere kant nae om die van Johor te beledigen en quaat te doen. En ingevalle dan die van Johor iets tegens die van Malacca mogten misdoen, zoo believe de Hollanders bij een brieff naar Ziam aan



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

den capitein aldaar daarover te schrijven opdat die van Johor gelast mogt werden in Ziam te verschijnen om aan wedsijden behoorlijcke informatie dienaangaande tusschen haar beyde te nemen.

Voorts [fol. 137] soo maeken die van de Compagnie bekent hoe de 11 personen die derwaarts gesonden sijn om eenige hantwerken te leeren sig vrij qualijck comporterende ende zeer op den arack en het spelen verslingert sijn, dog dat den E. Compagnie hetselve niet agtende, haar egter eveneens als het eygen volcq van de Compagnie aangemerckt ende gehouden en aldus gelast hadt yder sijn ambagt te laeten volleren, hetwelck altermaal een klaarblijckelijck teken van een opregten onderlinge vruntschap tusschen beyde is. Voorts zoo wanneer dese jongens nu volleert sijn en yder sijn ambagt wel verstaat, zoo willen deselve dan ten spoedigsten herwaarts senden.

Verders (melden haar Edele) wegens den slaaff van den coning die na Portugaal affgeschikt was dat het schip daar hij op was omtrent de Cabo gebleven, mitsgaders hij weder op Jaccatra aangekomen was en door die van de E. Compagnie naar Siam overgevoert wiert. Alsmede dat van des coninx slaven, die met elifanten en rinoceros naar Vranckrijk gesonden waeren twee personen overleeden en de andere mede op Batavia aengelant waeren, alsmede naar Siam getransporteert wierden, wesende alle 't selve een saak van seer goede overleg ende een effecte van een volkomen rijp verstant. Voorts aangaande de vaartuygen met rijs geladen nevens last om daarvoor inkoop van paarden op Jaccatra te doen, dat den gouverneur generael haar met penningen g'accomodeert had zooveel als daartoe benodigt hadden, hetselve agte voor een teeken van vruntschap tussen bijde nog vaster te willen maaken. Verders dat des coninx slaven die naar de oostcust van Java vertrocken waeren om daar paarden in te coopen nog niet weder gekeert waeren, en soo die op Jaccatra voor het mousson retournerden dat die hier zoo lang te houden hadden totdat het mousson blies om haar dan met een Compagnies schip naar Ziam te voeren. En wat belangt nu het verstreckte aan des coninx slaven om daarvoor paerden in te koopen, zoo is aan de bediende van de thresorye gelast geworden hetselve aan den [fol. 138] Lowang Feiwari en Pieter van den Hoorn in conformite van den gouverneur generaals reequening die in handen van den Loewang Feiwari was te voldoen.

Nog zoo wert in den brief van den gouverneur generaal geseyt dat men ontrent de gevorderde vier en sestig soorten van medicinalen niet wel teregt konde geraken vermits dezelve in de Brachmaniese taal uytgedrukt wierden, waernae dan nu ook aan de Brachmanies laeten vragen hebben, die daarop seyden dat alle de medicamenten in de leyste voormelt in Bengalen en ook in Souratte wel te becomen waeren, hebbende alle deselve weder in de Braminese taal laeten opstellen. Ingevalle nu de Compagnie mij de vruntschap wil doen, soo believeen aan degene die harentwegen in Bengalen en in Souratte resideren te ordonneren dat dese leyst aan de apothekers aldaar willen inhandigen met versoek om de namen van de medicinalen te lesen en wanneer die daar exteren dat dan deselve kopen en herwaarts in Ziam willen oversenden.

Item dat van 's coninx schip 'twelck in Souratta gebleeven en verongelukt is, 30 stucken kannon, 50 musquetten en 806 stucx kanoncogels, 5000 musquetcogels, 39 bogen, 364 pijlen, 2 picol en 3 cattys bedorven boskruyt nevens eenig scheepsgereetschap en



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

tuyg bekomen waeren en alle 'tselfe naar Ziam gesonden wiert, schrijvende den gouverneur generaal verders dat den stiermeester Ali die op dat gebleve schip beschijden is geweest, wegens de gelegentheynt en de hoedanigheyt daarvan voornemens was te ondervraegen, dog dat denselven nog zieck was en daarom dese verneming ook nog niet gedaan en aldus de constitutie daarvan doen met nae Ziam g'adviseert hadt, vermits sijne siekte nog continueerde, en is dit een zeer goede overleg van den gouverneur generael. Voorts wanneer den stiermeester Ali gereconvalesceert is, zoo wil dog dan die ondervraging bij hem doen ende wegens de gelegentheynt en de toedragentheynt van het blijven dier bodem naar [fol. 139] Siam advys geven mitsgaders hem daarnae ook in persoon en al hetgeen hij daarvan verklaart herwaarts in Ziam overstieren.

Voorts hebben den gouverneur generaal ende de raden van India een caros met 6 paarden in eerbiedigheyt ter schencke gepresenteert nevens nog verscheyde andere goederen meer, die alle op die tijt door den gouverneur generaal aen mij toegeschickt zijn. Dog al dit is door practijcq van Constant bestelt, die hetzelve uyt eygen motieven en voor zig ontboden heeft gehadt, waarop dan den gouverneur generael die gedagten heeft geformeert, dat die wagen aan Sijn Hoog Aansienlijke Mayesteyt seer aangenaam wesen en heel wel aanstaan soude, gelastende dan aldus om deselve ter schenk aan Sijn Maeyesteyt op t'offeren. Wanneer nu alle die presenten hier aan mij in eerbiedigheyt toegebracht wierden, zoo sijn deselve ook door Zijne Hoog Aensienlijke Mayesteyt aangevaert geworden, die daarop voorts aen den oppersten thresorier gelast heeft deselve met 1650 picols sapanhout te reciproqueren. Dog de caros is hier in Ziam t'eenemaal onnut en van geen dienst en daarom heb ik bevolen deselve weder aen den gouverneur generaal ter schenk toe te laten komen. Alle de andere presenten buyten de karos heb ik belast te recompenseren met thin in de negorij van Ligor ter quantiteyt van 57 bhaar, sendende ik hiernevens van dat minerael nog 15 bhaar. En is mijn intentie en voornemen voorts om steeds een goede vruntschap onder malkanderen te onderhouden tot in eeuwigheyt toe, zoolang de zon en maan haar omloop zullen hebben opdat deselve voor alle dagen en nagten onverbrekelijck en oneyndig blijve, gelievende den gouverneur generael (aan zijn kant) dit mede zoodanig te betragten,

Geschreven op een dingsdagh in de maant Safar des jaars 2232 nae de reequening van Ziam finis.

UIT: DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 4 MEI 1689.

[fol.291]

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan Koning Phetracha (1688-1703), 4 mei 1689.*

De Gouverneur-Generaal Joannes Camphuys en de Raden van Indië die residentie houden in het Kasteel van Batavia zenden deze brief aan Zijne Hoog Aanzienlijke Majesteit de Koning van Siam, die met wijsheid en voorzichtigheid zijn onderdanen regeert, met alle koningen en vorsten een oprechte vrede en vriendschap onderhoudt, en zich daardoor alom beroemd gemaakt heeft. Onze Heere God geve Zijne Majesteit een lang(e) en voorspoedig(e) leven en regering, en late hem over al zijn vijanden zegepralen.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Uit de brief die Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië met het schip Hendrik Maurits in handen van het afgegane opperhoofd Joannes Keys heeft gegeven, en die hier benevens de daarbij gevoegde geschenken met het vereiste eerbewijs is ingehaald en ontvangen, hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië met uitnemende vreugde gelezen hoe het God belijft had de vorige koning uit deze wereld te halen, en dat de kroon van dat rijk weder op het hoofd zijne tegenwoordige Majesteit gekomen was, en dat door een dergelijke bijzondere beschikking van de Allerhoogste het rijk van Siam en de Edele Koning (die nu lang in dat rijk gehandeld had doch door Phaulkon en zijn aanhang veel rampspoed geleden heeft) zich nu in alle zaken hoog gelukkig achten.

*(De Hoge Regering zegt verheugd te zijn over de goede intenties van Koning Phetracha en hoopt dat Zijne Majesteit de hernieuwde contracten met de Compagnie zal onderhouden.)*

[Het] is het de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië leed dat tegenwoordig aan de orders voor kleden niet kan worden voldaan. De oorzaak is de slechte toestand op de Kust van Coromandel waar de compagnieshandel door oorlog, hongersnood en sterfte bijna drie à vier jaren stil heeft gestaan, waardoor wij bijna geen kleden van daar ontvangen hebben. Onze pakhuizen zijn bijna geheel leeg geraakt. Van de geëiste koopmanschappen die er voorheen waren, zijn wij ontbloot geraakt zodat wij nu maar enige weinige op Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteits order verzenden. Wij zullen echter betrachten hetgene nog ontbreekt zo spoedig mogelijk [zenden] om Zijn Majesteit te behagen, en [hebben] daartoe de vereiste orders naar de buitenkantoren van onze handel afgezonden. Evenzo inzake de gevordere 64 medicamenten. De overgezonden goederen van Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zijn alhier te gelde gemaakt. Ons opperhoofd de opperkoopman Pieter van der Hoorn zal aan de thesaurier een nadere opgave doen.

Met het schip Princeland gaan de paardekopers van Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit mee. Wij hebben hen de vereiste accommodatie gegeven en de nodige geldverstrekking. Zij voeren 23 paarden mee. Ondertussen zal zorg worden gedragen dat de Siamse jongeren hun ambachten leren.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië betuigen alle geschenken te hebben ontvangen die Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit heeft overgezonden en zijn daarvoor dankbaar. Zij worden aangezien voor tekenen van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteits uitmuntende, eerlijke en oprechte gunst en genegenheid, met verzoek dat het Zijne Majesteits behagen wezen mag ook in gelijke manier aan te nemen hetgeen de Gouverneur-Generaal en de raden van India tot wedergeschenk bij dezen afzenden, tot een teken van haar oprechte genegenheid en bereidwilligheid. Te weten:





## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

1040	stuks gemene gebleekte <i>salempoeris</i> <sup>10</sup>
2080	stuks “poelongh gabars”
600	stuks Maleise <i>sarassa</i> <sup>11</sup>
100	stuks <i>hammans</i>
140	stuks <i>chitsen</i> <sup>12</sup>
40	stuks goude en silvere <i>allegias</i> <sup>13</sup>
11325	lb sandelhout
732	lb nagelen
600	lb nootmuscaten
308	lb foelie
640	lb caneel
6	stuks marmer beelden

Geschreven in het groot Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java in het koninkrijk Jacatra, 4 mei 1689, was getekend Joannes Camphuys.

<sup>10</sup> Salempoeris of “selempuri”, een medium kwaliteit katoen van Zuid-India (de Coromandelkust).

<sup>11</sup> Sarassa of “serasah”, chintz van Coromandel.

<sup>12</sup> Chitsen, chintz, gedrukt of geschilderd calico (katoen) uit India.

<sup>13</sup> Allegias, of “allejas”, medium kwaliteit gestreept katoen uit Zuid-India.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 12 FEBRUARI 1689.

[fol.127]

To commence with the translation of the Malay letter written by Oya Bercqulanh at the command of the Siamese King to the Most Excellent Supreme Government in Batavia.

The opening sentence says this is a token of friendship.

This letter is from Tsjau Pija Sirderma Ratditsjah Tsjadamatata Taya Noetsjit Pipid Zadua Koesa Tiboedi Oepi Piri Iber Akramma Pahokh Tsjau Kija Pakelangh<sup>1</sup> to the Lord Governor-General<sup>2</sup> who governs and rules all the affairs of the Company and of all the Hollanders in the city of Batavia.

Furthermore, the letter which was written by the Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia and the accompanying gifts were indeed conveyed to us by the Skipper Windjen and the Chief Merchant Pieter van den Hoorn, [these] we have received with all due custom, and when we read it, its contents were completely comprehended.

From it I learned with great joy that the Governor-General still rules and governs the country of Jaccatra in full vigour and power, and I wish (His Excellency) that the same may long continue and that all further prosperity and everything desired may flourish.

Furthermore, His Most Illustrious Majesty who governed the Kingdom of Siam was in this time assailed by a grievous [fol. 128] illness and a little while later he also passed away, so that the present Most Illustrious Majesty in the Kingdom of Siam has succeeded [him] to the throne, assuming the place of his Most Illustrious Majesty and add that this order from His Most Illustrious Majesty is nothing more than his reflection cast upon me and on my position.

What has to do with the attitude of Constant[ine Phaulkon] in relation to all the traders who came to the country of Siam to trade or were [already] here, he caused them the greatest trouble and unreasonableness, as well as so oppressed, intimidated and cowed them that not one ever dared say anything and open his mouth [to complain]. This Constant also laid personal claim to all the goods in the Treasury and in the store houses of His Majesty and embezzled a large quantity of them and [hence] they have been lost. Besides this [felony] yet many more other offences and crimes have been committed against the ancient custom and usage which will not be specified in this letter, because the Lowang Feiwari is now on the point of departing himself.<sup>3</sup> He has a

<sup>1</sup> This should read: Chao Phya Si Thammaracha Thirat Amatya Nuchit Phiphit Ratanarat Kosa Thibodi Aphai Phiriya Bara Kromma Phahu Chao Phya Phrakhlang.

<sup>2</sup> GG Joannes Camphuys (in office 1684-1691).

<sup>3</sup> In the margin: This is the title which is given to the chief merchant of the Honourable Company when His Majesty has been seen [that is, has been granted an audience] and enjoys his approval. *Luang Aphai Wari*, rank and title royally conferred on the Dutch *opperhoofd* in Ayutthaya, in this case Joannes Keyts.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

very sound knowledge of all the events and matters to do with that person at the time of the demise of His Most Illustrious Majesty. He will humbly inform His Excellency of all the same, about all the opportunities the Constant has had to perpetrate all his felonies, on account of His Most Illustrious Majesty being extremely besotted with him and uncommonly favouring him.

Furthermore, it happened at the time, Captain Enogh Poolvoet, when he was Lowang Feiwari and placed in charge of the affairs of the Honourable Company in its factory in Siam, that a certain Abdul Vrerzaaken,<sup>4</sup> a son of a Moghul or himself a Moghul, was appointed Feja Felatis.<sup>5</sup> And in this function he was given supervision over a part of the city of Siam [fol. 129] and subjected the Captain of the Hollanders to a host of absurd procedures and vexations, not permitting that buying and selling could proceed in the manner that might have been expected. Now, at this time, the present Most Illustrious Majesty resolved these matters, and as a consequence the Feja Felatib was dismissed by His Late Majesty, since which time all the foreign merchants and the Hollanders have been able to pursue their commerce in Siam undisturbed and in peace (for a very long time). However, after this Constant became Feja Witsieym<sup>6</sup> and royal councillor, then did this man again inflict a great many harassments and injustices on all the foreign traders and the Hollanders, being inclined to represent that he did that same as if in all respect they had been issued by His Late Majesty, but as he was so deeply in the favour and grace of His Late Majesty far more so than any Feja Felatib ever was for this time, no one took it into their head to appear before His Majesty in all humility, but all just waited until an appropriate path and opportunity should present itself, so that therefore he would receive his just deserts. And just now, when His Most Illustrious Majesty lay grievously ill, this Constant consorted together with the French, English, Chinese and with a few high military men in Siam whom he had lured to his side, the which came to the ears of His Present Royal Majesty, so he had this Constant arrested and ordered that he be executed, and this is now what has happened to this person.

Furthermore, it is so ordered by the Present His Most Illustrious Majesty to declare here that in all the time they have resided in Siam the Hollanders have never plotted any evil deeds or machinations against the kingdom or tried to perpetrate the same, but have always behaved with concord, sense and agreement. Hence, it is now appropriate to recompense the amicability and good will of the Hollanders [and] we consider that now is the appropriate time [fol. 130] to accomplish this intention since there is no longer anyone nor any obstacle which might stand in the way of this. And now all the affairs which were stipulated and contracted have been dealt and complied with in such a manner as was decided and agreed upon, without deviating in the slightest from this [intention]. And should there yet be something not stipulated in the contract and of which the Hollanders might be desirous, so shall we accommodate and be of

<sup>4</sup> Reading uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> In the margin: This is an honorific title given to a certain man-in-charge; a reference to Abdur Razzaq Mazandarani, a Persian raised to the position of Okya Phichit.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Phya Wichayen.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

assistance to them in this in all which is fair and reasonable. This is my intention and resolve. Should the Hollanders demonstrate towards me an attitude of sincere and true friendship and amity, then I shall favour and benefit their affairs even more. I do not by any means foster either the thought or the intention of allowing any harm to befall the Hollanders. And should they happen to suffer damage anywhere, they only have to make this known and I shall not allow the same to happen, but shall prevent it.

Furthermore, should anywhere within the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Siam a ship of the Honourable Company happen to founder, we shall in do everything in reason to help the Company with this and do everything which is fit and proper, yea even offer this assistance to all foreign traders who come to do business in the Kingdom of Siam. However, all these [people] are as yet ignorant of the boundless grace and beneficence of His Most Illustrious Majesty will show all these foreigners. And should there be anybody who does not think or is aware of such amicability, so will these people be disinclined to display courtesy or to do anything about it. But should to the contrary any person make a true and sincere effort and bear this [fol. 131] in mind, one will be prompt and ready to oblige these by showing courtesy, however, should his manner of doing things be devious and tarnished then one would have no inclination to maintain a friendship with the same.

Now, as far as the present time is concerned, His Most Illustrious Majesty does not yet foresee any trade, but requests all the following cloths only to celebrate the funeral pomp and circumstance of His Late Most Illustrious Majesty. There are twenty sorts of cloths which will serve this purpose and which are appropriate, amounting to the quantity of 1,032 *corgies* (a bundle of twenty textiles) plus ten pieces more. Should the Governor-General look upon me with any favour and amity, please have these same made for the funeral ceremonies.

Furthermore, yet other textiles, as the samples indicate, and as are specified in the list below, are requested, in order that cloths may be distributed to those who have behaved with due respect and [serve] His Most Illustrious Majesty with an unblemished and sincere heart, consisting of fifty-three<sup>7</sup> different sort amounting to a quantity of 1,616 *corgies*. Should the Governor-General wish to please me now, then all the textiles will be dispatched hither immediately so that they can be used the earlier the better during the funeral ceremonies.

Furthermore, would the Honourable Company send a ship or ships to Siam, bringing with them the cloths with the borders and painted in conformity with the samples<sup>8</sup> which have been added hereunder. And should the Honourable Company happen to desire wares which are produced in the country of Siam, then it must order those who reside in its service [fol. 132] on the Coast of Coromandel to order such textiles and

<sup>7</sup> In the margin: The samples of these 53 sorts are missing. Mr Keyts says that these same were not handed over to His Excellency.

<sup>8</sup> In the margin: The samples are missing as are the Malay list which is mentioned hereafter and the same is referred to was also not brought with him by Mr Keyts, but in the place of these lists a [fol. 132] Persian roll containing the complete list of textiles for the king and three distinct notes extracted from the general [list] with notes on which cloths on it can be found or procured in the quarters of Bengal, the Coromandel Coast and Surat respectively.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

cloths, both with and without borders and to bring these same to Siam for the purpose of always finding a market for them there. And should any of these cloths come into our hands, then shall we order the official of the Treasury to accept these same and exchange them against other such commercial wares which might happen to be please the Hollanders.

Should something be desired by His Most Illustrious Majesty, and that same is made in Jaccatra or in any country in which the Hollanders reside, or indeed originate elsewhere beyond these same whither the Company voyages to trade, that will satisfy the demand of His Most Illustrious Majesty. Exactly the same as anything the Hollanders want and this should grow or be available within the jurisdiction of Siam, this will certainly be delivered without the Hollanders incurring the slightest loss to do with it, but indeed will instead make a profit.

Furthermore, if the Honourable Company now sends a ship to obtain wares by purchasing them, and the ship can only take some of these purchases with her, the rest remaining behind. And for this reason then sends (instead of that one) two to three ships to be able to load up the remainder of the wares, filling the rest with other wares. This is also my intention and I would also like to do the same. And therefore the head of the Treasury is now dispatching 200 *pikuls* of sappan wood, 200 pots of oil and 100 *bahar* (roughly 500 Amsterdam pounds) of tin, plus 20 full, great *koyan[g]* (roughly 23 *pikuls*) of rice from which the husks or outer shells have been stamped off, in other words white polished rice, and yet another 40 *koyangs* of unhusked rice, as well as 100 *pikuls* of red copper with the Company vessel, with the request that the Hollanders will lend a helping hand with this by buying such cloths as are set out in the list of the Malay interpreter. [fol. 133] And should the Company wish to show itself willing to prepare the same together with the other cloths which are part and parcel of the funeral ceremony, and if the cloths which are mentioned there cannot be procured in Jaccatra, will it do its utmost to procure these same in other places.

Should these wares which have been sent to Batavia not fetch their price, then [you] should store these in places in which the Company maintains residences, or there whither you just sail to trade, so that they can be sold for a reasonable price. In this matter will the Hollanders be so helpful to sell these wares for the best price, and when these have been sold for a good price, will it then once more show willing by buying up the cloths which have been specified in the Malay list.

Furthermore, it is said in the letter of the Governor-General that the Lowang Feiwari has been relieved of his duties and in the place of the same one Pieter van den Hoorn has been sent to replace him. Now as far as the Lowang Feiwari is concerned, the same is knowledgeable about the government and customs of the Kingdom of Siam, since he has lived here a goodly while and taken care of the business and affairs of the Honourable Company, and besides this is also aware of how people should conduct matters between the two countries (Siam and Batavia), as he has behaved himself in an exemplary fashion in everything and for this reason His Most Illustrious Majesty has honoured him this time with an honorific title and a golden box. And since this Pieter van den Hoorn has arrived here as the successor to the other, the Lowang Feiwari has



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

instructed him in all matters which should be observed to do with this realm, and also taught him about the sorts of wares which should be brought to Siam to be traded, as well as anything else which it was necessary he should know. And should this Pieter van den Hoorn [fol. 134] now ever find himself in heavy weather and difficulties, I shall not leave him [floundering] there and let matters run their course. The Lowang Feiwari is sufficiently well aware of my help and accommodation in the affairs of the Honourable Company, and he will make the same quite clear to the Governor-General.

Furthermore, it was said in the letter of the Governor-General that at the time at which Lowang Tsjoela<sup>9</sup> had departed thither, both what he had to say and his behavior remained somewhat of a mystery, and as a consequence were not properly understood. But that now from the letter of the Lowang Feiware this is understood this has become clear, to which should be answered that the grace and favour His Most Illustrious Majesty displays towards the Company are extremely great<sup>10</sup> and most abundant.

Even so, it was still mentioned in the letter to the Company that should anybody stir up disturbances and misunderstanding, His Most Illustrious Majesty would investigate this matter first and say that he would not take what was said lightly but would listen to it [properly].

So was it also said that, from the beginning and up to this very day, the King of Johor and the Governor of Malacca have always cultivated a good friendship with the others. Furthermore, that a certain Chinese having passed through Malacca and arriving in Batavia had reported that there forty-seven vessels of the people of the Paduka Raja had been concentrated around Pulau Pandzjang and he had been informed that the Paduka Raja wished to declare war on the king. It is the rule in the Kingdom of Siam that whenever anybody gossips about something or spreads false tidings this [offence] counts as rumour-mongering, and that [we] do not immediately take steps to do something about it, but will first look into the matter to discover whether it be the truth or a falsehood, and only thereafter pass judgement and then administer the punishment in the manner and custom demanded. And this thus is the practice in the [fol. 135] country of Siam and therefore falls under what the Governor-General] should report to Siam, especially if it should prove to be true, correct and certain truth is appropriate to [our] mutual good friendship. And therefore indeed, should someone inform the Governor-General of something that might lead to the outbreak of disturbances and misunderstandings, do not take such matters too lightly but first institute a proper enquiry and [carry out] a complete investigation, so that the friendship between us both can endure and be abiding, and this is what has happened.

Furthermore, on their return to Siam, which occurred in the ninth month, Kon Sorsorit and Monrat Pitsji who had journeyed to the *negeri* of Riau reported that Paduka Raja and his sons the *Temanggung* and Sri Bidziji di Rajahad spread the rumour that

<sup>9</sup> In the margin: This is the name of the Siamese ambassador who earlier visited Batavia with Mr Keys.

<sup>10</sup> In the margin: It seems that by this His Majesty is probably trying to tell him that such uncommon favours on the part of His Majesty that the accommodation sought from His Excellency about permission for the Thai to sail on Java should not have been ranked as a subject for this point.

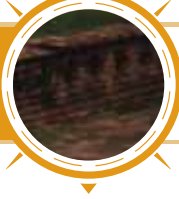


## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

the Hollanders in Malacca were planning to attack the people of Johor and do them harm. Thereupon Paduka Raja, the *Temanggung* and Sri Bidiji di Raja had assembled the Sakis (the Sea Gypsies) amounting to some 400 men and twenty-nine vessels both great and small completely fitted out and armed, intending to move against the King of Johor and accomplish that [he was kidnapped] and transported to Trengganu. And when [they] sailed out upon the high seas, [they] intended to massacre the *Bendahara* and the other ministers of state of Johor. And when they had accomplished this, then [they] wanted to abduct the King of Johor to the country of Champa but the Sakis no longer agreed with this decision and plan of the Paduka Raja, and [they] opposed it. When this matter came to the ears of the *Bendahara*, and the Paduka Raja [also] heard of it, so did he put them to flight, and the *Bendahara* had five [war] vessels sent in pursuit of them [fol. 136], and then the Paduka Raja flew into a rage with him, quarrelling with the same, but the men sent [after him] by the *Bendahara* captured him and arrested him with his son Sri Bidiji di Raja, but yet another four sons of this Paduka Raja escaped, namely: first the *Laksmana*, second the *Temanggung*, third Sri Nara di Raja and fourth the Paradara Menteri, all of whom fled to Patani.

Hereupon the King of Johor with the *Bendahara* and the other great men of the realm returned again to Johor and took up his residence there. And that, as has been the situation since days of old, the state and country of Johor has been a tributary of the Kingdom of Siam, as was unequivocally demonstrated to the Governor-General by Lewang Tsoela during the time he spent in Batavia. As a consequence, the King of Johor has also written to Siam to His Most Illustrious Majesty with all due respect that the Hollanders in Malacca were plotting to attack the country of Johor, but nevertheless the Governor-General had ordered the government in Malacca to do Johor no harm, neither to treat it as a subject nor to attack it. Likewise, in a letter to [the King of] Johor I have commanded that no hostilities or offensives be launched against Malacca. Therefore, while those who are in Johor now restrain themselves from inimical acts against Malacca, so for its part Malacca will not cause Johor any insult or injury. Should those in Johor by any chance commit some offence against those in Malacca, would the Hollanders please send a letter about this to Siam to the captain there, so that [the King of] Johor might be commanded to appear in Siam so that proper information about what is going on between both parties can be obtained.

Furthermore [fol. 137], [in its letter] the Company announces that the eleven [Siamese] people who were sent thither [to Batavia] to learn some sorts of crafts have been behaving pretty badly and have become fairly addicted to arrack and gambling, but that the Honourable Company had not taken steps to deal with this, treating them as it would its own Company servants, and therefore has ordered that each should complete the training in his craft, the which is yet another unequivocal sign of the sincere mutual friendship between us both. Furthermore, when these boys have completed their study and each has a proper understanding of his craft, so might they be sent hither as quickly as possible.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Furthermore, (the Honourable Company reported) about the servant of the King who was sent to Portugal, the ship on which he was sailing foundered in the vicinity of the Cape [of Good Hope] but that he had arrived back in Jaccatra and had been sent to Siam by the Honourable Company. Moreover, that of the royal servants who were sent to France, two persons had died and the other had also arrived in Batavia, and was also being transported back to Siam, all this being a matter of good sense leading to an outcome of a completely mature understanding.

Furthermore, concerning the vessels laden with rice, which were to sell their cargo to buy horses in Jaccatra, that the Governor-General had provided them with as many tokens as they needed, the same considered a sign that [he wants] to ensure the friendship between us grows even closer.

Furthermore, the royal servants who had departed for the east coast of Java to buy horses had not yet returned, and if they were to return to Jaccatra before the [end of the] monsoon that these [servants] would have to wait here [in Batavia] until the [right] monsoon began to blow, and then they would sail to Siam on a Company ship. And about the [money] extended to these royal servants with which to buy horses, an official of the Treasury has been ordered to repay that same to [fol. 138] the Lowang Feiwari and Pieter van den Hoorn in conformity with the account of the Governor-General which was in the hands of the Lowang Feiwari.

Furthermore, in the letter of the Governor-General it is said that that people did not have a great understanding of the sixty-four sort of medicinal herbs, because these same are expressed in the Brahman language<sup>11</sup>, about which [we] have now had the Brahmans asked about them, who said that all the medicines mentioned on the list could be procured in Bengal and also in Surat, having all the same put on a list once again composed in the Brahman language. Would the Company please be so kind as, to order those who live in Surat and Bengal in its service, to hand this list in to the apothecaries there with the request to read the names of all the medicines and if they can be bought there to procure the same and send them hither to Siam.

Item that of the royal ship which had remained in Surat and had foundered there, thirty pieces of cannon, fifty muskets and 806 cannon balls, 5,000 musket balls, thirty-nine bows, 364 arrows, 2 *pikul*s and three *catties* of spoiled gunpowder, as well as some ship's tackle and rigging were recovered and that the same was sent to Siam. The Governor-General also wrote that [he] was intending to question the master Ali who had stayed on the ship which was left behind about what happened and the quantity, but the said man was still ailing and hence this investigation had yet taken place and therefore what could be ascertained about this could [not yet] be passed on to Siam. If he is still ill, the good decision of the Governor-General is a very good one. Furthermore, whenever the master Ali should be convalescent, [we] would like the interrogation to be carried out with him and also ask for advice about the opportunity and the possibility for the vessel [fol. 139] [to sail] to Siam, and also that to send him so that he can say in person all which is to be said about this hither to Siam.

<sup>11</sup> Sinskrit?





## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Furthermore, the Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia have with all due respect presented a carriage and six horses as well as various other goods as gifts, which have all been sent to me at this time by the Governor-General. However, this was ordered through the machinations of Constant, the same he had ordered for his own purposes and commanded for himself, whereupon the Governor-General was given to understand that the carriage would give very great delight to His Most Illustrious Majesty and would please him, therefore giving orders that the same should be offered to His Majesty as a gift. When all the presents were now brought to me with all due respect, so were they accepted by His Most Illustrious Majesty, who thereupon commanded the highest official in the Treasury to reciprocate the same with 1,650 *pikuls* of sappan wood. However, here in Siam the carriage is useless and unserviceable, and therefore I have given orders that the same should be given back to the Governor-General as a gift. All the other gifts, with the exception of the carriage, I have ordered to be recompensed with tin in the *negeri* of Ligor to the amount of 57 *bahar*, and I am personally sending another 15 *bahar* of that mineral. It is my intention and purpose in the future to maintain the good friendship with each other until the end of time, as long as the sun and moon continue [to run] in their courses, the same for all days and nights and that these will remain unbroken and unending, hoping that the Governor-General (for his part) will also endeavour to do the same.

Written on a Tuesday in the month of Safar in the year 2232<sup>12</sup> in the reckoning of Siam. *Finis*.

UIT: DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA CASTLE, 4 MAY 1689.

[fol.291]

*Reply from the Supreme Government in Batavia to King Phetracha (r.1688-1703), 4 May 1689.*

The Governor-General, Joannes Camphuys, and the members of the Council of the Indies who reside in the Castle of Batavia are sending this letter to His High and Distinguished Majesty the King of Siam, who rules his subjects with wisdom and prudence, maintains a sincere peace and friendship with all kings and princes, and thereby makes himself famed everywhere. May our Lord God give His Majesty a long life and a prosperous reign, and let him be victorious over all his enemies.

From the letter that His High and Distinguished Majesty has given to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies with the ship Hendrik Maurits by the hand of the departing senior head Joannes Keyts, and which has been received in state and accepted here [in Batavia] with the required tokens of respect together with the attached gifts, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have read with great joy how it has pleased God to take the former king from this world, and that the crown of that kingdom has passed to the head of the present

<sup>12</sup> The Buddhist era year 2232 is equivalent to around 1689, so the date given by the Dagregister here is probably correct.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

King, and that by means of a similar dispensation of the Almighty the realm of Siam and the Noble King (who had long been dealing in that realm, but had suffered many disasters through Phaulkon and his followers), now consider themselves exceedingly fortunate in all matters.

*(The Supreme Government expresses its happiness regarding the good intentions of King Phetracha, and hopes that His Majesty will uphold the renewed contracts with the Company.)*

The Governor-General and the members of the Council of the Indies regret that at present it is not possible to fill the orders for cloths. The reason for this is the bad conditions on the Coromandel Coast, where the Company's trade has for almost three to four years stood still because of war, famine and death, as a result of which we have received almost no cloths from there. Our storehouses are almost completely empty. We have been stripped of the required commodities which were there formerly, so that we are sending only a little of Your Majesty's order. However, we shall attempt [to send] what is still lacking as soon as possible in order to please His Majesty, and [have] sent out the required orders to our outer trading posts for them. Similarly with regard to the 64 medicines ordered. The goods sent over by His Majesty have already been cashed here. Our head, the senior merchant Pieter van der Hoorn, will provide the treasurer with a more specific list.

His Majesty's horse-traders are sailing on the ship Princeland. We have provided them with the required accommodation and the necessary supply of money. They are taking 23 horses with them. In the meantime we shall see to it that the Siamese apprentices learn their trades.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies confirm that they have received all the gifts that His Majesty has sent and are grateful for them. They are considered as tokens of His Majesty's excellent, honest and sincere favour and kindness, with the request that it may also be His Majesty's pleasure to accept in like fashion those things that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies are sending him hereby, as a sign of their sincere regard and desire to help, namely:

- 1,040 pieces of common bleached *selampuri*<sup>13</sup>
- 2,080 pieces of 'pulong gabar'
- 600 pieces of Malay *serasah*<sup>14</sup>
- 100 pieces of *hamman*
- 140 pieces of *chintz*<sup>15</sup>
- 40 pieces of gold and silver *allegia*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Selampuri or "salampores", medium quality cotton cloth from South India and Coromandel Coast.

<sup>14</sup> Serasah or "sarassa", Coromandel chintz.

<sup>15</sup> Chintz, printed or painted calico (cotton) produced in India.

<sup>16</sup> Allegia or "allejas", medium quality striped or checked South Indian or Coromandel cotton textile.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

11,325	pounds of sandalwood
732	pounds of cloves
600	pounds of nutmegs
308	pounds of mace
640	sticks of cinnamon
6	marble statues.

Written in the great Castle of Batavia on the island of Great Java in the kingdom of Jacatra, 4 May 1689. Signed: Joannes Camphuys.

## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of King Phetracha of Siam (r. 1688-1703) to the Supreme Government, 12 February 1689 and the answer from Batavia, 4 mei 1689. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 19. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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## 5 Folio image

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Archival Source, ANRI , HR 2504 fols. 127-139, 291-295.

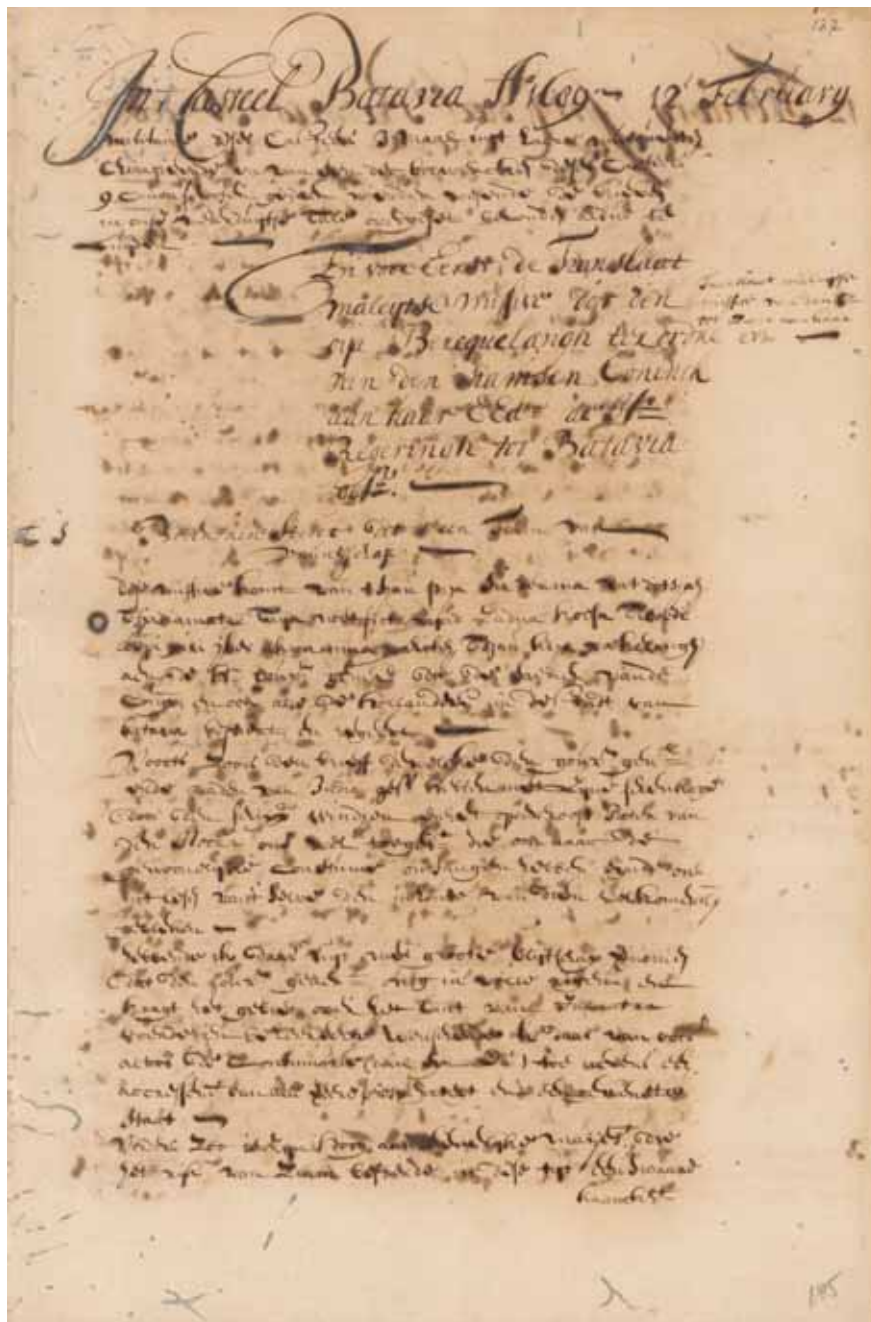




Illustration 1. Siamese royal vessel with rowers. Jan Luyken, Aart Dircksz Oossaan, 1687.

## Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of King Somdet Phrachao Sua of Siam (r. 1703-1709) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, circa March 1703, and the answer from Batavia, 27 August 1703

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 6
- 3 English translation 14
- 4 Colophon 22
- 5 Folio images 23





## 1 Introduction

Dhiravat na Pombejra, “Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of King Somdet Phrachao Sua of Siam (r. 1703-1709) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, circa March 1703, and the answer from Batavia, 27 August 1703”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 20. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY DHIRAVAT NA POMBEJRA

The Chaophraya Phrakhlang’s letter of 1703 to Governor-General Van Outhoorn and Council on behalf of Somdet Phrachao Sua, King of Siam, was written when the king had only very recently acceded to the throne. The minister still refers to the previous king’s funeral arrangements. King Sua (r.1703-1709) was the eldest son of King Phetracha (r.1688-1703) and before his accession had been Prince of the Front Palace (*chao wang na*). Though Siamese chronicle tradition<sup>1</sup> would have it that he was an unacknowledged son of King Narai (r.1656-1688), there is no solid evidence to support this conjecture. He was later to cement his royal power after ruthlessly eliminating his half-brother Chao Phra Khwan and several other leading courtier-officials.<sup>2</sup> The letter dates from a time of mutual dissatisfaction between the

VOC and the Siamese court. After the 1688 Siamese “revolution” had overthrown King Narai and ushered in a new dynasty, things had looked promising for the Dutch. In December 1688, they had signed a new treaty with King Phetracha which reiterated all the VOC’s rights in Siam as enshrined in the previous VOC-Siam Treaty of August 1664, including “free trade” in Siam, an export monopoly on deerskins, and extra-territorial rights. Furthermore, it had confirmed the Company’s export monopoly on tin bought at Siam’s southern port town of Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat), initially granted in 1671.<sup>3</sup> Much of this letter concerns discussions around and about the renewal of the 1688 treaty, now that a new monarch had come to the throne. The Dutch hoped to secure better trading terms, but the Siamese court was insisting on the old treaty conditions, formally re-endorsed by the Phrakhlang.

Dutch disaffection with their trade and position in Siam had set in soon after 1688, climaxing during King Sua’s reign. Around the time of this letter the VOC’s major problems in Siam concerned their trade in sappan wood, tin and textiles – as well as King Sua’s suspicious attitude towards the Dutch. In 1705 Gideon Tant, who served as *opperhoofd* (-head of mission) in Ayutthaya between 1699 and 1703, analyzed the obstacles to the company’s trade in detail.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the treaty clause allowing them “free trade” in the Kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> Richard D. Cushman (tr.) and David K. Wyatt (ed.), *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2000, pp. 300-301.

<sup>2</sup> Nationaal Archief, Den Haag. VOC 1691, fols. 61-72, “Relaas van ‘t voorgevallene bij de ziekte en overlijden van den Siamse koninck Phra Trong Tham genaamt” by Arnout Cleur, c.1703-1704. See also Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom c.1604-1765*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp.173-176.

<sup>3</sup> George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University, 1977, p. 45; Han ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat: A History of the Contacts between the Netherlands and Thailand*. Lochem-Gent: De Tijdstroom, 1987, pp. 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> NA, VOC 1711, fols.1-20, “Berigt” on the Company’s trade in Siam by Gideon Tant, 20 March 1705.



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. Mural from Ayutthaya period showing early foreign visitors.

