



THE INTERPRETATION OF EUROPEANS SETTLEMENTS (PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND FRENCH) ON CHAO PHRAYA RIVER DURING AYUTTHAYA ERA

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

**By
Naratorn Phungwong**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
Program of Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism
(International Program)
Graduate School
SILPAKORN UNIVERSITY**

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The objective of this study was to interpret the influence of key European settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River from Ayutthaya to the mouth of the river from the 15th to the 17th centuries and to seek to understand why the Europeans came and the reasons for them staying in Siam. The study also looks at first important settlements area in southern part of Ayutthaya Island and second settlements area founded in Bangkok and Pra Pa Dang which all were on the banks of the Chao Phraya River. The dissertation studied remaining historical sites and cultural heritage from the Ayutthaya era to discover the Europeans' life and activities in this period.

Ayutthaya was developed after the decline of the Sukothai power. Its early economic success came from agriculture. Later, a strong economy arose from trading. From the 15th to the 17th centuries, Ayutthaya became a fully international trading city. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to sail to Asia and Siam to trade for spices. They were followed by the Dutch VOC Company who replaced the Portuguese business. Later, French missionaries became very active in this region. The Europeans brought education, medical assistance, technology, military support, religion and new foodstuff. This interpretation shows a strong relationship developed in Ayutthaya with the Portuguese, Dutch and French who each had varying degrees of influence depending on the prevailing circumstances. The Ayutthayan kings made trade agreements and political and military alliances that bolstered and supported an often shifting and unstable monarchy. In return, the Europeans took back vast amounts of spices, forest products and other natural resources to their home nations leaving behind in Ayutthaya a rich heritage of architecture and culture, testifying to the influence of these visitors that remains part of Thai culture to this day.

Student's signature

Thesis Advisor's signature

Acknowledgments

When I was looking for further study, I realized that I should consider something I would love to do. I started to search for programs that could give me a different perspective. I found this program was suitable for me, as I had no intention to study in the same area as my master degree. I have been interested old Siam and Ayutthaya from a young age and I found the program offered fresh insights and perspectives into this fascinating subject.

I received a warm welcome when I was accepted as a new student by Prof. Dr. Trungjai Buranasomphop and committee. Prof. Dr. Trungjai was directly involved in the interviews and introduced me to Prof. Dr. Ross King who later became my study supervisor. He was so kind and supervised me step by step. He was very patient when reviewing my paper making full comments page by page.

I received very strong support from my parents, Mr. Adisak and Mrs. Supatta Phungwong who provided the opportunity to fulfill my dream with their financial support. I would like to register my appreciation to my family who accompanied me during the trip and whilst I worked through this paper. I also would like to thank the government officers, officers of the Fine Arts Department in Ayutthaya, those in the old European communities in Ayutthaya, and the people in Samsean and Pra Pa Dang who kindly gave me such wonderful data for my dissertation. I believe that my paper will give a good view of the European settlement and their activities on the banks of the most important river of Thailand, the Chao Phraya. Moreover, my interpretation answers my doubts on the Europeans and life in the Ayutthaya area. What is more, it offers some background to the old day of Ayutthaya.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Ayutthaya was the capital of Siam for 417 years, from 1350 to 1767. It was a very large city and important to the history of Siam. During that long period of 417 years, Ayutthaya developed and become a complex metropolis comparable with modern cities of today.



Figure 1 Map of Ayutthaya or Siam's territory in the beginning in 13th century.
Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/The-Ayutthayan-period-1351-1767> on July 18, 2009

It had the power to control other nearby centers of population as tributary states. As with other large cities in the 14th-18th centuries, Ayutthaya had a dense population. The prosperity and wealth of Ayutthaya not only came from the role of its rulers, but also from many factors that supported the growth and expansion of Ayutthayan power over the Malay Peninsula. The factors to the city's rapid development and expansion included a good political system, a strong military force, abundant natural resources, and a well-developed economy from both internal and international trade.

During this glorious and flourishing period, Ayutthaya faced repeated invasions from Burma. Throughout its period of 417 years, there were over 70 battles between the two states. The major aim of Burma was to halt and destroy the political and economic power of Ayutthaya over South East Asia. The wars were prolonged and continuous over the 417 years. Finally, in 1767, the Burmese prevailed and Ayutthaya was completely destroyed.

Ayutthaya, as the capital of Siam, drew people from various nations and became an international city. In the early period, the international population was from countries in Asia such as India, Arabia, Persia, China, Malaya, Morn, Burma and other countries nearby. At the same time, Europeans were spreading into Asia to trade and expand using new sea trade routes after the overland route between Asia and Europe was closed by war with the Ottoman Empire. In 1453, Constantinople was captured and caused the overland trade route, known as the Silk Road¹ between Asia and Europe to be blocked. New trade routes via the sea had to be established, especially as the countries in Europe had very strong maritime forces.

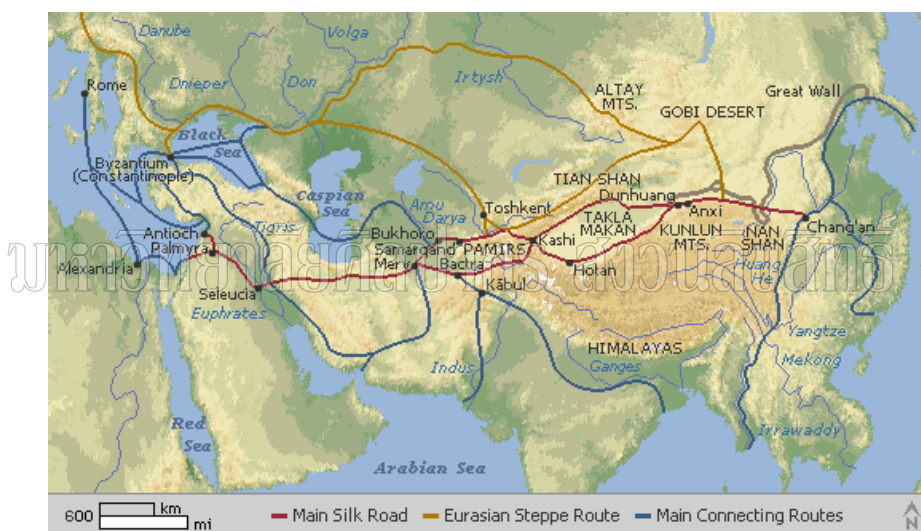


Figure 2 Silk Road routes, they were very active during the 13-14 century. This picture was retrieved on July 18, 2009 from www.chinatouristmaps.com

¹ Silk Roads or Routes were an extensive interconnected network of trade routes across the Asian continent connecting East, South, and Western Asia with the Mediterranean world, including North Africa and Europe. The routes were not only conduits for silk, but for many other products and were very important paths for cultural and technological transmission by linking traders, merchants, soldiers and travelers from China to the Mediterranean Sea. Trade on the Silk Road was a significant factor in the development of the great civilizations of China, India, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Rome, and Byzantium.



Figure 3 This figure illustrates the path of Vasco da Gama heading for the first time to India (black) as well as the trips of Pero da Covilha (orange) and Afonso de Paiva (blue). The path common to both is the green line. This picture was retrieved from www.search.com/reference/Spice_trade on 18 July, 2009.

The beginning of the expansion of Europe to Asia first occurred in 1498 when Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, reached India. After 1498, Europeans began to open the sea route to beyond India with the need for resources to serve countries in Europe. They reached the source of spices in Malacca and within a few years, the trading network of Portugal and other European nations had linked important ports and big cities all over Asia.

As a highly developed city rich in natural resources Ayutthaya seized the opportunity to welcome foreigners from beyond Asia for economic and technology purposes. From the reign of 10th, King Ramathibodi II (1491-1529), to the end of Ayutthaya in the reign of 34th, King Suriyamarin (1758-1767), Siam received foreigners from many important European countries; each country seeking domination over others in each period. The relative power and influence of countries such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and France changed over the course of the Ayutthayan period, in part as a result of the changing power of the mother countries themselves and the political situation in Ayutthaya.

Since their first arrival during the reign of King Ramathibodi II, the Portuguese had established a very strong relationship with Ayutthaya. They arrived in Malacca in 1509 and captured that city in 1511. As Malacca had been a part of the Ayutthaya kingdom since the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng² the Portuguese decided to dispatch Duarte Fernandez to Ayutthaya in 1512 as the first official contact with the Ayutthayan court. In that same year, the Portuguese also sent Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo as their envoy. Portugal was dominant from the period of King Chairacha (1534-1547) and their influence included trading and military expertise on city and fort plans for the Siamese government. During the war between Ayutthaya and Chang Mai in 1545, 120

²The third king of Sukhothai dynasty ruined the first capital city of Siam before Ayutthaya

Portuguese soldiers were hired as a personal bodyguard for King Chairacha. Later, other Portuguese followed as traders and missionaries. Over almost four decades of European settlement, they became permanent residents of Ayutthaya. They established their own international community on land given by the king of Ayutthaya.

Later, the Dutch followed the Portuguese to Asia and expanded their overseas trade. For much of its two centuries of existence (1602 to 1799), the VOC (the Dutch East India Company) was the largest trading company in the world. Although the VOC was established to operate primarily as a trading company, it soon also came to play a prominent military, diplomatic and political role in Ayutthaya. In 1603, the Dutch were offered a fund to build a trading station in Ayutthaya by King Naresuan (Sanpet II, 1590-1605). During the reign of King Prasat Thong (Sanpet V, 1629-1655), the Dutch also established permanent residences in Ayutthaya. In the King Narai the Great (1656-1688) period, the French developed a very close relationship with Ayutthaya. The French had a very important role in engineering and constructing fortifications in Ayutthaya and building a new palace in Lopburi for King Narai. In addition, the French missionaries engaged in education and medicine and brought the first printing press into the country.



