



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

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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.¹

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



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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.² 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.³ 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".⁴

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

² ANRI, *Daily Journals of Batavia Castle*, file 2503, folio 563.

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

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



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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 1686-7.⁵ 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

⁵ 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.



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

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”.⁷ 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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- Guy Tachard, *A Relation to the Voyage to Siam Performed by Six Jesuits, sent by the French King, to the Indies and China, in the Year, 1685*. Published as *Itineraria Asiatica, Thailand Volume II*, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1999.
- Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

⁶ See Harta Karun document 18 introduced by Bhawan Ruangsilp.

⁷ 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 waaren 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 Feiwari¹ nu selver in persoon vertreckt aan wien alle de gelegenheden en saaken van dien persoon ten tijde van de overledene Zijne Hoog

¹ 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.



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Aansienelijke Mayesteyt gepasseert seer wel bewust sijn, die dan alle deselve aan Sijn Edelheyt in onderdanigheyt te vertoonen heeft tot al hetwelcke verste² 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 Vrerzaaken³ een soon van een mogul off een mogul selver Feja Felatis⁴ 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 ...⁵ 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 practijgen 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

² Reading unclear.

³ Reading unclear.

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

⁵ Illegible word.



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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 vijftig⁶ 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-

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



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mite van de monsters⁷ 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 vliesen off basten affgestampt sij off wit gestampte reys nevens nog 40 zoodanige koyangs rijs daar het vliesen 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.

⁷ 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'.*



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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 swaarijghyft off moeyelijckheyt 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 Tsjoela⁸ 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 groot⁹ en seer overvloedig zijn.

Nog soo wert in de missive van de Compagnie voorgehouden dat ingevalle ymant iets mogt aanbrenghen '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 daerna 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 medebrenghen. En dit is

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

⁹ 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 gegaen 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



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

Voorts [fol. 137] soo maeken die van de Compagnie bekend 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 retourneerden 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, honger 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 accomodatie 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> ¹⁰
2080	stuks “poelongh gabars”
600	stuks Maleise <i>sarassa</i> ¹¹
100	stuks <i>hammans</i>
140	stuks <i>chitsen</i> ¹²
40	stuks goude en silvere <i>allegias</i> ¹³
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.

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

¹¹ Sarassa of “serasah”, chintz van Coromandel.

¹² Chitsen, chintz, gedrukt of geschilderd calico (katoen) uit India.

¹³ 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 Bercqulagh 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 Pakelangh¹ to the Lord Governor-General² 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.³ He has a

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

² GG Joannes Camphuys (in office 1684-1691).

³ 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,⁴ a son of a Moghul or himself a Moghul, was appointed Feja Felatis.⁵ 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 Witsieym⁶ 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

⁴ Reading uncertain.

⁵ 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.

⁶ I.e. Phya Wichayen.



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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-three⁷ 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 samples⁸ 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

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

⁸ 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



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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 Tsjoela⁹ 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 great¹⁰ 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

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

¹⁰ 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.

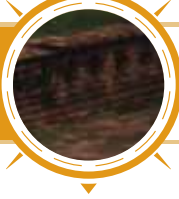


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the Hollanders in Malacca were planning to attack the people of Johor and do them harm. Thereupon Paduka Raja, the *Temanggung* and Sri Bidiji di Raja had assembled the Sakis (the Sea Gypsies) amounting to some 400 men and twenty-nine vessels both 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.



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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 language¹¹, 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 *pikuls* 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.

¹¹ Sinskrit?



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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 2232¹² 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

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



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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*¹³
- 2,080 pieces of 'pulong gabar'
- 600 pieces of Malay *serasah*¹⁴
- 100 pieces of *hamman*
- 140 pieces of *chintz*¹⁵
- 40 pieces of gold and silver *allegia*¹⁶

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

¹⁴ Serasah or "sarassa", Coromandel chintz.

¹⁵ Chintz, printed or painted calico (cotton) produced in India.

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



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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

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