Siam, the Dutch were forbidden from buying certain goods from private merchants. Hence one of the most important items for VOC (or just “their”) trade in Siam, the dye wood sappan, could only be bought from the royal warehouses at high prices. Concerning the supposed VOC export monopoly of tin from Ligor, Tant discovered to his dismay that a discrepancy in the texts of the 1688 Treaty led to the Dutch receiving far less tin than they expected, much of it going to the King of Siam instead. This was because in the Dutch version of the treaty, the VOC was to be allowed to export all the tin in Ligor except for what the King of Siam might wish to use for his own activities. The Siamese language version, however, stipulated that “all the tin” in Ligor “belonged to the king and may only be traded by His Majesty’s servants”.<sup>5</sup> The misunderstanding most probably stemmed from the treaty not clarifying that the Siamese

kings claimed the right to receive tin from Ligor as tribute tax (*suai*). The Dutch regularly supplied Indian textiles to the Siamese market, usually printed or “painted” cotton cloth from the Coromandel Coast, Bengal and Gujarat. The persistent problem of the textile trade in Siam, however, was the Siamese crown’s insistence on pricing all the items they bought, even to the extent of buying cloth from the VOC at prices lower than what the Dutch had actually paid for them in India. Any unsold cloth was seized by the crown, making the trade a virtual royal monopoly.<sup>6</sup> The Phrakhleng asks Batavia to replace the VOC *opperhoofd* Gideon Tant with a more suitable person. Tant was characterized as “a person inimical to the path of mutual friendship and ancient custom”. The minister had become exasperated by the Dutchman’s efforts to obtain a royal audience for the purposes of renewing and renegotiating the Dutch-Siamese

<sup>5</sup> Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant*, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant*, p. 45; Bhawan, *Dutch East India Company Merchants*, p. 177.





## INTRODUCTION

treaty. In sharp contrast to the Company's "golden age" in Ayutthaya during King Narai's reign (1657-1688), when its servants acted as courtiers at the Siamese court, access to the king was now circumscribed by court protocol. In this letter, the Phrakhleng maintained that the precedent cited by Tant dated from a time when there was a crisis caused by French aggression in Siam, leading the king (Phetracha) to summon both Okluang Aphai Wari (Joannes Keyts) and Okluang Wisit Sakhon (Pieter van den Hoorn) to court in late 1688 to renew the 1664 Treaty. It was therefore against custom to request an audience with the monarch – the Phrakhleng was maintaining that all communication with His Majesty had to go through him. He included in this missive a strong attack on Tant's competence and integrity, virtually accusing him of corrupt trading practices.

Although Gideon Tant left for Japan in July 1703 to assume the position of *opperhoofd* at Deshima and was replaced by Arnout Cleur, Dutch conflicts with the Siamese royal court were to be further exacerbated by the Siamese court's protocols, leading to the Dutch closing down their Siam factory. Protocol was again at the heart of the conflict. A diplomatic incident occurred in 1705 when the Dutch commissioner Joan van Velsen was snubbed by King Súa's court. The Siamese were offended that the Governor-General had not replied to the king's previous letter, and King Súa made his displeasure clear. Van Velsen was intimidated, his every request refused, and in the end he was not even granted a royal audience. As a final insult, the two Persian horses brought by Van Velsen as Batavia's gifts to the king were taken into the Royal Palace for ten days, then returned to the Dutch in a miserable condition. The VOC had little choice but to leave Ayutthaya, although

it was not a total withdrawal. An employee was left in residence at the Company lodge, and another one was detailed to look after the Company's warehouse "Amsterdam".<sup>7</sup>

The Phrakhleng refers more than once in this letter to the relationship between the King of Siam with the "Prince of Orange". This was, on the Siamese side, no mere formality. The Ayutthayan-court had always stressed the importance of direct correspondence with the Princes of Orange (the "King of Holland"), or failing that a bilateral relationship between the two rulers. The Dutch Republic seems to have been an alien concept. Yet all the while Ayutthaya maintained a steady diplomatic contact with Batavia because the Governor-General was seen as a ruler in his own right as well as being in charge of VOC's affairs in Asia.<sup>8</sup>

The court of King Súa, like that of King Phetracha before it, saw the Dutch East India Company as purveyors of luxury goods (notably Indian textiles), buyers of merchandise from the royal warehouses and finally as facilitators in the kings' quest for quality Javanese horses. Thus, even allowing for King Súa's wary attitude towards Europeans and the rise of Chinese influence at the court, there was always a place for the VOC to occupy in the trading world of Ayutthaya. But for the Dutch matters were not so clear. The perennial dilemma of the VOC in its last half century or so in Ayutthaya was whether to leave this troublesome post, or to stay on despite falling profits.<sup>9</sup> The closure of the Siam office in 1705-1706 was to be but a temporary one – by June 1706 the Dutch *opperhoofd* Arnout Cleur was back in the Company's riverside residence, a mere musket's shot away from the walled city of Ayutthaya, carrying on a frustrating and flagging trade.

<sup>7</sup> Bhawan, *Dutch East India Company Merchants*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>8</sup> Bhawan, *Dutch East India Company Merchants*, pp. 29-33.

<sup>9</sup> Bhawan, *Dutch East India Company Merchants*, p. 179.



## INTRODUCTION

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## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 19 FEBRUARI 1704.

[fol.85]

Translaat Maleytse missive van den presenten berckelang ofte rijxbestierder tot Siam aan Haar Edele de Hooge Regeringe tot Batavia geschreven.

Desen brief komt van den sjapia berkalang aan Willem van Outhoorn gouverneur generaal en de raden van India die wegens d'E. Compagnie het bestier der zaken mitsgaders de regeringe door [fol. 86] geheel India sijn toebetrouwt, hebbende den gouverneur generaal die verstandig is door sijn opregte handelinge de weg van onderlingen vrundschap en goede overeenkomste met het Siamse rijck en den Prince van Orangie mitsgaders de Compagnie verbetert, soo datter tegenwoordig niet het minste verschil en is, sijnde alle's Compagnies saaken door gheheel het Siamse rijck vast ende bestendig in allen deelen sonder dat er eenig verandering ontstaen is. Want ick mij ten hoogsten bekommert om met den gouverneur generaal in eendragt te leven en alles in toecomende in beter toestant te brengen. Mijn genadige vorst en heere Somdat Bormat Boesti Prapoudi Tsjouw Dzijouhou heeft aan mijn gelast om de weg van goede overeenkomste met de Prince van Orangie te bevestigen en heeft Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt seer gunstig van den gouverneur generaal gesproken en gelast om alle's Compagnies zaaken te begunstigen en te verbeteren met deselve meerder voordeel te bewijzen als voorheen bewesen is, ende dat met dubbelde winste.

Het opperhoofd heeft op dynsdag den 6 van de 3 maand van het paardejaar aan mijn gesonden Lowang Tronpanet, en laten versoecken om ten hove te mogen komen, eerder een brief van mij na Batavia afging, want dat ten tijde van Lowang Apywaree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen, sijlieden versogt hadde om voor den coninck te mogen verschijnen en haar die gunste door Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt toegestaan was, alles volgens het verbond in den beginne gemaakt, dat hij sijn tegenwoordige mayesteyt oock om deselve gunste voor den gouverneur generaal soude versoecken en dat het verbondschrift mogte vernieuwt en bekrachtig werden. Ick hebbe dit aan Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt bekend gemaakt, die daarop sijn gunste en genegentheyt aan den gouverneur generaal en rade van India heeft gelieven te bethonen, gebiedende aan mij om te doen hetgene de oude contracten quamen te melden, waarop ick aan Lowang Tronpanet belasten om aan den capitain te seggen dat hij het verbondschrift in de logie en onder den capitain berustende was, soude bij mij brengen, dat ick dan het contract soude vernieuwen en agter aanschrijven, gelijk als Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt belast hadde volgens het versoeck van den capitain aan mijn gedaan. Het opperhoofd sond den tolck Lowang Trongpanet weder en liet seggen dat hij het schriftelijk contract niet konden senden off medebrengen omdat te vernieuwen ten ware Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt hem gelieven te begenadigen om voor hem te mogen verschijnen, gelijk ten tijden van Lowang Apia Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen geschiet



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

was opdat dan personelijck soude konnen horen wat gunste de Compagnie toegestaan wierden, waarop ick tegens het opperhoofd liet seggen, dat sulx tegens de gewoonte is en dat in het slangejaar ten tijden van Lowang Apia Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen, sijlieden versogt hadden dat het contract soude beschreven en agteraan mogt gestelt werden, welck door Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt geordineert wierden dat Lowang Apia Waree, Willem Keis en Lowang Witsit Sakoen, Pieter van den Hoorn, daarna voor Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt sijn verscheenen omdat te dier tijd de France seer veel quaad deden in de negorij off landen van Ambongian Boery door welke gelegentheynt haar E. Edelens ter audiëntie bij Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt toegelaten sijn en alsdoen het verbond vernieuwt ende beschreven<sup>2</sup> is geworden, hebbende ick noyt gesien hetgene den capitain voorgeeft, want sulx tegens de gewoonte comt te strijden. Ick hebbe op het alderonderdanigste aan Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt die mijn heer nu geworden is, versogt dat hij den capitain dog liefde te begunstigen, om hem ter audiëntie te laten komen, dog hebbe tot nog toe sulcx niet konnen vercrijgen. Ick hebbe gesegt dat den capitain menigmalen heel wel gehandelt en opregtelijck den weg van vrundschap tusschen den Prince van Orangie en Sijn Mayesteyt onderhouden heeft en dat hij wenschte om voor Sijn Mayesteyt te mogen gebragt werden, gelijk als Lawang Apil Waree en Lawang Witsit Sakoen, begunstigt waren. Het opperhoofd heeft gesegt dat hij al mijn seggen den gouverneur generaal soude afschrijven, waarop ick tegens hem seyde dat hij sulx wel mogt doen, en Haar Hoog Edelen verstandigen wat Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt mij geboden hadde aan den capitain te seggen. Op woensdag den 6e der 4 maand van het paardejaar soo quam Lawong Trompanet en Ombon Witsit Nasa medebrengeende het opperhoofd en tweede persoon bij mij in de woning van den berkalang alwaar alle mantrys, officieren en 'sconings dienaren [fol. 87] soo Maleyers, Chinesen, Moren als Siammers bijeen vergadert waren. Den capitain versogt aan mijn dat ick hem bij sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt soude brengen, dog ick seyde tegens het opperhoofd dat sijn versoek tegens de manier van 't Siamse rijck strijdig was, dewijl te deser tijd, seyde ick, den ouden vorst overleden en van de verganckelijckheynt tot de eeuwigheynt overgegaan was en dat nu 12 dagen lang van seer veel moeyelijckheden was overvallen geworden om de tombe van 't lijck met haar chieraden toe te stellen. Dog indien den capitain eenige zake voor te stellen hadde, dat ick deselve Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt soude voordragen, en waarom hij soo haastig was om voor Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt ten gehoor gebragt te werden, dat den capitain het contractschrift maar soude brengen, dat dandeselve vernieuwt, getekent en den weg van onderlingen vrundschap met den Prince van Orangie voortaan meerder bekragtigt en sterker gemaakt soude werden, waardoor de Compagnie meerder voordeel soude bekomen dan voorheen.

Den capitain heeft mij daarop gelieven te seggen dat hij Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt moest versoeken dat de Compagnie in haren handel mogt bevestigd en het verbond als vooren vernieuwt ende verzegelt werden, seggende wijders, indien der in eenig artikel yets gesegt of gestelt wierd, dat met het oogmerck niet overeenkomt, dat dan hij capitain in persoon of wel de andere die in sijn plaats tot hoofden wegens de Compagnies handel tot Siam aangestelt wierden aan wien den gouverneur generaal en



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

raden van India recommandeeren om in alles wel te handelen sonder verschil ofte verwerringe sulx soude betragten, maar indien hij capitain of sijne navolgers die tot hoofden van 's Compagnies handel tot Siam, soo mede den gouverneur generaal en raden van India ergens tegens quamen te misdoen en geen vergenoeging gaven, dat ick dan oock niet gehouden soude zijn vergenoeging te geven na mijn bevassing, soo komt het seggen van den capitain seer wel overeen met dat van Lawangapy Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen, en hebbe het seggen van den capitain opgeschreven en hetselve aan Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt bekend gemaakt. Toen heeft Praya Angkana mij geboden om het verbond te beschrijven en te teekenen agtervolgens 't verbond en contract met den Prince van Orange opgereggt en dat op de wijze als het met Loang Apia Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen volgens het voorgeeven van den capitain soude gemaakt sijn. Hierop heb ick aan den capitain beloofd dat hij op den sondag den 8e dag van de 4e maand van het paardejaar met het contractschrift bij mij soude komen en dat men dan het verbond soude vernieuwen en tekenen, dog het opperhoofd wilde niet bij mij komen maar sond den tolck Loang Trongpanit met een geschrift bij mij luydende als dat Kididjongtan versogt om aan sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt bekend te maken als dat in het verbondschrift ten tijden van Pytery Dya Pytry gemaakt, vastgesteld was dat de thin van Ligoor in het verbond mede beschreven en begreepen soude sijn en dat Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt door Praya Angkana geboden en geordonneert hadde dat het in 't verbondschrift soude ingelijft werden en de Ligoorsen thin daaronder begrepen blijven, welck voortijds oock soo geschiet is, sijnde volgens ordre het verbondschrift getekent en door hetselve te stercker bekragtigt geworden en tegenwoordig aan beyde de sijden verzegelt. Den capitain heeft door het senden van dit schrift aan mijn gesonden doen blijcken dat hij tegens de manier van Lawang Apia Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen komt te misdoen, volgende hij daarin sijn eygen wil, op het opperhoofd segd wel dat de Compagnie begunstig is, en om haar wharen te handelen vastgeseten waren volgens het oude verbondschrift dat voorheen op versoeck beschreven en getekent was, maar ick segge dit moet verstaan werden, soo lange het presente opperhoofd ofte wel dengenen die hem in sijn bedieninge komen te vervangen om 's Compagnies zaken in het Siamse rijck te bestieren opregt komen te handelen, maar indien den capitain en andere opperhoofden die na hem 's Compagnies zaken toebetrouwt werden off den gouverneur generaal en raden van India niet wel handelen, en het verbond overtreden, dat ick dan niet gehouden ben om oock wel te doen, dog den capitain verdraeyd dien sin der woorden en verwerp deselve. En dit sijn geen nieuwe woorden in desen tijd versonnen, maar voorheen ten tijden van Lawang Apy Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen gestelt geworden, welcke manier nu nog gevolgd werd, dog het [fol. 88] opperhoofd volgt sijn eygen wil en meend de goede sin tot sijn voordeel, en dat hem tegen is laat hij blijven. Ick hebbe het verbond willen beschrijven maar hetselve niet connen verkrijgen, welck ick aan Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt hebben moeten bekend maken, waarop Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt heeft gelieven te gebieden, indien men het verbondschrift niet wilde laten opmaken en beschrijven op de wijze als door Lawang Apia Waree en Lowang Witsit Sakoen geschiet was, daar het den capitain versogt heeft, sal dat als een misdaat die den capitain opnieuw begaat aan-



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

gemerkt moeten werden, strijdig tegens de manier in het doen van Lawang Apia Waree en Lawang Witsit Sakoen, willende den capitain alleen dat tot sijn voordeel is wel beschreven en ondertekent hebben, welck niet wesen kan, waarop g'ordineert wierd aan den capitain nog eenmaal te vragen wat hij van meyning is, en indien hij het verbond niet wil laten beschrijven, soo is aan mijn gelast om aan den gouverneur generaal en raden van India te schrijven om een ander opperhoofd die verstandiger is na herwaarts te senden, die genegen is om de weg van onderlinge vrindschap met de Prince van Orange gemaakt te onderhouden. Ick ben genegen geweest om het verbondschrift te vernieuwen en te onderteecken, waardoor de Compagnie meerder voordeel als voorheen soude kunnen verkrijgen, dog het opperhoofd heeft Lowang Trongpanit aan mij gesonden en laten seggen dat hij een brieu aan den gouverneur generaal tot Batavia hadde afgesonden, en dat verhoopte dat er een ander capitain die meerder verstant hadde om den dienst van de Compagnie te connen behertigen soude gesonden werden en hij weder na Batavia hoopte te keeren.

Den capitain die 's Compagnies zaken op Ligoor waargenomen en nu alhier tot Siam alles bestiert heeft, heeft seer veel misdaan in vergelijkinge van de andere opperhoofden die voorheen hier geresideert hebben, doende hij veel saken na eygene meninge en sinnelijckhede dat tegens den weg van onderlinge vrindschap komt te strijden, handelende hij dwaaselijck met in sijn negotie meerder winst te willen nemen waardoor de Compagnie schaden comt te lijden, hebbende den capitain geen beleyd van saaken. Want als den gouverneur generaal cleden en andere rariteyten off wharen oversenden om te vercoopen, soo rekt den capitain op de cleden en coopmanschappen die hij aan de thresoriers verhandelen wil eerst eygene winst, nemende den prijs veel hoger, soodat hij seer veel komt te misdoen tegens 'tgene de manier van handeling der vorige capitainen is die met de schatmeesters hebben genegotieert tot groot voordeel. Wanneer ick den prijs der cleden, en andere soorten van coopmanschappen die de capitains in vorige tijden tegens de prijs van de tegenwoordigen capitain vergelijckt, soo is de prijs nu veel meer als voorheen, en wanneer ick de monsters met de cleden vergelijck en besiet, soo weet het opperhoofd niets te seggen en daarom ben ick van gevoelen dat de capitain liegt en de schult ten onregte op den gouverneur generaal legt als hij segt dat deselve soude geordineert hebben voor wat prijs de goederen moeten verkogt werden. En wanneer den prijs geboden wert volgens de waarde als voorheen geaccordeert was, soo heeft den capitain daar geen behagen in, maar wil de goederen verkopen sooals hij komt te eyssen, seggende dat die veel hoger van prijs sijn als de prijs der goederen van andere handelaars die tot Siam komen negotieeren. Ick hebbe verboden dat de woorden van den capitain geloofd werden, die soo vast op den hogen prijs blijft staan, want ick niet anders kan bevroeden, dan dat een capitain sijn leugenen op Haar Hoog Edele schrijft, konnende het niet wesen dat deselve sulx soude geboden hebben maar wel dat U Edele Hoog Agtbare gebieden dat het opperhoofd de waren op 't bieden van de gewoonelijcke prijs den coop met de tresoriers soude sluyten.

Het opperhoofd komt alle jaren te misdoen tegens de weg van onderlinge vrindschap dewijl hem verstant ontbreckt, willende de goederen dierder verkopen en de winst voor hemselfen houden, welck niet opregt gehandelt is, strijdende tegens de weg van



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

onderlinge vrundschap tot nadeel van de Compagnie. Den capitain heeft geen overleg off beleyd en daardoor begaat hij meerder misslagen als de vorige capitainen die voordesen in den dienst van de Compagnie alhier geresideert hebben. Soo het opperhoofd hier nog langer de de zaken van de Compagnie sal blijven waarnemen sal hij geen veruoevinge geven en den weg van vrundschap niet onderhouden, waardoor hij de Compagnie seer veel schaden sal toebrenge, hebbende hij menigmalen misdaan gelijk als veelmalen gerepeteert is, en het nu nog maal aan de gouverneur generaal come te verstandigen alsdat den capitain de prijs der goederen soo hoog blijft houden opdat sulx aan hem mag verboden en het verschil niet langer uytgereckt werd.

Wanneer Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt was komen te overlijden, sijnde geweest op saterdag den 10e dag [fol. 89] van de 3e maand in 't paardejaar, heb ick den capitain laten versoecken om op het spoedigste daarover na Batavia te schrijven en den schipper van 't schip aan te pressen om ten eerste te zeylen eer de moessoun verlopen soude sijn, waarop het opperhoofd aan mijn versogt dat het contract mogte vernieuwt ende getekent werden volgens ouder gewoonte, 'twelck ick op dien dag oock aan Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt hebbe bekent gemaakt, die daarop gebeden heeft dat ick het verbondschrift soude laten opmaken en tekenen gelijk van outsher gebruyckelijck geweest is, bevelende wijders dat den schipper van 't schip met den eersten en sonder vertoeven soude vertrecken na Batavia eer de mousson verliep, den capitain niet volvoert maar leugenen tot verschoninge gebruyckt om sigselvs los te maken en te bevrijden, voorgevende dat ick al te lang, tot de mousson gedaan was, hadde gewagt. Alle de coopliden, soo Chinesen, Siammers en Pegunesen, die de huyden van hertebeeste en ossen aan den capitain komen vercoopen, waardoor de Compagnie winste geniet, die sijn aan mij comen klagen dat sij in vorige tijden de vellen aan den capitain in 't packhuys leverden met een vaste prijs, sijnde onderscheyden in drierley soorten. En wanneer de vellen ontfangen waren, soo wiert daarvoor de waarde aan silvergelt gegeven en dat sonder verschil. En dan wiert aan de handelaars van buyten de prijs der vellen voldaan en de personen welcke veel huyden opcoften en in de packhuysen leverden, aan denselven wiert een catty silver gegeven, dog die weynig huyden aanbragten, aan die wiert 15 1/2 thayl, oock wel 10 thayl gegeven, sijnde dit alhier de gewoonte geweest. Dog den capitain die in 4 jaren 's Compagnies zaken alhier waargenomen heeft, heeft dese gewoonte maar een jaar onderhouden. Daarna heeft hij haar niets gegeven, nog de gestelde prijs der huyden gehouden, schietende bovendien nog de huyden van de wijfjens uyt, schoon die niet gebroken sijn, hetwelck tot schaden der vercoopers van de vellen streckt en het haar seer beswaart 'twelck door geen van de vorige opperhoofden die wegens de Compagnie alhier gelegen hebben oyt geschiet nog gedaan is. Maar het tegenwoordige opperhoofd is een persoon die sig geheel tegens de weg van onderlinge vrundschap en het out gebruyck in veel deelen misgaat.

Ick hebbe aan de handelaars van huyden, soo Chinesen, Siammers en Pegunesen gelast dat sijlieden de vellen aan den capitain in 't packhuys soude brengen, seggende het opperhoofd is 't alleen die tegens den weg van vrundschap misdoet. Maar de vorige capitains en den gouverneur generaal en raden van India hebben altijd heel wel met het Siamse rijk gehandelt en aan de coopliden jaarlijcx gegeven, gelijk als het de gewoon-



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

te was. Ick kan alles niet seggen wat dat die luyden wel aan mij geclaagd hebben. Indien den gouverneur generaal en raden van India sulx in toecomende niet voorkomen, soo sal het met de negotie niet wel kunnen gaan en de voordelen verandert werden. Want soo kunnen Haar Hoog Edele haar oogmerck niet bereycken maar schaden komen te lijden en geen voordeel nog winsten hebben, dewijl hierdoor de weg van onderlinge vrundschap met de Prince van Orangie niet opregtelijck gehouden werd. Ick moet bekent maken alsdat den tegenwoordigen capitain soo hij nog langer in Siam blijft om 's Compagnies zaken te derigeeren, dat hij de weg van opregte vrundschap door sijn menigvuldige misslagen geheel bederven sal, dewijl hij niet wil doen dat de gewoonte van Siam is. En so de Compagnie niet wel handelt sal het tot de schaden van deselve sijn waardoor alle de voordeelen sullen ophouden die de Compagnie soo menigvuldig geniet. En daarom gelieven Haar Hoog Edele liever een ander opperhoofd te maken om 's Compagnies handel alhier te drijven. Indien deselve verstandig is en den weg van onderlinge vrundschap tusschen ons en den Prince van Orangie met onsen vriend de Compagnie komt te onderhouden volgens de gewoonte van 't Siamse rijk, soo sullen alle 's Compagnies zaken met veel meer winst en voordeel voorgeset werden als voordesen oyt geschiet is, en voortaan veel, ja dubbelde winst genieten.

Eyndelijck alle hetgene van stuck tot stuck gemelt staat sal strecken tot bekragtinge van de weg van onderlinge vrundschap tusschen Sijn Hoog Aansienelijcke Mayesteyt Probat Somdat Boesitrapoudi Tsjouw [fol. 90] Dzouhou mijn genadige vorst en heere welcker suyvere en opregte vrundschap tot in eeuwigheyt sal duuren indien der in de toecomende geen misslagen strijdig tegens het verbondschrift ende de gewoonte van 't Siamse rijk begaan werden. Den gouverneur generaal en raden van India gelieven te overwegen ende te besorgen dat alles na waarheyt en in opregtigheyt geschieden.

Geschreven op dynsdag in de vierde maand van 't paardejaar.

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 27 AUGUSTUS.

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan Somdet Phrachao Sua of Siam, 27 Augustus 1703.*

[fol. 352]

Uit de brief die 's Compagnies residenten in Siam met de recent van daar gearriveerde schepen aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben geschreven, hebben zij met uitnemende vreugde gelezen hoe het God de Heere belieft had de vorige koning uit deze wereld te halen, en dat de kroon van het Siamse rijk weer op het hoofd van zijne tegenwoordige Majesteit gekomen was door een wettige erfenis en successie.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië betuigen hierover hun bijzondere blijdschap en wensen Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit in zijn rijk en met zijn regering alle heil en voorspoed van de hemel toe, opdat Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zijn koninkrijk dagelijks meer en meer mag zien bloeien en bevestigd worden, zowel tot meerdere luister en glorie van Zijne Majesteit als tot welstand van zijn onderdanen. En ook van de Compagnie die als een oprechte en trouwe bondgenoot van het Siamse rijk gedurende zovele jaren haar handel daar heeft gedreven. Gelijk Zijne Majesteit





## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

zich kan verzekerd zijn van de oprechte intentie en vredelievendheid van de Hollandse natie, evenzo willen de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië ook aan de gunst en toegenegenheid van Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit ten aanzien van de Compagnie niet in het minst twijfelen. Wij verwachten van zijn goedheid dat het Zijne Majesteit zal gelieven (indien dit al niet geschiet is) de aloude contracten en privilegieën te vernieuwen die tussen het Siamse rijk en de E. Compagnie voorheen zijn gemaakt.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië maken verder aan Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit bekend dat zij in plaats van het gewezen opperhoofd Gideon Tant, die in dienst van de Compagnie naar Japan is vertrokken, weder tot opperhoofd in Siam hebben aangesteld de gewezen secunde Aarnout Cleur<sup>1</sup>.

[fol. 353]Eindelijk gaan nevens deze [brief] tot een bewijs van de oprechte genegenheid en bereidwilligheid die de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië aan haar dienst toedragen deze volgende geschenken, in de hoop dat deze Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit niet onaangenaam zullen zijn, bestaande in:

5	stuks karmozijnen stoffen purper
5	stuks dito dito violet
x	stuks dito dito rood
x	stuks dito dito kaneelkleurig
x	lakenras schaar purper
600	stuks <i>sompacken</i> <sup>2</sup>
100	stuks <i>sanen</i> <sup>3</sup>
40	stuks gouden Perzische stoffen
10	stuks gouden <i>taatsen</i> <sup>4</sup>
112	stuks diverse glaswerken
x	stuks kassen rozenwater
6	stuks gouden potloodpennetjes
6	stuks zilveren dito
6	stuks tfilagrine instrument kokertjes
6	stuks schildpadshoornen kokertjes
40	stuks diverse brillen met gouden, zilvere en ivoren randen
x	stuks geëmailleerde verrekijker met een gouden bus
375	lb nagelen
50	lb foelie dito
15	lb notemuskaat dito
10	lb kaneel dito
6	stuks fijne karabijnen
10	stuks gewone dito

<sup>1</sup> Arnout Cleur, opperhoofd te Ayutthaya 1703-1712.

<sup>2</sup> Sompacken, sompak, een textielsoort gebruikt aan het hof.

<sup>3</sup> Sanen, misschien “sannoos”?; een witte katoensoort van Bengalen.

<sup>4</sup> Taatsen, *taad*, een zijden textielsoort.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

- 24 stuks kaliber musketten
- x vergulde snaphanen
- x dito karabijnen
- x donderbussen met kopere lopen

Geschreven in het Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java in het koninkrijk Jacatra op 27 augustus 1703, de Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands India, Willem van Outhoorn.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 19 FEBRUARY 1704 [FOL. 85]

[fol. 85]

Translation of a Malay letter written by the present *bercklang*<sup>1</sup> or prime minister of Siam to His Lordship the Supreme Government in Batavia.

This letter is from the *sjapia*<sup>2</sup> Phrakhlang to Willem Outhoorn Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia to whom the Honourable Company has entrusted the government of affairs and the rule over [fol. 86] the whole of Asia (the Indies). By his upright conduct of affairs, the wise Governor-General has improved the path of reciprocal friendship and good relations between the Kingdom of Siam and the Prince of Orange, as well as the Company, so that at the moment there is not the slightest dissension ruffles this. The [state of] all the business of the Company throughout the whole Kingdom of Siam remains stable and untrammelled in all parts [of the realm], there being not even the slightest alteration. [This is] because I do my utmost to live in concord with the Governor-General and to ensure that in the future everything will be in even better case. My gracious ruler and lord, Somdat Bormat Busti Prapoudi Tsjouw Dzjouhou<sup>3</sup>, has commanded me that I should affirm the path of the sound purpose with the Prince of Orange. His Most Illustrious Majesty has spoken most favourably of the Governor-General and commanded that all the affairs of the Company be encouraged and improved. And that [these] will enjoy even more advantages than has hitherto been the case, and that with a twofold profit.

On Tuesday the sixth [day] of the third month in the Year of the Horse, the chief merchant sent Lowang Tronpanet<sup>4</sup> to me, and [through him] submitted a request that he may come to court, before a letter from me was dispatched to Batavia. For, in the time of Lowang Apywaree<sup>5</sup> and Lowang Witsit Sakoen<sup>6</sup>, they had also submitted a request that they might pay their respects to the king. This favour was granted them by His Most Illustrious Majesty<sup>7</sup>, all in accordance with the treaty which was concluded at the very beginning. And that he [the chief merchant] might [now] also submit the same request to His Present Majesty<sup>8</sup> on behalf of the Governor-General, and that this treaty might be revised and confirmed anew.

<sup>1</sup> *Phrakhlang*.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaophya*, also spelled *chao phraya*, highest rank in Siamese officialdom during the Ayutthaya period.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *Somdet Borom bophit phra phuttha chao yuhua*, generic term denoting His Majesty the King of Siam.

<sup>4</sup> *Luang Song Phanit*, translator assigned to the VOC.

<sup>5</sup> *Luang Aphai Wari*, rank and title royally conferred on the Dutch *opperhoofd* in Ayutthaya, in this case Joannes Keijts.

<sup>6</sup> *Luang Wisitor Wiset Sakhon*, another title for the VOC *opperhoofd*, in this case Pieter van den Hoorn.

<sup>7</sup> King Phetracha.

<sup>8</sup> King Süa.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I announced this to His Most Illustrious Majesty, who thereupon has been graciously pleased to show his favour to and amity for the Governor-General and the Council of Asia. He commanded me to do that which was mentioned in the former contracts, whereupon I ordered Lowang Tronpanet to tell the captain that he should bring me the treaty which remains in the keeping of the captain in the factory to me. That I should [thereupon] revise the contract and when this had been accomplished date it, in accordance with what His Most Illustrious Majesty has commanded me, acquiescing in the request the captain had submitted to me.

The chief merchant then dispatched the interpreter Lowang Trongpanet back to say that he could not send the written contract<sup>9</sup> or bring it with him for revision, unless His Most Illustrious Majesty should grant him an audience at court, just as it had come to pass in the days of Lowang Apia Waree and Lowang Witsit Sacoen. This would be so that he [the chief merchant] might personally be able to hear what favours would be granted the Company. Hereupon, I had the chief merchant informed that such was contrary to the tradition, and that in the Year of the Snake, in the days of Lowang Apia Waree and Lowang Witsit Sakoen those people had [also] requested that that the contract should be written and, as the final act, dated. At that time, His Most Illustrious Majesty had commanded that Lowang Apia Waree, Willem Keis<sup>10</sup> and Lowang Witsit Sakoen and Pieter van den Hoorn<sup>11</sup> should present themselves before His Most Illustrious Majesty because this was the time at which the French were committing widespread despredations in the *negeri* or countries of Ambongian Boery. On that occasion Their Worships were granted admittance to a personal audience with His Most Illustrious Majesty and in this wise in those days the treaty was revised and written down.<sup>12</sup> I have had no personal experience of what the captain has asked for, because such is contrary to the custom. I have most humbly besought His Most Illustrious Majesty, who is now my liege lord, that he might be disposed to grant the captain the favour of permitting him to attend an audience, but I have not been granted this permission.

I have said that on many an occasion the captain has dealt very fairly, and has sincerely maintained the path of friendship between the Prince of Orange and His Majesty, and that he wishes to be granted an audience with Your Majesty, in the manner that Lawang Apia Waree and Lawang Witsit Sakoen were favoured. The chief merchant has said that he will write to the Governor-General about all I have said. To this, I replied to him that he might do so, and inform His Most Excellency of what His Most Illustrious Majesty had commanded that I should say to the captain.

On Wednesday the sixth day of the fourth month in the Year of the Horse, Lawong Trompanet and Ombon Witsit Nasa<sup>13</sup> [came to me]. They brought with them to me the chief merchant and the second person [his deputy] in the residence of the Phrakhlang,

<sup>9</sup> Uncertain reading.

<sup>10</sup> Probably Joannes (or Johannes) Keyts, *opperhoofd* in Siam 1685-1688.

<sup>11</sup> VOC *opperhoofd* in Siam 1688-1691.

<sup>12</sup> Uncertain reading.

<sup>13</sup> *OkmiünWisit Phasa* or *Wiset Phasa*, a translator.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

where all the ministers, officers and servants of the king [fol. 87], as well as Malays, Chinese, Moors and Siamese had gathered together. The captain requested that I should conduct him into the presence of His Most Illustrious Majesty, but I told the chief merchant that his request was at odds with the manner of the Kingdom of Siam, in view of the fact that, said I, the former ruler<sup>14</sup> had expired and had passed from this transient life to eternity, and now for the last twelve days [I had] been extremely busy settling a myriad of affairs so that the tomb for the body would be embellished with ornaments. Nevertheless, should the captain have several matters to put forward, that I would personally announce these to His Most Illustrious Majesty, and why did he act so impetuously in wanting to bring these to the ears of His Most Illustrious Majesty. [I also said] that all the captain had to do was the bring the contract, and that then the same would be revised, [and] signed and that the path of mutual friendship with the Prince of Orange would henceforth be affirmed even more strongly and reinforced, which would bring the Company even more benefit than it formerly had enjoyed.

Thereupon the captain was pleased to take it upon himself to say that he must request His Most Illustrious Majesty affirm the Company in its commerce and the treaty as in the past revised and sealed. He went on to say that, should in any article anything be said or proposed which did not tally with this goal, that he, the captain, would then personally intervene to have this changed, or that else others would be appointed in his place to be chief merchants in charge of the Company trade to Siam, to whom the Governor-General and the Councillors of Dutch Asia should recommend that they deal with all matters without discord or confusion. [However, I said] that should the captain or his successors as captain of the Company trade to Siam, or indeed if the Governor-General and Councillors of Asia, should happen to cause offence and prove in some way unsatisfactory, then I would also not be encumbered in any way from speaking my mind. What the captain had to say agrees pretty much with that said by Lawangapy Waree and Lowang Witsit Sakoen. And I wrote down the captain's words and made the same known to His Most Illustrious Majesty.

Then Praya Angkana<sup>15</sup> commanded me to commit the treaty to words and sign it, after which the treaty and contract with the Prince of Orange [could be considered] to have been extended, and that in the fashion in which it had been done with Lawong Apia Warwee and Lowang Witsit Sakoen, according to the directions the captain had laid down. Thereupon I promised the captain that on Sunday the eighth day of the fourth month in the Year of the Horse he could come to me with the contract, and that the treaty would be revised and signed. Despite this [concession], the chief merchant refused to come to me, but sent to me instead the interpreter Lowang Trongpanit with a letter, announcing that Kididjongtan<sup>16</sup> had requested His Most Illustrious Majesty make known that the treaty drawn up in the time of Pytery Dya Pytry<sup>17</sup> had been con-

<sup>14</sup> King Phetracha.

<sup>15</sup> Probably from the Siamese expression *phra onghan*, or *phra ratcha onghan*, meaning "royal command".

<sup>16</sup> Gideon Tant, *opperhoofd* in Siam 1699-1703.

<sup>17</sup> Pieter de Bitter, VOC Commissioner who negotiated the Dutch-Siamese Treaty of August 1664.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

firmed that the tin from Ligor also be so described and incorporated in the treaty. And that His Most Illustrious Majesty through Praya Angkana had ordered and commanded that as had happened in days gone by, as this was commanded and was noted down in the treaty, and by doing this have been confirmed even more strongly, and now that the [the matter of the] Ligor tin would be incorporated in it. This is what has formerly occurred, being according to orders written in the treaty and by the same strengthened, and at present sealed by both sides.

By sending this letter the captain has revealed to me that he has strayed from the path of Lawang Apia Warwee and and Lowang Witsit Sakoen. In this he is following his own will. The chief merchant does say that the Company is favoured in being able to trade its wares, guaranteed by the terms of the former treaty which was drawn up in former times and made and signed at the request [of both parties], but I declare that this should be understood as: as long as the present chief merchant or whomsoever will come to replace him in his office, in their management of the Company business in the Kingdom of Siam do come to deal in all probity, [then all will be well]. However, should the captain and other chief merchants to whom the business of the Company is entrusted, or if the Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia do not want to trade fairly, thereby breaching the treaty, then I shall not be obliged to deal fairly. Nevertheless, the captain twists the sense of the words and repudiates the same.

And these are not new words thought up on the spur of the moment, but composed earlier in the time of Lawang Apy Waree and Lowang Witsit Sakoen, whose manner of conducting affairs is still adhered to. However, [fol. 88] the chief merchant dances to his own tune and claims whatever in the contents favours his own advantage, and conversely, that which does not please him, he leaves undone. I was desirous of writing out the treaty anew, but was unable to procure the text which was kept in the VOC factory, the which I had to make known to His Most Illustrious Majesty. Hereupon His Most Illustrious Majesty was pleased to command that, if people were not prepared to have the treaty drawn up and written down in the same way as was done by Lawang Apia Warwee and Lowang Witsit Sakoen, considering the fact that this is what the captain had requested, this would have to be construed as yet another offence perpetrated by the captain, conflicting with what Lawang Apit Waree and Lawang Witsit Sakoen had done. The captain would have only that which was to his advantage written and signed, which is out of the question. Thereupon an order was given to ask the captain to give his opinion just one more time. And, in the event that he should refuse, to have the treaty written out, then I was commanded to write to the Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia [asking them] to send hither another more sagacious chief merchant. Somebody who will be predisposed to foster the path of mutual friendship made with the Prince of Orange. I have been prepared to revise and sign the treaty, by which the Company should be able to accrue more advantage than [it] previously [did]. However, the chief merchant has sent Lowang Trongpanit to me in order to announce that he [the chief merchant] had [already] sent a letter to the Governor-General in Batavia, and he hoped that another captain who would be better informed about fostering the service of the Company would be sent, and that he hoped to return to Batavia.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The captain who had run the Company affairs in Ligor, and now has managed everything here in Siam, has made very many more mistakes compared to the other chief merchants who have resided here previously. He carries out a great deal of business as he thinks fit and feels that it should be done, which contravenes the path of mutual friendship. He has acted foolishly by wanting to make more [personal] profit, which has been to the detriment of the Company. The captain shows no discretion in business. Because, when the Governor-General sends textiles and other curiosities or goods here to be sold, the first thing the captain does when he negotiates with officials from the Treasury is to calculate his own profit. He then sets the price much higher and by so doing greatly encroaches upon the manner of trading pursued by the former captains, who negotiated with the Treasury officials to great advantage. When I compare the price of the textiles and other merchandise of the captains of former times with the price demanded by the present captain, then that price far exceeds what it formerly was. And when I compare and inspect the samples of the textiles, the chief merchant has nothing to say [to justify what he does]. And therefore I have the feeling that the captain is lying and unjustly shifts the blame onto the Governor-General when he says that the same[e.i. the Governor-General] would have ordered the prices for which these goods must be sold. And when the price offered is according to the price which was previously agreed, the captain is greatly displeased about it, and insists on selling the goods at the price which he demands. He says that these are much more expensive than the wares of the other merchants who come to trade in Siam. I have forbidden that the people take the captain at his word, which is fixed on such a high price, for all I can think is that the captain has entered his lies in [embezzled] the account of the Honourable Company, as it is beyond belief that the latter would have ordered this, but that unquestionably Your Excellency has ordered that the chief merchant should conclude the sale of the goods with the Treasury officials at the usual price.

Every year the chief merchant commits trespasses against the path of mutual friendship and [it seems] that he has taken leave of his senses. His desire is to sell the goods at a higher price and keep the profit for himself. This is not fair trade and is in contravention of the path of mutual friendship to the detriment of the Company. The captain neither consults nor does he display any discretion and for this reason commits more offences than the former captains, who earlier resided here in the service of the Company. Should the chief merchant remain here any longer directing the business of the Company, he will prove unsatisfactory and fail to uphold the path of friendship, the which will cause the Company untold damage. On so many occasions he has offended as has so frequently been reported on many occasions, and now the time has come yet again to inform the Governor-General that the captain is setting the price of the goods so high, that he should be forbidden to do this and the discrepancy [in price] will no longer be tolerated.

When His Most Illustrious Majesty passed away, being on Saturday the tenth day [fol. 89] of the third month in the Year of the Horse<sup>18</sup>, I requested that the captain write

<sup>18</sup> 3 February 1703.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

to Batavia about this with all speed and to impress upon the skipper of the ship to sail first, before the close of the monsoon. Hereupon the chief merchant had besought me [asking] that the contract might be revised and signed, according to the ancient custom, the which I made known to His Most Illustrious Majesty on that very same day. He thereupon commanded that I should draw up the treaty and sign it, just as was the custom of yesteryear, furthermore giving orders that the skipper of the ship should sail immediately and depart for Batavia without delay before the monsoon was over. The captain did not [carry out this order] but told lies in order to excuse and free himself from [his predicament], letting it be known that I was the one who had tarried too long, until the monsoon was past.

All the traders, be they Chinese, Siamese or the people of Pegu, who come to sell the hides of deer and oxen to the captain, which makes a profit for the Company, have come to me to complain that in former times they delivered the hides to the captain at the warehouse for a fixed price, according to the three qualities into which these hides were divided. And, when the hides were received, then the value was handed over in silver coin and that without any problems. Then the price of the hides was paid to the external traders, and the people who sold many hides and delivered them to the warehouse, those same people were paid a cattie of silver, however, those who brought only a few hides, were given 15½ taels, even 10 taels, as that is the custom here. Nevertheless, the captain who has run the affairs of the Company here for four years, only respected this custom for one year. After that he gave them nothing, not even kept to the price set for the hides. Furthermore, he was unwilling to accept the hides of female animals, unless they were undamaged, the which caused the sellers of the hides a loss and upset them greatly. This had never ever before been done by any one of the former chief merchants who have been posted here in the name of the Company. However, the present chief merchant is a person inimical to the path of mutual friendship and ancient custom, and gives offence in many ways.