Figure 4 This painting of Ayutthaya Island shows the southern part was busy with trading activities. This picture was painted by Alain Manesson-Mallet, French map drawer in 1683 (Tangsiriwanit, T., 2006. p. 58)

In Ayutthaya, the Europeans settled on the bank of the Chao Phraya River. This river is considered the mother of life for agriculture and it was used as a main gateway. Throughout the Ayutthayan era, the Chao Phraya River was used for caravels from Europe and many vessels from many other parts of the world. This river had a large number of trading activities as merchants transferred and prepared goods for sea trade to

the motherland. From Phom Phet Fort³ to the Gulf of Siam, there were many settlements and residences of foreigners on the banks of the Chao Phraya. Today, some of these settlements remain as historic places although many have been transformed, destroyed, invaded or remain only in name with their significance ignored.

Much modern research and study has been done to interpret Ayutthaya's historical sites, mostly focusing on temples, palaces and places of direct significance to Siame history. However, there are very few interpretations on the lives of the people, especially dealing with the arrival of the Europeans and their settlements in Ayutthaya and on the banks of the Chao Phraya River. The purpose of the present research is to investigate and interpret of European settlements during the Ayutthayan period and to give a comprehensive view and a deeper understanding of life and settlement patterns of major European groups who had a strong influence on Ayutthaya. The research will review the widely held view that Siam was always ready to reciprocate with an open mind and to provide facilities whenever foreign countries desired merely to live, trade, expand their religion or work in Ayutthaya. It seems that there was no discrimination against people who had newly come to this region; the door of Ayutthaya seems to have been always open to others. Despite the long period of European integration into Ayutthaya, their ways of living and roles have scarcely been explored. This research aims to understand the life, and settlement forms of Europeans, especially Portuguese, Dutch and French, on the Chao Phraya River bank during the Ayutthayan period.

Statement and Significance of the problems

Ayutthaya had regional economic and political strength over the countries in South East Asia. The strong economy not only resulted from the Ayutthaya people themselves but also from people of European countries who came to participate in international trade. The Europeans came to Ayutthaya to seek their fortunes and to look for new opportunities in life. According to Kasetsiri, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to Ayutthaya starting from the period of Ramathibodee II (1491-1529) (Kasetsiri 2005, p.88). The first evidence of the settlement of the Portuguese in Ayutthaya was in the reign of King Chairacha (1534-1546). Many soldiers in his army were Portuguese. Moreover, the expansion of Christianity to the new world was another reason driving the Europeans to the Ayutthaya kingdom, especially during the reign of King Narai the Great (1656-1688). As a center and important port for international ships and a work place for the Europeans, Ayutthaya and the banks of the Chao Phraya River had permanent and important settlements for much of the 417 years of the Ayutthayan age. However, most studies of these people do not give the whole picture and are mostly concerned with the expansion of Christianity. Very few studies mention the settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River during the Ayutthaya period as permanent residences, nor their work for the Siamese court. Most studies instead merely concentrate on the settlements on the bank of the river in the southern part of

³ Phom Phet or Diamond Fort is on the southeast corner of Ayutthaya Island. No foreign ships travelling up the Chao Phraya River were allowed beyond this point. It is located on site known as Bangkoka where the Chao Phraya and the Pasak River meet to form the south-west corner of the Ayutthaya Island. This fort was built during the reign of King Maha Thammaracha (Sanpet I) 1569-1590 after loss of Ayutthaya to the Burmese for the first time in 1549. The original earthen parapet was strengthened with brick.

Ayutthaya. Moreover, not many studies give a good interpretation of lives and work during the period of Ayutthaya.



Figure 5 Portuguese caravels used for trade between Europe and Ayutthaya in 15th century. Photograph was retrieved from www.clixoo.com/ref/ent/rec/boats/typ/c/car/car.html on 18 April, 2009

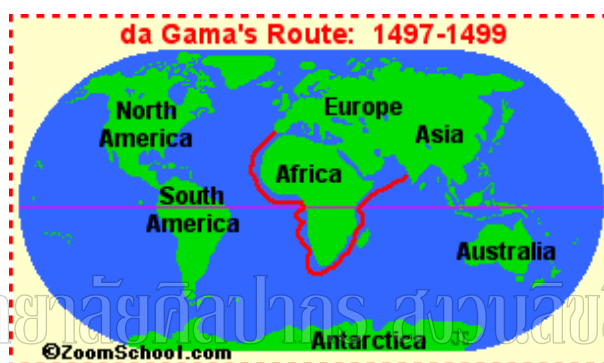


Figure 6 The first sea route from Europe to Asia started by Vasco da Gama. Picture was retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Portugal on April 19, 2009

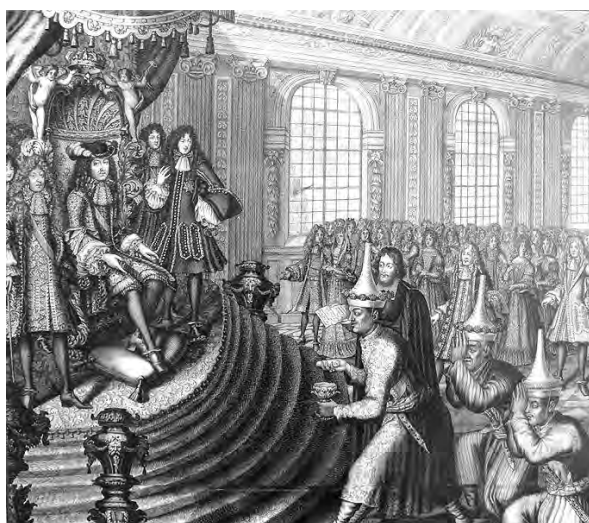


Figure 7 The Siamese embassy to Louis XIV in 1686. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narai#Foreign_Missions on April 19, 2009



Figure 8 The Chevalier de Chaumont presents a letter from Louis XIV to King Narai. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narai#Foreign_Missions on April 19, 2009

The Chao Phraya River was very important to the Ayutthaya kingdom as the main waterway serving the Siamese people. It is the source of culture and life and it was used as the main means for transportation between Ayutthaya and the sea. This dissertation will study the lives of the Europeans in the Ayutthaya period and their settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River from Ayutthaya to the Gulf of Siam. It will examine their lives and significant roles and work for the kingdom of Ayutthaya. The further scope of the study will focus on specific areas to help toward an understanding of the life of Europeans as follows:

- The reasons Europeans came to Ayutthaya.
- The first nation to come to Ayutthaya.
- The situation in Europe contemporary with the Ayutthaya period.
- Types of people who moved to this region and Ayutthaya.
- The European settlements on banks of Chao Phraya from Ayutthaya to the Gulf of Siam and a map of the settlements.
- The importance of Europeans to Ayutthaya.
- The influence of Europeans and other foreigners in Ayutthayan politics.
- The lifestyle and the communities of the Europeans.
- The appearance and layout of European settlements.

Today we can see the remains of European buildings on the banks of the Chao Phraya River through to the Gulf of Siam. The study therefore aims to understand the reasons why the Europeans settled in specific areas and how they lived together as international communities.



Figure 9 Map of Ayutthaya for East India House from Ayutthaya (Kasetsiri, 2006 p.54)

Goals and Objectives

1. To study the cultural landscape of European settlement during the Ayutthaya period on a banks of the Chao Phraya River from Ayutthaya to the Gulf of Siam.
2. To research in order to interpret the ways of life of the Europeans during the Ayutthaya period.
3. To provide an interpretation of the remains of the settlements.

Scope of study

The project will study aspects of the following:

1. The influence of the river on people in both Ayutthaya and the European settlements.
2. The Chao Phraya River landscape during the Ayutthaya period using old maps.
3. The cultural landscape of the river from Pomphet Fort in the southern part of Ayutthaya down to the old settlement of foreigners on the banks of the river (this area was known as a docking area for various ships coming to Ayutthaya).
4. European history which influenced people to migrate to Ayutthaya.
5. The lives of foreigners contemporary with the Ayutthaya period. The study will start from the mid of 16th century to the 17th century, when the first European visited Ayutthaya, and in the mid 17th century the arrival of two northern European groups, the Dutch and the French in 1662.
6. Their occupations and their lives in Ayutthaya.
7. The influence of the Europeans on Ayutthaya's royal court and politics.
8. Archeological sites of the European settlements.
9. The reasons for the settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River.
10. How trading and the need for resources brought Europeans to Ayutthaya.
11. Archeological study of sites of the historical Europeans in Ayutthaya and the lower Chao Phraya bank, including how the cultural landscape has changed over time.
12. Activities, life and living of Ayutthaya people

Research methods

The main research method is to search for and collect data from existing publications, old maps, journals, articles, letters from Europe and, archives, together with an archeological study which will trace the Europeans back to 1350-1767 (the Ayutthaya period) and their settlement in Ayutthaya. However, a review of European history is also necessary, in order to provide a view on the expansion to the New World in the period of 1350-1767. Site visits and study will focus on the landscape and archeology of the settlements. Interviewing Thai archeologists and historians who have studied the Dutch, Portuguese and French settlements in Ayutthaya and along the Chao Phraya is also important. The project will also necessarily include systematic site visits to areas of previous European activity in the lower Chao Phraya River.

Sources of data

Data will be sought from the National Library, Silpakorn University and Chulalongkorn University library, also archives from the National Library, documents from SPAFA for South East Asia Heritage, reports, old maps, histories of Europe, trade routes and maritime records of the Europeans to the New World and data from archeological research on the sites in Ayutthaya and the Chao Phraya banks. Significant fieldwork will underpin the production of interpretive, 'time series' mapping of European activities in the lower Chao Phraya in the various eras of that period to the Thonburi kingdom in the late 1760s.

Synopsis of the dissertation

Chapter 2: Literature Review of Ayutthaya

The review of literature on Ayutthaya includes the reasons for the establishment of Ayutthaya and how the rulers developed the country. This chapter also includes and elaborates on the periods of rulers which will help to understand the timeline of the arrival of Europeans in the region. The chapter will give some geographic detail and information on the landscape of Ayutthaya from the records of foreign visitors as well as demographic data. Moreover, this chapter will present ideas about the social and economic status of Ayutthaya and also mention activities, and lifestyle. The chapter will give an insight into the cultural landscape of the areas outside Ayutthaya's walls which were given by the kings for foreign settlements. The landscape is the southern part from Pomphet Fort through to the Gulf of Siam. Additionally, this chapter gives an overview role of the "Manam" as it was known to the Siamese, particularly the Chao Phraya River during the Ayutthaya period. It will demonstrate the characteristics of the Chao Phraya River using old European maps drawn during the Ayutthayan period. A geographic comparison with the present situation will be used to show the various transformations to this important river. The chapter will also incorporate research into the influence of the Chao Phraya River on the people of Ayutthaya and the European settlements.