I have ordered the traders, be they Chinese, Siamese or the people from Pegu, that they should deliver the hides to the captain in the warehouse, saying that it is only the chief merchant who abuses the path of mutual friendship. However, the former captains and the Governor-General and Councillors of Asia have always dealt fairly with the Kingdom of Siam and have annually given the traders [the hides], according to the custom. I cannot [possibly] repeat everything about which the people have complained to me. Should the Governor-General and the Councillors of the Indies not prevent this in the future, then the commerce will not be able to continue and the privileges will be changed. In this wise, His Excellency will not be able to reach his goal but will suffer losses and enjoy neither privilege nor profit, besides on this account the path of mutual friendship with the Prince of Orange cannot be sincerely maintained. I must announce that the present captain, should he remain yet longer in Siam to direct the affairs of the Company, through his myriad offences will completely spoil the path of true friendship, because he refuses to honour the customs of Siam. And as the Company does not trade fairly, this will be to the detriment of the same through which all the privileges which the Company has so often enjoyed, will be stopped. Therefore, would it please





## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Your Excellency to appoint another chief merchant to run the the Company business here. If the same is gifted with common sense and will be able to maintain the mutual friendship between us and the Prince of Orange with our friend the Company in accordance with the customs of the Kingdom of Siam, then will all the business of the Company be continued with much greater profit and advantage, as it was in the days before [this upset], yea indeed from now on even enjoy a doubled profit. In conclusion, all that is mentioned item by item will serve to strengthen the path of mutual friendship between His Most Illustrious Majesty Probat Somdat Boesitrapoudi Tsjouw [fol. 90] Dzouhou, my gracious lord and ruler, which pure and sincere friendship will endure forever if in the future no offences are committed there which are contrary to the treaty and the customs of the Siamese realm. Would the Governor-General and the Councillors of Asia be pleased to deliberate and take care that everything should take place according to the truth and sincerity.

Written on Tuesday in the fourth month of the Year of the Horse.

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA CASTLE, 27 AUGUST 1703.

*Reply from the Supreme Government in Batavia to King Somdet Phrachao Seua (r. 1703-1709), 27 August 1703.*

From the letter that the Company's residents in Siam have written [and sent] with the ships recently arrived from there, addressed to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies, they have read with exceeding joy how it had pleased God the Lord to take the previous king from this world, and that the crown of the kingdom of Siam has in turn come to the head of His Majesty the present king through lawful inheritance and succession.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies affirm their special gladness at this and wish His High and Distinguished Majesty in his kingdom and with his government all welfare and prosperity from heaven, so that His Majesty may see his kingdom flourish and be consolidated more and more, both to the greater splendour and glory of His Majesty and the well-being of his subjects. And also of the Company that has carried on trade there as a sincere and faithful ally of the Siamese realm for so many years. Just as His Majesty can be assured of the sincere intentions and peace-loving nature of the Dutch nation, even so the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies also do not wish to doubt in the slightest the favour and good intentions of His Majesty. We expect from his kindness that His Majesty will be pleased (if this has not already taken place) to renew the ancient contracts and privileges that were formerly made between the realm of Siam and the Honourable Company.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies further inform His Majesty that in the place of the former senior head Gideon Tant, who has departed for Japan in the Company's service, they have in turn appointed the former deputy, Aarnout Cleur, as senior head in Siam<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Arnout Cleur, executive trader in Ayutthaya 1703-1712.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Finally together with this [letter], as proof of the sincere regard and willingness to help that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies bear to their service, the following gifts, in the hope that His Majesty will find them not displeasing, consisting of:

- 5 pieces of karmozijn cloth, purple
- 5 pieces of the same, violet
- x pieces of the same, red
- x pieces of the same, cinnamon-coloured
- x lakenras schaar purple
- 600 pieces of *sompacken*<sup>20</sup>
- 100 pieces of *sanen*<sup>21</sup>
- 40 pieces of golden Persian cloth
- 10 golden *taatsen*<sup>22</sup> [ferrules?]
- 112 pieces of various glassware
- x cases of rosewater
- 6 golden pencil-holders [?]
- 6 silver ditto
- 6 filigree instrument tubes
- 6 turtle-shell tubes
- 40 various spectacles with gold, silver and ivory edges
- x enamelled telescope with a golden box
- 375 pounds of cloves
- 50 pounds of mace
- 15 pounds of nutmeg
- 10 pounds of cinnamon
- 6 fine carbines
- 10 common ditto
- 24 calibre muskets
- x gilded flintlocks
- x ditto carbines
- x blunderbusses with long barrels.

Written in the Castle of Batavia on the island of Great Java in the kingdom of Jaccatra, on 27 August 1703. [Signed by] the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Willem van Outhoorn.

<sup>20</sup> Sompacken, *sompak*, a kind of cloth used in court wear.

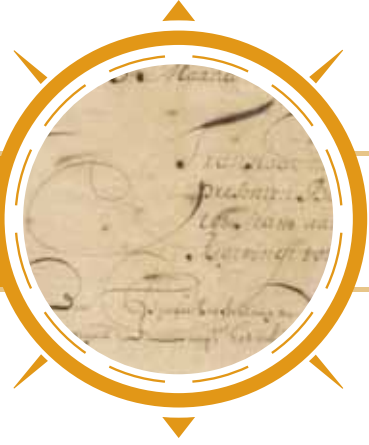
<sup>21</sup> Sanen, (= "sannoos" white cotton cloth from Bengal?)

<sup>22</sup> Taatsen, *taad*, a silken textile.



## 4 Colophon

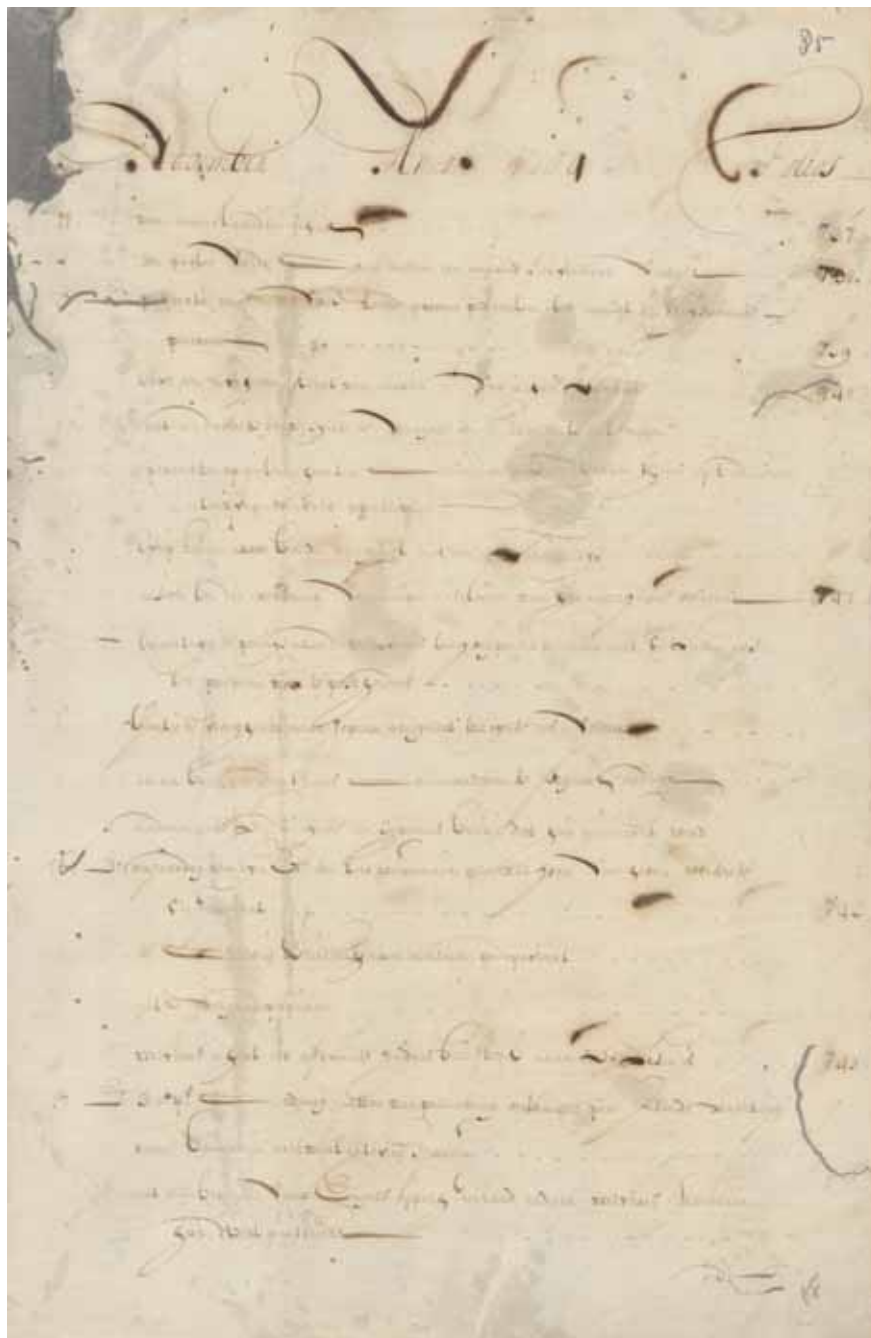
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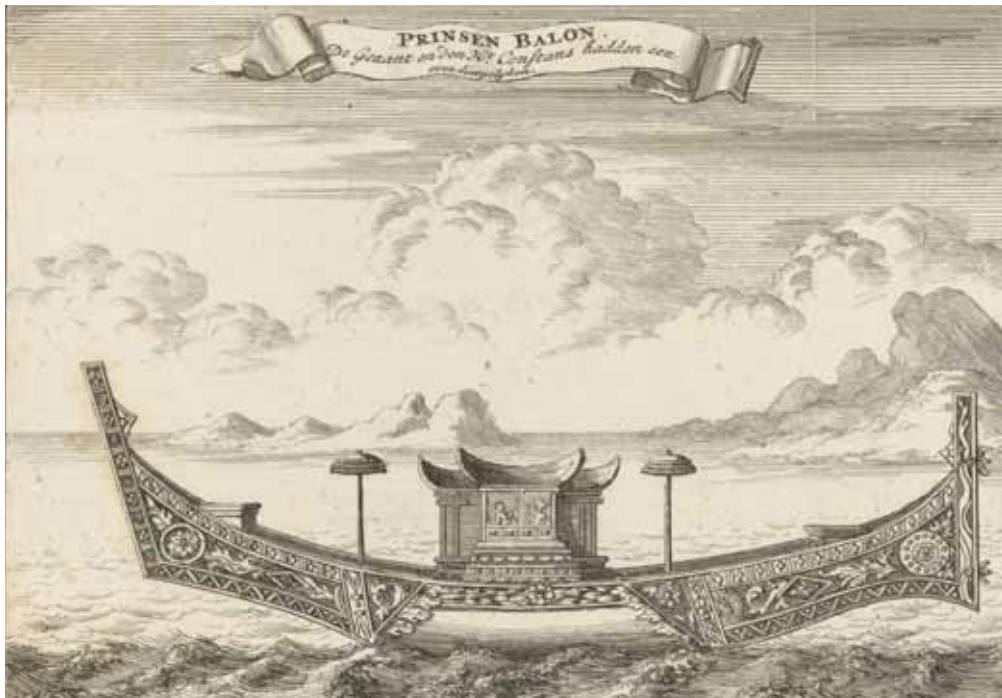


Illustration 1. Princely vessel at Siam (Thailand), Jan Luyken, 1687.

## Letter from the Phrakhleng on behalf of King Prasatthong (r. 1629-1656) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 2 March 1641

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 5
- 3 English translation 7
  - 4 Colophon 9
  - 5 Folio images 10





## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Phrakhlang on behalf of King Prasatthong (r. 1629-1656) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 2 March 1641”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 21. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

This letter from the Siamese minister of external and trading affairs, the Phrakhlang, to Governor General Antonio van Diemen (in office 1636-1645) and his Councillors in Batavia is a good example of “maritime diplomacy”: high level diplomatic correspondence between two *thalassocracies* (VOC Batavia and Siam) or maritime states to promote matters of common interest, or settle disputes concerning their maritime trading activities or spheres of influence at sea.

In 1641, the “zenith of Dutch –Siamese diplomatic exchange” was already over. The contacts between the Siamese kings and the Princes of Orange and the splendid receptions of four important Dutch embassies at the Siamese court took place during the period 1628-1641. In 1641 the last missive and gifts from the Prince of Orange to the King of Siam were received in Ayutthaya with splendour and honour, under the supervision of Dutch executive head Jeremias van Vliet.

For the Dutch, the year 1641 marked above all the final conquest of Portuguese Malacca, and subsequent control over the Straits of Malacca.

In this letter King Prasatthong (via the Phrakhlang) presents himself as a ruler who stands in a long tradition of participating very actively in the intra-Asian overseas trading networks. The royal junks of Siam had been active in the South China

Sea and in the Indian Ocean for a long time. Siam had sent thirty-six tribute missions to the Ming rulers between 1371 and 1404 and twenty-two in the Yung-lo reign, 1405-33. Siamese junks could thus frequently be seen in the South China Sea. Until around 1450 Siam’s maritime power competed mainly with Java and Champa, until the rise of Malacca under Sultan Mansur Shah (r. 1459-1477), when Malacca dominated the maritime Southeast Asian scene.

The Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 was probably favourable for Ayutthaya in the beginning. It became an alternative port for Muslim traders and others. It also became a nodal point for Chinese trade to the Philippines and Borneo, until disaster struck and Ayutthaya, the greatest port city of Southeast Asia in the middle of the sixteenth century, was conquered by the Burmese in 1569. Direct Chinese shipping to Southeast Asia and the rise of Banten contributed to Ayutthaya’s decline.

The rise of the European trading companies, in particular the Dutch United East India Company (VOC, 1602), signified another challenge for Ayutthaya during the subsequent 1600-1688 period. European cargo ships could carry more over a longer distance for a cheaper price, and soon the Europeans also monopolized crucial products in the business chain, such as fine spices (nutmeg and cloves) from the Moluccas. Dutch Batavia and Spanish Manila became two major international competitors, while the Portuguese remained active in Macao. Ayutthaya became more and more focused on the China trade, and attracted all those traders who were excluded by Dutch monopolies: the English, the Portuguese, the French, the Muslims from India, and the Malays from Malacca and the main Sumatran ports, Jam-



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. 'Vessel belonging to noblemen at Siam (Thailand), Jan Luyken, 1687.

bi and Palembang. Although Ayutthaya was quite active in the export trade with Japan – consisting of deer- and cowhides, sappanwood, rayskins and elephant tusks – the Siamese participation in Siamese-Japanese shipping declined during the second quarter of the 17th century.

It is in this context of a declining trade that in 1640-41 the King permitted a Siamese governor to fit out a junk to Batavia to sell rice and lead for the King.

The letter itself contains two requests from the King: 1.) Batavia's help to find a Siamese junk stolen by its Chinese nakhoda; and 2.) a model ship for his son to play with.

The first request delivers interesting information on the size of what seems to have been an ordinary Siamese junk, and an example of what a regular crew of such a common Siamese ship looked like. The ship itself measured 34.31 x 6.11 meters and had a mixed crew of 61 men, of whom 26 were Chinese and 22 Muslim (Indians) and Malays. The junk was not supervised by a

Siamese nakhoda but by a Muslim Malay skipper, employing a Chinese as his second man. The chief helmsman was a Muslim Chinese and also the boatswain was a Chinese. The Siamese on board were a chief trader with two assistants, and only 11 Siamese crew members. This confirms the notion of for instance Ishii Yoneo that the royal junk's "operations at sea seem to have been exclusively in the hands of non-Siamese", while the trade itself was left to a few Siamese traders on board. This involved a certain risk, as the letter demonstrates.

These data, as well as the data on the weaponry on board, offer us a glimpse of how Siamese junks operated. In terms of variety of crew and military hardware, these relatively small junks seem to have been much more vulnerable than the European, better armed cargo ships at that time. It is in this context that the king of Ayutthaya frequently requested the assistance of the VOC when calamities occurred.



## INTRODUCTION

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## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 2 MAART 1641<sup>1</sup>.

[fol. 421]

Deze brief komt van mij, *Oya sy Darmaradt dytsia tsiat mathia nocht phy phit radt khausa tybydy a phaya Cromma pha howa*<sup>2</sup> of bewaarder van het grootzegel van de Koning, ontvanger-generaal van een vierde van Zijne Majesteits rijke inkomsten, opper-advocaat en pleitbezorger van alle vreemdelingen, uit een zuiver hart en oprechte genegenheid, aan de Edele, genereuze, wijze, zeer gestrenge heer, de Edele heer Anthonio van Diemen, Gouverneur-Generaal over de staat van de Verenigde Nederlanden in India Oriëntalis.

Edele Heer, bij deze gelegenheid met het vertrek van Kapitein Jeremias van Vliet naar Batavia, ben ik genoodzaakt Uwe Edelheid bekend te maken, dat de Koning onze Heer, *Probat somdit Boromma bopit probu dy t'Jaco Ichoau ney Crongh pramaha naccoon boworra touwa randy srj ajudia*<sup>3</sup>, uit bijzondere overweging, namelijk zijn genegenheid tot de welvaart van zijn onderdanen en om de handel in de stad Batavia na vermogen te helpen groeien, heeft toegestemd dat *t'Jau phia ramaraet, seu Jaky bodun tra reu tsiaey mahay soere jaky body ry soet ja na ley abaya bra Cromma ph hou thiauphia souar Colock*<sup>4</sup> een jonk krijgt van een lengte van 18¼ en breedte van 3¼ *vadem*<sup>5</sup>. Daarop heeft Zijne Majesteit tot schipper aangesteld Srij Set Ja, een Moorse Maleier als eerste persoon, en voor tweede persoon de schipper Pecca, Chinees, en voor de derde persoon of eerste koopman Cousy Sombat met twee assistenten, genaamd Moncherbitit en Ney Rachuyt; tot opperstuurman [fol. 422] een Chinees die Moors van religie is genaamd Heeuqua, en voorts tot hoogbootsman ofwel *saranghy*<sup>6</sup>, Equo, Chinees, met elf Siamse, 26 Chinese en 22 zowel Moorse als Maleise matrozen, tesamen 61 personen.

De jonk is bewapend met vier koperen stukken, die ieder een kogel van 2 vingers dik kunnen afschieten, en een kanon dat een kogel van 1½ vinger dik afschiet; voorts vier musketten en 15 Japanse vuurroers. Voornoemde jonk was geladen met ongeveer 200

<sup>1</sup> [DRK] *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno 1640-1641*, Bataviaasch genootschap 1887, pp. 285-286

<sup>2</sup> Okya Si Thammarat Dechachat Amatanuchit Phiphit Ratanarat Kosa Thibodi etc. (Phrakhlang minister). De Siamese officiale rangen gedurende de het tijdperk van Ayutthaya waren in oplopende volgorde: *chaophraya/chaophya; okya/phraya/phyay; okphra/phra; okluang/luang; okkhun/khun; okmuen/muen; okphan/phan*.

<sup>3</sup> Phrbat Somdet Borombophit Phra Phutthachaoyuhua nai Krung [Thep?] Phra Mahanakhon Bowon Thawarawadi Si Ayutthaya (King of Siam). Dit betekent bij benadering “De Edele heer en toevlucht, de heer Buddha die woont in Si Ayutthaya de grote hemelse stads” etc. Zie ook: Richard Cushman, *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Dit is een ruwe weergave van de titel van Okya Sawankhalok: Chaophya [Okya] Krasat Songkhram Ramarat Saenya Thibodi Si Satchanalai Aphai Phiriya Bara Krom Phahu Chaophya [Phya] Sawankhalok (gouverneur van Sawankhalok).

<sup>5</sup> In meters: 34,31 x 6,11 meter.

<sup>6</sup> Betekenis onbekend.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

lasten<sup>7</sup> rijst en andere eetwaren; ook met 6 *bahar*<sup>8</sup> lood, voor rekening van de Koning. Het is 16 maanden geleden van hier vertrokken om met genoemde koopmanschappen naar Batavia te gaan, maar door onkundigheid van de stuurman is het daar niet verschenen maar in Patani aangeland. In het terugkeren naar Siam heeft de Chinese stuurman Heeuqua de schipper met alle Siammers en Maleiers dood geslagen en is er met de jonk en het kapitaal heel schelmachtig vandoor gegaan.

Maar naar welke haven hij zijn koers heeft gezet, blijft ons onbekend. Daarom verzoeken wij vanwege de vriendschap die Uwe Edelheid met de Koning onze heer onderhoudt dat U op alle plaatsen onder Uw gebied waar Nederlanders handelen of ankeren en door Uw schepen worden bevaren bevel mag geven om de jonk op te zoeken, te achterhalen, aan te slaan, naar Batavia te brengen en daarover naar Uwe Edelheids beroemde discretie te handelen. Als wij van het resultaat mogen vernemen, dan zal de luister van Uwe Edelheids genegenheid en loffelijk naam onveranderd schijnen, en eeuwig bij ons blijven.

Het zou de Koning, onze heer, hoogst aangenaam zijn wanneer Uwe Edelheid voor Zijne Majesteits oudste zoon, de jonge prins van dit rijk<sup>9</sup>, geliefde een speelscheepje te maken, wijd vier *asta*<sup>10</sup> en de lengte navenant, naar de Hollandse wijze, met alles wat ertoe behoort. Verder, aangezien enige Nederlanders voortreffelijk in de schilderkunst zijn, verzoeken wij of Uwe Edelheid twee olifanten, hoog twee *asta* (de modellen gaan hierbij) voor onze Koning op het kunstigste gelieve te laten schilderen en met kapitein Van Vliet (naast het speelscheepje) in haast gelieve herwaards te sturen. [fol. 423]

In de koninklijke stad Ayutthaya in het Koeienjaar, de 18e dag van de 4e brekende maan, zijnde 2 maart anno 1641.

<sup>7</sup> Een last is 1250 kilogram.

<sup>8</sup> Een bahar is 3 pikuls.

<sup>9</sup> Chaofa Chai, King Prasatthong's oudste zoon; hij werd voor één dag koning na het overlijden van zijn vader in 1656.

<sup>10</sup> Een asta is het equivalent van een Thaise *sok* ofwel elleboogmaat (el). De Amsterdamse el was 68,8 cm.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 2 MARCH 1641.

This letter comes from me, *Oya sy Darmaradt dytsia tsiat mathia nochit phy phit radt khausa tybydy a phaya Cromma pha howa*<sup>1</sup> or keeper of the great seal of the King, general receiver of one quarter of His Majesty's rich income, high advocate and defender of all foreigners, from a pure heart and out of sincere affection, to the Noble, generous, wise and very strict lord, the Noble lord Anthonio van Diemen, Governor-General over the state of the United Netherlands in India Oriëntalis.

Noble Lord, on this occasion with the departure of Captain Jeremias van Vliet for Batavia, I am required to inform Your Honour that the King our Lord, *Probat somdit Boromma bopit probu dy t'Jaco Ichoau ney Crongh pramaha naccoon boworra touwa randy srj ajudia*<sup>2</sup>, on special consideration, namely his concern for the welfare of his subjects and in order to help the trade in the city of Batavia grow as best as he can, has consented that *t'Jau phia ramaraet, seu Jaky bodun tra reu tsaey mahay soere jaky body ry soet ja na ley abaya bra Cromma ph hou thiauphia souar Colock*<sup>3</sup> should receive a junk with a length of 18¼ and a breadth of 3¼ fathoms<sup>4</sup>. On this His Majesty has appointed as skipper Srj Set Ja, a Moorish Malay as first person, and as second person the skipper Pecca, a Chinese, and as third person or first merchant Cousy Sombat with two assistants, named Moncherbitit and Ney Rachuyt; as first mate a Chinese of Moorish religion named Heeuqua, and further as head boatswain or *saranghy*<sup>5</sup> Equo, a Chinese, with eleven Siamese, 26 Chinese and 22 both Moorish and Malay sailors, altogether 61 men.

The junk is armed with four brass cannon, which each can fire a ball of two fingers, and a cannon that shoots a ball of 1½ fingers diameter; further four muskets and 15 Japanese firelocks. The aforementioned junk was laden with approximately 200 *lasten*<sup>6</sup> of rice and other foodstuffs; also with 6 *bahar*<sup>7</sup> of lead, for the account of the King. It left here 16 months ago in order to go to Batavia with the merchandise listed, but through

<sup>1</sup> Okya Si Thammarat Dechachat Amatanuchit Phiphit Ratanarat Kosa Thibodi etc. (Phrakhlang minister). Siamese official ranks during the Ayutthaya period in order of precedence were: *chaophraya/chaophya; okya/phraya/phyia; okphra/phra; okluang/luang; okkhun/khun; okmuen/muen; okphan/phan*.

<sup>2</sup> Phrabat Somdet Borombophit Phra Phutthachaoyuhua nai Krung [Thep?] Phra Mahanakhon Bowon Thawarawadi Si Ayutthaya (King of Siam). This means roughly something approximately like "The supreme lord and refuge, the lord Buddha who resides in Si Ayutthaya the great city of celestials" etc. See also: Richard Cushman, *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be a rather rough rendering of Okya Sawankhalok's title: Chaophya [Okya] Kraset Songkhram Ramarat Saenya Thibodi Si Satchanalai Aphai Phiriya Bara Krom Phahu Chaophya [Phya] Sawankhalok (governor of Sawankhalok).

<sup>4</sup> In meters: 34,31 x 6,11 meter.

<sup>5</sup> Meaning unknowns.

<sup>6</sup> One *last* or load is 1250 kilograms.

<sup>7</sup> One *bahar* is 3 piculs.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

the ignorance of the helmsman it did not arrive there but landed in Patani. On the return to Siam the Chinese mate Heeuqua killed the skipper with all the Siamese and Malays and has very villainously fled with the junk and the cargo.

But for which port he has set course remains unknown to us. Therefore we request you because of the friendship that Your Honour entertains with the King our lord that in all the places within your territories where the Dutch trade or anchor and are visited by your ships orders may be given to seek out the junk, to pursue it, arrest it, take it to Batavia and deal with it according to Your Honour's famed discretion. And if we may hear of the result, then the splendour of Your Honour's affection and praiseworthy name will shine unchanged, and remain with us forever.

It would be most pleasant to the King, our lord, if Your Honour should kindly make a toy ship for His Majesty's eldest son, the young prince of this realm<sup>8</sup>, four *asta*<sup>9</sup> wide and of corresponding length, in the Dutch manner, with everything that pertains to it. Furthermore, seeing that some Dutchmen are excellent in the art of painting, we request Your Honour to have two elephants painted for our King, two *asta* high (the designs are attached), in the most skilful way, and kindly have them sent hither (as well as the toy ship) in haste.

In the royal city of Ayutthaya in the Year of the Cow, the 18th day of the breaking moon, being 2nd March in the year 1641.

<sup>8</sup> Chaofa Chai, King Prasatthong's eldest son; became king for a day following his father's death in 1656.

<sup>9</sup> One *asta* is equivalent to the Thai *sok* or "elbow".



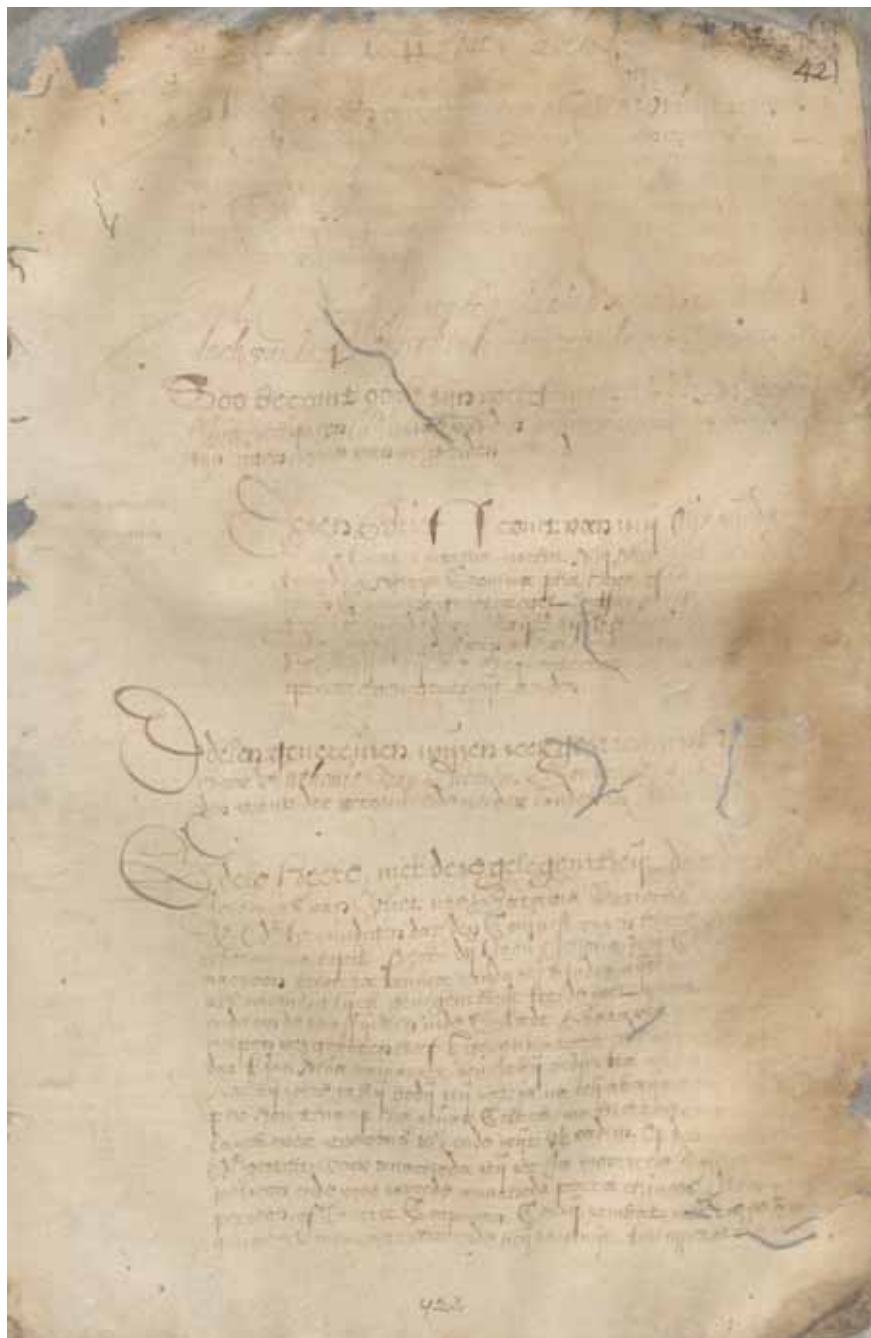
## 4 Colophon

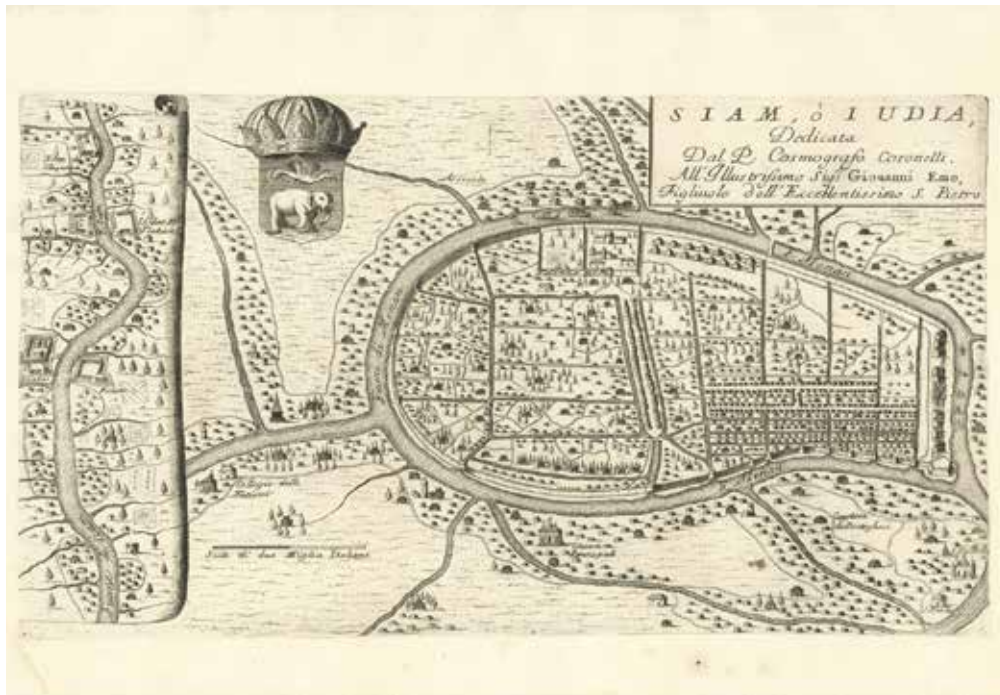
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Archival Source, ANRI, HR 2457 fol. 421-423.





**Illustration 1.** Fine and detailed plan of Ayutthaya in Thailand - sourced from the French embassy to Siam in 1685 - by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, the great seventeenth century Italian cartographer.

## Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 1 December 1668

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 5
- 3 English translation 6
  - 4 Colophon 7
  - 5 Folio images 8





## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 1 December 1668”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 22. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

The English trader John South wrote in 1661 about Ayutthaya: “This is absolutely the best scal I have bin at in India and we have our custome free for ever”. Ships were coming from Macao, Tonkin, Cochin-China and Manila in February and March; in May and June the Dutch and English ships from Banten and Batavia arrived; a few months later the sails and galleys from Makassar, Johor and Aceh were seen, and finally, in November, the ships engaged in the trade with Japan.

Ayutthaya was a crucial port for the Dutch, as it was situated along the sea-lanes to the VOC’s factories and possessions in Tonkin, Formosa (Taiwan) and Japan, and no other European nation frequented the Siamese port more often than the Dutch during the 1650s and 1660s. The Siamese also came to Banten and Batavia, with their own junks and galleys. Sometimes they continued their trip to Java’s Northeast coast to buy horses in exchange for tin and lower quality porcelain. The nakhodas of these Siamese ships brought letters from the kings and gifts for the Sultan of Banten, the Susuhunan of Mataram and the High Government in Batavia, sometimes even elephants. As such, Batavia was one of the diplomatic contacts

and trading partners of the Siamese kings.

Dutch-Siamese relations deteriorated in the early 1660s. Although a full analysis of the course of events is still lacking in the historical literature, it is clear that the return of the English to Ayutthaya and Siam’s war with the North consumed much manpower and resources and had a negative impact on the Dutch trade. There was also a fierce competition with the “Moors”, but ever more so with the Chinese and Sino-Siamese junks sailing to China, Taiwan and Japan. In 1662 the VOC was also at odds with Portugal again, and this led to the capture of Portuguese Cochin on India’s west coast. The VOC’s capture of a ship near Hainan between Canton and Macao flying a Portuguese flag and with a Portuguese crew led to altercations in Ayutthaya because this ship was fitted out by King Narai. Although the King himself was on a military expedition, the VOC lodge was besieged and later King Narai asked for 84,000 guilders in compensation for the seized ship.

Another factor was the behaviour of *okya* Phichit, a high Siamese official who acted as “voorkoper”, or pre-salesman, monopolizing as many sales in deerskins as possible. In response, the High Government decided to leave Ayutthaya altogether. On 5 September 1663 the *Princesse Royale*, and the flute ships *Hoogcaspel* and *Elsenburg*, left Batavia for Siam to dismantle the lodge in silence. The flutes had the order to intercept and to capture Chinese junks destined for Siam.<sup>1</sup> On 25 October all of the 15 Company staff left the factory quietly and went downstream on a fast Cambodian prau to the warehouse Amsterdam, where the

<sup>1</sup> [DKB] *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno 1663*, Bataviaasch genootschap 1891, pp. 435-436. The background of this was of course the humiliating conquest by the Chinese warlord Coxinga (aka Zheng Chenggong) of Fort Zeelandia on Formosa. The Fort was handed over on 1 February 1662.





## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. French depiction of King Narai.

*Princesse Royale* and *Elsenburg* were waiting for them. The *Princesse Royale* came back to Batavia on 9 December 1663 with all of the money (12,051 Spanish real) and goods from the lodge, including 5,328 pikuls of sappanwood, 6,154 pots of coconut oil, 1549 deerskins and other items.<sup>2</sup>

Not happy with this unforeseen departure, King Narai sent two diplomats to Batavia in February 1664. In a letter the Phrakhleng explained to the Supreme Government how *okya* Phichit (a Muslim noble of Persian descent) was to blame, and how he had been punished by the King. The King expressed his wish that the VOC should return to Ayutthaya. The Supreme Government decided on 10 June 1664 to send Pieter de Bitter with the *Zirkzee* to Siam to finally settle the disputes with the King. Enoch Poolvoet joined him, in case the factory could be re-opened.<sup>3</sup> The *Zirkzee* arrived at the mouth of the Chao Phraya river on 15 July. Immediately after arrival the guards of the toll-

house came on board with the news that King Narai was much inclined to renew the old alliance with the VOC.

The *Zirkzee* returned to Batavia Siam on 30 November with a cargo of sappanwood and coconut oil. Pieter de Bitter handed over his report, a letter from Poolvoet and a royal letter from King Narai himself in Malay. The Daily Journals of Batavia Castle record a triumphant relation *in compendio* of the reports and letters received. Batavia's letter was received in Siam with the necessary protocol on 1 August and opened by the King in the presence of many Siamese noblemen, all carrying a silver betel-box they had received as a gift from the King. It was concluded that the mutual relations had been completely disturbed by the troublemaker *okya* Phichit without the knowledge of the King, and the impertinent acts of the Chinese whom were used by *Okya* Phichit to besiege the Dutch lodge. The King had been

<sup>2</sup> DKB 1663, pp. 655.

<sup>3</sup> DKB 1664, 10 June 1664, pp. 236-237.



## INTRODUCTION

unaware of the abuses at the court, *okya* Phichit fell out of grace immediately and was punished later.

The day after the ceremony the Dutch and Siamese officials started to draft the text of a new treaty, which was signed on 22 August 1664. The Treaty of 1664 arranged for unlimited trade with all traders in Siam, Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat) and Ujung Salang (“Junkceylon” or Phuket), without any increases of toll in the future. The King promised not to use any Chinese on board his junks to Japan, Canton, Cochin China or Tonkin. The most important article was the exclusive right of the VOC, to the exclusion of all other traders, no matter of what nationality, to the export of deer-skins and cowhides. The VOC was not allowed to attack or display any hostility to any foreign ships or junks entering Siam’s waters. The full text of this treaty was inserted in the Daily Journals of Batavia Castle immediately after the arrival of the *Zirkzee* on 30 November 1664.<sup>4</sup> In a sentence after the treaty it is reported that the King had stressed – via the Phrakhlang – that with this treaty his authority was challenged.

The years after the Treaty of 1664 show business as usual. The *Princesse Royale* went back to Siam in August 1665 and other ships destined for Tonkin, Japan and Hoksiewu also called at Ayutthaya in the following years. King Narai sent his regular letters to Batavia in December 1665, December 1666, November 1667, and October/November 1668.

The diplomatic letter from King Narai from 1668 came with outgoing executive trader Enoch

Poolvoet, who received permission to bring his children (from a Siamese woman) with him to Batavia. Poolvoet arrived on the ship *Goeree* with a good load of sappanwood and four elephants as a gift from the King. Only ten days after the arrival of the *Goeree*, the flute *Elburgh* arrived in the roads of Batavia with a smaller cargo, namely 1,400 pikuls of sappanwood, 63 loads of rice and 2,490 martavans of coconut oil. It delivered the second letter from King Narai in a month, and a letter from Nicolaes de Roy, executive trader in Ayutthaya (1669-1672), dated 16 November 1668. In this letter the King’s appreciation for Enoch Poolvoet is expressed.

In comparison to the 18th century royal letters, those from the period of King Narai were always short and seldom contain clear political considerations. The fragments of this letter from 1668 show some of the main concerns of the King. He frequently requested skilled workers or military specialists from Batavia, or asked for luxury goods and gadgets.

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<sup>4</sup> DKB 1664, 30 November 1664, pp. 523-525.

## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 1 DECEMBER 1668<sup>1</sup>.

In zijn brief zegt de kapitein van Jaccatra dat hij een Nederlander stuurt die buskruit kan maken, en nog een ander die verstand heeft van oorlogszaken en goed met geschut kan omgaan, beide om in Siam dienst te doen. Hierdoor blijkt de oprechtheid van de kapitein van Jaccatra (om hulde te bewijzen) aan de voeten van Alaradt<sup>2</sup>, Koning van Siam. Dit waardeert de Koning van Siam ten zeerste. Doch de persoon die verstand heeft van buskruit maken is bij aankomst in de loge van Siam ziek geworden en gestorven, zonder dat hij ooit aan het buskruitmaken toekwam. En de persoon die verstand heeft van oorlog en geschut gaf toen hij werd ondervraagd en gelast om enig geschut af te schieten ten antwoord dat hij daar niet goed genoeg in was. Dus heb ik hem niet naar de oorlog kunnen sturen, en zendt hem bij dezen terug als ondienstig. Om deze redenen vraag ik de kapitein van Jaccatra om een meester op te zoeken die kunstig is in de oorlogsvoering, iemand die buskruit, en nog iemand die steenhouwen kan, om in de loge van Siam te wonen.

Verder heb ik een klein uurwerk gezien, dat in het Nederlands 'orlogie' genoemd wordt. Hierin heb ik zin gekregen en ik wenste dat de kapitein van Jaccatra over een jaar of twee een mocht sturen aan de voeten van de Koning van Siam.

Ook heeft Enoch Poolvoet<sup>3</sup> ons bekend gemaakt, dat de kapitein van Jaccatra aan hem een brief<sup>4</sup> had geschreven, waarin hij bevolen werd naar Batavia te vertrekken. De koopman zou in de loge van Siam moeten blijven. Maar volgens het oude gebruik, en zo is het hier altijd de manier geweest, wordt mij eerst aangeschreven wanneer de kapitein van Jaccatra een andere persoon wil sturen om de aanwezige resident te verlossen. En aangezien de genoemde Poolvoet van jongs af aan in Siam dienst heeft gedaan, had ik gedacht dat de kapitein van Jaccatra hem enige andere taken op zou leggen. Maar ik heb hem op het verzoek dat door de Phrakhlang aan de voeten van mij, Alharadt, Koning van Siam, is gedaan, vrij gelaten om naar Batavia te gaan.

Enoch Poolvoet heeft opnieuw bekend gemaakt dat hij kinderen geteeld had bij een slavin van Kanda Sima<sup>5</sup> in Siam. Ik heb op dat verzoek gelet, aangezien de Koning van Siam genegen is met de Nederlandse Koning volgens het voorheen gemaakt contract in vriendschap te verkeren, alsmede ten aanzien van de veelvoudige weldaden die de kapitein van Jaccatra ons bewijst. Derhalve heb ik toegestaan dat de kinderen met hun vader Enoch Poolvoet naar Batavia gaan.

<sup>1</sup> [DRK] *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno 1668-1669*, Bataviaasch genootschap 1897, pp. 209-211

<sup>2</sup> Het is onduidelijk wat Alaradt betekent.

<sup>3</sup> Enoch Poolvoet, opperhoofd van de VOC-loge in Ayutthaya, 1662-1663 (waarnemend), 1664-1668.

<sup>4</sup> In het Nationaal Archief (VOC 887) bevinden zich twee geheime brieven van Batavia aan Poolvoet van 22 mei en 3 september 1663.

<sup>5</sup> De vrouw van Poolvoet was onderdaan van de koning, vandaar de uitdrukking "slavin van Kanda Sima"; *khet khanthasima* verwijst naar het gebied binnen de grenzen van het koninkrijk.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 1 DECEMBER 1668.

[In summary]

In his letter the captain of Jaccatra says that he is sending a Dutchman who can make gunpowder, and another who has a knowledge of matters of war and is good at handling guns, both to serve in Siam. This is evidence of the sincerity of the captain of Jaccatra (by paying homage) at the feet of Alaradt<sup>1</sup>, King of Siam. The King of Siam appreciates this very much. However, the person who knew how to make gunpowder, on arrival at the lodge of Siam, became ill and died, without ever having had the chance to make gunpowder. And the person who understood about war and guns, when questioned and directed to fire some guns, replied that he was no good at it. Hence I was not able to send him to the war, and herewith am returning him as unusable. For these reasons I ask the captain of Jaccatra to seek out a master who is skilled in waging war, someone who can make gunpowder and another who can dress stone, to come and live in the lodge of Siam.

Moreover I have seen a small timepiece, which in Dutch is called 'orlogie'. I have become attracted to this and wish that in a year or two the captain of Jaccatra might send one to the feet of the King of Siam.

Enoch Poolvoet<sup>2</sup> has also informed us that the captain of Jaccatra had written him a letter<sup>3</sup>, in which he was ordered to depart for Batavia. The merchant should continue living in the lodge of Siam. But according to the old custom – and this has always been the way here – I am always sent a letter first if the captain of Jaccatra wishes to send another person to relieve the resident present here. And seeing that the said Poolvoet has been serving in Siam from an early age, I thought that the captain of Jaccatra might impose some other tasks on him. But at the request that has been made at my feet by the Phrakhlang, I, Alharadt, King of Siam, have released him to go to Batavia.

Enoch Poolvoet has once more made it known that he had produced children by a female slave from Kanda Sima<sup>4</sup> in Siam. I have noted that request, seeing that the King of Siam is inclined to remain in friendship with the Dutch King in accordance with the contract made formerly, and in view of the many favours that the captain of Jaccatra has shown us. Therefore I have granted permission for the children of Enoch Poolvoet to go to Batavia with their father.

<sup>1</sup> Unclear what Alaradt means

<sup>2</sup> Enoch Poolvoet, executive head of the VOC in Ayutthaya (1662-1663 acting) (1664-1668).

<sup>3</sup> Two secret letters from Batavia to Poolvoet survive in the NA (VOC 887, letters dated 22 May and 3 September 1663).

<sup>4</sup> Poolvoet's wife was the Siamese king's subject, hence the phrase "a female slave from Kanda Sima"; *khet khandhasima* denotes the area within the boundaries of the king's realm.



## 4 Colophon

Title	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 1 December 1668”. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 22. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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Illustration selection	Jajang Nurjaman
Illustration sources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Fine and detailed plan of Ayuthaya in Thailand - sourced from the French embassy to Siam in 1685 - by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, the great seventeenth century Italian cartographer. <i>Private collection</i>.</li><li>2. French depiction of King Narai. <a href="https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/do/French_depiction_of_King_Narai.jpg">https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/do/French_depiction_of_King_Narai.jpg</a></li></ol>
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## 5 Folio image

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Archival Source, ANRI, HR 2471, fols 428-432.

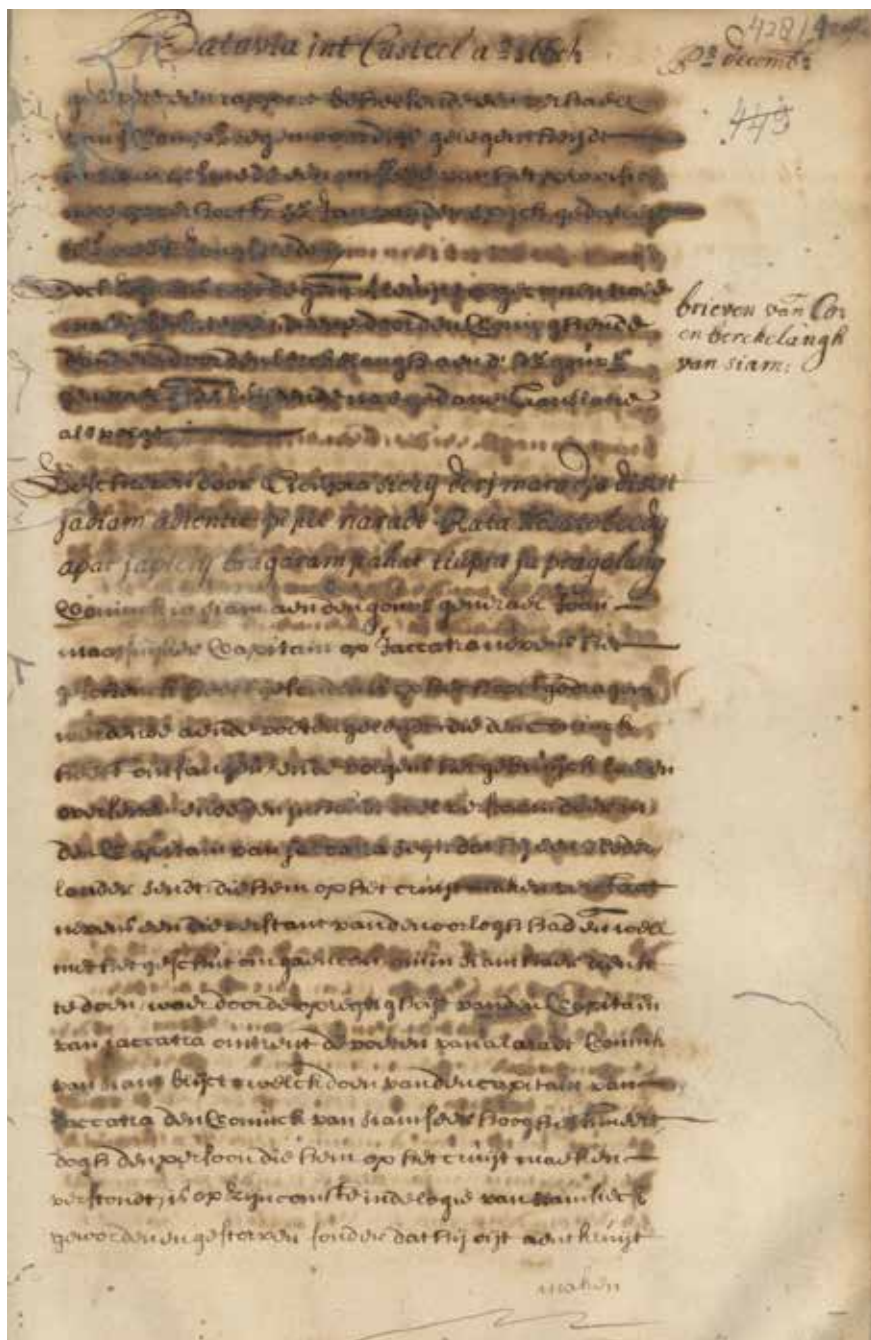




Illustration 1. King Narai on his Elephant.

## Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) in Ayutthaya to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 2 March 1674, and the answer from Batavia, 27 April 1674

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 5
- 3 English translation 8
- 4 Colophon 10
- 5 Folio images 11





## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 2 March 1674, and the answer from Batavia, 27 April 1674”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 23. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

The letter, which is selected here from the reign of King Narai, dates from ca. October 1673. The reply from the Supreme Government in Batavia Castle to Siam (see next document) is one of the first replies from the Supreme Government that can be found in the VOC-archives in both The Hague and Jakarta. Before 1672 no such letters have been traced so far, and have presumably been lost.

This letter refers to an incident between the Dutch and the English. Although its content is presented in a diplomatic way, it is in fact an angry letter. King Narai was much displeased that the Dutch had taken an English ship, the *Philip and Ann*, leaving Ayutthaya for Bombay. On board this ship were some diplomatic gifts from the King to the President of the EIC in Bombay. The President, Gerard Aungier, and his Council wrote to the EIC in London that he had received a letter from the Phrakhlung that the King was “much offended at the Dutch for that and their other insolency to the merchants”.<sup>1</sup>

The context is the Third Anglo-Dutch War (early 1672-early 1674), during which England’s Royal Navy joined the French to blockade the Dutch Republic at sea and England’s King Charles II

attempted to subjugate the Dutch Republic. The Anglo-French alliance was signed during the secret Treaty of Dover in 1670, which aimed at a punitive campaign against the Dutch Republic. During this campaign, the Dutch Admiral Michiel de Ruyter won several sea battles and the English Parliament forced Charles II to stop the war after two years of fruitless attempts. The year 1672 is known in Dutch history as the “Year of Disaster” (*Rampjaar*), as in June the French King Louis XIV invaded the Netherlands with an army of 130,000 men.

It is an interesting, but unanswerable, question to ask how far the Siamese King Narai was aware of the specifics of these European treaties and events. The letter from Batavia of 27 April 1674 indicates that it was the duty of the Dutch executive trader in Ayutthaya – at that time Johannes van der Spijck – to inform the court about the Dutch victories at sea. We can imagine that the English and the French in Ayutthaya also presented their information about the Anglo-Dutch War to the court officials.

The French *Société des Missions étrangères de Paris* (M.E.P.; Paris Foreign Missions Society, established 1658-1663) had already received permission to open the Seminary of Saint Joseph in Ayutthaya in 1666, after the arrival of Mgr Lambert de la Motte and the founding father of the M.E.P., Mgr François Pallu. The high religious tolerance of King Narai was exceptional in those days, and Siam was the only Southeast Asian country where such a Roman Catholic seminary could be found. One of the complaints of King Narai against the Dutch was the Dutch anti-Catholic policy and

<sup>1</sup> A. Farrington & Dhiravat na Pombejra, *The English Factory in Siam 1612-1685*, Vol. I, p. 379.



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. Delegation visiting the king of Siam (Thailand), Jan Luyken, 1687.

obstructions to facilitate Catholic missionaries arriving in Banten or Batavia. These hindered the royal correspondence with the French King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) and Popes Alexander VII (r. 1655-1667) and Clement IX (r. 1667-1669). King Narai's foreign policy aimed at the heightening of his prestige by intensifying diplomatic contacts with the most powerful European rulers and spiritual leaders. It is no wonder that during the period 1665-1679 the M.E.P. was able to firmly establish itself in Ayutthaya.

As we have seen in document 22 the English had not considered Ayutthaya as an important trading place since they closed their Hirado factory in 1623. The English trade was centered in Banten, Surat, Madras (Fort St. George, 1640) and after 1668 in Bombay. The English were also far more tolerant than the Dutch towards private or country trade. King Narai usually welcomed English

private traders, but the E.I.C. did not open a factory there again until 1675.

In their general letter of 22 December 1675 in Ayutthaya to the E.I.C. in London, the principal English Company representatives wrote that the King "hath bin much abused by private traders", but had treated the E.I.C. servants "with civillity beyond expectation".<sup>2</sup> Ayutthaya was a good place to sell Indian textiles and English manufactures. King Narai had promised a share in the tin trade under his seal. The King also gave the English a credit [loan?] of 40 katties of silver, 300 bahar of tin and 1000 pikuls of sappanwood. A few months later the English were hopeful that the King would give the E.I.C. "the same freedom as to buying skinns & goods proper for Japan which the Dutch have".<sup>3</sup> This makes it very clear that King Narai did not want to depend on exclusive trading relations with the Dutch, but rather

<sup>2</sup> Farrington, *The English Factory*, Vol. I pp. 394-396.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, p. 407.



## INTRODUCTION

maintain his royal monopoly and grant rights to whomever he wanted. Of all Southeast Asian rulers, the Siamese kings played this game with the Europeans the best until King Narai's foreign and diplomatic policy unravelled in the mid-1680s.

## References:

- Cruysse, Dirk van der, *Siam & the West 1500-1700* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002).
- Farrington, Anthony & Dhiravat na Pombejra, *The English Factory in Siam 1612-1685* (London: The British Library, 2007), Volume I.



## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 2 MAART 1674.<sup>1</sup>

De Koning heeft begrepen van een Engels schip, *Philip and Anna* genaamd, dat de Hollanders dat schip genomen hebben toen het van Siam was vertrokken. Zij hebben daarin twee kisten en een Japans comptoir<sup>2</sup> gevonden. Men zei dat de Koning van Siam die goederen aan de leiders in Engeland gezonden zou hebben. Daarom werden deze door de Hollanders uit respect voor de Koning van Siam niet geopend, maar eerst in bewaring genomen. Derhalve verzoek ik nu dat deze mij mogen worden toegezonden, met een brief van de Gouverneur-Generaal. En indien de Gouverneur-Generaal dit goed vindt, zal dit zeer verstandig zijn en ook strekken tot de onderhouding van de lange vriendschap tussen de Koning van Siam en de Koning van Holland. Want het is zeker dat ik al het genoemde aan de Engelse kapitein die in Suratte woont had gezonden.<sup>3</sup>

Ook heb ik gehoord dat de Hollanders met de koningen van Frankrijk en Engeland in oorlog waren.<sup>4</sup> Daarop heb ik de kapitein Johannes<sup>5</sup> laten roepen en hem daarover gevraagd, die het bevestigde. Ik ben daar zeer ontsteld over, temeer omdat ik vanouds wel weet dat de Koning van Holland in alles oprecht is en zijn contracten onverbrekelijk zijn. Derhalve bid ik God dat Hij hem de overwinning wil geven, want ik kan de Hollanders op het moment niet helpen.

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan Koning Narai (1656-1688), 27 April 1674.*

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 27 APRIL 1674.<sup>6</sup>

De Gouverneur-Generaal Joan Maetsuycker en de raden van de Staat der Verenigde Nederlanden in de Oriënt, die tot Batavia resideren, schrijven uit een oprecht en zuiver hart deze brief aan de grote Koning, die het gebied heeft over het koninkrijk en de landen van Siam, en van de hele wereld zeer werd geprezen wegens zijn wijsheid en vroomheid om zijn onderdanen goed te regeren en met alle koningen en landen goede vrede en vriendschap te onderhouden; aan wie de hemel wil geven een lang leven met gezondheid in alle voorspoed, en overwinning over zijn vijanden; voor zoveel een sterfelijk mens het geoorloofd is dat te begeren.

De brief die de grote Koning van Siam laatst aan de Gouverneur-Generaal schreef hebben wij goed ontvangen, met de eer en het respect die zulk een grote Koning toe-

<sup>1</sup> [DKB] Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno 1674, Bataviaasch genootschap 1902, pp. 69-71.

<sup>2</sup> Kabinet.

<sup>3</sup> Het hoofd van de EIC in Suratte in 1674 was Gerald Aungier.

<sup>4</sup> Derde Engels-Nederlandse Oorlog (1672-1674)

<sup>5</sup> Johannes van der Spijck, 1668-1669 (acting), 1672-1676.

<sup>6</sup> DKB 1674 pp. 104-106. Dit is de eerste brief van de Hoge Regering die is opgenomen in de Daghregisters van Batavia.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

komt. En ook de 20 bahar tin die als een geschenk aan onze vertegenwoordiger in Siam zijn overgegeven, waarvoor wij dankbaar zijn. De brief hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de raden van Indië doen vertalen en zij hebben daaruit gelezen de goede, oprecht en bijzondere genegenheid die de Koning hen en de Nederlandse staat toedraagt om de vrede en vriendschap met hen en haar onderdanen in deze landen, en de goede alliantie, voor eeuwig te onderhouden. De genegenheid van ons en alle Nederlanders jegens de Koning van Siam en zijn onderdanen zal ook voor altijd duren. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de raden van Indië zullen bij alle gelegenheden doen blijken dat zij de grote Koning van Siam dienen en helpen, zo veel als in hen vermogen zal zijn, opdat de vrede en vriendschap tussen Siam en Batavia mag blijven voortbestaan, zo lang de zon en de maan aan de hemel staan.

Verder, aangezien Zijne Majesteit schrijft dat het zeker is dat de twee kisten en een Japans comptoirtje die in het Engelse schip zijn gevonden, door Uwe Majesteit aan de Engelse kapitein te Suratte zijn gezonden, worden deze op het verzoek van Uwe Majesteit ongeopend en gesloten bij dezen weer aan Uwe Majesteit toegezonden.

Inzake de oorlog in ons land tegen de Franse en Engelse koningen verwachten wij dagelijks weer nieuws. Maar onze kapitein (in de loge te Siam) zal Uwe Majesteit kunnen berichten over onze overwinning ter zee<sup>7</sup> en de hoop op vrede.

Verder meldt Uwe Majesteits brief iets over lood. Wij hebben onze kapitein gelast Uwe Majesteit te verzoeken om ons 2 à 3 pikul lood en evenzoveel salpeter (tegen marktprijs) als proefmonsters toe te zenden. Wij hopen dat Uwe Majesteit dit zal gelieven toe te staan. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië zullen daarvoor dankbaar zijn, gelijk zij Uwe Majesteit op het allerhoogste bedanken voor de hulp aan onze kapitein.

Nogmaals: wij zullen aangaande de Hollandse werklieden zoveel als mogelijk aan Uwe Majesteits begeren proberen te voldoen. De Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden van Indië hebben de grote Koning te Siam tegenwoordig niets anders tot een geschenk te zenden als:

- 1 stuks *incarnaat*<sup>8</sup> Hollands fluweel
- 1 stuks zwarte *aurora*<sup>9</sup> *moira*<sup>10</sup>
- 1 stuks gouden incarnaat moira
- 1 stuks goud en groen moira
- 1 stuks scharlaken
- 1 stuks karmozijnen rood laken

<sup>7</sup> De Eerste en Tweede Slag bij het Schooneveld (bij Oostende) waarbij luitenant-admiraal-generaal Michiel de Ruyter de Frans-Engelse vloot onder leiding van Ruprecht van de Palts versloeg op 7 en 14 juni 1673. Mogelijk wist Batavia ook al af van de Slag bij Kijkduin op 11 augustus 1673, de laatste zeeslag tijdens de Derde Engels-Nederlandse Oorlog.

<sup>8</sup> Of 'incarnaat' (Lat. *incarnatio*), hoog-rozerood, vleeskleurig rood.

<sup>9</sup> Aurora (Lat.) is de Latijnse godin voor de dageraad, ook wel het poollicht. Misschien hier in de betekenis van morgenrode kleur.

<sup>10</sup> Moira of *moiré* (Fr.) is een weefsel waarvan de structuur door persen plaatselijk is vervormd zodat een gegolfd effect ontstaat. Het wordt ook wel moor, tabijn of gewaterde zijde genoemd.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

1 papegaaigroen laken

1 grote kist met flessen rozenwater

hetgeen wij eerbiedig verzoeken of Uwe Majesteit dit alles in goede genegenheid gelieft aan te nemen en te accepteren.

In het Kasteel Batavia, 27 April anno 1674. De Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands Indië, Joan Maetsuyker.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Gouverneur-generaal van 1653-1678.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 2 MARCH 1674.

The King has understood regarding an English ship, called the *Philip and Anna*, that the Dutch took that ship when it had departed from Siam. In it they found two chests and a Japanese *comptoir*<sup>1</sup>. It was said that the King of Siam had sent these goods to the leaders in England. Hence out of respect for the King of Siam the Dutch did not open them, but first held them in safekeeping. I therefore now request that these may be sent to me, with a letter from the Governor-General. And if the Governor-General agrees, this will be very wise and also serve to uphold the long friendship between the King of Siam and the King of Holland, for it is certain that I had sent all the above-mentioned to the English captain who lives in Surat<sup>2</sup>.

I have also heard that the Dutch have been at war with the kings of France and England.<sup>3</sup> I then had Captain Johannes<sup>4</sup> called and have questioned him about it, and he confirmed it. I am much dismayed about this, all the more as I have always known that the King of Holland is honest in all things and his contracts are unbreakable. Therefore I pray to God that He should give him the victory, as at this moment I cannot help the Dutch.

*Answer from the Supreme Government in Batavia to King Narai (r. 1656-1688), 27 April 1674.*

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 27 APRIL 1674.

The Governor-General, Joan Maetsuycker, and members of the Council of State of the United Netherlands in the East who reside in Batavia, out of a sincere and pure heart are writing this letter to the great King who has dominion over the kingdom and the lands of Siam, and who is greatly praised by the whole world for his wisdom and piety in ruling his subjects well, and maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with all kings and countries, to whom heaven will give a long life with health in all prosperity and victory over his enemies, in as far as a mortal man is permitted to desire that.

The letter which the great King of Siam lately wrote to the Governor-General we have received in good order, with the honour and respect that is due to such a great King. And also the 20 *bahar* of tin which was handed over to our representative in Siam, for which we are grateful. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have had the letter translated, and from it they have read the good, sincere and especial affection which the King bears them and the Dutch state, in order to

<sup>1</sup> Cabinet.

<sup>2</sup> The EIC head at Surat in 1674 was Gerald Aungier.

<sup>3</sup> The Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674).

<sup>4</sup> Johannes van der Spijck, 1668-1669 (acting), 1672-1676.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

maintain forever the peace and friendship with them and their subjects in these lands, and the good alliance. The affection of us and all the Dutch toward the King of Siam and his subjects will also last for always. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies will on all occasions make it evident that they serve and help the great King of Siam, as far as lies within their power, so that the peace and friendship between Siam and Batavia may continue to exist, as long as the sun and moon are in the sky.

Further, seeing that His Majesty writes that it is certain that the two chests and a little Japanese cabinet which were found in the English ship were being sent by Your Majesty to the English captain at Surat, at Your Majesty's request these are being despatched back to Your Majesty unopened and closed with this letter.

Regarding the war in our country against the French and English kings, we daily expect further news. But our captain (in the lodge in Siam) will be able to inform Your Majesty concerning our victory at sea<sup>5</sup> and the hope of peace.

Moreover Your Majesty's letter says something about lead. We have instructed our captain to request Your Majesty to send us 2 to 3 pikul of lead and the same of saltpetre (at market prices) as samples. We hope that Your Majesty will be kind enough to permit this. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies will be grateful for this, just as they thank Your Majesty to the utmost degree for the help to our captain.

Once again, regarding the Dutch workmen we shall try to fulfil Your Majesty's desire as far as we possibly can. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have at the present time nothing more to send as gifts to the great King of Siam than the following:

- 1 piece of *incarnaat*<sup>6</sup> Dutch velvet
- 1 piece of black *aurora*<sup>7</sup> *moira*<sup>8</sup> (tabby, watered silk)
- 1 piece of golden *incarnaat* tabby
- 1 piece of gold and green tabby
- 1 piece of scarlet
- 1 piece of crimson red worsted
- 1 piece of parrot-green worsted
- 1 large case of bottled rose-water

all of which we respectfully request Your Majesty kindly to receive and accept in good favour.

In Batavia Castle, 27 April in the year 1674. The Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Joan Maetsuycker.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The victory at sea referred to here may be either Admiral De Ruyter's victory over a Franco-English fleet at Schooneveld (June 1673) or the Battle of Kijkduin (August 1673).

<sup>6</sup> Or 'incornaat' (Lat. incarnatio), specific pink red color.

<sup>7</sup> Aurora (Lat.) is the Roman goddess of the dawn. Perhaps here in the meaning of dawn red colour.

<sup>8</sup> Moira of moiré (Fr.) is a fabric which structure has a wave like effect as a result of pressing technique. Also known as 'moor', 'tabijn' or 'gewaterde zijde'.

<sup>9</sup> In office 1653-1678.



## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from King Narai (r. 1656-1688) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 2 March 1674, and the answer from Batavia, 27 April 1674” In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 23. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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<b>Illustration selection</b>	Jajang Nurjaman
<b>Illustration sources</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>King Narai on his Elephant. <i>Tachard, Guy. Voyage de Siam des pères Jesuites, envoyés par le roy, aux Indes &amp; à la Chine : avec leurs observations astronomiques, &amp; leurs remarques de physique, de géographie, d’hydrographie, &amp; d’histoire. A Amsterdam : Chez P. Mortier, 1687. LIVRE CINQUIEME</i></li> <li>Delegation visiting the king of Siam (Thailand), Jan Luyken, 1687. <a href="https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1896-A-19368-655">https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1896-A-19368-655</a></li> </ol>
<b>Transcription</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer
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<b>Introduction</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Senior Lecturer in Maritime and World History (Diponegoro University, Semarang)
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## 5 Folio image

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Archival Source, ANRI, HR 2477, fols 89-91 and fols 131-133.

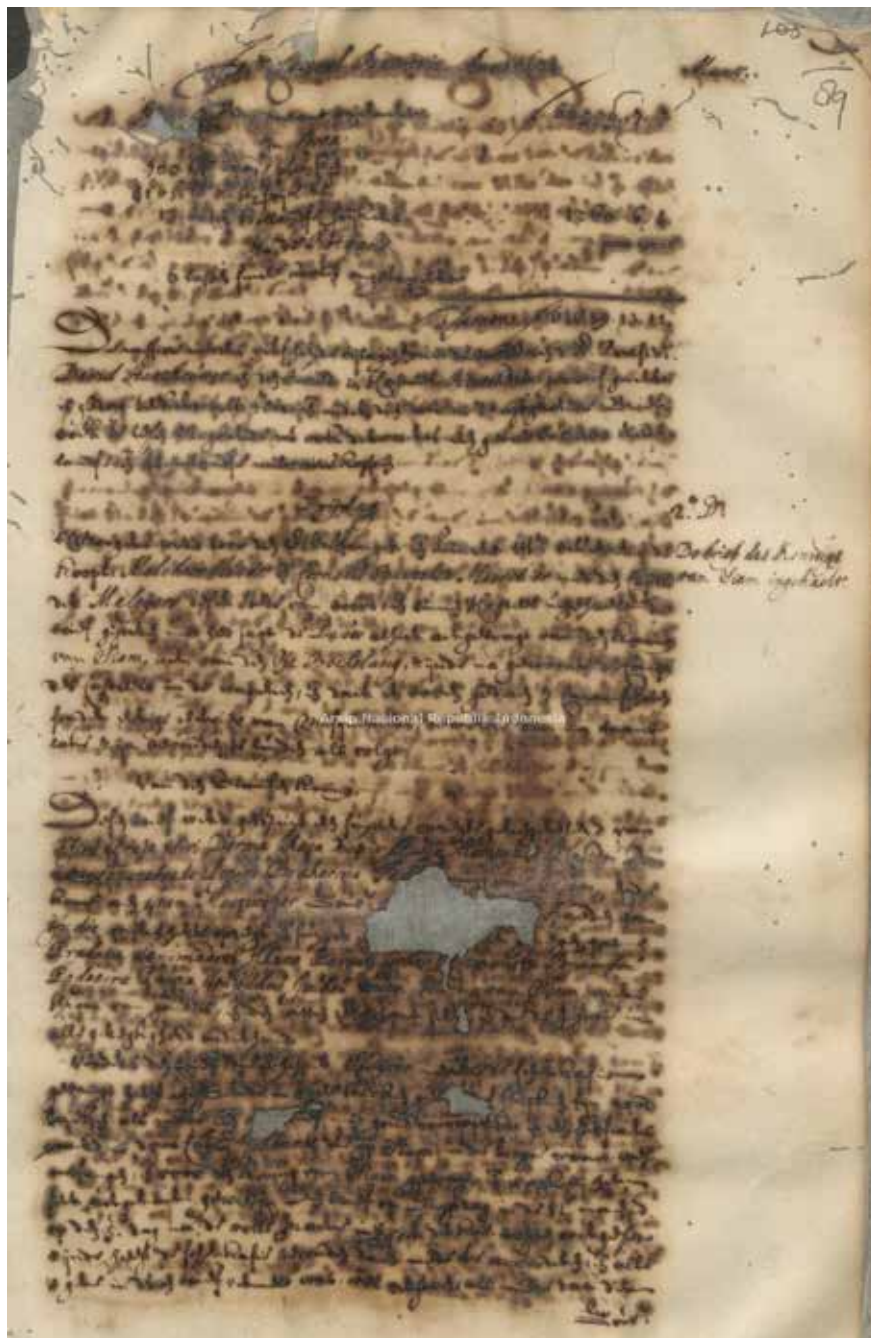




Illustration 1. An illustration from Guy Tachard's book, *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites*, published in 1686.

## Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlung on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, before March 1719, and the answer from Batavia, 18 August 1719

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 4
- 3 English translation 12
- 4 Colophon 19
- 5 Folio images 20





## 1 Introduction

Dhiravat na Pombejra, “Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, before March 1719, and the answer from Batavia, 18 August 1719”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 24. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY DHIRAVAT NA POMBEJRA

This letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlang of King Thai Sa to the Governor-General and his Council in Batavia is a notable example of how much Dutch-Siamese diplomacy at that time was concerned with business, or more precisely the ordering of goods from the Dutch by the Ayutthaya court.

The goods discussed in this letter, namely textiles, guns, horses and hats, were not new items in the long history of the Siamese court’s never-ending demands for luxuries and rarities, as well as foreign apparel for use by the kings and their retinue. The court of King Narai, for instance, was always asking the European traders for luxuries and rarities, even scientific instruments such as telescopes, and items such as spectacles and clocks.<sup>1</sup>

From his letter it is evident that the Phrakhlang minister knew very well the extent of the VOC’s wide political and commercial reach. His letter asks for cloves and mace from the Spice Islands,

perfumed sandalwood from Timor, various types of Indian textiles and Dutch silverware as well as plumed hats.

The small cannon to be used on elephant back are particularly intriguing. Even though elephants are generally afraid of the sound of gunfire and had lost much of their importance in Asian warfare as combat animals by the seventeenth century, some of the Siamese king’s war elephants were trained to tolerate the thunderous noise of guns, hence the request for these small cannon. Indeed, the king’s elephants were still being trained not to panic at the sound of cannon fire as late as 1761, in preparation for an imminent Burmese attack.<sup>2</sup>

In the history of Siam, the immediate context of this letter concerns the role of the Chinese in the Ayutthayan court and the rice trade with southern China. The revival of Chinese maritime trade with Southeast Asia had followed the 1684 revocation of the maritime ban imposed by the Qing, and although the *haijin* was used again soon afterwards, it did not stop the activities of the junk trade network for long, particularly that of Fujian. In the case of Siam, the conjuncture of flood and famine in south and eastern China which affected Guangdong, Xhejiang and (especially) Fujian, and the availability of a Siamese rice surplus led to a thriving rice trade between Ayutthaya and the ports of Fujian and Guangzhou.<sup>3</sup>

Another byproduct of strengthened Sino-Siamese trading relations, and the Chinese impact on Southeast Asia during this period, was the

<sup>1</sup> Dhiravat na Pombejra, *Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth Century as Depicted in European Sources*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2001, Chapter 8 (pp. 146-167).

<sup>2</sup> Archives des Missions Étrangères, Paris. Vol. 885, p. 627, Mgr. Brigot aux Directeurs du Séminaire, 9 Jan. 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit. Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2014 (first publ. 1977), Chapter 5 esp. pp. 73-77.



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. Elephants in an enclosure or “park” at Ayuthia.

appointment of a Chinese from Amoy (Xiamen) as the Phrakhlang minister at King Thai Sa’s court. Chinese became influential figures in the royal court, especially in the Siamese crown’s trading apparatus. It was most probably the Chinese Phrakhlang who dictated this very letter to the Hoge Regering.

The Hoge Regering’s reply to His Majesty the King of Siam is notable for its polite platitudes and fine phrases expressing continued friendship. The letter from Batavia to the Phrakhlang, on the other hand, is more directly concerned with trade and business. On the matter of the King of Siam’s

horse buyers being unable to purchase more suitable specimens, for example, the Governor-General and Council maintained that they had done all they could to help these Siamese officials, providing transportation and granting a generous loan. The Dutch consistently assisted the Siamese court from the reign of King Narai (1656-1688) till that of King Borommakot (1733-1758) in its quest to obtain Javanese horses for use in court life at Ayutthaya.<sup>4</sup> Batavia was quite blunt in hinting that the king’s horse buyers were using various excuses to cover their own failure to buy horses which satisfied the court’s specifications.

<sup>4</sup> See Dhiravat na Pombejra, “Javanese horses for the court of Ayutthaya” in Greg Bankoff and Sandra S. Swart (eds.), *Breeds of Empire. The ‘Invention’ of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa 1500-1950*. Copenhagen: NIAS, 2007, pp. 65-81.

## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

*Brief van de Chaophraya Phrakhleng uit naam van Koning Thai Saa (1709-1733) aan de Hoge Regering in Batavia, voor maart 1719.*

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 31 MAART 1719.

Deze brief van 's Sjopia Seri Dermaraat Ditsjat Tsjaat Amaat Tiaantsjat Pipit Ratna Raat Kosa Tabdie Apia Piri Brakarma Pahok Tsjopia Berkelang is voor Christoffel van Zwoll, Gouverneur-Generaal van de Compagnie over en door geheel Azië. De Gouverneur-Generaal Christoffel van Zwoll is zuiver en oprecht in de weg van weldadigheid omtrent Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit Prbat Somdet Boromopobip Prapoti Tsjouw Djehoea mijn genadige Souverein.

Aangezien de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië opnieuw een brief en geschenken met de Hollandse schipper na hier overgezonden hebben in de negende maand van het Hondejaar, met verzoek of ik deze aan Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zou willen aanbieden, zo zijn de brief en de geschenken volgens oud gebruik ingehaald. Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit heeft zich ten hoogsten verheugd en de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië geprezen omdat op die wijze de weg van onderlinge verbintenis en de zuivere en oprechte vriendschap met de Prins van Oranje en de Compagnie geheel onderhouden worden. Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit heeft mij geordonneerd om de brief te beantwoorden.

In mijn verzonden brief heb ik inzake de voorheen naar hier gezonden gouden zijden stoffen en kleden, na vergelijking met de monsters, deze te grof en slecht, en te hoog in prijs bevonden. De administrateurs van de Khleng<sup>1</sup> wilden deze daarom niet accepteren. Maar gezien onze onderlinge verbintenis heb ik de Khleng bevolen de gouden stoffen te accepteren. Volgens de mening van de Suratse wevers kunnen zij deze stoffen volgens specificatie van de monsters niet bereiden op hun weefgetouwen. De weefgetouwen moeten opnieuw worden ingesteld en de prijzen komen dan hoger uit dan die van voorheen. Ik heb de vrijheid genomen om zodanige monsters van gouden stoffen zoals de dienaren van de Koning deze hadden laten maken over te zenden [naar Batavia], met verzoek of er door de werklieden [in Suratse] zodanige stoffen gemaakt mogen worden en naar herwaards gezonden, en dat voor een redelijke prijs en niet al te duur. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben gouden stoffen laten en maken en deze herwaards gezonden in het Paarden- en Bokkenjaar, in een kwantiteit van 133 rollen met diverse prijzen voor 344 catty, 15 thailen, 2 pahas en 1 maas<sup>2</sup>. Aangezien deze prijzen te duur waren, heeft de Khleng deze niet willen accepteren. De toegezonden gouden stoffen waren te dik en te zwaar van goud, de kleuren te slecht en niet helder genoeg. Deze stoffen waren te duur, ja duurder dan die door de dienaren van de

<sup>1</sup> De schatkist, of eigenlijk beter de koninklijke pakhuizen.

<sup>2</sup> Mas: geldsoort met verschillende waarden in elk land. In Siam gelijk aan 1/16 tael.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Koning waren aanbesteed en ingekocht.

Hierop hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en raden van Indië geschreven dat de gewone weefgetouwen van de wevers niet gesteld zijn om te produceren volgens de monsters, met verzoek of een koningsdienaar kon worden overgezonden om dat persoonlijk te onderzoeken. Ik was van plan om de bezorgde gouden stoffen weer naar Batavia te zenden want de Khlang wilden deze niet accepteren. De Compagnie zou maar schade lijden wanneer de stoffen bleven liggen. Maar gezien de onderlinge verbintenis heb ik de Khlang bevolen de stoffen aan te nemen voor de aangeschreven prijs. Het is waar dat op de weefgetouwen [in Surat] de vereiste stoffen niet gemaakt kunnen worden], want als de kammen van de weefgetouwen te wijd zijn, dan zal de stof ruwer zijn dan de stoffen die in oude tijden gemaakt werden.

Momenteel hebben enkele Coromandelse handelaarse te Siam enige kleden en zijden stoffen, goud gekleurd, ten handel aangeboden. De Khlang heeft een selectie gemaakt en datgene gekocht dat goed en deugdzaam is, zowel van groning als helderheid van glans, en dat voor een billijke prijs en niet duur. Vele van die soorten zijn vele naar onze zin en naar ons behagen. Van die soorten heeft men er bij het scheepsvolk te koop kunnen krijgen die ons wel te pas komen. Gelieve de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië toch ervoor te zorgen dat de stoffen mochten worden gemaakt volgens de overgaande monsters zoals hiervoor is geschied. En als de werklieden zouden voorgeven dat zij op hun gewone weefgetouwen die niet kunnen maken, noch zodanige gouden stoffen kunnen bereiden, dat zij in dat geval de weefgetouwen moeten veranderen en dat daarop volgens de monsters zodanige gouden zijden stoffen kunnen weven.

Hierbij worden door mij van enkele van de gouden stoffen die wij hebben kunnen kopen van de Coromandelse handelaars en goed zijn, de monsterlappen aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië overgezonden. Zo kunnen Uw Hoog Edelens zien wat voor stoffen het zijn. Betreffende de kleuren, die zijn goed en duurzaam. Hiervan gaan tien monsters over met verzoek of de Gouverneur-Generaal gelieve te verzorgen dat zodanige stoffen door de werklieden gemaakt mogen worden, en herwaards gezonden.

Van de stoffen met zilveren en witte strepen zoals de sompakken, lang 16 en breed 2 *cobaers*, verzoeken wij drie stukken, het stuk de prijs van 17 thailen.

Volgens nevensgaand beschreven monster van de stoffen die met gouden en witte strepen, en wederzijds van zijde en goud doorwrocht zijn zoals sompakken, terwijl de overgezonden wordende monsterlap der stoffen met strepen zijn, per stuk tot 1 catti en 2 thail, lang 16 en breed 2 *cobaers*. In overeenstemming met de overgaande *cobitmaat*<sup>3</sup> moeten deze volgens het beschreven model niet met grote maar kleine rode strepen worden gemaakt, en voorts geheel volgens de monsterlap gemaakt worden, en dat alle van goede, deugdzame vaste achtergronden en kleuren; er wordt om drie rollen verzocht.

<sup>3</sup> Cobit, cobido, Indiase maatsoort van ongeveer 70 cm.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Van het stoffenmonster met een grond van sandelkleur, met verspreide zilveren bloemen die rondom met rode zijde bewerkt zijn, volgens het monster lang 15 en breed 2 cobidaars, voor een prijs van 15 thail per rol, insgelijks drie rollen.

Van het stoffenmonster met blauwe, gouden, rode *casoemba*<sup>4</sup> parelkleurig, geele en lichtgroene zijden strepen volgens het monsterstuk, lang 15 en 2 cobaers voor een prijs van 15 thail per rol, daarvan mede drie rollen.

Idem van het stoffenmonster met lichtgroene, gouden en parelkleurige zijden strepen en ter weerszijden van zwarte zijde dito, volgens het monsterstuk, lang en breed alsvoren, voor een prijs van 8 thail, insgelijks drie rollen.

Van het stoffenmonster met grote gouden en met witte strepen, die wederzijds met rode zijden strepen en parelkleurige strepen [hebben], idem van gouden strepen en doorlopend gouddraad bezet; deze zijn volgens het monster lang 15 en breed 2, voor een prijs van 12 thail per rol; drie rollen van het stoffenmonster met rode zijden strepen, volgens overgaand monster lang 15 en breed 2 cobaars, per rol tot 15 thail, als boven drie rollen.

Van het monster van de stoffen met witte strepen, idem zilveren strepen en strepen van gekleurde zijde en met grote zilveren en kleine zijden strepen afgezet, en ook kleine zilveren strepen conform het monster, lang 15 en 2 cobaars, de prijs van iedere rol 15 thail: daarvan drie rollen. En van het monster navolgens overgaand monster, lang en breed alsboven per rol tot 16 thail, daarvan worden ook drie rollen verzocht. Van al deze soorten stoffen worden de beschreven monsters en de lappen overgezonden, tesamen tien stuks. En aangezien deze monsters merendeels al half versleten en van glans beroofd zijn, en dus maar ternauwernood voor monsters kunnen dienen, verzoeken wij dat de gronden van de stoffen wel gedaan en goed van kleur mogen gemaakt worden, alsmede het goud en zilver, idem de zijde van goede glans, helder en vast van kleur en dat zo van iedere rol. Ook dat de gouden, zilveren en zijden strepen in de lengte mogen vallen, over de gehele lengte van iedere rol zoals dat blijkt bij de voor dato gezonden monsters. Ook moeten de stoffen niet gevouwen maar opgerold worden, en zo naar herwaards gezonden worden, aangezien door het opvouwen de gouden en zilveren strepen maar bederven. De bovengemelde stoffen dan van goede gronden en vaste glans gemaakt zijnde, en de prijzen wat billijker, mogen dan betaald en naar herwaards overgezonden worden. Wij zullen de prijs van ieder stuk door de Khlang en het hier residerende hoofd in de compagnies loge naar gewoonte vereffenen.