Chapter 3: The Europeans come to the Ayutthaya region

This chapter will discuss the reasons why Europeans came to Ayutthaya in each reign of the Ayutthaya kings. Documents on the expansion of trading territories to Asia are explored. More research on old maps of the sea route from Europe to Asia shows the important ports in South East Asia. Old documents will demonstrate the reasons for visits and the periods when Europeans came to Ayutthaya. Subtopics of this chapter are:

- The first nation that came to Ayutthaya
- The situation of Europe contemporaneous with the Ayutthayan period
- Aspects of European history which influenced people to move and migrate to Ayutthaya.
- Types of people who moved to Ayutthaya.
-

Chapter 4: Interpretation of European Settlement: Portuguese, Dutch, French: and their life and work.

The study of Portuguese, Dutch and French settlements from the remaining historical buildings and from archeology is used to reveal the landscape of the settlements during the Ayutthayan period. The research will focus on the appearance and layout of European settlements including the landscape of the banks of the Chao Phraya. The study timeline covers the 16th century to the 17th century that is from the Portuguese who were the first Europeans who visited Ayutthaya. The mid 17th century saw the arrival of two northern European communities, the Dutch and the French in 1662. Finally, this chapter interprets what has been found concerning Europeans from research in the fields of history and archeology regarding the roles, work, activities, and life of the major European groups in Ayutthaya in each period. This chapter will also study the lives of foreigners contemporary with the Ayutthaya period.

Chapter 5: The Disappearance of Europeans from the Banks of the Chao Phraya River and conclusion

The chapter explores the reasons for the disappearance of Europeans and seeks some understanding of what happened to the settlements of the Portuguese, Dutch and French after the capital city was moved to Thonburi and then to Rattanakosin. There are some remaining Europeans and aspects of their culture in Thailand; what, however, happened to the European settlements after the end of Ayutthaya? The chapter will discuss the establishment of new settlements after Ayutthaya was defeated by Burma. Finally, this chapter will present a conclusion included the lessons that can be drawn from the research summarized in this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This literature review relates to the following areas:

1. A view of Ayutthaya city which developed from the old city in central Siam and become an international port.
2. Details around the establishment of Ayutthaya also a rationale of how the rulers developed the country.
3. This chapter also includes and elaborates the period of rulers which helps to understand the timeline of the arrival of Europeans to Ayutthaya.
4. Geographic details and landscape of Ayutthaya from the record of foreign' visitors as well as demographic data of people in Ayutthaya.
5. The social and economic status of Ayutthaya.
6. Activities and lifestyles in Ayutthaya.
7. A view of the cultural landscape of settlements outside the walls of Ayutthaya provided by kings for foreigner's settlements. This dissertation offers an understanding of the landscape of the southern part of Ayutthaya which was suitable for setting up the European settlements from Pomphet Fort through to the Gulf of Siam.
8. How the Chao Phraya River changed geographically and the roles of the river to people who lived on both banks.

How was Ayutthaya established?

As in any other large city, the greatness and glory of Ayutthaya did not appear within a short period. Ayutthaya started with a collaboration of Supanburi and Lopburi's power and their territories in the central plain area of Siam in the 13th century. Before the 13th century, Supanburi had power over the left side of the Chao Phraya River which covered a group of old cities including Nakorn Chaisri, Rachaburi, Karnchanaburi, Phetchaburi and also over the south in the Nakornsrithamarat area. Lopburi had influence on the right side area of Chao Phraya River in the central area of Narkornratchasrima (Kasetsiri 2005, p.4). Ayutthaya was established by King Ramatibodee I⁴ (Prchao U-Thong) on March 4, 1350. He started by building a new city over the ruins of the old city and expanded the new part to the adjoining area of swamp land, Nong Sanoh⁵. Then, the old city, Ayothaya was situated between Supanburi and Lopburi on the east side of a new expansion, Ayutthaya. Its history can be traced back to the Tharavadee period in the 12th century. From archeological surveys, there is

⁴ This is still controversy on his origin, whether he came from the Supannapumi royal family or Phetchaburi. One folk tale mentioned that he moved his people to Ayutthaya to avoid cholera in U-Thong, Supanburi area.

⁵ This wet land was covered Sesbania Aculeate tree (Sanoh). King Ramatibodee I started the city by making the canal draining water.

evidence showing Ayothaya had an extensive city plan similar to other cities before the 14th century (Jamornmarn 1976, p.26). Today, there is surviving archeological evidence showing an advance development of Ayothaya city and later this was transformed to a new city, Ayutthaya. Until the reign of King Boromma Trailokanat (1448-1488), Ayutthaya had complete power over Sukhothai, the former capital of Siam.



Figure 10 The stature of Narai with Hindu god, show the religion of Loburi (Lawoa) age around 11- 12th century. It indicated that area was a city and a center of religion. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 6, 2009.



Figure 11 Phra Prang Sam Yot in the center of Lopburi is a Khmer temple of Bayon art. The structure is laterite. It was built in the reign of King Woraman VII in the 12th century as a Vachirayan Buddhist temple in Lawoa which was then a minor city of the Khmer Kingdom. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 6, 2009.



Figure 12 A pile of laterite part of Prakarn Shrine. It is believed that Lawoa or Lopburi was prosperous in the past. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 6, 2009.



Figure 13 Sanoh tree, *Sesbania aculeate* is a symbolic flower of Ayutthaya province. It grows in the swap land in Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on November 11, 2009.



Figure 14 The Buddha image at Wat Pa Laylai, this temple built in Supannabhumi state which today is Supanburi. This temple was a center of old city, 6 th to 12 th before Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on February 16, 2009.



Figure 15 This photo is Praprang Wat Mahathard showing the importance of Supannabhumi state. The name “Supannabhumi” appeared in Ramkamhang stone inscription which indicated that Supanburi was an important state before the Kingdom of Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on February 16, 2009.



Figure 16 Wat Ayothaya in Ayutthaya province was built before the Ayutthaya period. It was the temple of the Royal Palace of “Ayothaya city”. An archaeological excavation and the remains such as the Chedi and foundation indicate that this temple dates back to before the Ayutthaya period or about the 12th - 13th century. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.



Figure 17 The Chedi of Wat Nang Prem, a pre Ayutthaya period temple built in the middle of the old town of Ayothaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.

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Figure 18 The Chedi of Wat Dusit, the area of the community which was existent before Ayutthaya period. This place was the home town of King Narai's wet nurse. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.



Figure 19 Top and below picture present the area of Wat Kudee Dao, the area of a community existant before the Ayutthaya period. In this area there are several large temples which indicated the wealth of the district. The area was called Ayothaya or Ayothaya Sriramthepnakorn or Meaung Pra Ram. It was situated on the east side of Chao Phraya River. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.



Figure 20 Ayutthaya today where communities still remain as the past. This photo took from Dusit Canal, name after king Narai wet nurse. This area was Ayothaya area. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.



Figure 21 Above and below photograph shows a large temple of Panancheung Buddha image established before the Ayutthaya period. Today this temple is in southern of Ayutthaya Island. These show that on the right side of Ayutthaya was a large city before Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.





Figure 22 Photograph Satellite photograph present that Ayutthaya is an island surrounding by the river. Ayothaya area (arrows) located on the right side of an island. Retrieved from www.googleearth.com on February 15, 2009

Causes of the end of Ayutthaya

For over four centuries Ayutthaya was the pre-eminent city in South East Asia. A rich and prosperous period came from its strong rulers and economy. On the other hand, as in many large and famous cities in the past, Ayutthaya faced invasions and attempts to colonize by enemies. Finally, Ayutthaya was completely destroyed by the Burmese army in the period of King Akekatas. They attacked Ayutthaya while its military force was very weak⁶, even though its economy was very strong, well developed and fully receiving the latest innovations from oversea traders. Another reason was that in the late period of Ayutthaya, the country started to trade with the city of Morn, Thawai and Tranowsri which were colonies of Burma⁷. Morn became strong and seemed to be a danger for Burma. Furthermore, since the King Narai period, Ayutthaya had accepted a large group of Morn immigrants to the cities under Siam control leading Burma to fear they may unite against them. The date of the fall of Ayutthaya is recorded as April 7 1767. After that Burma had completed power over the Morn in Tway, Marit and Tranowsri which was a port open to India (Kasetsiri 2005, p 4, 5).

⁶ Previously, the conflict between two nations ended for a very long period when King Narasuang won a great victory over the Burmese in 1592.

⁷ Originally, the Morn nation owned the land in the Southern part of Burma but they lost the capital, Hongsawadee to the Burmese.

The Ayutthaya royal families

During the long period of being a capital and center of Siam, Ayutthaya had 34 kings from five royal families: U-Thong, Supanburi, Sukhothai, Prasart-Thong and Ban-Plulong. These families had developed their own right to the throne by inheritance or through the power of armed forces.

List of the royal families and the king reign during Ayutthaya period

The list below summarizes the kings of the various royal lines. During the Ayutthayan period, power constantly changed between various royal families (Department of Fine Arts, Chao Sam Phraya Museum).

Uthong Dynasty (first reign)

1. King Ramathibodi I or Uthong (formerly Prince Uthong) 1350-1369
2. King Ramesuan 1369-1370 (abdicated)

Suphannaphum Dynasty (first reign)

3. King Borommaracha I (Pa-ngua) 1370-1388
4. King Thong Chan 1388

Uthong Dynasty (second reign)

King Ramesuan 1388-1395 (restored)

5. King Ramaratcha 1395-1409

Suphannaphum Dynasty (second reign)

6. King Inthararatcha 1409-1424
7. King Borommaratcha II (Samphraya) 1424-1448
8. King Boromma Trailokanat 1448-1488
9. King Boromaratcha III (Inthararatcha II) 1488-1491
10. King Ramathibodi II 1491-1529
11. King Borommaratcha IV 1529-1533
12. King Ratsada 1533; child king
13. King Chairacha 1534-1547
14. King Yotfa (joint regent 1547-1548); child king & Queen Si Sudachan
15. King Worawongsa June-July 1548
16. King Chakkraphat ruled 1548-1568 & Queen Suriyothai
17. King Mahin 1568-1569

Sukhothai Dynasty

18. King Maha Thammaracha (Sanpet I) 1569-1590
19. King Naresuan the Great (Sanpet II) 1590-1605
20. King Ekathotsarot (Sanpet III) 1605-1610
21. King Srisowapark 1610-1611
22. King Songtham 1611-1628
23. King Chhadthathirat 1628-1629
24. King Athittayawong (August-September, 1629); child but titled Somdet Phra

Prasat Thong Dynasty

25. King Prasat Thong (Sanpet V) 1629-1655
26. King Chai (Sanpet VI) August 7-8, 1655
27. King Suthamaracha (Sanpet VII) (August 8-October 26, 1655)
28. King Narai the Great 1656-1688

Ban Phlu Luang Dynasty

29. King Petracha 1688-1703
30. King Sua (Sanpet VIII, also known as Luang Sorasak or “The Tiger King”) (1703-1709)
31. King Phumintharacha (Sanpet IX, Thai Sa) (1709-1733)
32. King Boromakot (Boromarachathirat III) 1733-1758
33. King Uthumpon (Borommaracha Thirat IV) (April-May, 1758)
34. King Suriyamarin or Ekkathat (Boromarachathirat V) 1758-1767

There was a family relationship between Uthong, Suphannaphum, and Sukhothai Dynasties as they were the original royal families. Some of them inter-married but since the Parsart Thong Dynasty, the old royal families did not rule Ayutthaya again. In addition, there was a large number of bloody coup d'état through period of Ayutthaya where rulers used both internal and foreign support which will be elaborate upon in chapter 4.

The beginning of city development

In the early period of the Ayutthaya kingdom, power came from invading Pranakorn, the capital city of Kom (Khmer). There were three major wars in 1369, 1388 and 1431 respectively. This caused the Khmer to lose their power in this region and move their capital city to Panomphen. Ayutthaya also expanded their power to the northern area and ruled Sukhothai. In the end; however Ayutthaya could not rule Chiang Mai permanently. In the south, Ayutthaya had established power over Narkornsriathamarat and the Malayu peninsula. In the 14th century, Ayutthaya became the most powerful city over many Thai people and became the capital city of Siam. Estimated population in the country was not over 6 million and the population in Ayutthaya was around 190,000 (Kasetsiri 2005, p.8).

City development

The Ayutthaya was established on wet land on the ox-bow of the Lopburi and Chao Phraya River. It was call Nong Sa-Noh. The city had a good military defensive location and strong economic support. Prince Damrong mentioned the reason to establish Ayutthaya to be able to compete with Sukhothai as Ayutthaya was built to create a bottle neck of Sukhothai to the sea. It took three years to set up. The establishment of Ayutthaya was like closing Sukhothai's door. (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2000, p.22) The advantage of the location came from surrounding of three major rivers: Chao Phraya, Pasak and Lopburi. However, it was not surrounded by rivers from the beginning. The city was started when first king of Ayutthaya, Ramathibodi I or Uthong (1350-1369) commanded the opening of a small canal, Kerna connected the Loburi River to the Pasak River which made Ayutthaya become like an

island. Later on, the city wall was reinforced and changed to brick and mortar by King Chakkraphat (1548-1568). During King Maha Thammaracha's (Sanpet I) (1569-1590) reign, he commanded to open Kerna canal wider and it caused this canal become a part of the Pasak River. With the form as an island, it later brought tremendous trade activities which used Ayutthaya to link to surrounding cities. During the period of greatest trade with the Europeans, Ayutthaya was as well known as many famous ports like Malacca and Macao.

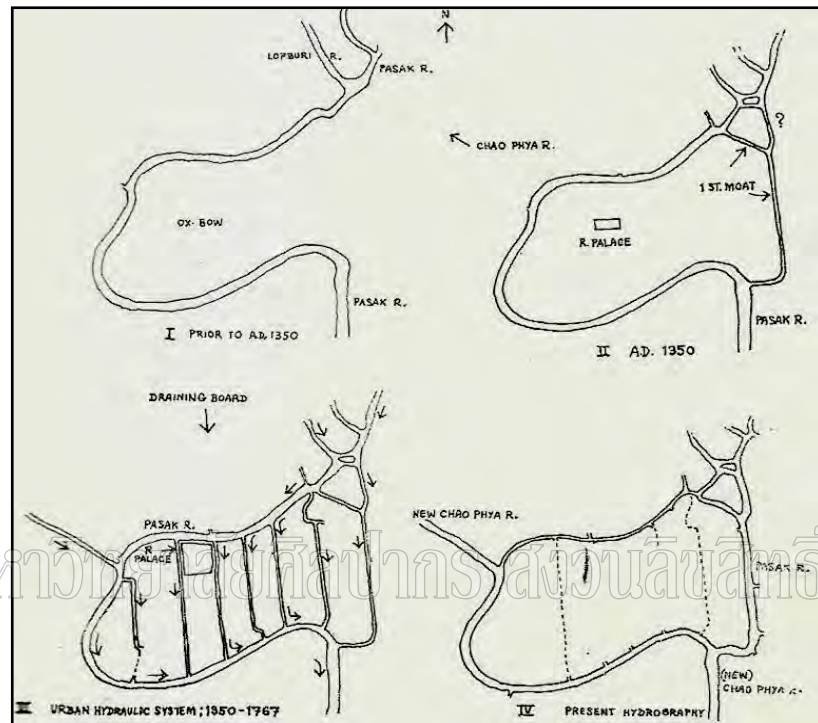


Figure 23 The picture shows the development of Ayutthaya Island and canals in the city. The small canal Ker-Na was developed from the river which still remains as the present photograph shows. Photograph from Chao Sam Phraya Museum by Phungwong, N. on April 27, 2009



Figure 24 The picture shows Ayutthaya was an island. People use canals for transportation. This map was drawn by David and Johannes Vingboons the Dutch's mapmaker (Tangsiriwanit, p.42).



Figure 25 The small canal was opened wider during King Maha Thammaracha (Sanpet I) reign (1569-1590) and can still be seen today as part of Pasak River. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 30, 2009.



Figure 26 The small canal, Kerna become Pasak River, size has enlarged by the current. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 30, 2009.



Figure 27 The remains of city wall built from brick and mortar by King Chakkraphat (1548-1568) opposite to the new Pasak River in Ayutthaya. This wall should build the same time when he ordered to open the river wider. It was discovered when building a new bridge to Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 30, 2009.



Figure 28 The remains of the Ayutthaya wall are seven meters high and ten meters in depth (foundation) in original formation. It is the last remain part of old city wall. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on May 1, 2009.



Figure 29 Above and below photograph shows the present day road around Ayutthaya Island built over the ancient Ayutthaya city wall. It was built in 1955 by a command of General Plak Piboonsongkram, Prime Minister of Thailand. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on May 1, 2009.



Figure 30 The remains of form Phom Phet (Diamond) or Phet Fort which protected the city from marine invasion and controlled ships coming from the sea. This fort is located in the southern part of Ayutthaya. The Fort was expanded and reinforced in European format in King Chakkraphat period (1548-1568). Photograph by Phungwong, N.

Throughout 417 years of Ayutthaya development, a city plan had developed to support the growth of the city. There was an arrangement of small canals inside the city walls for transportation and drainage. As a result, many bridges were built across the canals. Brick roads were built on the side of the canal such as at Chee Gron Bridge and Parthon Street. The streets in Ayutthaya were in a block system influenced by Kom⁸. From the records of Dr. Gamfer⁹, transportation by river and canal was very important for people in Ayutthaya. Large vessels could reach the city and it was called West Venice by the Europeans. The wealth in the early period came from resources taken from neighboring countries such as Laos, Cambodia, Chiang Mai region and many southern cities. Later, prosperity came from very strong economic development. From the middle of Ayutthaya to the end, it was a center for domestic and international trade activities. Ayutthaya kings received income in taxes for every trading passed this city. Moreover, the kings themselves traded directly with foreigners for goods such as munitions, ivory and rice.

The engagement with Europeans in the 15th century influenced public infrastructure and construction. There was also a royal avenue for royal ceremonies directly from the Grand Palace to Victory Entrance (Pratuchai). The landscape was divided into areas called “Yan” for business. There were areas called “Pa” which sold particularly products, for example, Pa-Maprow sold coconuts and Pa-Tone sold drums. Additionally, “Pa” was a place for community meetings. It was record that Ayutthaya had twenty piers, four floating markets outside the city wall, and thirty land markets for people and merchants outside the city wall. The main river to the city had water gates (Kanorn) at four locations for custom and taxes collecting. A royal water gate (Kanorn-Lung) was situated on the banks of the Chao Phraya River (Tourism Authority of Thailand, p.21). A royal water gate was built for collecting taxes from vessels entering Ayutthaya from the sea; it was a good trading destination for inland cities to sell their products.

Ayutthaya’s population and community was not limited to only inside the city wall but also continued for six kilometers. There are a lot of archeological remains of temples and pagodas around the city. These communities were connected to the city by canals and rivers. During 13th-17th century, Ayutthaya’s wealth and development were incomparable to other cities with the exception of Pranakorn.

⁸ Kom was a leading construction technology in South East Asia before 15th century and from the archeology study, basement of old streets in Ayutthaya was built by laterite bricks.