De sompacken en *packieuws*<sup>5</sup> met geschilderde hoofden en gronden in diverse kleuren [zijn bedoeld] om als geschenk te geven aan de onderdanen in dienst van de Koning. Ik heb eerder verzocht of de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië daarvan een levering kunnen doen in het Konijnenjaar, van 300 stuks zowel *marados*<sup>6</sup> als enkele kleden. Deze zijn te kort en te smal geweest, eveneens te grof, en niet volgens de

<sup>4</sup> Casoemba, *kesumba*, oranje-rode bloem die werd gebruikt als kleurstof, medicijn en als kleurstof voor voedsel in plaats van saffron. Zie VOC-Glossarium.

<sup>5</sup> Packieuws, *pha kiwe*, een doek om de middel gedragen.

<sup>6</sup> *Marados*, *photas*, een soort gespikkelde Indiase katoensoort.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

overgezonden monsters, alles tesamen eveneens van een achtergrond [niet volgens de overgezonden monsters], en bovendien te hoog van prijs. Daarom heeft de Khlang deze niet willen accepteren en alles weer aan het opperhoofd in de loge getourneerd.

Over de geschilderde sompacken en packieuws voor geschenk aan de dienaren voor Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit is geschreven hoe die moeten zijn. En aangezien de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië verklaren het Hof van Siam alle hulp en dienst te willen toebrengen tot onderhouding van de vriendschap, alsdus verzoeken wij de levering van sompacken met geschilderde hoofden, lang 12 *chieus*, en breed 6 *spannen*. En met achtergronden met dubbele ruitjes en perkjes, idem met *dammetjes*, van verschillende kleuren en ontwerp insgelijks op de manier als de *chelassen*<sup>7</sup> van diverse soorten, alsmede packieuws met geschilderde hoofden, lang 6 *chieus* en breed 6 *spannen*, van diverse soorten en op de wijze als hierboven, alle van goede achtergronden, en vast en levendige kleuren, voor een redelijke prijs en niet te duur zoals de voorheen gestuurde [kleden] zijn geweest.

Aangezien de voorheen overgezonden *goewatrangpa* kleden maar 6 *chieus* lang en 6 *spannen* breed zijn geweest, verzoeken wij dat deze voortaan mogen worden gemaakt met een lengte van 12 *chieus* en een breedte van 6 *spannen* zonder randen. En dat er van die soort een ruime hoeveelheid mag worden overgezonden, om te kunnen dienen tot geschenken voor de uit te zenden schepen en regenten.

Men heeft ook *goewatrangpa* kleden nodig die lang moeten zijn 8 *chieus* en breed 6 *spannen*, om op de wijze zoals hierboven vermeld gemaakt te moeten worden. Gelieven de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië daarvan de leverantie te doen, en dat alle jaren een kwantiteit van 3000 stuks.

De fijne lakenen en de gewone soort zijn ontvangen. Aangezien men nog meer nodig heeft, verzoeken wij voor het aanstaande jaar gerieft te mogen worden met de volgende soorten:

- 200 stuks rode
- 20 stuks groene gewone lakenen
- 20 stuks hemelsblauwe gewone lakenen,

want aangezien de voorheen na Siam gezonden lakenen om aan de dienaren te verstrekken niet te pas komen, verzoeken wij of de verdere verzending daarvan achterwege mag blijven.

Insgelijks mag achterwege blijven de overzending van kleine korte schietgeweren, als van geen nut zijnde. En omdat de toegezonden lange snaphanen, die goed zijn bevonden, een te grote kogel afschieten, verzoeken wij dat erop gelet mag worden dat er zodanige [worden verzonden] die een kleinere kogel afschieten, zwaar een *paha*, voorts van een *paha* en een *powang*<sup>8</sup>, en van de zwarte van vijf masen.

Bij mijn vorige schrijven heb ik om de bezorging van 10 stuks snaphanen en twee pistolen, idem drie stukken karmozijnrode fluwelen verzocht, alsmede het maken van

<sup>7</sup> Chelassen, “sellas”, wit of geel katoen met zwarte strepen, geproduceerd in Choromandel voor de export naar Zuidoost-Azië.

<sup>8</sup> *Powang, fueang/fuang*, geldsoort in Siam, gelijk aan 1/32 taël.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

50 stuks klein kanon om op de olifanten te gebruiken, naar de zin van het hof. Thans verzoeken wij tien stuks fijne Hollandse snaphanen, ontworpen volgens de Franse manier die goed en sterk zijn, en geselecteerd op [het afschieten] van kogels van een paha. Idem van een paha en een powang, alsmede van vijf masen. Maar van pistolen bleek [bij verzending] niets, het zal een fout geweest zijn.

Wij verzoeken dat naar herwaards mag worden gezonden vier stuks fijne snaphanen die hecht en sterk zijn, zodanige als de koningen in Europa gebruiken, gesorteerd op kogels van de zwaarte van een paha en een powang, en van vijf mazen. En dat de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië gelieven te verzorgen dat deze door de smits zodanig mogen worden gemaakt, dat ze naar onze zin mogen wesen. Ook dat de nog ontbrekende 50 stukjes kanon om op de olifanten te gebruiken, ten spoedigste mogen worden gemaakt, hecht en sterk, en na het daarvan eertijds overgezonden model.

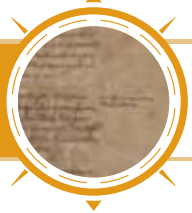
De verzochte Portugese hoeden, waarvan reeds een hoeveelheid van 250 stuks herwaards is gezonden, en de overige 250 stuks nog worden verwacht, zou ik weer terug willen sturen omdat de randen te slap waren. Maar het opperhoofd heeft beloofd deze stijf te zullen maken en heeft dat ook gedaan. Derhalve verzoek ik dat de nog mankerende 250 hoeden niet zo slap zullen zijn als de reeds overgezondene, en dat de hoedenmakers behoorlijke instructie mogen krijgen.

Wij twijfelen niet aan hetgeen in de overgezonden brief vermeld staat over de afgane orders voor het ruikend sandelhout van Timor, en de *mahora* op de wijze als een hanespoor van Bengalen of uit Arakan. Wij verwachten hetzelfde het aanstaande seizoen.

Aangezien wij graag met wat kaneel, nootmuscaten en kruidnagelen geriefd willen worden om daarvan medicijnen te maken, derhalve verzoeken wij of de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië jaarlijk van elk vijf pikols naar herwaards gelieven over te zenden.

Aangaande het verzenden van contanten en het zeggen dat de Compagnie [dat zij] niet meer dan tot het gebruik in de handel nodig kan zenden, verzoeken wij of de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië een grote kwantiteit contanten kunnen zenden om naar gewoonte door de Khlung vermuut te worden. Men zal ervoor zorgen dat er niets zal overblijven van hetgene als tot de handel en voor giften aan het opperhoofd wordt gezonden, en dat alles verbruikt zal worden.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië schreven dat door de storm in Ligor in het jaar 171? (na de Siamse tijdrekening) voorgevallen de Hollanders door dat toeval weinig tin hadden kunnen krijgen. Dat dat tegen de contracten zou zijn, verwondert mij. Het opperhoofd zegt niet te kunnen geloven dat er in het Bokkenjaar zo'n zware storm zou zijn geweest, waardoor de bomen, heuvelen en tinmijnen verwoest zouden zijn geworden op de plaatsen waar tin wordt gegraven. In tegendeel, zij hebben nauwelijks hun quota voor de Koning kunnen halen, en zich ten uiterste genaarstigd om wat meer (maar niet zoveel als voorheen) [te verzamelen]. Dit is de reden waarom de Hollanders zo weinig tin hebben gekregen, gelijk dat genoegzaam bekend is bij de resident van Ligor.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië delen mede dat zij een geldlening van 2000 rijksdaalders hadden verstrekt aan de overgezonden paardenkopers om daarvoor op Java de inkoop van paarden te doen. Verder dat er wel veel paarden zijn, maar dat omdat deze alleen op betaling werden opgekweekt de dienaren van de Koning deze niet willen kopen. Ze kopen alleen de gewone paarden waar zij maar 7, 8, 9 à 10 rijksdaalders per stuk voor geven, hetgeen we moeten geloven. Voorts dat de obligatie van het geleende geld aan het opperhoofd in de compagnieslogie alhier was overgezonden. De paardenkopers Koentas Patsji en Trampakdi hebben bij terugkomst gezegd dat de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hen zeer veel genegenheid hebben bewezen en geassisteerd hebben met een geldlening van 2000 rijksdaalders, hetwelk tot 6 mazen per rijksdaalders gereduceerd is, zijnde aan zilver gelijk aan 37 kati en 10 thail.

Maar eenmaal in Semarang aangekomen, zei de landvoogd dat hij de Hollanders in Semarang had verboden om met de koningsdienaren buiten de stad te gaan om reden van oorlog.<sup>9</sup> Zij zouden te Semarang verblijven en aldaar de inkoop van paaren doen. En de landvoogd de Javanen had gelast om paarden naar Semarang te brengen om daarvan de inkoop te doen, en paarden uit te zoeken van de vereiste grootte, goed van postuur en snel in het lichten van de poten. Maar zodanige paarden als wel naar onze zin zouden zijn hebben wij niet kunnen krijgen. Een stuk of 2 à 3 waren bijna van de vereiste maat maar toen de koningsdienaren die wilden kopen, werd er 50 á 60 rijksdaalders per stuk gevraagd, hetwelk naar hun waarde te duur was zodat de inkoop niet kon plaatshebben.

Als die paarden goed waren geweest, dan zouden zij die hebben gekocht. Maar de koningsdienaren hebben weer gewone paarden moeten kopen en naar herwaards brengen. Zodanige die slechts voor het gebruik van uitzendingen zijn. Zij hadden wel goede paarden kunnen krijgen als zij naar buiten hadden mogen gaan, want buiten Semarang zijn kudden van veele paarden. Van Siam werden alle jaren de paardenkopers overgezonden, en dat met het oogmerk om paarden te krijgen naar de zin van het hof. Maar omdat we geen enkel goed paard kregen, gelieven de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië te zien op de weg van onderlinge verbintenis, en de landvoogd en de bedienden van de Compagnie in Semarang te ordonneren dat zijlieden de koningsdienaren de behulpzame hand bieden en hen vergunnen om buiten te gaan om paarden te kopen.

En aangezien men in het koninkrijk van Siam graag in het bezit wil zijn van diverse zilverwerken heb ik enige modellen van tin doen vervaardigen en aan het opperhoofd gegeven, en ieder model met een opgeschrift gemerkt. Wij verzoeken om van het monster van de waterpotten een kwantiteit van 10 stuks, van het monster van de kleine kommen met deksels ingelijks 13 stuks en van het monster van de waterkommen

<sup>9</sup> De Tweede Javaanse Successie-oorlog begon in 1719 toen Pakubuwana I (1704-1719) overleed en zijn zoon Amangkurat IV op de troon steeg tegen de zin van zijn broers en de prinsessen Blitar en Purbaya. Zij vielen de kraton aan in juni maar werden door de plaatselijke VOC-bezetting verhinderd. De rebellen trokken zich terug naar Mataram maar werden gaandeweg verslagen. De voornaamste leiders werden verbannen naar Ceylon. M.C. Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726. Asian and European Imperialism in the early Kartasura period*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

met voetjes 89 stuks, derhalve deze vijfderhande<sup>10</sup> zilverwerken tesamen een getal van 138 stuks tellen. Daartoe zal wel benodigd zijn 70 à 75 kati zilver. Wij verzoeken het aanstaande moesson daarmede gerieft te mogen worden. De onkosten van dien zullen na oud gebruik door de Khlangs aan het opperhoofd weer voldaan en vereffend worden.

Vanwegen Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit Somdet Boromo Bopit Prapoeti Tsjauw Djehoe mijn genadige Souverein werd ten geschenk gezonden: 102 bahar, 1 pikul, 17 kati en 3 Chinese thailen tin; 4005 stuks, 18 catty, en 12 Chinese thailen sappanhout aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de raden van Indië.

En insgeklijks werd door mij gezonden: 6 bahar, 66 catty, en 13 Chinese thailen tin, en 273 pikuls, 39 en 11 Chinese thailen sappanhout aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië tot onderhouding van de vriendschap om de onderlinge toegenegenheid van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit Prabat Somdet Boromo Bopit Pra Poeti Tsjauw Djehoua, mijn genadige Souverein en de vriend- en bondgenootschap met de Prins van Oranje, de vorst en heer van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië in het aanstaande meer en meer te bevestigen. [...]

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan Koning Thai Saa (1709-1733), 18 August 1719.*

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 18 AUGUSTUS 1719.

*Aan de Koning van Siam.*

Met bijzondere vreugde en hoogachting van de Gouverneur-Generaal Henric Zwaardcroon en de Raden van Indië is hier aangebracht en met groot opzicht en statie ontvangen de heerlijke en uitstekende brief van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit den Siamse Koning Probat Somdet Borom Sopit Praoepoe Ditsjoe Djoehouw, die steeds overwinnende, en ontzaggelijk voor zijn vijanden is; het rijk met wijsheid regeert en de vriendschap onderhoudt, en door de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië een lang leven en een gelukkige regering wordt toegeboesemd, en speciaal bedankt wordt voor de gunstige gedachten die het Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit behaagd heeft gehad vanwege de weg van vriendschap over de regering in dit oord [Batavia] te hebben.

En terwijl het oogmerk van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië niet anders is dan om die vriendschap te vermeerderen heeft men tot voorzetting van dien hoognodig en onvermijdelijk geacht Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit bekend te maken hoe de enige God van hemel en aarde uit deze wereld heeft los en vrij gemaakt de Gouverneur-Generaal Christoffel van Swoll, in wiens plaats is getreden de tegenwoordige Gouverneur-Generaal Henric Zwaardcroon. Hij zal met evenveel en dezelfde zucht en ijver als zijn loffelijke voorzaten, naast alle raden van Indië, trachten te bewaren en te vergroten, de dierbare gunsten en genegentheden van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit, omdat men door ondervinding van vele jaren, en zoals opnieuw

<sup>10</sup> Twee sets missen?

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

gebleken is uit Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteits ontvangen brief, verzekerd en overtuigd zijn van de goede wil waarmede de Koning tot welzijn van de Nederlandse Compagnie is toegedaan. Men twijfelt er niet aan, nu Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit, navolgende de gewoonten en de contracten, zijn gunsten wil blijven continueren.

De dienaren van de Edele Compagnie die in het Siamse koninkrijk zijn, zullen zich na die gewoonten en contracten behoorlijk schikken en onze successieve bevelen daarover tot genoegen van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit prompt opvolgen en nakomen.

Voor de hoogwaarde geschenken die het Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit heeft behaagd te doen [zenden], betuigen de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië bij dezen haar dankbaarheid, en laten nu in wedererkenen en tot teken van achting met deze brief overgaan zodanige kleinigheden waarvan zij hopen dat deze Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit aangenaam zullen zijn, te weten:

30	stuks roode
10	stuks blauwe
10	stuks groene
250	stuks hoogbolle hoeden
93	stuks <i>falconetten</i> <sup>11</sup>
14	stuks fijne uitgekapte snaphanen
40	stuks brillen in soort
x	balen kaneel
x	pikuls nagelen
3	pikols nootmuskaat
22	stuks <i>oradikay</i> <sup>12</sup>

Geschreven in het Kasteel te Batavia op het eiland Groot Java de 18e augustus 1719, H. Zwaardcroon.

<sup>11</sup> *Falconet*, lichte kanonnen.

<sup>12</sup> *Oradikay*, een (medicinale?) wortel.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 31 MARCH 1719.

This letter from 's Sjopia Seri Dermaraat Ditsjat Tsjaat Amaat Tiaansjat Pipit Ratna Raat Kosa Tabdie Apia Piri Brakarma Pahok Tsjopia Berkelang is for Christoffel van Zwoll, Governor-General of the Company over and through the whole of Asia. The Governor-General Christoffel van Zwoll is pure and sincere in the way of benevolence toward His Distinguished Majesty Prbat Somdet Boromopobip Tsjouw Djehoea, my gracious Sovereign.

Seeing that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have once more sent a letter and gifts here with the Dutch skipper in the 9<sup>th</sup> month of the Year of the Dog, with the request that I should offer them to His Majesty, the letter and the gifts have been duly received according to the old custom. His Majesty was greatly pleased and praised the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies, for the way in which the mutual bond and the pure and sincere friendship between the Prince of Orange and the Company has been maintained in full. His Majesty has commanded me to respond to the letter.

In the letter which I sent, concerning the gold silk cloths and fabrics sent here before, after comparing them to the samples, I have judged them to be too coarse and bad, and too high in price. Hence the administrators of the Khlung<sup>1</sup> refused to accept them. But in view of our mutual bond I have ordered the Khlung to accept the gold cloths. In the opinion of the Surat weavers they are not able to produce these cloths in accordance with the specifications on their looms. The looms need to be adjusted anew, and then the prices come to be higher than before. I have taken the liberty to despatch [to Batavia] such samples of gold cloths as the King's servants have had made, with the request for such cloths to be made by the workers [in Surat] and then sent hither, and that for a reasonable price and not too dear. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have had gold cloths made and sent these here in the Year of the Horse and the Year of the Goat, in a quantity of 133 rolls at various prices for [a total of] 344 catty, 15 tael, 2 pahas and 1 maas. Seeing that these prices were too high, the Khlung did not want to accept them. The gold cloths sent were too thick and too heavy with gold, the colours too bad and not clear enough. These cloths were too dear, in fact dearer than the ones contracted out and purchased by the King's servants.

At this the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies wrote that the usual looms of the weavers are not set up to produce [cloth] in accordance with the samples, asking whether a royal servant could be sent to investigate that in person. I was planning to send the gold cloths supplied back to Batavia, as the Khlung would not accept them. The Company would just suffer a loss if the cloths just lay there. But in view of the mutual bond I have ordered the Khlung to take them for the price charged.

<sup>1</sup> Royal treasury or, as is more likely here, royal warehouses.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

It is true that the required cloths cannot be made on the looms [in Surat], as the combs of the looms are too wide, and then the cloth will be coarser than the cloths that were made in former times.

At present several merchants in Siam from Coromandel have offered a number of fabrics and silk cloths, coloured gold, for sale. The Khlang administrators have made a selection and have bought those that are good and of sound quality, regarding both ground and clarity of lustre, and that for a reasonable price. Of these kinds many are to our liking and pleasing to us. Of these kinds we have been able to buy from the seamen ones that will be useful for us. Kindly let the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies take care that the cloths should be made according to the samples provided as happened before. And if the workers should claim that they are not able to make them on their usual looms, and are also not able to prepare such gold cloths, that in that case they have to change their looms so that they can weave such gold cloths according to the samples.

Herewith I am despatching to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies the sample pieces of some of the gold cloths that we have been able to buy from the Coromandel merchants and which are good. In this way Your Honours can see for yourselves what kind of cloths they are. The colours are good and durable. Ten samples of these are being sent, with the request that the Governor-General should see to it that these kinds of cloths may be made by the workers and then sent hither.

Of the cloths with silver and white stripes such as the *sompaks* measuring 16 *cobaers* in length and 2 in breadth, we request three pieces, for a price of 17 tael each.

According to the enclosed described example of the cloths with gold and white stripes, and which are interwoven with silk and gold on both sides just like the *sompaks*. The sample pieces of the cloths with stripes that are being sent are each 1 *kati* and 2 tael, 16 *cobaers* long and 2 wide. In agreement with the accompanying *cobit* size these must be made according to the model described not with large but with small red stripes, and further completely according to the sample piece, and all with good, sound, fast backgrounds and colours; three rolls are being asked.

Of the cloth sample with a ground of sandal-colour, with scattered silver flowers that are worked around with red silk, according to the sample 15 *cobidaars* long and 2 wide, for a price of 15 tael per roll, similarly three rolls.

Of the cloth sample with blue, gold and red *casoemba* [and with] pearl-coloured, yellow and light green stripes according to the sample, 15 *cobaers* long and 2 wide, for a price of 15 tael per roll; also three rolls of these.

The same of the cloth sample with light green, gold and pearl-coloured silk stripes and on both sides with black silk ditto, according to the sample, length and breadth as above, for a price of 8 tael; similarly three rolls.

Of the cloth sample with large gold and with white stripes, which [has] on both sides red silk stripes and pearl-coloured stripes; the same that are have gold stripes and are trimmed with continuous gold thread; according to the sample these are 15 long and 2



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

wide, for a price of 12 tael per roll; three rolls of the sample cloth with red silk stripes, according to the accompanying sample 15 cobaers long and 2 wide, per roll at 15 tael, as above three rolls.

Of the sample of the cloths with white stripes, the same silver stripes and stripes of coloured silk and trimmed with large silver and small silk stripes, and also small silver stripes in conformity with the sample, 15 cobaers long and 2 wide, at a price of 15 tael for each roll: of these three rolls. And of the sample according to the accompanying sample, length and width as above, per roll at 16 tael – of these also three rolls requested. Of all these kinds of cloth the described examples and the pieces are being sent, in all ten items. And seeing that for the most part these samples are already half worn out and bereft of their lustre, and hence can scarcely serve as samples, we request that the backgrounds of the cloths should be properly done and of a good colour, as well as the gold and silver, and likewise the silk [should be] of good lustre, clear and colour-fast, and thus for every roll. Also that the gold, silver and silk stripes should fall lengthwise, over the whole length of each roll, as can be seen with the samples sent before this date. Also the cloths must not be folded but rolled up, and be sent here that way, seeing that folding the gold and silver stripes will only spoil them. The abovementioned cloths then being of good grounds and fixed lustre, and the prices somewhat more reasonable, may then be paid for and sent here. We shall settle the price of each item through the Khlung administrators and the resident head in the Company lodge in the usual way.

The sompacks and *packieuws*<sup>2</sup> with painted heads and grounds in various colours [are intended] as gifts to give to the subjects in the service of the King. I have previously requested the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies to make a delivery of these in the Year of the Rabbit, of 300 pieces, both *marados*<sup>3</sup> and piece-cloths. These were too short and too narrow, and also too coarse, and not in accordance with the samples submitted, all together likewise with a background [not according to the examples sent], and moreover for too high a price. Hence the Khlung administrators will not accept these and have returned everything to the senior head in the lodge.

Regarding the painted *sompacks* and *packieuws* intended as gifts for His Majesty's servants, we have already written how they have to be. Seeing that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies declare that they wish to provide every help and service to the Court of Siam for the sake of upholding the friendship, in that case we request the delivery of *sompacks* with painted heads, 12 *chieus* long and 6 *spans* wide. And with backgrounds with double checks and blocks, the same with *dammettes*, of different colours and design likewise in the manner of the *chelassen*<sup>4</sup> of various sorts, as well as *packieuws* with painted heads, 6 *chieus* long and 6 *spans* wide, of various sorts and in the way as above, all with good backgrounds, and fast and lively col-

<sup>2</sup> Packieuws, *pha kiew*, cloth encircling the waist.

<sup>3</sup> Marados, *photos*, a kind of "spotted" or "speckled" Indian cotton textile.

<sup>4</sup> Chelassen, a.k.a. "sellas", white or yellow cotton cloth with black stripes, produced in Coromandel for export to Southeast Asia.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ours, for a reasonable price and not too dear, as the [garments] sent earlier were.

Seeing that the *goewatrangpar* garments sent earlier were only 6 chieus long and 6 spans wide, we request that from now on these may be made with a length of 12 chieus and a width of 6 spans without borders. And that of this sort a good quantity may be sent, so that they can serve as gifts for the ships and regents that will be sent out.

*Goewatrangpaar* garments are also needed, that have to be 8 chieus long and 6 spans wide, to be made in the manner as mentioned above. Let the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies make a delivery of these, and do this every year in a quantity of 3,000.

The fine worsteds and the usual sort have been received. Seeing that even more are needed, we request to be supplied in the coming year with the following sorts:

- 200 red items
- 20 green usual worsteds
- 20 sky-blue usual worsteds,

as seeing that the worsteds sent to Siam before to be given to the servants were not suitable, we request that further shipments of these may be omitted.

Similarly the shipment of small short rifles may be omitted, as being of no use. And because the long flintlocks sent were found to be good for shooting a large ball, we ask that care may be taken [to send] such ones that shoot a smaller ball, weighing one paha, further of one paha and one *powang*<sup>5</sup>, and of the weight of five mas.

In my previous letter I asked for the supply of 10 flintlocks and two pistols, and three pieces of carmine-red velvet, as well as the making of 50 small cannon to be used on elephants, to the liking of the court. Now we are asking for ten fine Dutch flintlocks, designed in the French manner, that are good and strong, and selected for [shooting] balls of one paha. The same of one paha and one *powang*, as well as of five maas. But of pistols there was [with supply] no trace – this will have been an error.

We request that may be sent hither four fine flintlocks that are well-made and strong, such as the kings in Europe use, sorted for balls of one paha and one *powang*, and of five mas. And that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies should kindly see to it that these are made by the smith in such a way that they will be to our liking. Also that the missing small cannon to be used on the elephants should be made as soon as possible, solid and strong, and according to the model for them sent earlier.

The Portuguese hats that were requested, of which 250 have already been sent here, and the remaining 250 are still awaited, I wanted to send back again because the brims were too soft. But the senior head promised he would make them stiff, and has done that. Therefore I request that the 250 hats still missing will not be as soft as the ones already despatched, and that the hat-makers should get proper instruction.

We do not doubt about what is said in the letter sent about the orders places for the perfumed sandalwood from Timor, and the *mahora* in the manner of a cockspur from Bengal or from Arakan.

<sup>5</sup> *Fueang/fiang*.





## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Seeing that we would be obliged with some cinnamon, mace and cloves with which to make medicines, we therefore request the Governor-General and the members of the Council of the Indies to be kind enough to send five pikols of each here annually.

Regarding the sending of cash and the Company's declaration [that it] can send no more than what is needed for [its own] use in trade, we request the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies to send a large quantity of cash in order to be turned into coin by the Khlang according to custom. Care will be taken that nothing is left over from what is sent than for trade and for gifts to the senior head, and that everything will be used up.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies wrote that because of the storm that occurred in Ligor in the year 171? (of the Siamese calendar) the Dutch had only been able to obtain a small amount of tin. That that should be against the contracts dismays me. The senior head says that he cannot believe that in the Year of the Goat there was such a severe storm, because of which the trees, hills and tin-mines were destroyed in the places where tin is mined. On the contrary, they have scarcely been able to fetch their quota for the King, and have done their very best [to collect] some more (but not as much as before). This is the reason the Dutch have got so little tin, as is sufficiently well known to the resident of Ligor.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies inform you that they had extended a loan of 2,000 rix-dollars to the horse-traders sent over in order to be used for purchasing horses in Java. Moreover [they write] that there are indeed many horses, but as these are only bred for payment the servants of the King did not wish to buy them. They only buy the ordinary horses for which they pay only 7, 8, 9 or 10 rix-dollars each, which we have to believe. Further that the bond for the money loaned was sent to the senior head in the Company lodge here. The horse-traders Koentas Patsji and Trampakdi said on their return that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies had shown them great kindness and assisted them with a loan of 2,000 rix-dollars, which was reduced by 6 mas per rix-dollar, being in silver equal to 37 kati and 10 tael.

However, once they arrived in Semarang the governor said that he had forbidden the Dutch to go with the royal servants outside the town, for reasons of war.<sup>6</sup> They would stay in Semarang and do the purchasing of horses there. And the governor had ordered the Javanese to bring horses to Semarang to do the buying there, and to seek out horses of the required size, of good posture and quick in lifting their legs. But such horses that would be to our liking we were not able to find. Three or four were almost of the required measure, but when the royal servants wanted to buy these, 50 to 60 rix-dollars were asked for them, and this was too expensive for their value, so that the sale did not take place.

<sup>6</sup> The Second Javanese War of Succession started in 1719 when Susuhanan Pakubuwana (r. 1704-1719) died and his son Amangkurat IV ascended the throne, against the wish of his brothers and the princesses Blitar and Purbaya. His opponents attacked the kraton in June but were repelled by the local VOC troops. The rebels withdrew to Mataram but were gradually defeated. Their main leaders were banned to Ceylon. M.C. Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726. Asian and European Imperialism in the early Kartasura period*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

If those horses had been good, then they would have bought them. But the royal servants just had to buy ordinary horses and bring them here. They are such that they can only be used for despatch-riders. They would have been able to get good horses if they had been allowed to go outside, as outside Semarang there are herds of many horses. Horse-traders were sent over from Siam every year, with the aim of getting horses to the liking of the court. But because we did not get a single good horse, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies should kindly bear in mind the mutual bond, and command the governor and servants of the Company in Semarang to offer a helping hand and give permission for them to [be allowed to] go and buy horses outside [the town].

And seeing that we in the kingdom of Siam would like to possess diverse objects of silver, I have had a number of models produced in tin and have given them to the senior head, each model marked with an inscription. We request of the sample of the water-pots a quantity of 10 pieces, of the sample of the little bowls with lids similarly 13, and of the sample of the water-bowls with feet 89, hence these five<sup>7</sup> sets of silver objects together total 138. For these 70 to 75 kati of silver will be needed. We request to be supplied with these in the coming monsoon. The costs will be paid and settled to the senior head by the Khlang folk in the usual way.

On behalf of His High and Distinguished Majesty Somdet Boromo Bopit Prapoeti Tsjawu Djehoe, my gracious Sovereign, the following are being sent as gifts: 102 bahar, 1 pikul, 17 kati and 3 Chinese tael of tin; 4,005 pieces, 18 catty, and 12 Chinese tael of sappan-wood to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies.

And similarly by me are being sent: 6 bahar, 66 catty, and 13 Chinese tael of tin; and 273 pikuls, 39 and 11 Chinese tael of sappan-wood, to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies, for the maintenance of the friendship [and] in order to confirm the mutual regard of His High and Distinguished Majesty Prabat Somdet Boromo Bopit Pra Poeri Tsjawu Djehoua, my gracious Sovereign, and the friendship and alliance with the Prince of Orange, the prince and lord of the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies, more and more in the future. [...]

*Letter from the Supreme Government in Batavia to King Thai Sa, 18 August 1719.*

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 18 AUGUST 1719.

*To the King of Siam*

With especial joy and esteem the Governor-General, Henric Zwaardcroon, and members of the Council of the Indies have received with great pomp and state the glorious and excellent letter delivered here from His High and Distinguished Majesty the King of Siam, Probat Somdet Borom Sopit Praoepoe Ditsjoe Djoehouw, who is ever victorious and is awesome for his enemies, who rules the realm with wisdom and maintains friendship, whom the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies wish a long life and happy reign, and who in particular is thanked for the pos-

<sup>7</sup> Two sets must be missing from the text, to make up a total of five.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

itive thoughts that it has pleased His Majesty to possess regarding the government in this place [Batavia] out of feelings of friendship.

And whereas the intention of the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies is none other than to increase such friendship, in order to continue that it has been considered very necessary and inescapable to acquaint His Majesty with how the only God of heaven and earth has released and freed the Governor-General Christoffel van Swoll from this world, and how the present Governor-General, Henric Zwaardecroon, has taken his place. With equal and the same zeal and diligence as his laudable predecessors he will, alongside all members of the Council of the Indies, endeavour to preserve and enlarge the precious favours and regard of His Majesty, since through the experience of many years and as is once more apparent from the letter received from His Majesty, they are assured and convinced of the good will that the King bears toward the welfare of the Dutch Company. They hold no doubts that His Majesty will continue to show his favours, in keeping with the customs and the contracts.

The servants of the Honourable Company who are in the kingdom of Siam will conform to such customs and contracts in a proper way, and will promptly comply with and obey our successive orders regarding them to the satisfaction of His Majesty.

For the highly valued gifts that His High and Distinguished Majesty has been pleased to send, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies express their gratitude herewith, and now in return and as a token of esteem with this letter they are sending such trifles as they hope will be pleasing to His Majesty, namely:

30	pieces of red
10	pieces of blue
10	pieces of green
250	high bowler hats
93	<i>falconets</i> <sup>8</sup>
14	fine engraved wooden flintlocks
40	pairs of spectacles of various sorts
x	bales of cinnamon
x	pikuls of cloves
3	pikuls of nutmeg
22	pieces of <i>orakiday</i> <sup>9</sup>

Written in Batavia Castle on the island of Great Java, 18 August 1719, [signed] H. Zwaardecroon.

<sup>8</sup> Falconets, light cannon.

<sup>9</sup> Oradikay, a (medicinal?) root (see following letter no. 26).



## 4 Colophon

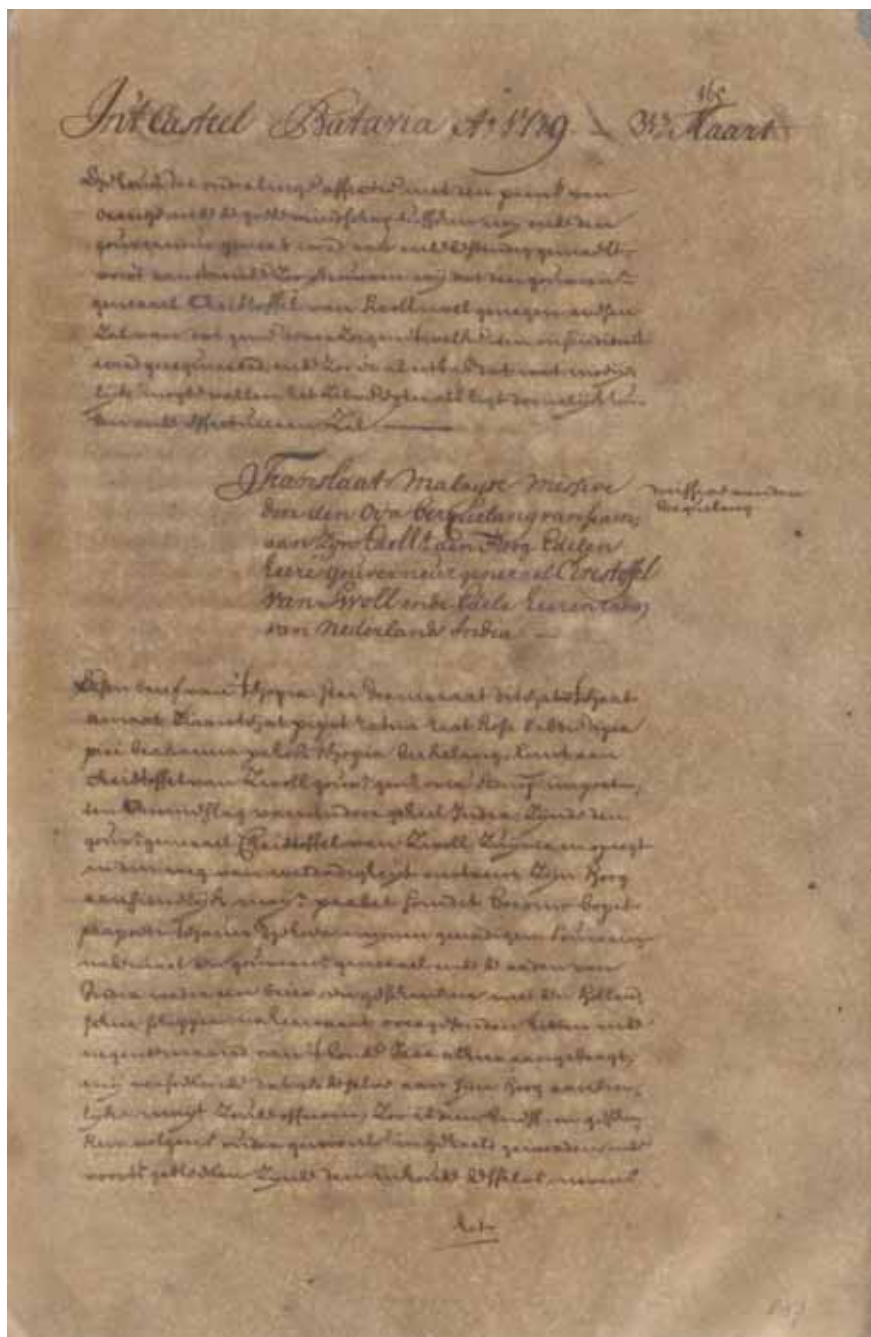
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<b>Illustration sources</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. An illustration from Guy Tachard’s book, <i>Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites</i>, published in 1686. <a href="https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a2/Tachard-elephant.jpg">https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a2/Tachard-elephant.jpg</a></li> <li>2. Elephants in an enclosure or “park” at Ayuthia. <i>Henri Mouhot, Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos</i>. London: John Murray, 1864, p. 114.</li> </ol>
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## 5 Folio image

This is the first page of the original document. All folios may be viewed on the website via the Tab 'Images' in the Harta Karun section or in the Digital Archive Collections.

Archival Source, ANRI, HR 2547 fols 165-183 and HR 2548 fols. 575-578.





**Illustration 1.** Map of the Menam (Chao Phraya River), with Bangkok and Ayuthaya. Ca 1753. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.

## Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhleng on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 9 March 1730, and the answer from Batavia, 3 August 1730

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 4
- 3 English translation 11
- 4 Colophon 18
- 5 Folio images 19



sejarah  
nusantara



## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chao-phraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 3 March 1730, and the answer from Batavia, 3 August 1730”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 25. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

Anyone who reads this letter from the Chao-phraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Thai Saa (ruled 1709-1733) would have to draw the conclusion that the VOC was a pretty careless textile trader. Their quality was worth nothing. The Phrakhlang complains that the kinds of cotton cloths delivered were not in accordance with the samples that had been provided. He indicates that Siam could also buy the textiles itself in India. The Siamese market is abundantly supplied with Indian textiles, and the VOC should not send too many.

But there was more criticism of the VOC. According to the letter, the Supreme Government in Batavia treated horses brutally. The 40 to 50 horses that the Siamese horse-traders bought in Java and according to the annual custom were allowed to send on a VOC ship were all transported on one ship that was too small. When they arrived in Ayutthaya it turned out that the whole consignment was completely neglected and badly emaciated. After they were unloaded several pegged out on the spot. In this way they lost a quarter of the livestock. Batavia was asked in future to use two ships for transporting horses.

And as if all this was not bad enough, the *Opperhoofd* (Senior Trader) Rogier van Alderwereld had beaten up a translator at the VOC lodge.

The translator refused to weigh more rice for the Company than his instructions from the Phrakhlang permitted. Batavia was urgently requested to replace the high-handed head. The old translator was a respected man who had wrongly been so badly treated that his face was swollen, and his body here and there was beaten black and blue. In Ligor the Dutch did not behave themselves any better, by seizing a vessel carrying tin that was intended for the king.

When one looks closely at the pitch and content of this letter from Siam, there is no avoiding the impression that the Siamese court was indignant at the presence and the manners of the Dutch representatives. The tone of the letter is self-assured, or even superior. The message in the end is, foreigners and outsiders may come and pursue their trade in Siam, but that has to be done according to established customs and without mistakes, in keeping with the proper agreement and mutual friendship. Actually they are saying: if the foreigners don't adapt themselves enough, then they can leave. And this is how most of the letters from the 18th century are pitched. There is a very large contrast with the style and tone of the diplomatic missives that reached Batavia from princes and sultans in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Siam displays itself as confident, proud, independent and full of self-respect.

The reply from the Supreme Government was professional and without emotion – a diplomatic letter of the modern sort. The reports of the misconduct of *Opperhoofd* Van Alderwereld were received with regret, and he was swiftly replaced. It was admitted that on various points the Phrakhlang was right, and the VOC would make efforts to be a better supplier of textiles. The letter was accompanied by a set of silver from Europe and attar of roses; and in future a bigger ship would



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. Sappan tree.

be used for transporting horses. As well as fresh horses, Siam received two Persian horses as a bonus. Relations were restored.

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## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 9 MAART 1730.

*Brief van de Chaophraya Phrakhlang uit naam van Koning Thai Saa (1709-1733) aan de Hoge Regering in Batavia, voor 1730.*

*(Deze brief van de Phrakhlang wordt gezonden aan Gouverneur-Generaal Diderik Durven en de Raden van Indië. De brieven de geschenken zijn naar aloud gebruik ingehaald. Uit de brieven het verhaal van de schipper bleek dat Diderik Durven tot Gouverneur-Generaal verheven was. Men hoopt dat de zaken in Siam naar het voorbeeld van Gouverneur-Generaal Mattheus de Haan, naar de inhoud der contracten zal continueren. De gezonden bruine hengst was te oud en niet van de vereiste fraaiheid. Men hoopt dat de Compagnie jaarlijks 1 à twee paarden wil zenden volgens het voorheen gezonden model.)*

De naar herwaards gezonden *cassas*<sup>1</sup> en malmollen van ieder 80 stuks zijn maar van een algemene kwaliteit, niet overeenkomstig het van hier afgezonden monster. De malmollen zijn te dun en ijl en de *cassas* te dik van draad. Wederom het verzoek dat in het aanstaande een goede kwantiteit *cassas* mag worden gezocht en naar herwaards verzonden, in overeenstemming met het gezonden model, en van de verlangde *sammarse* lijwaden 4 à 5, of 9 à 10 stuks, indien aanwezig. Van de gevorderde groene brillen 4 à 5 stuks maar niet meer, want men heeft daar niet veel van nodig. Naar de ontvangst in Batavia [uit Nederland] van de bewerkte kanten kleden ziet men tegemoet.

Ofschoon hiervoor is verzocht om niet meer dan 4 à 500 fotassen of gewatrang<sup>2</sup> herwaards te zenden aangezien men van dat soort lijwaten overvloedig is voorzien, heb ik op verzoek van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië een hoeveelheid van 1100 stuks door de Khlung doen aannemen, in de hoop dat voortaan jaarlijks maar 4 à 500 stuks zullen overgezonden worden.

Van de lakenen is genoteerd dat die hier worden vereist van een algemener en dikker soort, en van andere kleuren als hiervoor gezonden, gelijk dikwijls is geschreven. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië sturen wederom vijf scharlaken rood en vijf grasgroene en vijf hemelsblauwe.