⁹ German doctor who visit Ayutthaya with the Dutch cargo during King Petracha (1688-1703) (Department of Fine Arts 1944, p.17)



Figure 31 The remains of Pratoo Cowpruk. This fort was used for the rice vessels passing into the city and city protection for northern area. It was a major fort protecting the northern part of Ayutthaya. The Burmese broke this fort in 1767 war as a first entry to the city. These forts were built in European formation which built by the Portuguese during King Chakkaraphat Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 30, 2009.



Figure 32 This fort built on both side of Cowpruk canal which canal was used to transport rice from upcountry to keep in Royal Barn. This area was a rice mill and rice market during Ayutthaya period. The Royal Barn was also located in this area. The Coepreak Cannals was connected to Lopburi River and used for rice transportation to the city. Today, it is hardly see this canal form. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 30, 2009.



Figure 33 Photograph of the Chao Phraya River showing the southern part of Ayutthaya Island. On the right side of this photograph, there was Portuguese settlement area. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 23, 2009

Social and economic situation of Ayutthaya

This section will explain and give an overview of the social class structure and economy of Ayutthaya which will later lead to more understanding on the role of the Europeans in Ayutthaya in chapter 4.

Social Class

In the Ayutthaya period, Siam was ruled by kings for varying lengths of time. For example, King Worawongsa (June-July 1548) was a king for only one month but King Boromma Trailokanat (1448-1488) reigned for 40 years. Kings who ruled a long time usually made significant changes to the social and political order. For example, King Boromma Trailokanat (1448-1488) changed laws and started a tax system. The ruling system in Siam was a monarchy which held absolute power over people's lives and land. The king or "Pramahakrasat" of Ayutthaya was top of the hierarchy system and inherited power. The royal families also were part of this hierarchy. Often, kings such as King Chairacha (ruled 1534-1547) and King Narai the Great (1656-1688) had achieved their power by conducting coup d'état¹⁰. On the other hand, Ayutthaya kings also looked for support from the nobles or tried to establish power from foreign support¹¹. The kings of Ayutthaya would also receive supporting power from large colonized countries such as Nakornsri Thammarat or Chiang Mai¹².

¹⁰ It is the sudden, unconstitutional deposition of a legitimate government, by a small or large group of people usually a person who has the support of the military power.

¹¹ As example King Songtham gained support from the Dutch and King Narai had support from France to balance power with their nobles and relatives.

¹² These cities had their own rulers which sometimes were independent from Ayutthaya.

The royal families, “Mool Nay”, the first social class, had individual power over the nobles and citizens (Prai). The second class of Ayutthaya’s hierarchy system was the nobles (Khun Nang) who worked and supported the kings and royal families. Each noble had individual roles and responsibilities to work and support the king. Nobles were also head of a group of people (Prai) and had a right to control the Prai work force. The third class of the population were Siamese citizens (Prai) who worked and reported directly to the nobles or royal family (Mool Nay). The lowest level in the social hierarchy were slaves who had no rights or freedom. Slaves could come from other social groups who were sold to a slave owner or came as prisoners of war. Separate groups to the hierarchy were monks and priests who were very important to Ayutthayan society. This group of people had no status in terms of land possession. Monks or priests formed a link between the high-level ruler, the noble class and people from the lower level. All Ayutthaya’s social levels were identified and controlled by status in terms of land possession; ‘Sakdeena’. Sakdeena was used to indicate individual responsibilities and roles of people in Ayutthayan society. Prai were very important as they were used as manpower for each noble or royal family (Mool Nay). People in this level were also very important for economic activity. Moreover, Prai served as major component of the Ayutthaya army during wars. However, all the land was ultimately owned by the king who could withdraw people’s right to the land at anytime. It can be clearly seen that both the Prai and the nobles supported each other for social activities.

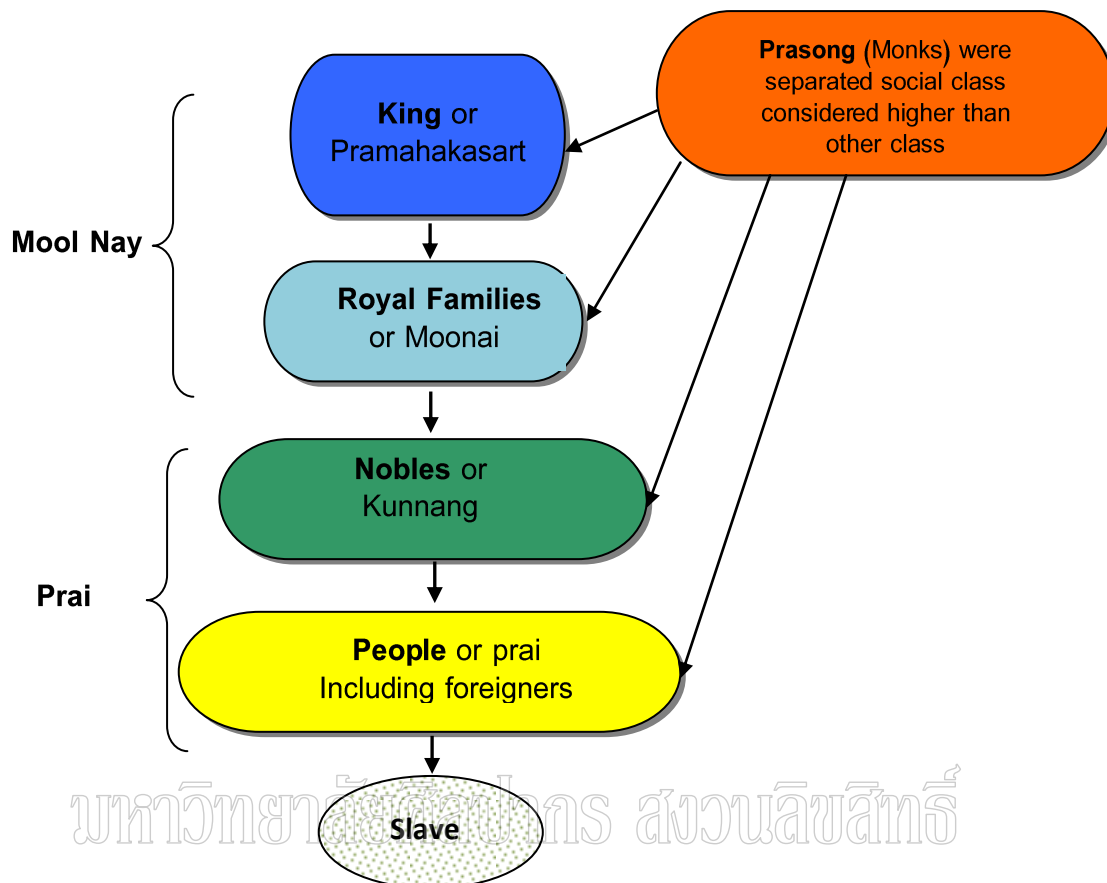
Table 1: The details of level and land possession summarized for each Sakdina¹³ (Piyapan 2006)

Level	Land Owned	Remarks
Prai	25 Rais	However, many records show people in the same Sakdina did not received the same amount of land as they may gain rewards from the king in the form of land which of course could be taken from them.
Muen	300-500 Rais	
Kuan	500 Rai	
Loung	500-800 Rais	
Pra	1,000 Rais	
Praya	10,000 Rais	
Oupparat	100,000 Rais	

Foreigners in Ayutthaya were accounted for in this hierarchy system. For example, a normal Portuguese man was in Prai level when he arrived Ayutthaya but could improve his status if he worked for the king as a noble. Also, when they received a privilege, they could move their status up similar to nobles or Kunnang.

¹³ Sakdina system was started in the time of King Boromtrilokanat.

Chart 1: The hierarchy chart of Ayutthaya population



The Characteristics of Ayutthaya's Nobles

This part of dissertation aim to interpret the characteristics of Ayutthaya's nobles and the relationship between nobles and foreigners. The characteristics of nobles needs to be explained as many of the Europeans worked for the Ayutthayan court and became nobles. In Ayutthaya society, nobles came from ordinary or upper class people. Their rank came from their abilities when they worked and supported the king. This was the reason foreigners reached to high noble level in Siam¹⁴. The nobles' level came from the power of the king given to these people as they received a title or Bandasak, name or Rachatinanam and a right to own land or Sakdina. The first level of noble had a right to own 400 rais of land¹⁵. People who owned less than 400 rais were not nobles. The king had absolute power to reduce, withdraw or increase the level of each person. It was generally found that if the level of the nobles was withdrawn, it usually impacted on their family and relatives. Moreover, when changing a new king through treason or coup d'état, the nobles usually changed to support the new political situation

¹⁴ Ork Ya Se Na Pimok was the most senior Japanese noble working for Ayutthaya. His name was Yamada Najamasa. He worked for Ayutthaya during King Naresua reign.

¹⁵ Rai is a measurement of area used in Siam, equal to 1,600 square meters. And 2.5 rais equal to one Acre.

(Thawornwanthanakul, 2004 p.121). During the Ayutthaya period, there were many foreigners who worked for the Siamese court. They were in important positions which usually related to the military or trade. The classic example was in the reign of King Narai when the group of nobles was changed after he took over power from King Suthammaracha (Sanpet VII) (August 8-October 26, 1655). King Narai appointed many Europeans to be nobles such as Chao Phraya Wichayen, Constantine Phaulkon¹⁶ to support his political and financial position. During the King Narai period, French troops were also used to gain military power over the Dutch and Siam's nobles.



Figure 34 The photograph of Ayutthaya's noble dress was recorded by Monsieur de La Loubare, from Monsieur de La Loubare on Siam. (Lalubare Archives, Komolbud, T. S.2005, p.81)

¹⁶ Constantine Phaulkon or Chao Phraya Wichayen was a Greek adventurer, who became a highly influential counselor to King Narai. He came to Ayutthaya as a merchant in 1675. After working for England's East India Company, he soon becomes a counselor of the king. He married a Catholic woman of mixed Japanese-Portuguese-Bengali extraction named Maria Guyomar de Pinha who introduced Portuguese dishes to Siam. When King Narai became terminally ill, Phaulkon and his followers were arrested and executed in Lopburi by Prince Phetracha.



Figure 35 Picture from Wat Suwandaram, Phetchaburi shows Muslim nobles who also worked for Ayutthaya in the royal trading department. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on June 12, 2009.



Figure 36 The Ayutthaya noble, Phraya Kosapan who was the first ambassador to the French. This portrait was a cover of the diary of Kosa Pan (Van Der Cruysse, D.; Smithies, M., p.34)

Economic Activity of the Ayutthaya State

In the early period of Ayutthaya, the economics of Siam depended on agricultural, mainly rice. Therefore, land and labor were really important for Siam. In the beginning, the land in the Chao Phraya delta was unused because there were not many people in this central area. Wars and the migrations of people who lost in the wars

became one important way to increase human resources for agriculture. In the early period of the Ayutthaya kingdom, Ayutthaya expanded its power by invading Pranakorn, the capital city of Kom (Khmer). From mid to late of auuiyyjhaya period, Ayutthaya turned to have move of trading activities to origners Ayutthaya directly own cargo ships for directly trade to neighbor countries and directly sold a forest goods received from up country to variety of customers.

According to Monsieur de Lalubare Archive, the Siamese used water buffalo or cows to plough and used a simple wooden ploughing tool which had no wheel. When it came to harvest, famers used buffaloes or cows to thresh the rice and used a mortar or a stamp mortar to grind the rice to separate chaff. The rice work was done by children, women, and old people or males who were not yet “Prai” (Monsieur de Lalubare, Komolbud, p.69). Rice became important and gave power to Ayutthaya. Rice taxes came directly in the form of rice which directly went to the Royal Barn¹⁷ (Chang Luang) in Ayutthaya or in other major cities. Rice also became the military resource for provisions. Later, another agricultural product of Ayutthaya was forest products. As Siam’s area was rich in natural resources, Ayutthaya was a center for products from the tropical forest around the country. The table below shows the list of export goods from Ayutthaya by the VOC, a middle trader of timber products from Ayutthaya to Japan.

Table 2: List of export goods of Dutch East India Company exporting from Ayutthaya to Japan from 1633-1694 (Ayutthaya Historical Study Center 2011).

Export goods	สินค้าส่งออก	Export goods	สินค้าส่งออก
Lead	ตะกั่ว	Rhinoceros Horn	นอแรด
Copper Bar	ทองแดง	Gum Benjamin	กำยาน
Coral	ปะการัง	Cardamom	กระวาน
Porcelain	เครื่องเคลือบ	Clove	กานพลู
Camphor	การบูร	Gamboges	รง (แดง)
Ray’s Skin	หนังปลากระเบน	Rice	ข้าว
Sandalwood	ไม้จันทร์	Pepper	พริกไทย
Eaglewood	ไม้กฤษณา	Spices	เครื่องเทศ
Sappan wood	ไม้ฝาง	Tin	ดีบุก
Potassium Nitrate	ดินประสิว		

¹⁷ Royal Barn or Chang Luang was a place to keep rice from people who pay Arkorn or tax in form of paddy for government



Figure 37 Rice plough used buffalo or cows to pull. This type was used from ancient times to today. We can find some farmers in rural areas still use this plough for their fields. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on 3 December, 2009.



Figure 38 This old photograph shows milling rice by a stamp mortar. This photograph retrieved from www.skn.ac.th/skl/project/world96/menu2.htm on November 11, 2009.



Figure 39 Farmers are separating paddy (threshing) in northern Thailand. Some farmers still use cows or buffalo for rice fields. This photograph by Phungwong, N. on December 3, 2009.

The income of Ayutthaya came from four types of taxes applied from the early days of Ayutthaya to the beginning of the Rattanakosin as following.

1. The payments of people not earning from trade was paid in terms of taxes called Arkorn. Mainly, Arkorn was levied from rice fields, orchards, fisheries and products from the forest.
2. The income from trade both domestic and international cargos were levied as customs taxes or port taxes, Junkorb. The payment was collected at custom gateways, Kanon.
3. There were other incomes from activities such as court fees and fines, Rucha. This type of income included fees when people used and received help from the government (Kasetsiri 2001, p.261)
4. The last tax income for Ayutthaya was called Souy. It was government revenue received from Prai who wanted to replace their work by payment or forestry products (Nipatsukkit 2007, p.13)

Another source of income to Siam was trade. In the early period of Ayutthaya, international trading took place between Siam and countries in Asia such as China, India, Persia, and Malaya included the colonies of Siam. From the mid Ayutthaya period in the King Ramathibodi II era, trading with European countries became one of the major sources of income for the kings and the nobles and finally the wealth expanded to ordinary people. In the Ayutthaya period, the kings had their own trading department to manage activities and to collect Akorn, import and export taxes. Therefore, the king's of Ayutthaya had a monopoly over trade which gave less opportunity to others. Trading by the king was executed through royal treasurers who administrated the monopoly over the export and import of products. It was found that the king managed his own vessels for trading¹⁸. The income and profit from trading and taxes did not only have an influence on the economy of Ayutthaya but also supported political strength of the royal court (Nipatsukkit, 2007 p.66-67).

The advantages to the economy of Ayutthaya can be analyzed as following.

1. Ayutthaya was located in the best area for growing rice. The central area of Siam was on rich and fertile soil which came from the floods in the rainy season (September to December). Ayutthaya had enough rice for domestic consumption and was able to export to nearby countries.
2. The location of Ayutthaya was in the central area which enabled it to control all inland trading routes open to the sea and made it convenient to trade with other countries.
3. The strong development of Ayutthaya city including economy increased the population which was a valuable resource for further development.
4. Ayutthaya had control over massive territories and dominion provinces which held an abundance of natural resources to sell to other countries.

¹⁸ King Songtham, King Prasarthong and King Narai have large number of cargo ships trade to Japan and China.

Since the time of King Ramathibodi II (1491-1529), when Siam started to trade with the Europeans, Ayutthaya had an increasing foreign population who brought not only income but also technology, equipment and knowledge to Siam.

Demographic Structure of Ayutthaya's Population

Religion

During the period of Ayutthaya, Hinayana Buddhism was the national religion. However, there was a mixture of beliefs with spiritualism and Mahayana Buddhism. In the royal ceremonies, there were also mixed beliefs of Hinduism and Brahmanism to establish the king's power. Hinduism and Brahmanism were important religions which had integrated into the life and belief of people in Ayutthaya period and persist even today. The religion was not too dominant to force the people in Ayutthaya to believe. There were religions imported from a group of people who visited Ayutthaya. There was Islamic practice, Muslims, mostly Sunni from Arabia, Malaya, and Pattani, also Shia from a group of merchants and Muslim nobles¹⁹ from Iran and Persia were influential at this time. After the migration of the Europeans, one finds Christianity in Ayutthaya. A part from these religions, Hinduism and Brahmanism were important religions which had integrated into the life and belief of people in Ayutthaya. However, the belief in spiritualism and ghosts still remains in the culture and ritual. The people in Ayutthaya lived in the simple way of Hinayana Buddhism which did not limit the belief of people in only a single god and did not dispute against other religions.

Population

The residential area in the city wall was mainly for the king and royal family. Ordinary people would move inside the city wall in an emergency such as during wars. Ayutthaya's population spread outside the city wall for the convenience of agriculture and a larger living space. The population of Ayutthaya was a mix of international societies. The major population in Ayutthaya which should be mentioned was as follows:

Khmer or Kom: Properly, Kom were the first foreigners in the Ayutthaya's area. Khmer were classified as part of the Prai system. Before the Ayutthaya period, this group of people had power over central Siam. They had an influence in basic cultural and living of Ayutthaya people. Later, Ayutthaya gained more power over this region by winning three wars with Khmer. Ayutthaya took large numbers of immigrants from Pranakorn as slaves.

Morn or Raman: Morn and Ayutthaya had a very strong relationship as Ayutthaya had always supported the Morn against Burma. On the other hand, Morn also helped Ayutthaya to fight against Burma, for example they supported King Naresuan the Great (Sanpet II) 1590-1605 to declare independence. They were also nobles working for the Siamese court. Sometimes Ayutthaya occupied Marit, Tranowsri, and Tawai

¹⁹ Ayutthaya used Muslim nobles from Persia. Some families like Boonnark family are very famous even until today.

which were port cities of the Morn. During the reign of King Narai, his policy was to welcome immigrants from Hongsawadee and Tanowsri to Ayutthaya (Kasetsiri 2000, p. 140). Ayutthaya supported a political movement of Morn against Burma, it made Burma invaded Ayutthaya in 1767.

Burma or Marn: Throughout the Ayutthaya period, there were wars between Burma and Siam. It should be expected to see Burmese slaves in Ayutthaya also some of them might have trade activities. However, there is no evidence of a Burmese residential area in Ayutthaya.

Laos: Mostly Laotians were in the Prai class as it was found that during Ayutthaya, Laos has lost to Siam in many wars. They had immigrated to Ayutthaya as slaves or Prai.

Vietnamese or Youn: Vietnamese people were seen in Ayutthaya from the beginning as merchants. Later, during King Songtham to King Narai reigns Ayutthaya opened the country for the Christian and Vietnamese.

India and Ceylon (Sri Langka): Ayutthaya had a very strong relationship with people from India as they had brought the Hindu religion to this area even before the time of Ayutthaya. There was a group of people who worked as priests and merchants. There were records that Ayutthaya had a good relationship with Ceylon in the exchange of Buddhism. At the beginning of Ayutthaya age, Buddhism in Siam came from Ceylon, “Langka Wong” passed through Nakornsrithamarat. Later Siam also sent a group of monks to distribute Siam Buddhism back, “Siam Wong” to Sri Langka in King Borommakot (Boromarachathirat III) (1733-1758) period.

Muslim or Keak: There were many groups of Muslims who were called Keak included Moors, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Javanese, Malayan, Patani, Jarm and Magason. All were under the control of Juraratchamontri²⁰

Chinese: The Chinese were in the central area of Siam since the Sukhothai period as merchants or trade representatives. The Chinese also spread to the major cities of Siam for trading. They had integrated with the local population and became Siamese.