Aangaande de aan de koningsdienaren geleende penningen van 1950 rds bedragende 6 maas ieder aan zilver 36 catty 9 thail en 1 paha, waarvoor 51 stuks paarden zijn ingekocht en herwaards aangevoerd, schrijf ik in antwoord dat de Khlung reeds is opgedragen dat bedrag naar jaarlijkse gewoonte met het compagnies opperhoofd in de loge te verrekenen. Ik verzoek de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië voortaan de paarden weer te zenden met twee verschillende bodems gelijk als voorheen, met ieder schip 20 of meer paarden. Sedert enige jaren worden de 40 à 50 stuks paarden die de

<sup>1</sup> Cassas, een soepele, zachte katoensoort.

<sup>2</sup> Of Goewatrangpar, zie glossarium.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

koningsdienaren inkopen geëambarkeerd in één schip. Halverwege in zee zijn vier stuks door ruimtegebrek gestorven; veel zijn mager en ziekelijk hier aangekomen en bij uitscheping creperen er soms 5 à 6 stuks. Op die manier verliest men soms 9 à 10 stuks van de partij.

Thans worden door mij afgevaardigd Hoen Tsjat Tsiene Hoewisaan Asadid Mampit Raksa en Pankoen<sup>3</sup>, paardenkenners en meesters, die met 's compagniesbodem overvaren, met verzoek aan hen naar gewoonte een geldlening te verstrekken en die lieden met een recommendatiebrief en een tolk per compagniesbodems naar Semarang mogen vervoerd worden, en naar de plaatsen en dorpen waar veel paarden worden gekweekt. Ook dat na gedane inkoop deze lieden met die animalen naar oud gebruik van Java naar Batavia en voors met het afzenden van compagniesgoederen naar herwaards mogen worden vervoerd.

Betreffende de rekening van sapanhout is mij de achterstand in levering door de koning zeer wel gebleken. Ik zal met de aankomst van de aangebracht cargoes per compagniesbodem die altijd door de Khlung laten accepteren en verrekenen. Ik zal ervoor zorgen dat er jaarlijks een kwantiteit van 1400 tot 1700 pikols sapanhout aan de Compagnies wordt geleverd zoals altijd is geschiet. Maar aangezien er in dit tegenwoordige Hoenderjaar een zeer grote sterfte onder de buffels en ossen is, zowel in de plaatsen landinwaarts als aan de zee kant, is de levering slecht uitgevallen door het gebrek aan de nodige animalen voor het trekken der karren waarmee het sapanhout naar de vaartuigen wordt gevoerd. Sommige plaatsen waar sapanhout groeit liggen wel 7, 8, 9, 10 ja 12 nachten reizen van de waterkant af. De inzameling van dat verfhout voor rekening van de vorst is dit jaar slecht uitgevallen. Niettemin heb ik de Khlung bevolen de helft van de gewoonlijke jaarlijkse kwantiteit van 8000 pikols aan de Compagnie te leveren.

De verzochte grote coyangs [met rijst] die vanwege de geringe oogst in het Jacatrase rijk tot voedsel van de ingezetenen en compagniesdienaren werden vereist heeft men niet kunnen zenden. Na de Siamse maat gerekend zouden die 750 Siamse coyangs uitmaken. Door de buitengewone sterfte der buffels en koeien hebben de akkerlieden hun zaailanden meerdere malen met de handen moeten beploegen. De oogst van dit hoenderjaar is in vergelijking met vorige jaren lang zo groot niet. Behalve dat is er in de achtste en negende maand door ongewoon zware regen een grote afwatering geweest waardoor veel paddievelden verdronken zijn en de daarop in haar volle groei staande paddieplanten uit de grond zijn gerukt. Na rijp overleg, ziende op de weg van onderlinge vriendschap heb ik goedgevonden en toegestaan dat 's Compagnies opperhoofd 200 Siamse coyangs rijst zal mogen inkopen en laten uitvoeren.

Aangezien men hier in Siam graag gerieft wil zijn met goede rozenolie, worden de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië verzocht 2, 3, 4, à 5 djabols [flesjes?] van die soort van rozenolie op te laten zoeken en herwaards te zenden.

Sinds de Compagnie een lange reeks van jaren geleden met Siam in bondgenootschap trad, een loge stichtte, en een contract sloot, zijn er onder de opperhoofden van

<sup>3</sup> Hier worden feitelijk vier personen genoemd: twee van de *khun* rang, een van de *mun* rang en een van de *phan* rang.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

de Compagnie deels verstandige luiden geweest die ervaren waren en die de Siamse gebruiken en wetten onderhielden, en deels niet al te ervaren. Zij werden bij begane overtredingen gewaarschuwd geen nadeel of hinder aan de compagnieshandel toe te brengen. De Cassa Taboedi<sup>4</sup> heeft de meest grove misslagen bestraft.

Tegenwoordig is Aldewerelt<sup>5</sup> als opperhoofd aangesteld, die lange tijd in Siam als tweede heeft geresideert, en dus wel weet hoe de Siamse wijze van handelen is. Ik moet bekennen dat hij niet van een goede imborst is, onverstandig om de weg van vriendschap te cultiveren, een dwarsdrijver, haastig en een zeer eigenzinnig man die alles naar zijn eigen welgevallen doet, en gebrekkig spreekt. Niettegenstaande heb ik, ziende op de weg van onderlinge vriendschap, hem wel het een en 't ander doen aanzeggen, maar alles in der minne.

Maar omdat de Gouverneur-Generaal thans bij zijn brief de inkoop van 500 coyangs rijst verzoekt en men door eigen gebrek niet meer dan 200 Siamse coyangs kan missen, is daarvan op mijn bevel door de tolk Choen Trang Paniet aan het opperhoofd kennis gegeven. Maar het opperhoofd heeft, nadat hij personen tot de ontvangst van de rijst had gestuurd, in het bijzijn van de schrijvers van de Olowant Tsodick en al de Choen Moens<sup>6</sup> van de velden en akkers, bij de rijstweging bevolen door te gaan met rijst wegen, om meer daarvan te nemen dan schriftelijk door mij was bevolen. Maar toen de tolk Choen Trang Paniet daarop antwoordde dat er de kwantiteit was geleverd zoals het bevel dicteert, en dat men derhalve niet verder kon wegen, toen heeft het opperhoofd in een opwelling, zonder na de billijkheid of onbillijkheid te zien, de tolk Choen Trang Paniet met een kinnebakslag en andere slagen zodanig getraceerd, dat zijn gezicht gezwollen was en zijn lichaam op verscheidene plaatsen de uitslag van bonte en blauwe plekken vertoonde.

Daarop is door mij Olowang Tsjodick Tsjani<sup>7</sup> naar het opperhoofd gezonden om hem aan te spreken [over het incident] die van het opperhoofd tot antwoord kreeg: "t Is waar, ik heb kwalijk gedaan". Maar aangezien Choen Trang Paniet een zeer oude tolk en een koningsdienaar van de syahbandar is die van de Compagnie met het opperhoofd mag spreken, heeft het trotse opperhoofd met Choen Trang Paniet zo te mishandelen zeer kwalijk gehandeld, strijdig met de contracten en de Siamse gebruiken. Tot voorkoming van zulke onordelijkheden verzoek ik de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië om de houding en het gedrag van het eigengereid opperhoofd te onderzoeken. Bij een langer verblijf van genoemd opperhoofd te Siam zullen de compagnieszaken niet op een goede voet en niet zonder stribbelingen worden behandeld. Ook de weg van onderlinge vriendschap en bondgenootschap zou gevaar lopen van in verval te geraken.

<sup>4</sup> Dit verwijst naar de Phrakhlang minister (*kosathibodi*).

<sup>5</sup> Rogier van Alderwereld, opperhoofd 1722-1723 (provisioneel), en 1728-1731.

<sup>6</sup> "Al de Choen Moens", dat wil zeggen al de hoge ambtenaren aan het hof.

<sup>7</sup> Okluang of Luang Choduek Ratchasetthi, hoofd van het havendepartement aan de linkerzijde, een positie die vanoudsher werd ingenomen door een Chinees.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Ook staat in het oude contract op de dorso vermeld dat al het tin te Ligoan<sup>8</sup>, behalve die van de vorst, aan de Nederlanders moet woren verkocht en niets aan vreemde handelaars. De opeenvolgende residenten van de Compagnie te Ligoan geresideerd hebben hebben vanouds jaarlijk een goede hoeveelheid van dat mineraal ingezameld van de Ligoanse onderdanen, buiten de tin van de vorst. De Khlang te Ligor zorgde voor de jaarlijkse aflevering van de tin, dat werd vereffend met de rekening van [door de Compagnie] geleverde lijwaten, paarden en geschenken.

Het overschot van de tin van de koning, hetzij veel of weinig, is altijd door de Khlang geadmistriseerd. Op bevel van de Khlang te Siam werd dit altijd naar Siam gezonden en in vaartuigen overgezonden. Ook hebben de Choen Moen's dienaren, die uitgezonden werden om met de hoofden en regenten van de tin te Ligor te handelen, altijd de tin naar Siam vervoerd, hetzij veel of weinig. Soms is door de Khlang wel wat meer tin vervoerd dan men gewoonlijk nodig heeft. In zulke gevallen werd een Choen Moens of koningsdienaar met zilver van de vorst afgevaardigd om daarvoor een inkoop van tin te Ligor en omstreken te doen. Soms liep dat per inkoop op tot een kwantiteit van 200, 300, 400 à 500 catty, waarvoor dan naar Siam werd overgebracht 400, 500, 600, 700 ook wel 800 bahar tin.

Tegen deze gang van zaken hebben de residenten van Ligor zich nooit verzet. Zij communiceerden de kwantiteit tin die er naar Siam werd gevoerd per brief aan het opperhoofd aldaar. Door de syahbandar werd onderzocht of de aangebrachte lading in overeenstemming was met de opgave van het opperhoofd en de verleende toestemming. Als het klopte, daar werd daarvan kennis gegeven aan het opperhoofd. Recentelijk is nu de schrijver Iskayoe door het opperhoofd van Siam naar Ligor gezonden om het ambt van resident van de Compagnie daar waar te nemen. Ik heb aan de Khlang schriftelijke order gezonden naar Ligor om na de tinleverantie aan de Hollanders het overschot van de tin (hetzij veel of weinig) per afgevaardigde koningsdienaar naar Siam te zenden. Toen de overgebleven tin van 101 bahar volgens order herwaards zou worden gezonden, toen heeft de resident het vaartuig met de tin, toen het voor de loge kwam, in beslag genomen. Het tin van de koning werd uit het vaartuig gelost en in de pakhuizen gebracht. Hij heeft niet eens willen luisteren naar de argumenten van de hoofden, de landregenten en de koningsdienaren die zeiden orders te hebben ontvangen om de tin [naar Siam] te sturen. Daarom heeft de resident Iskajoe<sup>9</sup> tegen de contracten gehandeld, en ook tegen de gebruiken van vorige residenten onder wier beleid zulke voorvallen zich nooit hebben voorgedaan. (*Met verzoek om andere personen als opperhoofd en resident aan te stellen.*)

Alhoewel ik in eerdere brieven heb te kennen gegeven dat men hier in Siam een goede hoeveelheid vuurstenen<sup>10</sup> nodig heeft, met verzoek om jaarlijks 2000 à 3000 te sturen, is door Gouverneur-Generaal Mattheus de Haan en de Raden van Indië maar een geringe hoeveelheid van 1000 stuks gezonden, en in het Hoenderjaar niets. Daarom

<sup>8</sup> Ligoan, een misspelling van Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat).

<sup>9</sup> Mogelijk Isaac Clemen.

<sup>10</sup> Vuurstenen werden gebruikt voor het vuursteenslot van snaphanen.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

verzoek ik de Gouverneur-Generaal Diderik Durven en de Raden van Indië voortaan jaarlijks 2000 à 3000 stuks vuurstenen naar Siam te verzenden.

Het tegenwoordige geschenk van mijn heer en vorst Prabat Somdat Broem Boepit Pra Poditjoe Joehwa aan Gouverneur-Generaal Diderik Durven en de Raden van Indië bestaat in 1513 pikul en 27 kati met 5 thail, 1 paha, en 1 maas Chinees gewicht aan sappenhout, voorts in 34 bahar, 1 pikul en 17 kati, 12 thail, 3 mazen en 1/4 bahar, 1 pikul en 17 kati, 12 thail, 3 mazen en 1/4 Chinees gewicht aan tin. En ik zend aan sappenhout 340 pikul en 25 kati Chinees gewicht, en aan tin 7 bahar, 2 pikul, 20 kati en 8 thail Chinees gewicht aan Gouverneur-Generaal Diderik Durven en de Raden van Indië.

[Dit zend ik] met vriendelijk verzoek dat alles mag voortgaan volgens ouder gewoonte, zonder fouten, gegrond op de goede overeenkomst en de onderlinge vriendschap van mijn heer en vorst Prabat Somdat Broem Boepit Pra Poditjoe Jochwa met den Prins van de Hollanders en Hollandse Compagnie. Dat een bestendige en oprechte overeenkomst onderhouden en bevestigd mag worden met Gouverneur-Generaal Diderik Durven en de Raden van Indië, teneinde dat alle vreemdelingen en buitenlanders mogen komen en weer terugkeren [naar hun eigen plaatsen] om koophandel te drijven zonder enige hindernis van weerskanten.

Geschreven op maandag, zijnde de 15e dag der tweede maand in het Hoenderjaar.

*Brief van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan de Chaophraya Phrakhlang, 3 augustus 1730.*

DAGHREGISTER VAN BATAVIA, 3 AUGUSTUS 1730.

*De brief uit naam van de keizer door de Phrakhlang van maandag de 15e dag van de tweede maand van het Hoenderjaar is ontvangen en met de vereiste statie ontvangen. De Phrakhlang wordt bedankt voor alle hulp en assistentie in de behandeling van 's Compagnies zaken volgens de vernieuwe belofte en toezegging. Ook ten opzichte van de recent gezonden bahar zilver die [het opperhoofd] door drukke bezigheden van de Khlang voor het vertrek van de schepen niet had ontvangen.*

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben besloten op de klachten van de Phrakhlang en ook om andere redenen het opperhoofd van Ligor te doen vervangen door de tegenwoordige tweede persoon Jan van Gog; in plaats van Van Gog werd derwaards gezonden de boekhouder Jacob de Bucquoy, in verwachting dat zij zich zullen houden aan de contract tot behoud van de wederzijdse onwrikbare vriendschap. Wij twijfen ook niet of de Phrakhlang zal wel zorg dragen dat de tin die de koning zelf nodig heeft niet van Ligor, maar na de exempelen van vroeger tijden geleverd werd vanuit Oedjong Salang<sup>11</sup> of Tjaja<sup>12</sup>.

Met spijt hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië uit de brief van de Phrakhlang ontwaard, dat het Siamse opperhoofd zich niet aan zijn plicht heeft gehouden. Zij vertrouwen erop dat dit in het vervolg niet meer zal gebeuren, en verwach-

<sup>11</sup> Ook wel 'Junk Ceylon', dat is Phuket.

<sup>12</sup> Chaiya.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

ten dat het voorgevallene geen hinderpaal zal zijn in de voortgang van zaken en duurzaamheid van het bondgenootschap.

Als een blijk van de Phrakhlangs goede intentie hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië zijn aanbieding en belofte tot meer rijstleverantie aangenomen. De redenen van grote sterfte onder de buffels en koebeesten en de ongewoon zware regenval en overstroming zijn door hen geaccepteerd. Gezien het geslaagde rijstgewas op dit eiland Java hebben wij tegenwoordig niets nodig, maar hopen dat de leverantie bij een andere gelegenheid zal kunnen geschieden.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben vernomen uit de brief van de Phrakhlang dat de vorig jaar overgezonden cassas en malmollen niet met de verstrekte monster overeenkwamen, maar de eerste te dun en ijl, en de andere te dik van draad en derhalve niet geschikt tot het vereiste gebruik. Zij hopen dat hetgeen nu werd overgezonden, beter zal bevallen en van de vereiste kwaliteit zal zijn.

De gevraagde 4 à 5 stuks grote brillen en de *karate* kleedjes zullen, zodra deze uit Nederland komen, worden overgezonden. Hierbij komen over de voorheen gevraagde zilverwerken voor de Keizer, pas uit Europa ontvangen. Wij hebben dat deze naar het genoegen en de smaak van de vorst zullen zijn, en dat de bezorging als een ontwijfelbaar teken van genegenheid van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië zullen zijn. Uit dit inzicht laten zij deze geschenken ook vergezellen van de vernodigde flesjes met rozenolie, en zullen naar vermogen proberen de gevraagde 2 à 3000 stuks vuurstenen jaarlijks te voldoen.

Wij nemen ook in acht hetgeen de Phrakhlang schreef over de fotassen en zenden nu niet meer dan de gevraagde 4 à 500 stuks. En enige lakenen, van de gewenste kleuren en van de gewone en dikste soort zoals men die thans in voorraad heeft. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië betuigen hun dank dat [dankzij] de Phrakhlang de vorig jaar extra gezonden fotassen door de Khlung is aangenomen.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben de uit Siam overgezonden roskammers geassisteerd met de paardeninkoop en contant 2050 rijksdaalders ter leen [aan hen] verstrekt. Deze inkopers is transport verleend naar Semarang, vanwaar zij recentelijk zijn teruggekeerd met 52 paarden. De roskammers gaan thans naar Siam met het schip de *Berbice*, want de paarden over twee schepen te verdelen zoals de Phrakhlang verlangt is dit jaar ondoenlijk geweest. Men kan maar één bodem naar Siam afzenden. De reis van het schip over Ligor voor het vervoeren van contanten en de afhaal van tin duurt te lang om die beesten te vrijwaren van ongemakken en rampen. De nu vertrekkende bodem is ruim genoeg zodat de gemelde beesten daarin gemakkelijk kunnen worden geplaatst. Wij twijfelen er niet aan of zij zullen in goede conditie worden overgebracht, samen met de twee Perzische paarden die men onlangs heeft gekregen.

Ofschoon de leverantie van een grotere kwantiteit sappanhout als vorige jaar de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië aangenaam zou zijn geweest, moeten zij zich getroosten met de opgegeven reden van grote sterfte onder buffels en koebeesten enzovoorts. Maar zij verwachten dat deze leverantie in het aanstaande beter zal zijn.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hebben met hoogachting en respect het geschenk van tin en sappanhout naast de brief van de Phrakhlang ontvangen. Als blijk van continuerende vriendschap en genegenheid voor de persoon van de Phrakhlang wordt deze gerecompenseerd door een contra-geschenk bestaande in de volgende goederen:

3	stuks diverse lakenen, te weten:
x	stuks schaarrood
x	stuks goudgeel
x	stuks grasgroen
x	stuks rode <i>greynen</i> <sup>13</sup>
x	stuks rode <i>perpetuanen</i> <sup>14</sup>
x	lb. Eurostuks gouddraat
x	flesjes etter van rozen
40	lb. verschillende soorten specerijen:
10	lb. foelie
10	lb. kruidnagelen
10	lb. nootmuskaat
10	lb. kaneel
20	stuks <i>moeris</i> , rode Kust <sup>15</sup>
20	stuks mallemollen, fijne
x	50 stuks verschillende soorten vijlen
x	stuks schuif slijpsteen
x	lb. slijpsteentjes

Geschreven in het Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java in het koninkrijk van Jacatra, 3 augustus anno 1730, de Gouverneur Generael van Nederlands India, Diderik Durven.

<sup>13</sup> Grein, zeer fijne en dure stof geweven van Angora geite- of kemelshaar, kamelot; ook wel een mix van zijde en wol, van *khaml* (Arabisch).

<sup>14</sup> Perpetuanen, “perpetuano” een duurzame wollen stof die vanaf de zestiende eeuw in Engeland werd geproduceerd.

<sup>15</sup> Moeris, mori, effen witte textiel van Choromandel, vaak gebruikt als de basis van chintz.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS BATAVIA, 9 MARCH 1730.

*This letter from the Phrakhlang is being sent to Governor-General Diderik Durven and members of the Council of the Indies. The letter and the gifts were received according to ancient custom. From the letter and the account of the skipper it was evident that Diderik Durven had been promoted to Governor-General. It is hoped that affairs in Siam will continue according to the example of Governor-General Mattheus de Haan, and in keeping with the content of the contracts. The brown stallion sent was too old and not of the required beauty. It is hoped that the Company will send one or two horses per year according to the model sent previously.*

The cashes<sup>1</sup> and malmols, 80 pieces each, are only of an ordinary quality, not in agreement with the sample sent from here. The malmols are too thin and light, and the thread of the cashes is too thick. Once more the request that in future a good quantity of cashes may be sent hither, in agreement with the model sent, and of the required *samareselinens* 4 to 5, or 9 to 10, if they are available. Of the spectacles ordered, 4 to 5, but no more, as we do not need many of them. After they are received in Batavia [from Holland] we look forward to getting the embroidered lace garments.

Although previously we requested you to send here no more than 400 to 500 *fotases* or *gewatrang*, seeing that we have an abundant supply of that kind of linen, at the request of the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies I have allowed the Khlant to accept 1,100 pieces, in the hope that from now on a mere 400 to 500 will be sent over annually.

Concerning the broadcloths it is noted that here they are required to be of a more common and thicker sort, and of different colours from the ones sent before, as has often been written. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies once more send five of scarlet-red, five of grass-green, and five of sky-blue.

With regard to the moneys of 1,950 rix-dollars loaned to the royal servants amounting to 6 maas each, in silver 36 catty, 9 tael and 1 paha, for which 51 horses were purchased and transported hither, in reply I write that the Khlant has already been instructed to settle that amount with the Company's senior head in the yearly fashion. I request the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies from now on again to send the horses in two different vessels as was done before, with 20 or more horses in each. For several years the 40 to 50 horses that the royal servants buy have been embarked on one ship. Halfway through the voyage four of them died because of lack of space; many have arrived here thin and sickly, and after unloading sometimes 5 to 6 die miserably. In this way we sometimes lose 9 or 10 out of the shipment.

<sup>1</sup> A smooth, soft cotton cloth.





## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I am now delegating Hoen Tsjat Tsiene Hoewisaan Asadid Mampit Raksa and Pankoen<sup>2</sup>, who are well acquainted with how to handle horses, and will travel in the Company's ship, with the request to extend a loan to them in the usual way, and that these people may be taken to Semarang with a letter of recommendation and an interpreter by Company vessels, and then to the towns and villages where many horses are bred. Also that after they have made their purchases these people may be taken with the animals from Java to Batavia according to the old custom, and then onwards hither with the despatch of Company goods.

Concerning the calculation of sappan wood, the backlog in delivery by the King has become very apparent to me. When the cargoes brought by Company ship arrive I shall have the Khlang accept them and settle the payment. I shall see to it that annually a quantity of from 14 to 17 hundred pikols of sappan wood are supplied to the Company as has always happened. However, seeing that in this Year of the Rooster there has been a great large number of deaths among the buffaloes and oxen, both in places inland and on the coast, the supply has turned out badly for a lack of the animals needed to pull the wagons with which sappan wood is conveyed to the vessels. Some places where the sappan wood grows are a good 7, 8, 9, 10 or even 12 days' travel from the waterside. The collection of that dye-wood for the King's account has turned out badly this year. Nevertheless I have ordered the Khlang to supply half of the usual annual quantity of 8,000 pikols to the Company.

It has not been possible to send the large koyans of rice requested that are required in the realm of Jacatra as food for the inhabitants and servants of the Company. Calculated according to the Siamese measure these would comprise 750 Siamese koyans. Because of the extraordinary deaths of the buffaloes and cows the farmers have on many occasions had to plough their sowing-land by hand. The harvest in this Year of the Rooster is nowhere near as much compared with previous years. Apart from this, in the eighth and ninth months because of unusually heavy rain there has been a great runoff whereby many paddy fields were submerged and the paddy plants standing there fully grown were ripped out of the ground. On mature consideration, bearing in mind our mutual friendship, I have approved and permitted that the Company's senior head may buy up 200 Siamese koyans of rice and have them exported.

Seeing that we here in Siam would be very pleased to get good attar of roses, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies are requested to seek out 2, 3, 4 to 5 djabols (bottles?) of that sort of attar and send them here.

Since the time when, many years ago, the Company entered into alliance with Siam, established a lodge, and concluded a contract, among the Company's senior heads there have been some sensible men who were experienced and who upheld the Siamese customs and laws, and others who were not so experienced. When the latter committed offences they were warned not to cause harm or hindrance to the Company's trade. The Cassa Taboedi<sup>3</sup> punished the worst errors.

<sup>2</sup> There are actually four persons mentioned here: two of *khun* rank, one of *mun* rank and one of *phan* rank.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the Phrakhlng minister (*kosathibodi*).



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

At present Aldewerelt<sup>4</sup> has been appointed as senior head, and he has been in Siam for a long time as deputy, and thus knows well what the Siamese way of doing things is. I must admit that he is not of a good character, with no understanding of how to cultivate friendship, a trouble-maker, hasty and a very stubborn man who does everything according to his own opinion, and speaks poorly. Notwithstanding, with a view to our mutual friendship, I have warned him about this and that, but all in an amicable way.

However, because the Governor-General now in his letter requests the purchase of 500 koyans of rice and we can spare no more than 200 Siamese koyans because of our own shortage, on my orders notice of this has been made to the senior head through the interpreter Choen Trang Paniet. However, after he had sent persons to take delivery of the rice, in the presence of the clerks of the Olowant Tsocick and all the Choen Moens<sup>5</sup> of the fields and paddies, he gave orders to carry on with weighing the rice, in order to take more of it than I had instructed in writing. But when the interpreter Choen Trang Paniet replied to this that the quantity had been supplied as the order dictated, and that they could therefore not continue weighing, then in a fit of temper the senior head, without considering the fairness or unfairness of it, dealt the interpreter Choen Trang Paniet such a punch on the jaw and other blows that his face was swollen and his body displayed black and blue bruises in various places.

Thereupon I sent Olowang Tsjodick Tsjani<sup>6</sup> to the senior head to speak to him [about the incident], and he got as answer from the senior head: 'It's true, I have done the wrong thing'. However, seeing that Choen Trang Paniet is a very senior interpreter and a royal servant of the syahbandar, whom the Company allows to speak to the senior head, by maltreating Choen Trang Paniet in such a way the haughty head has acted very badly, contrary to the contracts and the Siamese customs. For the purpose of preventing such disorderly behaviour I request the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies to investigate the attitude and conduct of the high-handed senior head. If the said senior head should remain in Siam for a longer time, the Company's affairs will not be treated on a good footing and not without frictions. Also the mutual friendship and alliance will be in danger of lapsing.

Also it is stated in the old contract on the back that all the tin at Ligoan<sup>7</sup>, except that of the king, must be sold to the Dutch and nothing to foreign merchants. The successive residents of the Company who have resided at Ligoan have of old annually collected a good quantity of that mineral from the Ligoan subjects, not counting the tin of the king. The people of the Khlung at Ligor provided for the annual delivery of tin, which was settled with the account of linens, horses and gifts supplied [by the Company].

The balance of the king's tin, whether it be much or little, is always administered by the Khlung. On the orders of the Khlung in Siam this is always sent to Siam and trans-

<sup>4</sup> Rogier van Alderwereld, executive trader 1722-1723 (acting), 1728-1731.

<sup>5</sup> "All the *khun* and *muen*" (meaning "all the officials").

<sup>6</sup> Okluang or Luang Choduek Ratchasetthi, head of the port department of the left, a position held traditionally by Chinese.

<sup>7</sup> Ligoan, a misspelling of Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat).



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ferred in ships. The Choen Moen's servants, who were sent out to deal with the heads and regents of the tin at Ligor, have also always transported the tin to Siam, either much or little. Sometimes somewhat more was transported by the Khlang than was usually needed. In such cases a Choen Moen or a royal servant was despatched with silver from the king in order to make a purchase of tin at Ligor or its surroundings for it. Sometimes that mounted up to a quantity of 200, 300, 400 to 500 catties per purchase, for which then 400, 500, 600, 700 or perhaps 800 bahar of tin was brought to Siam.

The [Company] residents of Ligor have never opposed this procedure. They communicated the quantity of tin being carried to Siam by means of a letter to the senior head there. The syahbandar checked whether the cargo delivered was in agreement with the senior head's statement and the permission granted. If it tallied, then this was reported to the senior head. Recently the clerk Iskayoe<sup>8</sup> was sent by the senior head of Siam to Ligor in order to occupy the position of Company resident there. I have sent written orders to the Khlang that after the supply of tin to the Dutch in Ligor the remainder of the tin (whether much or little) should be sent to Siam by delegated royal servant. When the remaining tin of 101 bahars was about to be sent here according to orders, the resident confiscated the vessel with the tin, when it came in front of the lodge. The king's tin was unloaded from the ship and taken to the warehouses. He would not even listen to the arguments of the heads, land-regents and the royal servants, who said they had received orders to send the tin [to Siam]. Therefore the resident Iskayoe has acted contrary to the contracts, and also contrary to the usages of previous residents, under whose management such incidents have never occurred. (*With the request to appoint other persons as senior head and resident.*)

Although in earlier letters I have given notice that here in Siam a good quantity of flints<sup>9</sup> is needed, with the request to send 2,000 to 3,000 per year, Governor-General Mattheus de Haan and the members of the Council of the Indies have only sent a meagre number of 1,000, and in the Year of the Rooster nothing. I therefore request the Governor-General Diderik Durven and members of the Council of the Indies to send 2,000 to 3,000 flints to Siam annually from now on.

The present gift from my lord and king, Prabat Somdat Broem Boepit Pra Poditjoe Joehwa, to Governor-General Diderik Durven and members of the Council of the Indies consists of 1,513 pikuls and 27 kati with 5 tael, 1 paha and 1 maas in Chinese weights of sappan wood. Furthermore, of 34 bahar, 1 pikul and 17 kati, 12 tael, 3 and 1/4 maas and 1/4 bahar in Chinese weights of tin. And I [myself] am sending 340 pikul and 25 kati Chinese in sappan wood, and in tin 7 bahar, 2 pikul, 20 kati and 8 tael Chinese to Governor-General Diderik Durven and members of the Council of the Indies.

[I send this] with the kind request that everything may continue according to the older custom, without errors, founded on the good agreement and the mutual friendship of my lord and king Prabat Somdat Broem Boepit Pra Poditjoe Jochwa with the Prince of the Dutch and the Dutch Company. [And I ask] that a lasting and sincere agreement

<sup>8</sup> Probably Isaac Clemen (?).

<sup>9</sup> Flints were used for flintlock rifles (*snaphanen*).



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

may be maintained and strengthened with Governor-General Diderik Durven and the members of the Council of the Indies, so that all foreigners and aliens may come and return again [to their own places] to pursue trade without any obstruction from either side.

Written on Monday, being the 15th day of the second month in the Year of the Rooster.

*Letter from the Supreme Government in Batavia to the Phrakhlang, 3 August 1730.*

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 3 AUGUST 1730.

*(The letter in the name of the emperor through the Phrakhlang of Monday the 15th day of the second month in the Year of the Rooster has been received and welcomed with due pomp and ceremony. The Phrakhlang is thanked for all his help and assistance in dealing with the Company's affairs according to the renewed promise and pledge. Also with regard to the recently sent bahar of silver that [the senior head] has not received due to the pressing duties of the Khlang prior to the departure of the ships.)*

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have decided, following the complaints of the Phrakhlang and also for other reasons, to have the senior head of Ligor replaced with the present deputy, Jan van Gog; [and] in the place of Van Gog the bookkeeper Jacob de Bucquoy is being sent thither, in the expectation that they will adhere to the contract, for the sake of preserving the mutual unshakable friendship. We also do not doubt that the Phrakhlang will see to it that the tin that the king himself needs will be delivered from Oedjong Salang<sup>10</sup> or Tjaja<sup>11</sup> according to the precedent of former times.

With regret the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have deduced from the Phrakhlang's letter that the senior head in Siam did not adhere to his duty. They trust that in the future this will no longer happen, and anticipate that what occurred will not form an impediment in the advancement of affairs and the durability of the alliance.

As evidence of the Phrakhlang's good intentions the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have accepted his offer and promise of more deliveries of rice. They have accepted the reasons of the large number of deaths among the buffaloes and cows, and the unusually heavy rainfall and floods. In view of the successful rice crop on this island of Java at present we do not need anything, but hope that the delivery can be made on another occasion.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have learnt from the Phrakhlang's letter that the cashes and malmols sent last year did not correspond to the sample supplied, but the former were too thin and light, and the latter too thick of thread, and hence not suitable for the required use. They hope that what is now being

<sup>10</sup> 'Junk Ceylon', that is, Phuket.

<sup>11</sup> Chaiya.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

sent will be more to your liking and will be of the required quality.

The 4 to 5 large spectacles and the *karate* garments that you asked for will be sent over as soon as they come from Holland. Hereby are coming the items of silver ware requested for the Emperor, just received from Europe. We hope that these will be to the pleasure and the taste of the king, and that the delivery of these will be considered as an undoubted token of good will from the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies. With this in mind we also accompany these gifts with the bottles of attar of roses you desired, and shall as far as possible attempt to supply annually the 2,000 to 3,000 flints requested.

We have also noted what the Phrakhlang wrote regarding the fotasses, and are now sending no more than the 400 to 500 you asked for. And several broadcloths, of the desired colours and of the usual and thickest sort, such as are now in stock. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies express their thanks that [thanks to] the Phrakhlang the extra fotasses sent last year have been accepted by the Khlangs.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have assisted the grooms sent over from Siam with the purchase of horses and have extended [to them] 2,050 rix-dollars in cash as a loan. Transport has been provided to these horse-buyers to Semarang, from where they have recently returned with 52 horses. The grooms are now going to Siam in the ship *Berbice*, as dividing the horses over two ships as the Phrakhlang wants has been impracticable this year. We can only send one ship to Siam. The voyage of the ship via Ligor for carrying money and fetching tin takes too long to guard the animals against hardships and disasters. The vessel now leaving is spacious enough, so that the above animals can easily be placed in it. We do not doubt that they will be transferred in good condition, together with the two Persian horses that we recently obtained.

Although the supply of a larger quantity of sappan wood than last year would have been agreeable to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies, they will have to content themselves with the reason given, namely the number of deaths among buffaloes and cows and so forth. However, they anticipate that in future this supply will be better.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have with esteem and respect received the gift of tin and sappan-wood as well as the Phrakhlang's letter. As evidence of continuing friendship and good will for the person of the Phrakhlang, the latter is recompensed with a return-gift consisting of the following goods:

- 3 pieces of various broadcloths, namely
- x pieces of scarlet
- x pieces of golden yellow
- x pieces of grass-green
- x pieces of red *camlet*<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Camlet, fine and extremely expensive cloth woven from Angora goat hair or mixtures of silk and wool, from Arabic *khaml*.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

x	pieces of red <i>perpetuan</i> <sup>13</sup>
x	pounds of European gold thread
x	bottles of attar of roses
40	pounds of various sorts of spices:
10	pounds of mace
10	pounds of cloves
10	pounds of nutmeg
10	pounds of cinnamon
20	<i>moeris</i> <sup>14</sup> , red Coast
20	mallemlollen, fine
50	various kinds of files
x	sliding whetstones
x	pounds of small grindstones.

Written in Batavia Castle on the island of Great Java in the kingdom of Jaccatra, 3 August in the year 1730, [signed] the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Diderik Durven.

<sup>13</sup> Perpetuan, “perpetuano”, a durable woollen fabric manufactured in England from the sixteenth century onwards.

<sup>14</sup> Moeris, mori, plain white textile from Coromandel, often used as base for chintz.



## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Thai Sa (r. 1709-1733) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 3 March 1730, and the answer from Batavia, 3 August 1730”. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 25. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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## 5 Folio image

This is the first page of the original document. All folios may be viewed on the website via the Tab 'Images' in the Harta Karun section or in the Digital Archive Collections.

Archival Source, ANRI,HR 2564 fols 191-218 and 681-690.

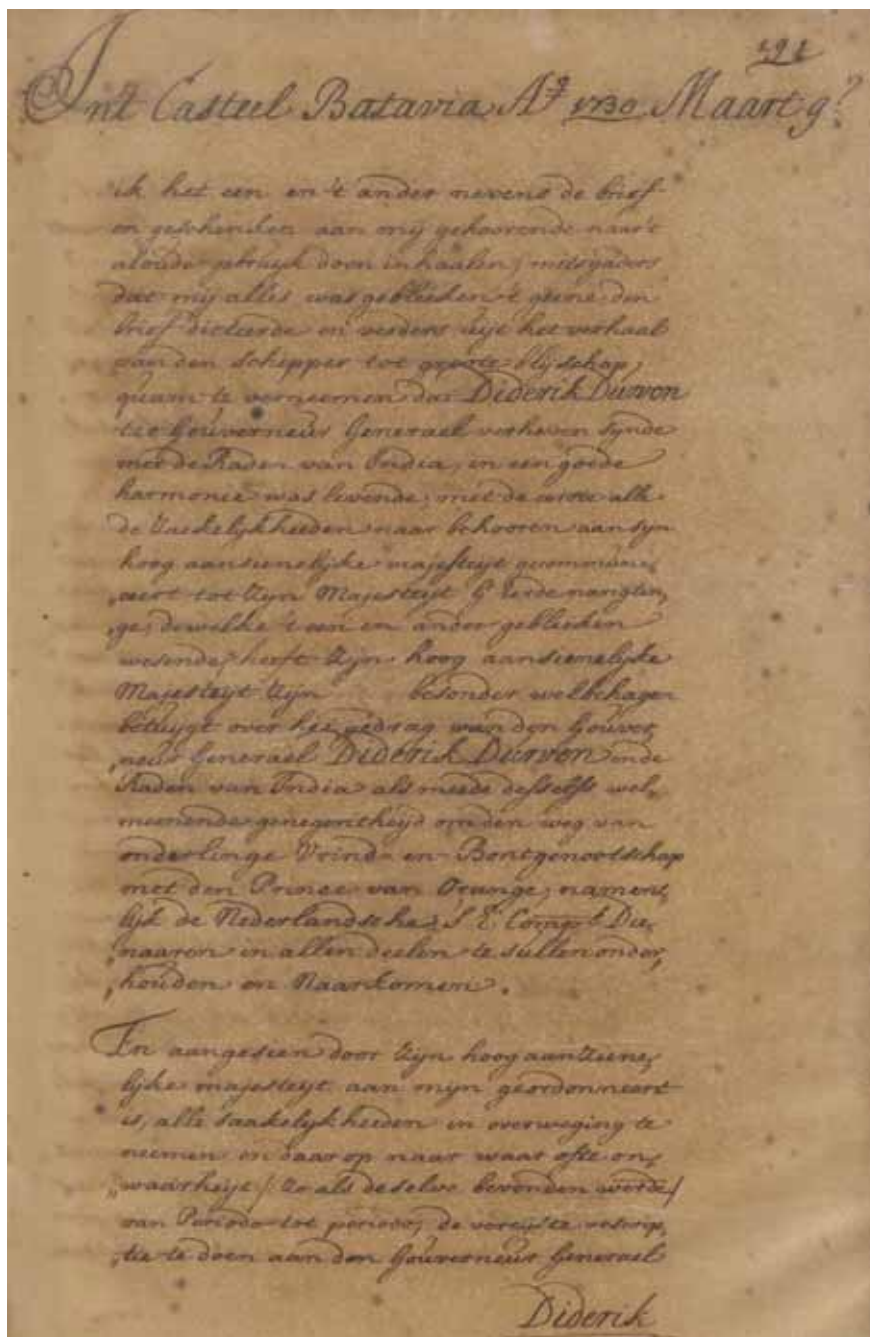






Illustration 1. Temples Ruins - Wat Phra Sri Sanphet.

## Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlung on behalf of King Borommakot (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 22 March 1735, and the answer from Batavia, 12 August 1735

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 4
- 3 English translation 10
- 4 Colophon 15
- 5 Folio images 16





## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chao-phraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Borommakot (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 22 March 1735, and the answer from Batavia, 12 August 1735”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 26. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

In March of 1735 finally the first diplomatic letter from Siam since the handover of power in January 1733 reached Batavia. After King Thai Saa passed away on 13 January 1733, various court factions had clashed, each one from its own palace in Ayutthaya. Prince Phon (the brother of King Thai Saa), who occupied the Wang Chankasem (Front Palace), cleverly managed to exploit the chaos and took the royal palace. Various members of the royal family escaped, some in Buddhist robes, but were arrested in the following days and put in chains. The two princely opponents, the sons of King Thai Saa, were executed in the royal way, namely by having them clubbed to death with pieces of sandalwood. In this was Prince Phon assumed power as King Borommakot. The new Phrakhlang was the same *khun* Chamnan who had joined in making Prince Phon’s coup possible. He became the most important centre of power during the reign of King Borommakot.

The Dutch representatives in Ayutthaya initially judged that this new Phrakhlang would be very well disposed to the VOC. If the Supreme Government had already been persuaded by this optimism, then this first letter will have put a damper on the joy. The Phrakhlang states in clear terms that the payment for the goods supplied by the

Company would be made partly in sappan-wood, in conformity with the old custom, and not half in tin and half in silver. The reason given by the Phrakhlang is interesting: the khlang would reject it, and he is not in a position to make changes. It is clear that the royal merchants who were combined in this khlang were protecting their trading interests. If they should alter the delivery of sappan-wood and supply other products to the VOC, then that would be detrimental to the prices that were asked from Asiatic merchants for products, such as lead, ivory, gum resin and so on.

The Phrakhlang was primarily concerned to maintain the customs observed in trade. In order to establish these anew, he set up an investigation into the old trading contracts. The copies of these that were found in the VOC lodge had been damaged by insects and were illegible. They were compared with the copy that was kept by the Siamese *syahbandar*, but this was in just as bad a condition. In the diplomatic correspondence there was often reference to these contracts, but the facts reveal here that the documents were in a neglected state, with both the Company heads and the Phrakhlang (who had them kept by the *syahbandar*).

The reply from Batavia is disappointed and direct in tone. They wish the new king all the best, but at once let it be known that the VOC actually wants to do away with payment in sappan-wood. If that does not happen, then the VOC will dismantle its lodge in order to avoid any further losses. The value of ‘that dye-wood’ has fallen so much ‘that it cannot be counted as any better than firewood’. Batavia sends a new Opperhoofd (Senior Trader), Theodorus van den Heuvel, reports the appointment of Governor-General Abraham Patras, and is sending as gifts a number of cloths, of which Siam probably already had plenty.



## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. *Caesalpiniasappan* L. [as *Lignum sappan*]

Reference:

- Bhawan Ruangsilp. *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007, pp. 180-194.
- Brummelhuis, Han ten, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat. A History of the Contacts between the Netherlands and Thailand*. Lochem-Gent: de Tijdstroom, 1987.



## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 22 MAART 1735.

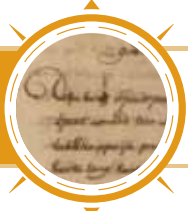
Deze brief van Tjauwpea Siam Darmaraad Detjaa Trjaat Amaad Tria Natjiet Pipit Ratnaraat Saka Taboedie Apaya Peri Borakrama Pakok Tjauwpea Barkalang wordt gestuurd uit een zuivere genegenheid tot Gouverneur-Generaal Dirk van Cloon en de raden van Indië, omdat zij oprecht genegen zijn dienst te bewijzen aan Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit Somdaad Boram Prahoepe Datjouw Tjahoewa, mijn heer. Op maandag de 7e dag der 11e maand in het Tijgerjaar is door de schipper van een Hollands schip in Siam aangebracht een brief en geschenken voor de koning en mij. Ik heb een en ander na gewoonte uit de Maleise in de Siamse taal laten vertalen en vervolgens uit de inhoud en uit het verhaal van de schipper begrepen dat de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië in volle rust, vrede en eendracht de belangen van de Compagnie waarnemen, hetwelk mij zeer aangenaam was.

Zijne Aanzienelijke Majestaat heeft bevolen het overlijden van de vorige koning<sup>1</sup> bekend te maken, waardoor het rijk in grote beroerte geraakt was en wij niet in staat waren de vorige brieven te beantwoorden. Sindsdien heeft Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit getriumfeerd over al zijn vijanden en is vervolgens bevestig op de troon. Hij regeert tegenwoordig in volle rust en vrede het rijk. Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit wil zich gaarne aan het aloude vriend- en bondgenootschap tussen het rijk van Siam en de Prins van Oranje, en de Nederlandse Compagnie houden, en dat door Gods goedheid bestendig doen blijven. [..]

Er wordt in de brief van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië gezegd van het sappanhout dat de Compagnie bij [de aankoop van] dat verfhout grote schade leed en [zij] daarom niet graag daarmee belast wilden zijn. En dat de betaling van koopmanschappen mocht geschieden met zilver en tin, van elk de helft. Ik moet zeggen dat dit strijdig zou zijn met de oude gebruiken. Ik ben niet in staat om daarin de minste verandering te maken. Als ik daarvan het allergeeringste repte, zou dat door de Khlantang verworpen worden, alsof ik, die pas in het bestuur gekomen ben, verandering probeerde te maken in zaken die als vanouds gereguleerd en vastgesteld zijn. Ook verzochten de verschillende Gouverneurs-Generaal in vroeger tijden meermalen aan de gewezen Phrakhlantang om was het mogelijk de betalingen in sappanhout te doen ophouden, of tenminste de kwantiteit te verminderen.

Het is niet mogelijk daarin verandering te maken want de Khlantang is op geen enkele manier daartoe te brengen. En ik heb – zoals gezegd – het niet in mijn vermogen om in zaken die in vroeger tijden zijn gereguleerd, gecontracteerd en vastgesteld tussen de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië en het rijk van Siam ook maar de minste verandering te maken. Maar ik beloof dat niet zal nalaten om de Compagnie in alles hetgeen gebruikelijk is te onderhouden.

<sup>1</sup> Koning Thai Saa overleed op 13 januari 1733.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

In de brief van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië gebracht in het Tijgerjaar, wordt niet vermeld dat zij graag 200 lasten rijst, 500 pikul lood en 30 pikul olifant slagstanden [wilden ontvangen]. Maar omdat het compagnies opperhoofd<sup>2</sup> in Siam mij door de tolk mondeling heeft laten weten dat hij order had om genoemde waren in te kopen, heb ik die tolk toestemming gegeven die inkoop te doen. Ik heb ook bevolen dat daarvoor geen uitvoerbelasting betaald hoeft te worden, zoals andere kooplieden daaraan wel onderworpen zijn. Ook zal het lood goedkoop aan het compagnieshoofd worden verkocht.

Bij deze gelegenheid heb ik alle schriftelijke, zowel nieuwe als oude orders en reglementen bij mij laten brengen om kennis van zaken te krijgen. Ik heb daarbij een verzegeld geschrift ontwaard betreffende de negotie.<sup>3</sup> Dit berust onder het opperhoofd en is door ouderdom wel voor de helft doorvreten [van insecten] en onleesbaar geworden. En aangezien men voor zeker houdt dat de affaires van de Compagnie in Siam zullen continueren en het genoemde geschrift steeds meer beschadigd zal raken en onleesbaar worden, heb ik op de 11e dat van de 9e maand in het Tijgerjaar dat geschrift weer bij mij laten brengen. Ik heb het door de rijksgroten die onder mij vallen, en Grohoeang Choemoen<sup>4</sup> vanwege de syahbandar laten nazien en vergeleken met het afschrift dat onder de syahbandar berust. De inhoud van beide geschriften was eensluidend, maar de meeste letters van beide de geschriften waren zodanig doorgevreten dat ze na verloop van tijd niet meer leesbaar zouden zijn. Daarom heb ik twee nieuwe laten vervaardigen en die naar vergelijking met de oude met het gebruikelijke zegel bekrachtigd laten afgeven: één aan het compagnieshoofd, en het andere aan de syahbandar, zowel om tot naricht te dienen alswel om disputen te voorkomen.

Voorts worden thans vier personen afgevaardigd, namelijk Choempatjee Sintoek<sup>5</sup> en Choenraet Patjee als paardenkenners, en Moen Amaraat en Panparoem als paarden-dokters. Zij varen met 's Compagnies schip over om naar oude gewoonte de inkoop van paarden te doen. Wij verzoeken derhalve om hen naar gebruik van een geldlening te voorzien en dat zij vervolgens met een aanbevelingsbrief naar Java gezonden mogen worden om langs de plaatsen om te zien naar hoge hengsten van de vereiste maat en ouderdom van 4 à 5 jaren. En voorts te zorgen dat zij met hun ingekochte paarden bij het afzenden van compagniesbodems hun transport mogen nemen, in twee schepen verdeeld, en wel voozien van water en gras opdat die beesten door gebrek van voedsel en ruimte niet komen te vermageren noch te sterven.

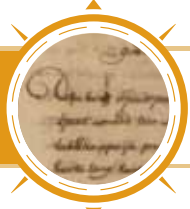
Verder verzoek ik of de Compagnie niet in gebreke wil wezen om ons jaarlijks te gerieven met hetgene benodigd is en bij de Khlangs benodigd is, namelijk tegenwoordig: Chimka taas Patola kleedjes, Chimaraat kleedjes, Gobars tapak tjatoor gebloemd

<sup>2</sup> Willem de Ghij, opperhoofd 1734-1735, 1740-1741.

<sup>3</sup> Dit zal het contract zijn geweest van 1683.

<sup>4</sup> Niet te identificeren, ofschoon "Choemoen" zou kunnen refereren aan *khun muen*, een algemene verwijzing naar de ambtenaren van de koning.

<sup>5</sup> In de ambtenarenlijst van de koningsstallen, in het Wetboek van de Drie Zegels, sectie "Phra Aiyakan Tamnaeng Na Phonlaruan" is sprake van een Khun Krai Sinthop en ook een Muang Si Sinthop Chat.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

van diverse kleuren en bloemen<sup>6</sup>, volgens de daarvan door de Khlang vertoonde en overgegeven monsters.

Op ons verzoek om kanten kleden uit Nederland, hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië in het Hoenderjaar geantwoord dat zij het monster naar Nederland hadden gezonden om zodanige kleden voor het hof van Siam te laten maken. Maar aangezien dat nu reeds vele jaren geleden is en men er nog geen resultaat van heeft gezien, zo kan men niet nalaten hierover in dit Tijgerjaar opnieuw te schrijven, teneinde definitief te weten of men daarmee gerieft zal worden of niet. Zo ja, dan zal men die kleden met de verwachte schepen tegemoed zien en zo niet, dan gelieven de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië het kleed dat als monster werd gezonden, maar weer terug te sturen.

Verder zijn hier tegenwoordig in Siam nodig Sulokse en Borneose koperen pices, waarmee wij jaarlijks 500 – 1000 pikul nodig hebben om te kunnen dienen tot ballast in de schepen.

Voor tegenwoordig bestaan het geschenk van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit Prabat Sondat Boeroem Boepit Praahoepoe Detjoe Djoehoewa, mijn Vorst en Heer aan de Gouverneur-Generael en de raden van India in 22 bahar, 2 pikuls, 33 catty, 6 thails en 2 pahas tin, en 1002 pikul en 10 kati sappanhout Chinees gewigt en van mij 17 bahar, 2 pikul en 43 kati tin Siams gewicht, alles tot onderhouding van de weg van onderlinge vriend- en bondgenootschap die er is tussen Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit mijn vorst en heer en de Prins van Oranje, en de Nederlandse Compagnie [...] opdat de wederzijdse vriendschap voor altoos bestendig blijve, waardoor alle vreemdelingen vrijheid mogen hebben om te komen en te gaan zonder de minste verandering, waarom de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië in alle zaken van punt tot punt wijselijk en verstandig gelieven te beschikken en bestieren.

Geschreven op zaterdag de 1e dag van de 2de maand in het Tijgerjaar 1090, einde.

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan de Phrakhlang, 12 augustus 1735.*

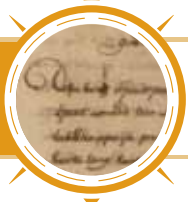
DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 12 AUGUSTUS 1735.

*Siam aan de koning.*

De Gouverneur-Generaal Abraham Patras en de Raden van Indië residerende in het Kasteel Batavia zenden deze brief uit een zuiver en oprecht hart aan Zijne Excellentie de zeer wijze en verstandige Phrakhlang, die bij zijn heer, de Hoog Aanzienelijke koning Samedaad Boraam Boepit Prahoephoe Dethjoe Tjahoewa, heerser van het beroemde Siamse rijk, in zeer hoge achting en van groot vermogen is. Hij wordt toegewenst geluk en voorspoed, en een lang leven en bestendige gezondheid, met al hetgene dat strekken kan tot een ware voldoening op deze aarde.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië maken de Phrakhlang bekend dat zij de brief en het zeer aangename geschenk hebben ontvangen. Zij zijn met uiterste

<sup>6</sup> Chimka [kimka, goudbrocaat] taas patola kleden; chimaraat kleden, gobars tapak tjatoor, gevarieerde gebloemde-stoffen.



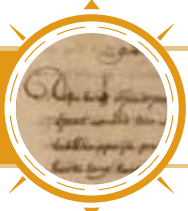
## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

blijdschap aangedaan over de tegenwoordige gelukkige gesteldheid van zaken in het Siamse rijk, dat hetzelfde wederom is hersteld tot zijn vorige rust en vrede sedert dat Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit als wettige koning van Siam gezeten is op de heerlijke troon van zijn voortreffelijke en zeer beroemde voorzaten, en tevens met roem en wijsheid geregeerd heeft over zijn onderdanen. Bij deze gelukkige regering wensen de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië van harte wensen en ook vertrouwen dat de onderlinge vriendschap tussen de Siamse kroon en de Nederlandse (handels)maatschappij altoos bestendig mag blijven in de nakoming van de contracten en verbonden die met de hoogloffelijke voorvaders van zijn tegenwoordige Hoog Aanzienelijke Koninklijke Majesteit op de allerplechtigste wijze zijn bezegeld. Voornamelijk omdat zij tot grondslag hebben de vrije handel van de Nederlandse maatschappij te Siam en Ligor. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hopen dat door het wijze en voorzichtige beleid van de Phrakhlang deze weer zal worden opgebeurd uit zijn verval.

Daartoe werd niet alleen vereist de gunstige protectie van Zijne Excellentie voor de residenten van de Compagnie op beide handelsplaatsen maar ook zijn vermogen dat de Nederlandse handelsmaatschappij eens werd vrijgesteld van de verplichting om voor haar kostbare en gewilde handelswaren nog langer het zo ongewilde sappanhout [als betaling] te accepteren. Anders is het haar ondoenlijk de handel en correspondentie met het Siamse rijk nog langer voort te zetten. Dan vindt zij zich tegen haar wil en genegenheid gans onvermijdelijk genoodzaakt om gelijk van daar op te breken en haar oude vrienden en bondgenoten te verlaten, teneinde daardoor alle verdere schade en voorts haar eigen verval te voorkomen. De Phrakhlang wordt verzocht [dat] door zijn voorspraak bij de nieuwe koning [de Compagnie] mag worden ontslagen van de acceptatie van dat ongewilde sappanhout, omdat de waarde van dat verfhout in zodanig verval is geraakt, dat het niet beter dan voor brandhout is te rekenen. De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië twijfelen er niet aan of Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zal door de krachtige medewerking en bemiddeling van de heer Phrakhlang, en ook uit inzicht van het nadeel dat zijn eigen rijk en ingezetenen bij een opbraak van de Compagnie uit zijn landen onvermijdelijk zou worden toegebracht, zeer licht te bewegen zijn om het nodige redres zonder verder uitstel te bezorgen.

De Compagnie geeft nieuwe blijken van bereidvaardigheid in de behandeling van de afgezanten van de koning ter inkoop van paarden. Zij zijn geassisteerd door de compagniesdienaren op Java en door onze bereidwilliging voorzien van 2100 rijksdaalders voor de inkoop. Tegen verwachting hebben heeft de Compagnie transport voor de ingekochte paarden kunnen verlenen met verdeling van die paarden over twee schepen, zowel direct naar Siam als over Ligor, omdat de roskammers van Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit dit jaar bijzonder vroeg van Java terugkwamen. Aangezien zij gewoonlijk dusdanig laat hier in Batavia terugkomen, is het schip dat over Ligor vaart al dusdanig beladen dat het met geen paarden kan belemmert worden. Dus zal de heer Phrakhlang ook zeer wel kunnen begrijpen dat de verzending van paarden met twee schepen in het aanstaande niet meer kan geschieden.

Wederom kan als nieuwe blijk van bereidwilligheid van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië verstrekken de bezorging van de verlangde lijnwaden. Gezien



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

de korte tijd is men niet in staat geweest alles te verzamelen in overeenstemming met de monsters, aangezien de ontvangen monsters naar Coromandel zijn gestuurd, en men het bestelde nog tegemoed moet zien. Omtrent de verlangde kanten kleden uit Nederland is met tot haar bijzonder leedwezen nog niet in staat iets naders te berichten behalve dat de herwaards gezonden monsters al lange tijd geleden naar Nederland zijn afgegaan.

Nochthans zijn van Nederland naar Siam gezonden enige gouden en zilveren sjerpen waarvan Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit als hij het behaagt kan worden gerieft, terwijl de berichten uit Nederland omtrent de kanten kleden nog worden afgewacht.

Men is mede onvermogend de Phrakhlang te gerieven met de gevraagde koperen pices want die zijn in Batavia niet te krijgen, noch gangbaar. Maar wel een fraaie soort van gemunt kopergeld van de Compagnie, dat uit Nederland werd aangebracht, en waarvan een aantal van 144 stuks de waarde van één Siamse tical komt uit te maken. Tegen deze prijs, gelijk vorig jaar is geschreven, kan de Khlung worden voorzien in het geval die koperen munt Uwe Excellentie bij bezichtiging goed bevalt. Daartoe worden enkele stukken tot monster afgezonden met de koopman en het nieuw benoemde Siams opperhoofd Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel<sup>7</sup>, die samen met het nieuw gekozen opperhoofd van Ligor de onderkoopman Christoffel Werlitsz ten hoogsten gerecommandeerd wordt in de gunstige bescherming van de heer Phrakhlang.

De Phrakhlang wordt bedankt voor de bezorging van een door ouderdom onleesbaar geworden verdrag dat opnieuw is afgeschreven en geauthentiseerd. En voorts ook voor de toestemming verleend aan het vertrek naar Batavia van de achtergebleven vrouw van onderstuurman Schepers, want het zou een man zeer hard vallen om zich gescheiden te zien van zijn echtgenote en kind, als het belangrijkste in de wereld dat hij bezit.<sup>8</sup> De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hopen dat de Phrakhlang geen verdere moeilijkheden zal maken om gelijk in vorige gevallen te bewilligen in een zaak die, ofschoon het strijdig mocht wezen met de wetten van het land, volgens het recht der natuur en volkeren dessalniettemin billijk en inschikkelijk is, temeer omdat het gaat om wederzijdse toestemming en bewillinge.

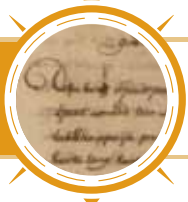
Eindelijk wordt aan Uwe Excellentie nog bekend gemaakt het overlijden van de heer Gouverneur-Generaal Dirk van Cloon en zijn opvolging op 10 maart door Gouverneur-Generaal Abraham Patras die nevens de Raden van Indië tot een geschenk sturen:

- x stuks lakenen in soort
- 2 stuks greijnen schaarrood
- x lb. gouddraad, groene band aan strengen

<sup>7</sup> Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel, opperhoofd 1735-1740.

<sup>8</sup> Voor de Siamse wet was het voor een onderdaan van de koning met een Thai, Mon of Lao etnische achtergrond verboden om met een buitenlander die geen Buddhist was samen te wonen; vandaar dat de koning hier welwillend was om zowel de moeder als het kind met Schepers mee te laten gaan. In het contract van 1664 was afgesproken dat alleen minderjarige kinderen met hun Nederlandse vader Siam mochten verlaten.





## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

x        *tholas*<sup>9</sup> etter van roosen  
20       stuks moeris rode Kust  
20       stuks salempoeris dito  
20       stuks mallemlen fijne en  
40       lb. specerijen in soort

Geschreven in het Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java de 12e augustus 1735, de  
Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands Indië, Abraham Patras.

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<sup>9</sup> Tola, een Zuid-Aziatische gewichtseenheid voor goud en zilver van circa 180 troy korrels, gestandaardiseerd door de Britten.



### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 22 MARCH 1735.

This letter from Tjauwpea Siam Darmaraad Detjaa Trjaat Amaad Tria Natjiet Pipit Ratnaraat Saka Taboedie Apaya Peri Borakrama Pakok Tjauwpea Barkalang is being sent out of pure good will to Governor-General Dirk van Cloon and the members of the Council of the Indies, because they are sincerely inclined to render service to His High and Distinguished Majesty Somdaad Boram Prahoepoe Datjouw Tjahoewa, my lord. On Monday the 7th day of the 11th month in the Year of the Tiger a letter and gifts for the king and for me were brought by the skipper of a Dutch ship in Siam. I have had the details translated from Malay into the Siamese language, and consequently from the content and what the skipper said I have understood that the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies are espousing the interests of the Company in full calm, peace and concord, which was most pleasant for me.

His Majesty has commanded me to make known the demise of the previous king<sup>1</sup>, whereby the realm lapsed into great troubles and we were not able to answer the previous letters. Since then His Majesty has triumphed over all his enemies and is subsequently firmly established on the throne. At present he is ruling in full quietness and peace over the realm. His Majesty will gladly adhere to the ancient friendship and alliance between the kingdom of Siam and the Prince of Orange and the Dutch Company, and by God's goodness will make these continue to be long-lasting. [...]

In the letter from the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies it is said of the sappan-wood that the Company [with the purchase of] that dye-wood suffered great damage and [they] therefore did not wish to be charged for it. And that the payment for merchandise might be made with silver and tin, half of each. I must say that this would be contrary to the existing customs. I am not in a position to make the slightest alteration in this. If I made the least mention of this, that would be rejected by the Khläng, as if I, who have only recently come into the administration, attempted to make changes in matters that have been regulated and established from former times. In earlier times the various Governors-General also repeatedly asked the former Phra-khläng if it was possible to cease payments in sappan wood, or at least to reduce the quantity.

It is not possible to make a change in this, as in no way can the Khläng be persuaded to do so. And it is not within my power – as I have said – to make even the slightest change in matters that in former times were regulated, contracted and established between the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies and the kingdom of Siam. However, I promise that I shall not fail to support the Company in everything that is customary.

<sup>1</sup> King Thai Sa died on 13 January 1733.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

In the letter from the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies brought in the Year of the Tiger it was not stated that they [wished to receive] 200 loads of rice, 500 pikuls of lead and 30 pikuls of ivory. However, because the Company's senior head<sup>2</sup> in Siam has informed me orally through the interpreter that he has orders to purchase the above wares, I have given this interpreter permission to buy them. I have also give instructions that no export-tax needs to be paid for them, such as other merchants are subject to. Also the lead will be sold cheaply to the senior head.

On this occasion I had all the written orders and regulations brought to me, both new and old, in order to gain insight into matters of business. In doing so I discovered a sealed document concerning methods of trade.<sup>3</sup> This is kept by the senior head, and due to age is half eaten away [by insects] and has become illegible. And seeing that it is held to be certain that the affairs of the Company in Siam will continue, and the said document will become all the more damaged and unreadable, on the 11th day of the 9th month of the Year of the Tiger I had that document brought to me again. I had it checked by the officials who are under me, and Grohoeang Choemoen<sup>4</sup> on behalf of the syahbandar, and compared with the copy held by the syahbandar. The contents of both documents corresponded with each other, but most of the letters in both were eaten through in such a way that in the course of time they would no longer be readable. Hence I had two new ones made, and after comparing them with the old ones I ratified them with the usual seal and had them issued: one to the Company head, and the other to the syahbandar, both in order to serve as guide and to prevent disputes.

Furthermore, four persons are now being despatched, namely Choempatjee Sintok<sup>5</sup> and Choetraet Patjee as horse-experts, and Moen Amaraat and Panparoem as horse-doctors. They are sailing in a Company ship in order to buy horses according to the old custom. We therefore request that as usual they be provided with a loan, and that they then may be sent to Java with a letter of recommendation, to go through the towns and look for tall stallions of the required size and age of 4 to 5 years. And moreover that when sending the horses they have bought they may take their transport in Company vessels, distributed over two ships, and well provided with water and grass, so that the animals will neither become thin nor die, due to lack of fodder and space.

Further, I request that the Company will not be remiss in providing us annually with what is needed, and is needed with the Khlang, namely at present: chimka taas patola cloths, chimaraat cloths, gobars tapak tjatoor, floral of various colours and flowers<sup>6</sup>, according to the samples shown by the Khlang and supplied.

<sup>2</sup> Willem de Ghij, executive head 1734-1735, 1740-1741.

<sup>3</sup> This will have been the contract of 1683.

<sup>4</sup> Unidentified, though "Choemoen" might again refer to *khun muen*, a general or collective reference to the king's officials.

<sup>5</sup> In the list of officials attached to the king's stables in the Law of the Three Seals, "Phra Aiyakan Tamnaeng Na Phonlaruan" section, there is a Khun Krai Sinthop and also a Muang Si Sinthop Chat. The word *sinthop* means "a noble horse" or more specifically a horse of fine quality from the Indus valley.

<sup>6</sup> Chimka [kimka, gold brocade] taas patola cloths, chimaraat cloths, gobars tapak tjatoor, floral of various colours and flowers



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To our request for lace garments, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies replied in the Year of the Rooster that they had sent the sample to Holland, in order to have such items made for the Siamese court. But seeing that now many years have passed and we have seen no results of this, we cannot neglect in this Year of the Tiger to write once more, in order to know definitely whether we shall be favoured with these or not. If we are, then we look forward to seeing those garments on the ships expected, and if not, then may it please the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies just to send back the cloth that was given as a sample.

At present we need in Siam copper *pices* from Sulok and Borneo, of which we yearly need 500-1,000 pikuls to be used as ballast in the ships.

For the present the gifts of His High and Distinguished Majesty Prabat Somdat Boeroem Boepit Prahoepoe Detjoe Djoehoewa, my Lord and King, to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies consist of 22 bahar, 2 pikuls, 33 catty, 6 taels and 2 pahas of tin, and 1002 pikul and 10 kati of sappan-wood Chinese weight; and from me 17 bahar, 2 pikul and 43 kati of tin Siamese weight; all of this for the purpose of maintaining the mutual friendship and alliance that exists between His Majesty my king and lord and the Prince of Orange and the Dutch Company [...], so that the mutual friendship may always remain firm, whereby all foreigners might have freedom to come and to go without the least hindrance, for which may it please the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies to ordain and manage wisely and prudently from point to point.

Written on Saturday the 1st day of the 2nd month in the Year of the Tiger 1090, end.

*Letter from the Supreme Government in Batavia to the Phrakhlang, 12 August 1735.*

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 12 AUGUST 1735.

*Siam, to the King*

The Governor-General, Abraham Patras, and members of the Council of the Indies residing in Batavia Castle send this letter from a pure and sincere heart to His Excellency the very wise and prudent Phrakhlang, who is held in high esteem and great power with his lord, the High and Distinguished king Samedaad Boraam Boepit Prahoepoe Dethjoe Tjahoewa, ruler of the realm of Siam. He is wished good fortune and prosperity, a long life and lasting good health, with all that can serve to provide true satisfaction on this earth.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies inform the Phrakhlang that they have received the letter and very pleasing gift. They are moved to the greatest gladness at the present happy state of affairs in the realm of Siam, in that this has once more been restored to its former calm and peace, since His Majesty has been seated on the glorious throne of his excellent and very renowned forefathers, and now is ruling with fame and wisdom over his subjects. In this fortunate reign the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies desire heartily and with confidence that the mutual friendship between the Siamese crown and the Dutch (trad-



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ing) company may always be long-lasting in the observance of the contracts and bonds that were sealed in the most solemn way with the highly praiseworthy ancestors of His Distinguished Royal Majesty, in particular as they are founded on the free trade of the Dutch company in Siam and Ligor. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies hope that through the Phrakhlang's wise and prudent policy this will again be raised from its decline.

For this is required not only the favourable protection of His Excellency for the residents of the Company in both places of trade, but also his ability to exempt the Dutch trading company from the obligation to accept such unwanted sappan-wood [as payment] for their valuable and desired merchandise any longer. Otherwise it will be impossible for it to continue the trade and correspondence with the kingdom of Siam. Then, against its wish and inclination, it will find itself wholly unavoidably forced to depart from there and abandon its old friends and allies, in order thereby to prevent any further loss leading to its own collapse. The Phrakhlang is requested that through his mediation with the new king [the Company] may be exempted from the acceptance of that unwanted sappan-wood, because the value of that dye-wood has fallen to such an extent that it can be reckoned as no better than firewood. The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies do not doubt that His Majesty will, through the strong collaboration and mediation of the lord Phrakhlang, and also the realization of the loss that would inevitably be inflicted on his own realm and inhabitants if the Company should depart from his lands, easily be persuaded to arrange the necessary rectification without further delay.

The Company gives new evidence of its helpfulness in the treatment of the king's delegates sent for the purpose of buying horses. They have been assisted by the Company's servants in Java, and through our obligingness have been provided with 2,100 rix-dollars for the purchase. Contrary to expectation the Company has been able to give transport for the horses bought with a distribution of those horses over two ships, both direct to Siam and via Ligor, because His Majesty's grooms this year came back from Java especially early. Seeing that usually they arrive back here in Batavia so late, the ship that sails via Ligor is already so fully laden that it cannot be hampered with horses. Hence the lord Phrakhlang will be able to understand very well that the despatch of horses in two ships can in future not happen again.

Once more the delivery of the desired linens can serve as new evidence of the helpfulness of the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies. In view of the short notice we have not been able to collect everything in conformity with the samples, seeing that the samples received were sent to Coromandel, and one still has to await the order. Concerning the lace clothing desired from Holland, to our deep regret we are not yet able to report anything more except that the samples sent there went off to Holland a long time ago.

Nevertheless several gold and silver sashes, which can be offered to His Majesty if it pleases him, have been sent from Holland to Siam, while news from Holland regarding the lace is still awaited.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

We are also unable to offer the Phrakhlang the copper pices as they are not to be found in Batavia, neither are they current. However, we can provide a fine sort of minted copper coin of the Company, which has been obtained from Holland, and 144 of which have the value of one Siamese tical. For this price, as was written last year, the Khlang can be supplied, assuming that this copper coin pleases Your Excellency upon viewing it. For this purpose several examples are being sent with the merchant and newly appointed Siam senior head Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel<sup>7</sup>, who together with the newly selected senior head of Ligor the junior merchant Christoffel Werlitsz is most highly recommended into the favourable protection of the lord Phrakhlang.

The Phrakhlang is thanked for providing a copy of the treaty which had become illegible from age, and has been written out anew and authenticated. He is also thanked for the permission granted for the departure for Batavia of under-helmsman Schepers' wife who had stayed behind, as it would be a very hard blow for a man to be separated from his spouse and child, as being the most important things he possesses in the world.<sup>8</sup> The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies hope that the Phrakhlang will make no further difficulties in order to, as in previous cases, give consent in a matter that, although it might be contrary to the laws of the land, according to the right of nature and peoples, nevertheless is fair and accommodating, all the more because it relates to mutual agreement and assent.

Finally Your Excellency is informed of the decease of the Governor-General Dirk van Cloon, and his succession on 10 March by Governor-General Abraham Patras, who together with members of the Council of the Indies sends as gifts:

- x pieces of assorted broadcloth
- 2 pieces of scarlet camlet
- x pounds of gold thread, green band in strips
- x *tholas*<sup>9</sup> of attar of roses
- 20 pieces of mori, red Coast
- 20 pieces of salempuri idem
- 20 pieces of fine mallempuri, and
- 40 pounds of assorted spices.

Written in Batavia Castle on the island of Great Java on the 12th of August 1735, [signed by] the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, Abraham Patras.

<sup>7</sup> Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel, executive trader 1735-1740.

<sup>8</sup> In Siamese law it was forbidden for a subject of the king who was of Thai, Mon or Lao ethnicity to cohabit with a foreigner of non-Buddhist beliefs; hence the King was here being benevolent in letting both mother and child to join Schepers. In the 1664 Treaty it was agreed that only children of a young age be allowed to leave Siam to join his/her (Dutch/VOC) father.

<sup>9</sup> Tholas, an Indian unit of weight (for gold and silver).



## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhleng on behalf of King Borommakot (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 22 March 1735, and the answer from Batavia, 12 August 1735”. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 26. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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<b>Indonesian translation</b>	Nurhayu Santoso
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<b>Introduction</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Senior Lecturer in Maritime and World History (Diponegoro University, Semarang)
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HARTA KARUN. HIDDEN TREASURES ON INDOONESIAN AND ASIAN-EUROPEAN HISTORY FROM THE VOC ARCHIVES IN JAKARTA

### 5 Folio image

This is the first page of the original document. All folios may be viewed on the website via the Tab 'Images' in the Harta Karun section or in the Digital Archive Collections.

Archival Source, ANRI,HR 2567 fols 207-216 and 620-633.

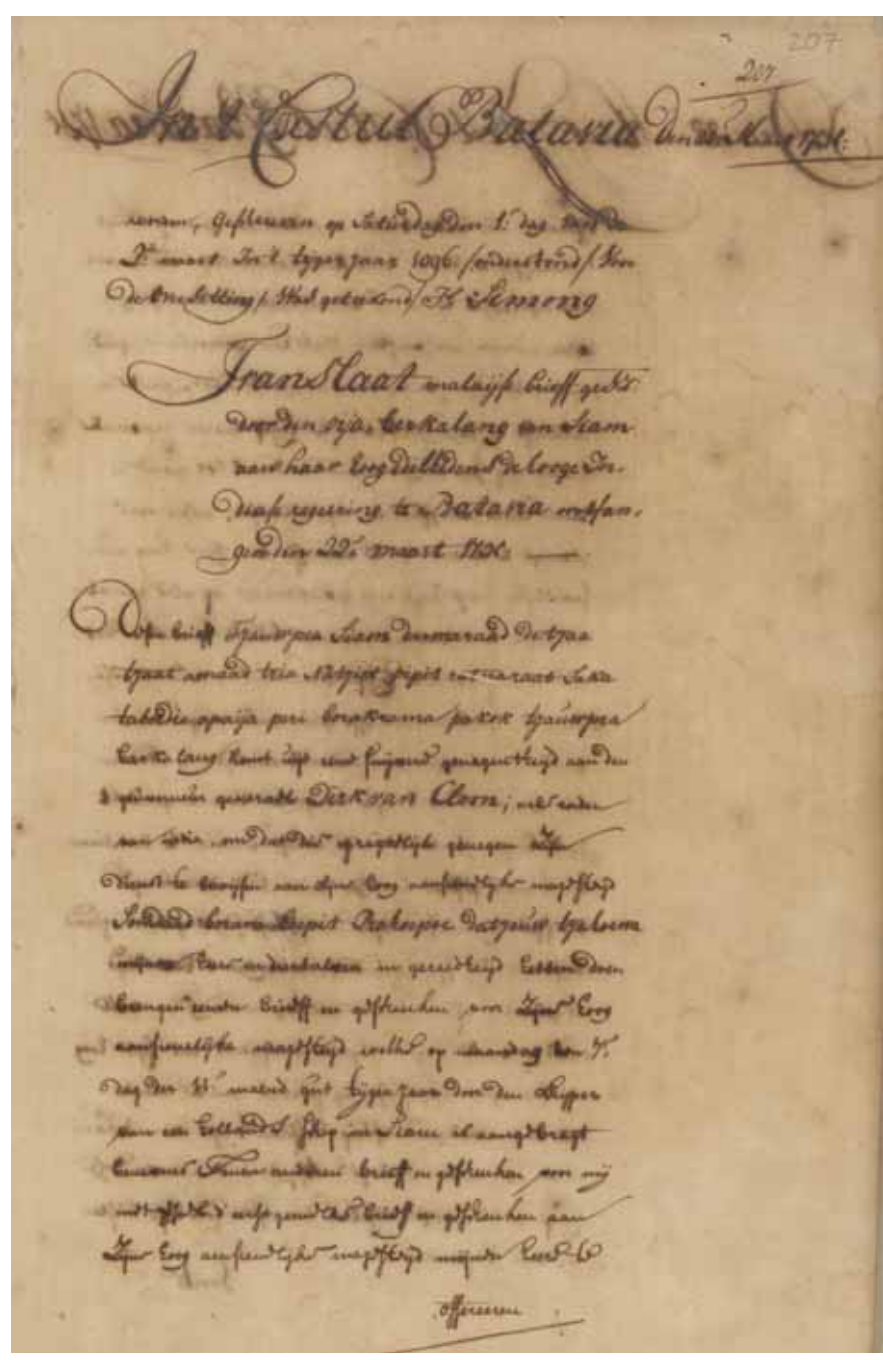






Illustration 1. Buddha footprints inside the mondop of Wat Phra Yuen Phutthabat Yukhon.

## Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Borommakot Maha Dharmaracha II (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 29 March 1740, and the answer from Batavia, 28 August 1740

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 5
- 3 English translation 9
- 4 Colophon 13
- 5 Folio images 14



sejarah  
nusantara



## 1 Introduction

Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chao-phraya Phrakhlang on behalf of King Borommakot Maha Dharmaracha II (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 29 March 1740, and the answer from Batavia, 28 August 1740”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 27. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY HENDRIK E. NIEMEIJER

The VOC opperhoofd in Ayutthaya, Theodorus Jacobus van der Heuvel (in office 1735-1740) has gone down in history as the man who in March 1737 was invited by King Borommakot to join him on a journey to Phra Phuttabat (in Saraburi Province), for the annual pilgrimage to the Buddha’s Footprint (*buddhapada* in Pali). In this way the king was demonstrating the superiority of Siamese culture and religion. The opperhoofd received an invitation again the next year, but declined.

The period 1730-1740 is marked by a clearly downward trend in Siamese-Dutch relations, in both political and economic areas. However, historians have not yet made a clear analysis of the complaints from either side. In particular the negative experiences of the Siamese with the constant striving of the Dutch to impose monopolies on products such as tin and ivory have not yet been properly studied. The diplomatic correspondence is the most important source for these complaints. This correspondence from 1740 shows the culmi-

nation of years of political bickering.

The General Missives that the Supreme Government in Batavia sent to the Republic several times a year give us the Dutch view in a nutshell. The letters from the kings and Phrakhlang were according to custom send together with these general letters. Hence the directors of the VOC could themselves take account of the opinions at the court of Siam, and they could also observe that the trading post in Siam year after year no longer provided a profit but only losses. And that profit was ultimately what it was all about.

Both the directors in the Netherlands and the members of the Supreme Government in Batavia viewed the economic and political importance of a trading post in Siam from a broader, strategic perspective. In 1732 the Supreme Government wrote to the Netherlands that the staff in Siam saw little benefit in disbanding the trading post there. The English Company had surrendered the trade to Siam to private interests. But these, as well as the Moorish merchants from Surat, were exposed to all kinds of demands that did not apply to the Company. So the English paid more for the ivory. And if the office in Ayutthaya was closed, then possibly the tin monopoly at Ligor would also be lost.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in precisely these years the tea trade with China was becoming more important. Even though sandalwood was still quite useful as ballast in VOC ships, tea was a much more lucrative product. In the early 18th century Chinese junks carried tea to Batavia. In 1727 the Gentlemen XVII decided to send two ships direct to Canton, which

<sup>1</sup> Generale Missieven IX: 1729-1737, pp. 299-300 (14 February, 1732).

## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. *Papaver somniferum* L. opium poppy, afim, Kasa Kasa.

was becoming an increasingly popular destination for European trading companies. In the following five years the VOC sent eleven ships to Canton, and already in 1730-32 it bought 1.4 million pounds of tea in China annually, and had achieved a dominant position in the tea market. From 1734 the VOC's tea trade was included in the Asiatic network.<sup>2</sup>

In the context of this rising tea trade, Ayutthaya was no longer the 'place to be'. For all the European trading companies the trade with Siam became less important because of the rise of the China tea trade. The explosive rise in the cultivation of coffee in the mountainous interior of the Javanese port of Cirebon (called the Priangan) became important for the VOC from 1707. In 1725 Java was already producing more than 4 million pounds of coffee for the European market. But there is yet another reason that Siam became less popular,

namely a prohibition on the trade in opium.

In the last quarter of the 17th century the north-east coast of Java became a popular region for selling illegal opium in particular. In the greater part of Java there was no taboo on opium. It was, for example, consumed during rituals at the court of Mataram. Although Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten (West Java) did issue decrees against opium, the trade in opium in the rest of Java grew at an explosive rate in the first decades of the 18th century. For both the English and the Dutch the (illegal) sale of opium became even more important than the sale of Indian textiles.

The kings of Siam kept the door for the opium trade strictly closed. There were severe penalties for the import of opium, as the Company's servants also came to know. The second translator Pieter Broucheborde was arrested and executed in 1714 for smuggling opium. The Siamese port

<sup>2</sup> Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië. De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000, pp. 137-142.



## INTRODUCTION

authorities also checked the Company's lighters in the river for this, and they intended to investigate all the Company servants. However, at the special request of opperhoofd Dirk Blom King Thai Saa abandoned these measures. Because of this incident trade with the VOC was at a standstill for two months.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of this historical context, the rise of the world trade in coffee, tea and opium, Siam became less important for the intra-Asiatic and the Asiatic-European trade. One could argue that in the long run this was a 'blessing in disguise' for Thailand. The focus of the European powers on India, China and Java, and the reduced importance

of Siam, in combination with the self-confident action of the kings of Siam, contributed to the fact that Siam did not fall prey to colonialism in the 18th century.

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- Brummelhuis, Han ten, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat. A History of the Contacts between the Netherlands and Thailand*. Lochem-Gent: de Tijdstroom, 1987.
- Jacobs, Els M., *Koopman in Azië. De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000.

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<sup>3</sup> Generale Missieven VII, 1713-1725, p. 67.

## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 29 MAART 1740.

*Deze brief van de Phrakhlang is een van de langste brieven van Ayutthaya naar Batavia. Deze wordt alleen in de Dagregisters van het Kasteel Batavia aangetroffen. De brief bevat vele klachten tegen de wijze waarop de VOC handel in Siam dreef. In de formele openingsparagraaf schrijft de Phrakhlang dat de Koning hem had bevolen om volgens oud gebruik de vriendschap tussen de Koning en de Prins van Oranje te onderhouden, en de brieven van Batavia puntsgewijs te beantwoorden.*

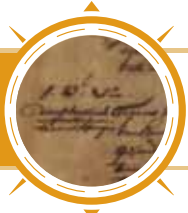
*Allereerst zet de Phrakhlang uiteen dat de vorige brief van Batavia niet volgens gewoont in het paleis van de Koning was ontvangen, aangezien er nog steeds een meningsverschil was over de prijzen van de textiellading die was afgeleverd met een chialoup. Daarop volgt een lang, gedetailleerd verslag, waarin de Phrakhlang vele miscommunicaties uiteenzet, en de meningsverschillen tussen de VOC-loge en de Khlang, zeggende dat het VOC-opperhoofd Theodorus van den Heuvel...*

...zeer kwaad was, ja zozeer dat hij de syahbandar en andere met minachting en kleinachting heeft bejegend, hetgeen bij vorige kapiteins nooit het geval was. Aangezien in dit geval als in vele andere zaken de kapitein zich niet gedroeg als een redelijk man maar integendeel als een onbesuist en wankel mens, heb ik de brieven destijds niet in het paleis laten ontvangen maar eerst later toen hij tot bedaren was gekomen. Hem werd gezegd dat hij gezondigd had tegen het contract en wanneer hij nog meer onredelijkheid zou tonen, men hem zou kunnen arresteren. Want in vroegere tijden toen Toeang Sarafien<sup>1</sup> kapitein was, had ene Joan Farool Walsiere ook onbetamelijke woorden gesproken. Daarover heeft men hem uit de compagniesloge gehaald en gedetineerd, zoals dat bij de Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden van Indië ten volle bekend was.

Maar aangezien hij (Van den Heuvel) thans van hier vertrekt, zo zouden de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië hem kunnen vragen welke reden hij heeft gehad om de syahbandar geen eer te bewijzen. En ook waarom hij de gewoontes van de vorige kapiteins, die successieve ten dienste van de Compagnie zowel in Siam als Ligor hebben gediend, niet heeft opgevolgd. Ik wil de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië er aan herinneren hoe ik dikwijls in mijn diverse afgegane brieven over het slechte gedrag van de kapitein heb geklaagd. Uit dien hoofde is het niet te begrijpen dat men het zo dikwijls genotificeerde kwade gedrag van de kapitein kan passeren, en dit daarentegen ten laste van de Khlangh te leggen en zeggen dat zij de zaken hebben bedreven die strijdig zijn tegen de gewoontes. Dit komt mijns inziens niet overeen met de billijkheid. (---)

Over het verlies van 194 catty, 5 thail, 3 pahas, 3 maas en 550 picis aan zilver dat de Compagnie zou hebben gemaakt op de lijnwaden die in het Paardejaar ter handel zijn

<sup>1</sup> Toeang Sarafien, "Luang Surasen" was een van de gewoonlijke titels van een Nederlands opperhoofd.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

gezonden, en [de claim] dat de Khlang daar willekeurige prijzen voor betaald heeft, zeg ik het volgende. De koningsdienaren hebben zowel de kapitein, de schipper als de administrateur persoonlijk gevraagd naar de prijzen van de aangebrachte lijnwaden. Maar de kapitein heeft de prijs van de *tapak tjatoerkleden* veel hoger gesteld dan die welke de Hollanders en Engels vroeger [vroegen, en die zij] volgens de opgaf met monsters hebben laten maken en geleverd. Daarom heeft de Khlang die kleden niet geaccepteerd.