Japanese: The early Japanese settlement in Ayutthaya was there to collect goods for exporting to Japan. After many years, the settlement and population had expanded and increased their role through trading and military forces. During the King Naresuan period (Sanpet II, 1590-1605), there was a group of soldiers of fortune who joined his army. Mainly, the Japanese in Ayutthaya were merchants, mercenaries and nobles

²⁰ Juraratchamontri is a Muslim position which has a duty to giving advice on Islamic issues. In the Sakdina system, Juraratchamontri is in the noble class and was later called “Krom Tha Kwa” (กรมท่าขวา).

working for Ayutthaya courts. Also, there was a group of Japanese Christians²¹ who had immigrated to Ayutthaya due to the difficulty of being Christian in Japan.

Europeans or Farang²²: From the period of King Ramathibodi II, the Portuguese were the first foreigners to visit Ayutthaya. There were Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, Germans and others from Europe whom Siam people called Farang and who came to Ayutthaya for trading, diplomatic purposes and as Christian missionaries.

There are no records in Thai for the population; these might have vanished after Ayutthaya lost the war with Burma. There was a big fire in Ayutthaya which burnt the center of city. Therefore, the population of Ayutthaya was not really recorded due to loss of the old census. However, according to a record of Monsieur La Loubère, the French envoy who came to Ayutthaya in the reign of King Narai, there was estimated to be around 190,000 people living in Ayutthaya. The percentage of foreigners in Ayutthaya compared to the rest of the population is considered very high and it indicates that Ayutthaya was an international city. Those people would live in specific areas and had their own community control. However, residential areas of people were at the bank of canals and rivers and near the city wall, both inside and outside the wall. Therefore, the center of the city had a very low population for only royal family members and those of a high social class. Houses were mostly made from wood and bamboo but for the Chinese, Arab and Europeans were made of bricks the same as the royal family.

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์



Figure 40 Thai houses, floating houses and market in Ancient City, Samutprakarn. It was imitated from the house and market in Ayutthaya period. Some houses claim that the original came from the Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 17, 2010

²¹ The migration of Japanese Christians happened late in the King Songtham period, 1627. There were 400 people who came to Ayutthaya.

²² Farang – There are many theories mentioning that the word Farang in Thai is from Franks or France which is Latin.



Figure 41 The traditional Thai house was restored in Ancient City, Meung Boran. These groups of building are made in an original style with wood and bamboo. Some houses use terracotta roof tiles. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 17, 2010



Figure 42 The old Ayutthaya market in Ancient City, Samutprakarn. Place was built in the same scale of the real house floating market during the Ayutthaya period. Some buildings were brought from Ayutthaya and central area for restoration. This would give a good view of residential settings in Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 17, 2010



Figure 43 This old shop house in the corner of Sampang, Bangkok which is very similar to the old shops houses in Ayutthaya period. These possibly are the oldest shop houses in Bangkok. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 21, 2010



Figure 44 The old Chi-No-Portuguese houses in Georgetown, Pinang built by the influence of the Portuguese in late Ayutthaya period. They are likely very similar to the foreigners' brick house in Ayutthaya which was influenced by Chinese and Europeans. Photograph by Phungwong, N. December 26, 2010



Figure 45 The old residential area in Khoo Kongsi in Penang built during the 17th century. The Khoo family traded for spices in South East Asia. This group of buildings is very similar to the Chinese residential style in late Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. December 26, 2010



Figure 46 The front photograph of Vichayen's Home in Lopburi built in Renaissance-Thai style. It was built during the reign of King Narai. The European style mostly used bricks and mortar for the walls and foundation. For the roof used wood beam and terracotta tiles. This building represented a different between Thai and foreigners houses in Siam of Ayutthaya period. This photograph by Phungwong, N. October 23, 2010

Ayutthaya and Chao Phraya River Geography

As Ayutthaya was established on the bank of a river, Activities were greatly influenced by the river. The interpretation of the major river of Siam, the Chao Phraya River would present a relationship of how the river and residential around Ayutthaya had changed over time.

From the past to the present, rivers are called the Menam or Mae Nam in Thai (Me or Mae is "Mother", Nam is "Water"). The central area of Siam has many rivers which flow from the north to the south through to the Gulf of Siam. These include the Pasak, Tha Chin, Mea Klong, Noi and Chao Phraya Rivers²³. The name Chao-Phraya is a Thai title for noble which can be translated as General or Lord. In English, the name is often translated as River of Kings. Since the Sukhothai period, the Chao Phraya River has been immensely important to the Siamese, especially to people in Ayutthaya and the central plains area. The Chao Phraya River begins at the confluence of the Ping and the Nan River at Nakhon Sawan (also called Pak Nam Pho). It then flows from the north to the south for 372 km²⁴ and flows out to the Gulf of Siam in Samut Prakarn. In Chainat, north of Ayutthaya, the river splits into the main river course and the Tha Chin River, which then flows parallel to the main river and exits to the Gulf of Thailand the about 35 kilometers west of Bangkok in Samut Sakhon.

Roles of the Chao Phraya River

The Chao Phraya River is very important to people in the central area of Siam as the source of water for agricultural activities, living and transportation. In addition, it was used to protect Ayutthaya from enemies and used as main water way of transportation between Ayutthaya and the sea. The banks of the river and brunch canals connected to the river are residential areas until the present day. It was very interesting that from the Chao Phraya River and Pasak River confluence at Pom Phet Fort area through the Royal Custom gate²⁵ (Kanol Lung Wat Prodsat), the area was well arranged

²³ The Chao Phraya River passes the left side of Ayutthaya Island. Actually, the central areas, the land are not only made fertile by the Chao Phraya River but there is also the Lopburi River and Pasak River. These three rivers make this central land rich and fertile during flood season between Septembers to December. From the Ayutthaya period until present, the Chao Phraya River has been a main transportation route from the north to the Gulf of Siam.

²⁴ The Chao Phraya River passes very important provinces since Ayutthaya period, Nakhonsawan, Uthai Thani, Chai Nat, Singburi, Ang Thong, Ayutthaya, Pathum Thani, Talard Kwan (Nonthaburi), Bangkok and Samut Prakan, from the north to the south respectively.

²⁵ Royal Custom gate, Kanol Lung was a gate for investigating forbidden goods, alien people and collecting taxes for Ayutthaya, located next to Wat Proadsat on the southern part of Ayutthaya island

in a systematic plan²⁶ for the foreigners' communities of the Morn, Jarm, Muslim, Japanese and all Europeans. The area became an anchorage area for caravels from Europe, junks from China and Japan and large vessels from other cities. It was also the place of local floating markets for almost four centuries. This area was very active with merchants and traders from around the world. This area was surrounded by many large local markets on both sides of the Chao Phraya River. According to the archive of Kloung Ha Wat on Ayutthaya's trade activities, there were activity areas in the rivers around Ayutthaya as the following.

“There were big vessels from Pisanulok carrying cane syrup, tobacco, wax, and other products from the northern to sell in the river. The activities started in front of Kluy temple to the mouth of Ko Keaw canal. A little far from Ko Keaw canal, Mon vessels, 6-7 Sok²⁷ wide, they carried coconuts, wood and salt They landed to sell goods to the floating markets. Tak and Petchabool vessels carried incense, , rattan, tobacco, oil, meat and other local goods to sell at the mouth of the Suan Plu canal in front of the Pa Nancheung temple. In the shop house at Suan Plu canal, Chinese made spirits and dry noodles. Sellers from Tha Chien River sold vessel wheels and mangrove wood. At Wang Nam Won village, KaJa district, there were 10-Sok to 3-Wa²⁸ wide vessels of the Chinese and Moor landing to sell sugar, sago, incense, baskets and other goods. In the river around Ayutthaya, there were floating rafts from which Thais, Chinese and Moors sold their goods on both sides of the river. Moreover, on the side of the city rafts landed from Pra Nancheung temple through the end of Putthaisawan temple and in front of Chaiwatanaram temple. There were rafts of customers and vendors on the west side of Chao Phraya River, from the mouth of Takiem canal through to the front of Takai mosque and Bangkaja temple. The rafts also spread further to the south of Ayutthaya on the east side from the back of Rean Island to Ta Seukam Pier. There were approximately 30,000 rafts, both trading and residential rafts, around the Ayutthaya area. The windy season was a period when the Chinese, Moor, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English came to Ayutthaya. They took their goods to warehouses outside the city wall. The Malayans carried baskets of products in large vessels to sell at the mouth of the Kujam canal and the Chinese, Moor, English, Dutch, Portuguese bought baskets for carrying betel. There were 6-7 Sok wide of Yisan, Baan Leam, Petburi province, Bang Taboon and Bang Talu carried shrimp paste, fish sauce, and many kinds of sea products to sell at Pra Nancheung temple” (Archive of Ayutthaya, Konlung Wat Pradosongtham 1979, p.26).

This record gives a clear picture of trading activities in the southern part of Ayutthaya. This area was dense in population, shop houses, floating markets, wet markets, warehouses. It was a source of goods from Siam and nearby countries giving

²⁶ Each foreigner received land from Ayutthaya's king along both side of Chao Phraya River. They could build their own settlements here.

²⁷ The measurement of Siam which 4 Sok equal to 1 Wa which compare to metric measurement is 2 meters. These vessels were equal to 3-3.5 meters.

²⁸ The Chinese and Moor vessels wide between 4.5 and 6 meters

opportunities to the foreigners to sell and exchange their products to local merchants. It was an area generating economic surplus and currency to Siam.

On the bank of the Chao Phraya, there were foreigner residential areas built with the permission of the king of Siam. The center of business activities was called Bangkokja. In the past, Bangkokja was a port for trading vessels. It was located on a large bend of the watercourse where the Chao Phraya River and the Pasak River met in front of the southern part of Ayutthaya Island. On the corner of the confluence of Pasak and Chao Phraya River was a large fort built in European style. It was a defensible point of Bangkokja and Panancheung Temple. The fort was built from laterite six meters thick with arch ways two meters wide and two and a half meters high. It is believed that the spaces were originally for a large number of cannons. Many pictures drawn by foreigners during the Ayutthaya period show the fort was very large and had a diamond shape which was used to prevent any marine attack and protect the city from enemies from the Gulf of Siam. Siam also had many forts on the banks of the Chao Phraya River from the mouth of the river to the capital. There were many forts built to protect the country from marine enemies and the fort area became residential settlement.