Maar ik heb daarop Loeang Tjoedack<sup>2</sup> en Loeang Tabpakdei<sup>3</sup> Choen Keia<sup>4</sup> naar beneden naar de loge gezonden om tegen de kapitein te zeggen, dat ik kooplieden naar beneden zou sturen om de lijnwaden te bezichtigen en waarden. Daarop kreeg ik ten antwoord dat de kapitein niet in staat was bij de waardering aanwezig te zijn, maar dat hij de schipper en administrateur zou machtigen. Daarop hebben de schipper en administrateur een verzegelde brief aan mij gezonden, waarin zij mijn voornemen goedkeurden. Zij verzochten om maar kooplieden af te zenden, en wanneer die de lijnwaden billijk zouden waarden, zij die aan de Khlangh zouden overgeven.

Daarop heb ik kooplieden gezocht en bijeen laten komen, ten getale van 11 Moorse, 2 Gentiefse, 2 Portugese en 4 Chinese, tesamen 19 koppen. Die zijn vervolgens naar de loge afgevaaren en hebben de tapak tjatoerkleden in de loge ten overstaan van 6 personen (3 sloopverheden, de administrateur en 2 pennisten) gewaardeerd. De taxatie is door iedereen voor goedgekeurd en aangenomen. Zij hebben die vervolgens per verzegelde brief aan mij gezonden en daarbij betuigd dat de taxatie in billijkheid was verricht. Daarop heb ik order gegeven aan de Khlangh om die tapak tjatoerkleden te gaan ontvangen volgens de prijzen die de brief van de schipper en administrateur meldde.

De kapitein gaf ten aanzien van die lijnwaden ook een verzegelde brief aan de syahbandar, niet alleen als blijkt dat de taxatie tot wederzijds genoegen was gedaan, maar ook dat men zich in de toekomst naar die vaste prijzen zou richten. Derhalve is het niet te begrijpen waarom de kapitein aan de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië heeft kunnen schrijven dat de Khlangh die lijnwaden naar eigen welgevallen had gewaardeerd, terwijl de kapitein zelf de gedane taxatie heeft goedgekeurd, en mij daarvan de verzegelde brief heeft toegestuurd.

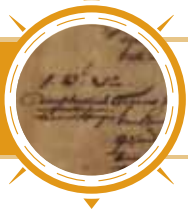
Tegen zowel de nieuwe kapitein<sup>5</sup> als de nieuwe administrateur heb ik gezegd, dat wanneer zij in Siam de inhoud van het contract en de aloude gewoontes zullen opvolgen ik hen altijd zou beschermen. En op het verzoek om een nieuw contract met daarbij de prijzen van de handelswaren ter voorkoming van twist en geschillen, heb ik zowel de kapitein als de administrateur gevraagd op welke voet de Compagnie de prijzen van de handelsgoederen gesteld wil hebben, en ook op welke wijze het genoemde nieuwe contract zou moeten gemaakt worden. Daarop hebben zij per verzegeld geschrift van antwoord gediend. Maar ten opzichte van de inkoop van tin op Ligor is het niets anders

<sup>2</sup> Luang of Okluang Choduk Ratchasetthi, Chinees *syahbandar* (havenmeester).

<sup>3</sup> Luang Thep Phakdi (?).

<sup>4</sup> Khun (?).

<sup>5</sup> T.J. van den Heuvels opvolger? Niet genoemd in B. Ruangsilp (2007), p. 261.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

dan gelijk met het oude contract. Ik heb echter gezegd dat ik nopens het verzoek of er een nieuw contract ten aanzien de inkoop van tin op Ligor gemaakt kan worden [dat] aan Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit voor zou dragen.

En aangemerkt de zakelijkheden die grote stremming in de vriendschap veroorzaakt hebben, die in vele punten bestaan en die in deze brief van mij breedvoerig worden behandeld, zo zeg ik nog dat wanneer de Compagnie wil zien op de onderlinge vriendschap, en dienvolgende de zaken in Siam wil dirigeren en administreren naar billijkheid en rechtmatigheid, dat ik dan van mijn zijde ook het verzoek om vernieuwing van het contract aan Zijne Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zal voordragen en vervolgens die nieuwe punten achter het oude contract laten inschrijven, in navolging van het vermelde in de brief van de Gouverneur-Generaal en de raden van Indië.

Geschreven op dinsdag de 14e dag van de tweede maand in het Bokkenjaar 1127.

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan Koning Borommakot Maha Darmaracha II, 28 augustus 1740.*

DAGHREGISTERS VAN BATAVIA, 28 AUGUSTUS 1740.

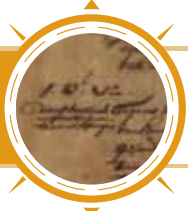
*Aan de koning van Siam.*

Den Gouverneur Generaal Adriaan Valckenier en de raden van Indië wegens den staat der generale Vereenigde Nederlandse Oostindische Compagnie, resideerende in 't Kasteel Batavia, zenden deze brief aan Zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit de Koning van Siam Somdat Boeram Boepid Praoepa Detjoe Djoehoewan, die altoos ontzagwekkend en gevreesd is bij zijne vijanden, en die zijn rijk met wijsheid en voorzienigheid bestuurd, en door de Gouverneur Generaal en de raden van Indië een langdurige gezondheid toegewenst wordt; en dat de<sup>6</sup> Albestierenden God van Hemel en Aarde zijn Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit zal laten zegenpralen over al zijn vijanden, en zegenen met een gelukkige en vreedzame regering tot welstand zijner landen, en onderdanen.

Dat alle handel gedreven wordt om wederzijds voordeel en gerief, is een zaak die bij U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit niet anders kan gehouden worden als met de waarheid en billijkheid overeenkomende. Ook dat in het geval bij één van beide partijen dit oogmerk – waarom hij de handel drijft – komt te ontbreken, staat [het hem] vrij, ja wordt [hij] gedwongen die [handel] af te breken, wil hij zichzelf in plaats van winst geen schade toebrengen.

De Nederlandse Maatschappij, die nu bijna een gehele eeuw haar handel in het Koninkrijk van Siam uitgebreid heeft onder Ulieden Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteits voortreffelijke voorzaten, heeft zich op die extra-ordinaire voordelen [die] daarbij behaald [werden], nooit veel kunnen beroemen, maar niettemin altijd een balans gehouden [van winst en verlies], behalven nu in de tien laatst gepasseerde jaren, waarvan de vijf laatste nog de slechtste zijn. Want de winst op alle de handelswaren [die de Compagnie] derwaarts [naar Siam] in genoemde tijd [heeft] vervoerd, gevoegd bij

<sup>6</sup> Vanaf fol. 625 is het afschrift in NA geraadpleegd.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

de [de winst op de] geëxporteerde [waren], ofschoon [die] bijna naar alle gewesten des werlds [zijn] verzonden, hebben het onderhoud van [compagnies]dienaren, en de equipage der scheepen etc. niet kunnen goedmaken.

Daarbij komen nog de onophoudelijke onrechtmatige en verachtelijke behandelingen van U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteits ministers, omtrent de dienaren van de Compagnie, en de gedurige aanwas van 's Rijks debet, door de geringe leverantiën van tin, sappanhout etc. [Daarom] hebben wij eindelijk moeten resolveren de handel in het gebied van U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit te Siam en Ligor af te breken, en onze bedienden van daar terug te roepen. Bij dezen geven wij dan U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit daarvan kennis, met versoek [of] U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit hen daartoe de behulpzame hand gelieve te verlenen, [en] orde [te] stellen op de afrekening en complete voldoening van de schulden van het [Siamse] Rijk en de kooplieden [bij de Compagnie], opdat alle zaken behoorlijk geliquideert [mogen] worden, en zij in vrede vertrekkende, aan ons rekenschap zullen kunnen geven van hun verrichtingen gelijk dat behoort.

Ondertussen blijven wij echter U.E. Hoog Aanzienelijke Majesteit verplicht voor de betuigingen van vriendschap [die] bij Zijne Hoogh geëerde missieven [worden] vermeld, en het contra-present van tin en sappanhout daarnevens gevoegt.

Geschreven in 't Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java, in 't Koninkrijk Jacatra, den 28e augustus 1740 (onderstond) den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlands India (getekend) A. Valckenier (ter zijden stond) 's E. Compagnies zegel gedrukt in roden lak (daaronder) ter ordonnantie van Hoog Gemelte Haar Edelens (getekend) G. Cluyse-naer secretaris.





### 3 English translation

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 29 MARCH 1740.

*This letter from the Phrakhlang is one of the longest from Ayutthaya to Batavia. It can only be found in the Daily Journals of Batavia Castle. The letter is full of complaints about the VOC's way of conducting business in Siam. In the formal opening paragraph the Phrakhlang says that the King has ordered him according to the old custom of friendship between the King and the Prince of Orange to note 'the necessary, all things both right and just', and to reply to the letters from Batavia point by point.*

*First of all, the Phrakhlang explains that the previous letter from Batavia was not received in the King's palace in the usual way, because there was still a dispute concerning the prices of a cargo of textiles delivered with a chialoup (sloop). A lengthy, detailed account follows, in which the Phrakhlang outlines numerous miscommunications and quarrels between the VOC factory and the Khlang, saying that the senior head Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuvel...*

...was very angry, indeed so much so that he treated the syahbandar and others with contempt and disparagement, which had never been the case with previous captains. Seeing that in this case and in many other matters the captain did not conduct himself as a reasonable man, but on the contrary as a rash and unstable person, at the time I did not have the letters received in the palace, but only later when he had calmed down. He was told that he had offended against the contract, and if he should display any more unreasonableness, he could be arrested, as in former times when Toeang Sarafien<sup>1</sup> was captain, one Joan Farool Walsiere had also spoken improper words. For this he was fetched out of the Company's lodge and detained, as was fully known to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies.

However, seeing that he (Van den Heuvel) is now leaving here, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies could ask him what reason he had not to show the syahbandar respect, and also why he did not follow the usages of the previous captains who have successively been in the service of the Company both in Siam and in Ligor. I wish to remind the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies how in my various outgoing letters I have often complained about the bad behaviour of the captain. For that reason it is incomprehensible that one can pass over the evil behaviour of the captain so frequently reported, and on the other hand lay this at the door of the Khlang and say that they have done things that are contrary to the customs. In my opinion this is incompatible with a sense of justice.

<sup>1</sup> Toeang Sarafien, "Luang Surasen" was one of the usual titles for a Dutch *opperhoofd*.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(The second main dispute concerned the price of textiles which the VOC tried to sell to the Khlang. The Phrakhlang explains in some detail his version of what happened, and why the Siamese did not accept the textiles.)

Regarding the loss of 194 catty, 5 tael, 3 pahas, 3 mas and 550 picis in silver that the Company is said to have made on the linens that were sent for sale in the Year of the Horse, and [the claim] that the Khlang paid arbitrary prices for them, I say the following. The royal servants in person asked both the captain, the skipper and the administrator about the prices of the imported linens. However, the captain put the price of the *tapak tjatoer* cloths much higher than the one that the Dutch and English formerly [asked] before, and they had made and delivered according to the list with samples. This is why the Khlang did not accept these cloths.

However, I then sent Loeang Tjoedack<sup>2</sup> and Loeang Tabpakdei<sup>3</sup> Choen Keia<sup>4</sup> down to the lodge to tell the captain that I was going to send the merchants down to view and value the linens. Then I got as answer that the captain was not able to be present at the valuation, but would authorize the skipper and administrator. Then the skipper and administrator sent me a sealed letter, in which they approved of my intention. They asked to just send merchants, and when they had made a fair valuation of the linens, to hand them over to the Khlang.

Then I looked for merchants and had them gather, numbering 11 Moorish, 2 Hindu, 2 Portuguese and 4 Chinese, in total 19 persons. After that these sailed down to the lodge and valued the *tapak tjatoer* cloths in the lodge in the presence of 6 persons (3 ship's officers, the administrator and 2 clerks). The estimate was approved and accepted by everyone. After this they sent it to me by sealed letter, declaring it that the estimate had been carried out in a fair way. Then I gave orders to the Khlang to go and receive the *tapak tjatoer* cloths for the prices that the letter from the skipper and administrator mentioned.

With regard to the linens the captain also gave a sealed letter to the syahbandar, not only as evidence that the estimate had been made to mutual satisfaction, but also so that in future one could be guided by those fixed prices. It is therefore incomprehensible why the captain could write to the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies that the Khlang had valued the linens to suit themselves, whereas the captain himself had approved the estimate made, and sent me the sealed letter [telling me] of it.

I have told both the new captain<sup>5</sup> and the new administrator that, if they adhere to the content of the contract and the ancient customs in Siam, I would always protect them. And as for the request for a new contract including the prices of the wares in order to prevent disputes and disagreements, I asked both the captain and the admin-

<sup>2</sup> Luang or Okluang Choduk Ratchasetthi, Chinese *syahbandar*.

<sup>3</sup> Luang Thep Phakdi (?).

<sup>4</sup> Khun (?).

<sup>5</sup> Name? Not mentioned in B. Ruangsilp (2007), p. 261.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

istrator on what basis the Company wishes to regulate the prices of the trading goods, and also in what way the said new contract should be made. To this they have supplied a reply by sealed document. However, with regard to the purchase of tin at Ligor it is just the same as the old contract. I have, however, said that with respect to whether a new contract can be made relating to the buying of tin at Ligor I would submit that to His High and Distinguished Majesty.

And in view of the business matters that have caused the great blockage in the friendship, which consist of many points and which I have dealt with at length in this letter, then I say again that if the Company wishes to show an interest in our mutual friendship and alliance, and as a consequence wishes to direct and administer the affairs in Siam in keeping with fairness and rightness, then I on my side shall also submit the request for renewal of the contract to His High and Distinguished Majesty, and furthermore have the new points entered at the bottom of the old contract, following the example of what was stated in the letter from the Governor-General and the members of the Council of the Indies.

Written on Tuesday the 14th day of the second month in the Year of the Goat 1127.

*Answer from the Supreme Government in Batavia to King Borommakot Maha Dhammaracha II, 28 August 1740.*

DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 28 AUGUST 1740.

*To the King of Siam*

The Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier and the members of the Council of the Indies on behalf of the state of the general United Netherlands East Indies Company, residing in Batavia Castle, send this letter to His High and Distinguished Majesty the King of Siam, Somdat Boeram Boepid Praoepa Detjoe Djoehoewan, who is forever awe-inspiring and feared by his enemies, and who rules his kingdom with wisdom and providence, and who is wished long-lasting good health by the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies; and [they pray ] that the<sup>6</sup> all-governing God of Heaven and Earth will let His Majesty triumph over all his enemies, and bring blessing with a happy and peaceful government to the well-being of his lands and subjects.

That all trade is conducted for the sake of mutual advantage and amenity is a matter that Your Majesty cannot consider as being other than in accordance with the truth and fairness. Also that if it should happen that on the part of one of the two sides this aim, for which he is carrying on trade, comes to be absent, he is then free, indeed is obliged to break off that commerce, if he does not wish to inflict loss upon himself instead of profit.

The Dutch Company, which has now extended its trade in the Kingdom of Siam for almost a whole century under Your Majesty's excellent forbears, has never been able to boast much of those extra-ordinary advantages that were gained thereby, but at

<sup>6</sup> From fol. 625 the copy in the NA has been consulted.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

least has kept a balance [between profit and loss], excepting now these ten years past, of which the last five have been the worst. This is because the profit on all the merchandise [which the Company] transported thither [to Siam], added to the [profit on the] exported [wares], even though [these] have been sent to nearly all corners of the world, have not been able to cover the cost of maintaining [Company] servants, fitting out ships and so forth.

In addition to this there is the constant wrongful and contemptuous treatment by Your Majesty's ministers regarding the servants of the Company, and the continual growth of the State deficit through the scanty deliveries of tin, sappan wood and so on. We have therefore finally resolved to halt the trade in Your Majesty's territories in Siam and Ligor and to recall our servants from there. Hence we hereby inform Your Majesty of this, with the request that Your Majesty should kindly extend them a helping hand in this, and put in order the payment and complete settlement of the debts of the [Siamese] kingdom and the merchants [to the Company], so that all business may be properly liquidated, and when they peaceably depart, will be able to give us an account of their actions as is fitting.

In the meantime, however, we continue to be obliged to Your Majesty for the declarations of friendship that are conveyed in Your Majesty's highly esteemed missives, as well as the return-gift of tin and sappan wood accompanying them.

Written in Batavia Castle on the island of Great Java, in the kingdom of Jacatra, on the 28th day of August 1740, (below) the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, (signed) A. Valckenier (to the side) the Honourable Company's seal in red sealing wax (under this) by decree of Their High Honours (signed) C. Cluysenaer, secretary.



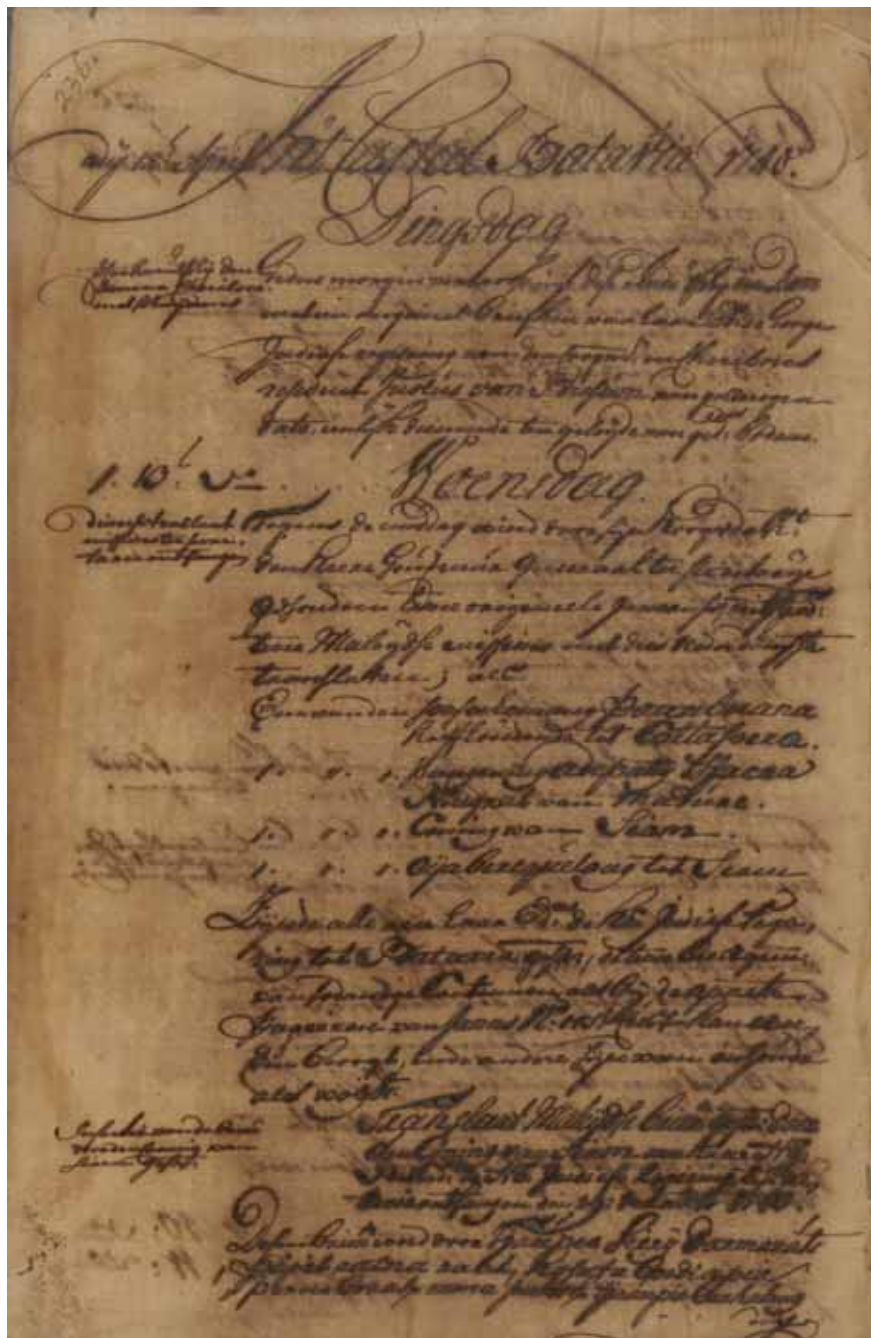
## 4 Colophon

<b>Title</b>	Hendrik E. Niemeijer, “Letter from the Chaophraya Phrakhleng on behalf of King Borommakot Maha Dharmaracha II (1733-1758) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, (received) 29 March 1740, and the answer from Batavia, 28 August 1740”. In: <i>Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta</i> , document 27. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.
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## 5 Folio image

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Archival Source, ANRI, HR 2571 fols 236-266 and 624-632.



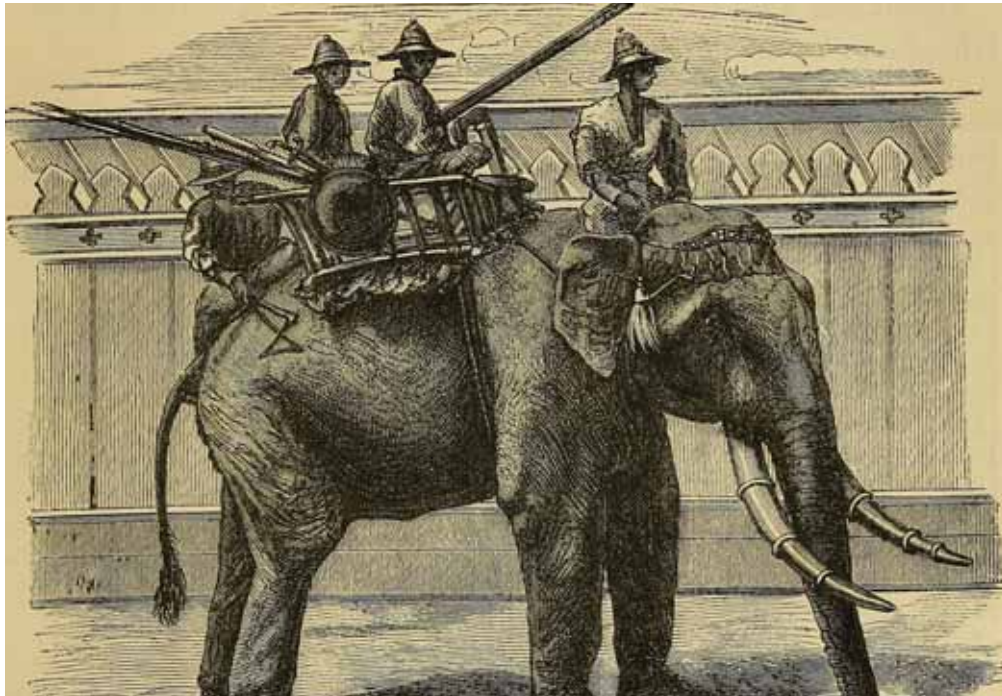


Illustration 1. Siamese War Elephant

## Letter from the acting Phrakhlang Phya Phiphat Kosa in Siam to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 13 January 1769, and the answer from Batavia, 29 May 1769

### CONTENT

- 1 Introduction 2
- 2 Transcription of the Dutch text 5
- 3 English translation 8
- 4 Colophon 11
- 5 Folio images 12



sejarah  
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## 1 Introduction

Dhiravat na Pombejra, “Letter from the acting Phrakhlhang Phya Phiphat Kosa in Siam to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 13 January 1769”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 28. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2016.

BY DHIRAVAT NA POMBEJRA

The Siamese letter was written by the Phya Phiphat Kosa, probably the acting *phrakhlhang* minister at the beginning of King Taksin’s reign. The title *phiphatkosa* usually denotes the deputy Phrakhlhang. The letter was a direct attempt to entice the VOC to return to Siam and reopen its factory in the kingdom. The Siamese minister tells of the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, and maintains that the kingdom had, under “Phiatak” (Taksin), been restored to its former flourishing state.

When King Alaungpaya of Burma invaded Siam in 1760 and destroyed some of the suburbs of the city of Ayutthaya, the VOC lodge was partially damaged and looted, and the *resident* Nicolaas Bang fatally injured.<sup>1</sup> It was a traumatic experience the Dutch did not forget quickly, especially when, hardly five years later, the new Burmese king Hsinbyushin sent more armies to invade Siam.

In December 1765 the VOC shut down its *factorij* in Ayutthaya and left Siam. The final letter written by a VOC resident in Siam, AbrahamW-

erndlij’s of 18 November 1765, was full of fear, certainly a marked lack of confidence in the ability of the Siamese court to stem the Burmese attacks.<sup>2</sup> Werndlij and his colleagues were proven right, as Ayutthaya fell to the Burmese in April 1767: the city was sacked, its palaces and temples pillaged and thousands of its inhabitants taken away to Burma.

Two important points arise from the contents of Phya Phiphat Kosa’s letter: his insistence that “Phiatak” had been *instructed* by the last king of Ayutthaya to leave the city and go to Chanthabun to obtain more help for the defense of the royal city; in other words, he did not flee or desert the king. The second key point is that the people who had fled the ravages of war returned from the forests and “chose” Taksin as their king. The letter is careful to stress King Taksin’s legitimacy as ruler of Siam: even if he had no hereditary claim to the throne, he was entitled to rule on account of the people’s acceptance of his authority at a time when there was no-one else available to be king. The latter point no doubt alludes to the absence or death of members of the old royal family.

The issue of his legitimacy to rule Siam was to dog King Taksin for much of his reign, especially in his attempts to gain formal recognition from China. Indeed, the Qing court only gave formal recognition of Taksin as king of Siam late in his reign, in 1781. The ANRI also has in its collection (as part of the Batavia Castle *Dagregister*) a let-

<sup>1</sup> See Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c.1604-1765*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007, pp.206-208.

<sup>2</sup> Dhiravatna Pombejra, “Fleeing the ‘Enemy’: The Final Dutch Letter from Ayutthaya, November 1765” in WinaiPongsripan (ed.). *Chatusansaniyachan*. Bangkok: The Historical Commission, Ministry of Culture, 2004, pp.327-345; Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants*, pp.212-218.





## INTRODUCTION



Illustration 2. Ruins of Ayutthaya

ter written to the HogeRegering from Chao Si Sang and Chao Chui<sup>3</sup>, two Siamese royal princes who had survived the Burmese invasion and had sought refuge in Cambodia, further proof that Taksin's right to be legitimate king of Siam was indeed contested by members of the old dynasty, from Prince Thepphiphit (defeated and executed by King Taksin early on, soon after the fall of Ayutthaya) to these two princes, whose ambitions also came to naught.

Chinese traders acted as middlemen in the contacts between Siam and the VOC. The junk of a "TjienHeeng" carried the letter and gifts of the Thonburi court to Batavia. In later letters exchanged between the two parties many more

Chinese skippers' names are mentioned.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese element in both the economy and the court during King Taksin's reign provides a counterpoint to the king's conscientious attempts to revive the traditional Siamese state, still called "Thawarawadi Si Ayutthaya", at his new royal city of Thonburi, reconstructing its administrative structure, religion and culture.

The Governor-General and Council's reply to the letter of PhiphatKosa was of course courteous, and neatly avoided committing to a VOC return to Siam by alleging that permission to do so had to be sought from the Prince of Orange. But trade with Siam was not by any means ruled out. Indeed trade was carried on between Thonburi/

<sup>3</sup> ANRI, VOC, Archives of the Supreme Government, Daily Journals of Batavia Castle, 3574, fs. 305-309. Prince Thepphiphit was a son of King Borommakot and thus half-brother to King Ekathat, the last Ayutthaya king; Prince Si Sang was a grandson of Borommakot; while Prince Chui was a grandson of King Thai Sa. The Dutch had earlier plotted to put Prince Thepphiphit on the throne of Kandy, unsuccessfully.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance the letters from the Phrakhlang to the Hoge Regering in 1771 and 1772, VOC 3338 (fs. 255-261) and VOC 3339 (fs. 714-717 verso).

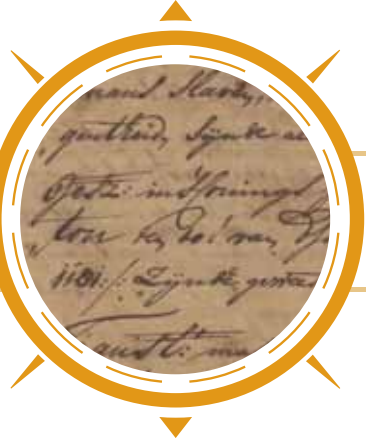


## INTRODUCTION

Bangkok and Batavia even beyond the dissolution of the VOC. From the initial demands for flintlock guns to fight its various enemies the Siamese court began to ask for other goods to be sent from Batavia, such as diamonds.<sup>5</sup> Siamese sappanwood was usually the merchandise bought in exchange

by the Dutch. The continuation of Dutch-Siamese trade post-1767, although it was carried out through Chinese proxies, was nevertheless the foundation for a revival of formal diplomatic ties between the Bangkok court and the Netherlands in the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Leonard Blussé. "Whimsical wishes of Siamese kings: the correspondence of King Taksin and King Rama I of Siam to the High Government of Batavia (1769-1809)", paper presented to the 13<sup>th</sup> IAHA Conference, Tokyo 1994.



## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

INGEKOMEN MISSIVEN (“TRANSLATEN”), 13 JANUARY 1769.

Brief van de Phrakhlang Pia Pipit Kosa<sup>1</sup> aan de Hoge Regering in Batavia, 13 januari 1769.

Aangezien er vanouds en tot op heden tussen het rijk van Siam en de Edelen Compagnie een zeer nauwe en oprechte vriendschap heeft plaatsgehad, hebben Hun Hoog Edelheden eertijds ook hun vertegenwoordigers en andere dienaren naar hier gezonden. Zij hielden hier hun verblijf, en lieten tevens een loge timmeren om daarin alle handelswaren die door compagniesschepen werden aangebracht, en door de ingezetenen gekocht, te bewaren. De vorige Phrakhlangs zijn niet in gebreke gebleven om jaarlijks de handelswaren aan de residenten te leveren die door de Compagnie werden besteld.

Voorts bericht ik dat terwijl de vijand Phama<sup>2</sup> tegen Siam in oorlog opkwam, Zijne Hoogheid de Siamse koning een mandarijn met de name Phiatak<sup>3</sup> zond naar de negorij Tjinteboen<sup>4</sup> om daar enige manschappen te vergaderen en ter hulp naar Siam te brengen. Maar dit had geen snelle voortgang, en is het Siamse rijk door gemelde vijand veroverd en zijn de koning met zijn gehele familie en alle mandarijns en onderdanen vermoord of gevlucht. Hierdoor is het land geheel geruïneerd, zodanig dat er zelfs niemand over was die gerechtigd was het te regeren behalve de voormelde Phiatak.

Phiatak is met enige manschappen in de stadt (die door de vijanden verbrand en geplunderd, en weer verlaten was) gekomen, waar zich alle de in de bossen gevluchte personen bij hem hebben vervoegd, en hem tot hun heer en gebiedier hebben gekozen en erkend. Hierdoor is het land thans weer in zijn vorige, ja in nog florisantere staat dan voorheen. Het wordt nu meer dan voorheen door jonken en andere handeldrijvende bodems bevaren. Daarom verzoek ik of Hun Hoog Edelhedens hier een loge bouwen en daarin een resident en enkele dienaren plaatsen om op de oude voet met elkaar te handelen, met belofte dat al hetgene de Compagnie zou komen te bestellen, ik de Khlang zonder mankeren zal bevelen te bezorgen.

Aangezien alle ammunitie, niets uitgezonderd, door de vijand is weggenomen vind ik mij zeer verlegen om duizend goede snaphanen, stel dat er weer iets diergelijks zou gebeuren. Ik en alle mandarijns verzoeken vriendelijk dat Hun Hoog Edelheden uit hoofde van de vorige gehouden vriendschap bij het herwaardsbestemmen van een schip met handelswaren, gelieven deze mee te sturen en dat voor zodanige prijzen als voorheen.

<sup>1</sup> Phiphat kosa is de titel van de deputy Phrakhlang.

<sup>2</sup> Phama, Thaise term voor Burma.

<sup>3</sup> Phiatak, Phya Tak (Sin) ofwel Taksin.

<sup>4</sup> Tjinteboen, Chanthabun ofwel Chanthaburi.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

Voorts, omdat het Siamse rijk en Nederland zeer oude vrienden zijn, verzoek ik nog indien Hun Hoog Edelheden de goedheid gelieven te hebben, een kopie van deze [brief] aan Zijn Hoogheid de heer Prins van Oranje en Nassau over te zenden en te verzoeken om hier weer een resident te benoemen, teneinde op de oude voet handel te drijven aangezien de vriendschap nog is zoals voorheen. In de hoop dat het ook bestendig zal zijn en Zijn Hoogheid een lang leven mag genieten.

Ten laatste heb ik twee pikul van de beste ivoor bijeen verzameld, bestaande in een pikul van vier een een van vijf slagstanden. Deze heb ik in de handen van de Chinese kapitein TjienHeeng gegeven om die aan te bieden aan Hun Hoog Edelens.

Op vrijdag de 13e van de 3de maand in het Muizejaar 1130<sup>5</sup>.

*Antwoord van de Hoge Regering in Batavia aan de Phrakhlang, 29 mei 1769.*

MINUTEN VAN UITGAANDE MISSIVEN, 29 MEI 1769.

Met zoveel leedwezen als de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië van tijd tot tijd zijn geïnformeerd geworden over de verwoesting van het Siamse rijk, van de rampen die beide de koninklijke familie en haar onderdanen zijn overkomen door de overmacht van hun vijand Rama<sup>6</sup>, met zoveel genoeg is Uw Excellenties brief van 13 januari 1769 ontvangen. Sedert de verwoesting zijn 's Compagnies resident en dienaaren genoodzaakt geweest zich uit Siam te begeven. Met blijdschap is vernomen dat het Siamse rijk door haar vijanden is verlaten, en dat de overgebleven inwoners de Hoog Aanzienlijke Mandarijn Riatak [Phya Tak, Taksin] tot hun vorst hebben gekozen en dat het land daardoor in rust is gebracht in en zijn vorige bloeiende staat. En vooral dat Uwe Excellentie die het zwaarwichtige ambt van Phrakhlang is toevertrouwd, zich genegen toont de vriendschap met de Nederlandse Compagnie onder het drijven van handel op de vorige voet te herstellen.

De Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië vergelukken bij dezen Uw Excellentie met de verkregen grote waardigheid van Phrakhlang. Maar hoe bereid de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië ook zijn om een bezending naar Siam te sturen, zij kunnen dit niet zonder de speciale voorkennis van Zijne Doorluchtigste Hoogheid de heer Prins van Oranje en Nassau en haar verdere superieuren in Nederland. Evenmin het timmeren van een loge, het vestigen van een resident en andere dienaaren voor het direct sturen van schepen met handelswaar. Maar ondertussen, om blijken te geven dat de oude intelligentie nog plaats vindt, hebben de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië niet alleen Uw Excellenties brief aan gemelde Zijn Doorluchtige Hoogheid de Prins van Oranje en Nassau gezonden, maar ook wel willen besluiten op uw verzoek om duizend goede snaphanen toe te zenden met de vijf terugkerende Chinese schippers. [Deze zullen] met elke schipper eerst honderd stuks [worden verzonden], of in 't geheel vijfhonderd van de beste muskettiers snaphanen met houten laadstukken voor de altijd betaalde prijs van 2650 rijksdaalders of 2120 Spaanse realen. Wij

<sup>5</sup> 13 januari 1769.

<sup>6</sup> Burma.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH TEXT

vragen dat voor de prijs van de snaphanen tijdig geleverd en per diezelfde vaartuigen en schippers sappanhout naar Batavia getransporteerd wordt, voor  $1 \frac{1}{4}$  of één Spaanse reaal per pikul van 125 ponden. Bij gebrek aan voldoende sappanhout kan ook bijenwas gezonden worden, tegen marktprijs. Dit zal tot een proef strekken om te zien welke voordelen er uit de onderlinge handel te behalen zijn.

Verder bedanken de Gouverneur-Generaal en de Raden van Indië voor het ontvangen geschenk van twee pikul olifantstanden en voegen ten bewijze van haar achting tot een contrageschenk hiernevens: 2 stuks vergulde snaphanen, 1 stuks verguld pistool, en 4 stuks extra fijne *hamans* met gouden hoofden.

Geschreven in het Kasteel Batavia op het eiland Groot Java, 29 mei 1769, de Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands Indië.



### 3 English translation

INCOMING MISSIVES (“TRANSLATIONS”), 13 JANUARY 1769.

Letter from (acting) Phrakhlang Pia Pipit Kosa<sup>1</sup> to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 13 January 1769.

Seeing that of old up to the present day a very close and sincere friendship has existed between the kingdom of Siam and the Honourable Company, formerly Their Honours also sent their representatives and other servants hither. They set up their residences here, and also had a lodge constructed in order to store all the merchandise that was brought by Company ships and was bought by the inhabitants. The former Phrakhlangs did not neglect to deliver annually to the residents the wares that the Company ordered.

Further I report that when the enemy Phama<sup>2</sup> rose in war against Siam, His Highness the Siamese king sent a mandarin by the name of Phiatak<sup>3</sup> to the district of Tjinteboen<sup>4</sup> in order to gather some men there and bring them to Siam to help. But this did not progress quickly, and the kingdom of Siam was overcome by the said enemy and the king with his whole family and all the mandarins and subjects were murdered or fled. Because of this the land was completely ruined, so much so that there was even no one who was entitled to rule except the above-mentioned Phiatak.

With some men Phiatak entered the city (which had been burnt and plundered by the enemy and then abandoned), where all the persons who had fled into the forests joined him, and chose and acknowledged him as their lord and ruler. With this the land is again in its former state, indeed even more flourishing than before. It is now visited even more than formerly by junks and other trading vessels. Therefore I request Their High Honours to build a lodge here [in Thonburi] and to place a resident and several servants in it, in order to trade on the old basis, with the promise that everything that the Company may come to order I shall command the Khlang’s people to provide without fail.

Seeing that all the ammunition, with no exception, was carried off by the enemy, I find myself very much in need of a thousand good flintlocks, if for example something similar should happen again. I and all the mandarins kindly request Their Honours, because of the friendship formerly enjoyed, to be pleased to send these along when a ship is heading this way with merchandise and for similar prices to before.

Furthermore, because the kingdom of Siam and Holland are very old friends, I also request Their Honours to have the goodness to send a copy of this [letter] to His Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau, and to ask him to appoint a resident again, in

<sup>1</sup> Phiphatkosa is the title of a deputy phrakhlang.

<sup>2</sup> Phama, Thai term for Burma, Burmese.

<sup>3</sup> Phiatak, Phya Tak (Sin), or Taksin.

<sup>4</sup> Tjinteboen, Chanthabun or Chanthaburi.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

order to carry on trade on the old basis, seeing that the friendship is still as it was before, in the hope that it may also be long-lasting and His Highness may enjoy a long life.

Finally, I have gathered two pikuls of the best ivory, consisting of one pikul of four and one pikul of five tusks. These I have entrusted to the Chinese captain TjienHeeng to present to Their Honours.

On Friday the 13th day of the 3rd month in the Year of the Rat 1130<sup>5</sup>.

*Answer from the Supreme Government in Batavia to the Phrakhlang, 29 May 1769.*

## MINUTES OF OUTGOING MISSIVES, 29 MAY 1769.

With as much sorrow as the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have been informed from time to time about the devastation of the kingdom of Siam, and of the disasters that have befallen both the royal family and their subjects through the superior strength of their enemy Rama<sup>6</sup>, with the same degree of joy Your Excellency's letter of 13 January 1769 has been received. Since the devastation the Company's resident and servants have been forced to remove themselves from Siam. With gladness we have learnt that the kingdom of Siam has been deserted by its enemies, and that the remaining inhabitants have chosen the High and Distinguished Mandarin Riatak [i.e. PhyaTak] [Taksin] as their ruler, and the land has thereby been restored to peace and its former flourishing condition, and in particular that Your Excellency to whom the weighty office of Phrakhlang is entrusted shows himself inclined to restore the friendship with the Dutch Company while carrying on trade on the former basis.

The Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies hereby congratulate Your Excellency with acquiring the great dignity of Phrakhlang. However, no matter how ready the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies may be to send a mission to Siam, they cannot do this without the special prior knowledge of His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau and their other superiors in the Netherlands, let alone constructing a lodge and establishing a resident and other servants for the direct sending of ships with merchandise. But in the meantime, in order to show that the old understandings still apply, the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies have not only sent Your Excellency's letter to the said Prince of Orange and Nassau, but have also decided in favour of your request to send a thousand good flintlocks with the five returning Chinese skippers. [These will be sent] first a hundred with each skipper, or in all five hundred of the best musketeers' flintlocks with wooden ramrods, for the price always paid of 2,650 rix-dollars or 2,120 Spanish reals. For the price of the flintlocks we ask that sappanwood may be delivered on time to Batavia and transported with the same ships and skippers, for 1¼ of a Spanish real per pikul of 125 pounds. If there is a shortage of sappan wood, bees' wax can also be sent, for the market price. This will serve as a test to see what advantages can be

<sup>5</sup> 13 January 1769.

<sup>6</sup> Burma.



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

gained from the trade between us.

Furthermore the Governor-General and members of the Council of the Indies thank you for the gift received of two pikuls of elephant tusks, and to show their regard include a return-gift with this: two gilded flintlocks, one pair of gilded pistols, and four extra fine *hamans* with golden heads.

Written in Batavia Castle on the island of Great Java, 29 May 1769, [signed] the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies.





## 4 Colophon

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