Figure 47 Photograph of the Chao Phraya River in front of Wat Prodsat, this area was a main custom gate during the Ayutthaya period. In the early Ayutthaya period, large cargo ships could pass this gate but since king Ekathotsarot, he did not allow large ships pass beyond this point for city safety. However, today there is no remaining of custom gate except Wat Prodsat. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 5, 2010.



Figure 48 Photograph of Wat Prodsat . Komaluang Wongsatiratsanit (Founder of Sanitwong family) of King Rama IV of Ratanakisin used this area as a military camp. In early of Ayutthaya period this area was an important royal custom gate; later Ayutthaya used Bangkok as a new custom gate town. All the ships must anchor at Bangkok before sail to Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 5, 2010.



Figure 49 Photograph of the Chao Phraya River at the southern part of Ayutthaya Island. There is Rean Island on the right and on the left is Wat Kai Tiew which found a large volume of lyrics from sank vessels. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 24, 2009.



Figure 50 Photograph of inside of Phom Phet Fort and cannons platform. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 29, 2009.



Figure 51 Satellite photograph of Ayutthaya Island and surrounding river (1). This photograph includes Rean Island in the south of Ayutthaya where was Chinese crews community and docking area (2). Ayutthaya Island was a center of agricultural activities as it is surrounded by plenty of rice fields as same as trading. Photograph was retrieved from www.googleearth.com on April 30, 2010.

In the past, the Chao Phraya River was different from today. What makes this river different from today and what cause changes to the river are very interesting to study and interpret. By comparing the historical places remaining from the Ayutthaya period on both banks, it is found that the river in the past was wider than today by at least double. The estimated width of the Chao Phraya River around Phom Phet Fort was at least 360 meters²⁹. Additionally the river was very deep as there is evidence of wooden anchors, 6-meter high being used for vessels. It would be able to carry large number of floating houses, approximately 20,000 floating houses (Kasetsiri 2001, p.288) located around Ayutthaya³⁰ especially in the area of Phom Phet fort, Bangkok. There were foreign settlements on the southern area of the Ayutthaya Island. For example on the east side were Chinese, Japanese, Morn, English and Dutch. On the west side of the river, there were the Muslims, Portuguese, French and Albanians. These settlements consisted of residential areas, shop houses, warehouses and caravel ports. Beside the Ayutthaya area, the major traders such as the Dutch also had a second residential and warehouse site at old Pra Pa Dang, Samut Prakran. In addition, the French also had a residential area on the bank of Chao Phraya in Samsen, Bangkok and around Vichaiprasit Fort (Vichayen).



Figure 52 The bank of the Chao Phraya River has encroached about 100 meters since the period of King Songtham when the river reached to the Mosque, Takia. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 23, 2009.

²⁹ Estimation is done by measuring the range between the mosques. Thakeai was built during the King Songtham peroid to Prananchang Buddha image built 26 years before the Ayutthaya period. Both historical building were built next to the river, then the estimation range is measured to 360 meters or double the width of today.

³⁰ During year1972-1976, there was a large group of relic hunters driving the river in this area collected large amount of ceramics, and various other antiques. It is an indicator that this area was very crowded and had a lot of activities.



Figure 53 This photograph shows the formation of the Chao Phraya bank in the southern part of Ayutthaya an example of how the river has changed in terms of width and depth. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 23, 2009.



Figure 54 A very strong current in the Chao Phraya River during the flood season in Bangkokja District. Strong currents continue to bring large changes to the river today. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 23, 2009.



Figure 55 A Photo of imitation view of the Chao Phraya River from Pom Phet Fort. Photo by Phungwong, N. on December 15, 2011 (Ayutthaya Historical Study Center) Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 23, 2009.

The transformation of the Chao Phraya River

The form of the Chao Phraya River has changed, especially during the Ayutthaya period; the river had significantly changed due to human activity and Mother Nature. In the past the river was wider than today. However, the Chao Phraya River was very twisty; some parts were in form of an oxbow. Changes to the river occurred during the reign of King Chairacha (1534-1547). The king ordered a shortcut on the river starting in front of Bangkok Noi Canal (present day Bangkok Noi Railway station) to be opened through front of Bangkok Yai Canal (Wat Aroon) for military reasons and better transportation. Later the opened up canal had a stronger current which eroded the banks making the new Chao Phraya River wider and the old was narrower which later became Bangkok Noi and Bangkok Yai Canal. Further changes occurred during King Chakkraphat's reign (1548-1568). During this time, he commanded a canal linking between inner Bangkok Noi canal (the old Chao Phraya River) and Bang Kloy canal at Wat Chalaw area for a shorter distant. He also ordered to open the linkage between Pasak and Lopburi River in Ayutthaya. The third change occurred in the reign of King Prasart Thong (Sanpet V 1629-1655), who ordered a new shortcut between the Mae Nam Orm canal, Nonthaburi and the mouth of Bang Kloy canal, at Wat Kema in 1636. The new river length was 5 km. These changes to the river were an indicator of very strong economic development and larger human resources. The new waterways would improve trading and transportation activities in Ayutthaya as a benefit from a shorter traveling distance between the city and the sea. Foreigners could use Ayutthaya as a main port for their inland businesses. In a very short period, Ayutthaya became the center of trading for this region. The last change to the river was the new waterway at Kret Island³¹. King Tai Sa commanded a shortcut canal for military and small transportation purposes called "Klong Lad Kret Noi". It was 12-meters wide and 3 meters deep and later it became a river.

Beside this there was a natural transformation at the mouth of the river. In the Ayutthaya period, the mouth of the Chao Phraya River was in the Pra Pa Dang area³², it was closer to Ayutthaya than today. According to the historical evidence and city history, the river has extended continuously toward the Gulf of Siam by the piling up of sediment on both sides of the river. Today, the range has extended approximately 17 km. from the Ayutthaya period. King Songtham (1611-1628), ordered the establishment of Samut Prakarn city at the mouth of Pra Kod canal and allowed the Dutch to use this area for trade and residential purposes. It was very near the mouth of the Chao Phraya River so was easy to travel to the sea. It was modern, well developed for convenience and a beautiful environment. As it was intend to be a residential area, the Dutch called it "New Amsterdam". Further reason for having a second settlement is interpreted as the

³¹ Ko Kret or Kret Island was not originally an island but land in the shape of a cape in the Chao Phraya River. It was called "Baan Leam". In the reign of King Taisa, he ordered a shortcut canal for transportation purposes. The canal is called "Klong Lad Kret Noi".

³² An old city had been established when Korm had power over Chao Phraya River area around 11st-13th centuries.

Dutch vessels were very big³³ and needed deeper water. At that time, it was very difficult for them to reach Ayutthaya. The difficulty of cargo ships reaching Ayutthaya is found in a record of Nicolar Chervese who came to Siam in the reign of King Narai. He described the difficulty of sailing across the Chao Phraya River delta to get to Ayutthaya;

"... From the mouth of the river to the capital which is about 30 lee, the ship with a load between 300 and 400 can sail through. Sometimes, bigger ships can go through without being stuck in the shallow area of the river. In this period, when the tide ebbs, the river will be only 11-12 Piet deep. The big ships have to sail outside the delta which is more secure and has a space for docking. When sailing upstream, it is necessary to wait until the tide rises to prevent the ship from being stuck in the shallows of the delta which might cause it to capsize. The shoreline is very deep, making it suitable for merchants to cast an anchor near the city walls and lay a bridge to transport goods to the port easily... "(Department of Fine Arts, p.63)

On the banks of the Chao Phraya River from the mouth of the river in Pra Pa Dang to Ayutthaya, there were several forts built as protection from enemies who could reach the capital within two days. Later, those areas were developed to residential settlements for both the local and foreign populations³⁴. From the King Ekatosarot to King Narai era, they permitted towns on the Chao Phraya bank, Bangkok, Thon Buri, Samsen, Nonthaburi and Samkoke (Patumthani) as a defensive line along the river. Moreover, Bangkok and Thon Buri were used as a custom gateway and military camps were founded for security of the capital³⁵. As it was mentioned in the letter of Glory to Gad, the Dutch merchant who came to trade in Ayutthaya. He was not allowed to board the ship near Bangkok. He recorded;

"... I have not reviewed products yet because the junk was not allowed to dock near Bangkok (Bancoop). From this distance we could not transport goods. Therefore, I had to leave them on the ship until the ship floated up on the river." (Department of Fine Arts 1970, p.206)

French community was allowed to live in the Fort area in Thon Buri and Bangkok. Both forts were used to protect the river from enemies as well as to keep foreign ships well away from Ayutthaya³⁶. The Vichaiprasit³⁷ (Vichayen) Fort in Thon

³³ The Dutch East India used larger vessels for economic of scale.

³⁴ For example, during King Narai period, the French troops camped in the Vichayen Fort, Thonburi area.

³⁵ Bangkok and Thonburi were where French military forces camped during the King Narai period.

³⁶ The foreign ships could not pass to the Chao Phraya River beyond this line which met the need to avoid an invasion. It was used to control all inbound and outbound cargo ships.

Buri³⁸ still exists today. A group of French troops and families were allowed to live on the east bank at Samsen district. Today this Catholic community remains and is the site of the Conception Church. It was found that the Chao Phraya River had big changes especially during the Ayutthaya period. Through the Ayutthaya period both river banks were used for the foreign settlements which would be interpreted in the following maps and table.

Settlement	Symbols	Period of establishment
Mon	1	King Narai
Mon /Pagans	2	Early Ayutthaya
Brahmins	3	Early Ayutthaya
Malay	4	King Narai
Youn/Vietnamese	5	King Narai
Chinese	6	Before and during Ayutthaya
Pattani -Malay	7	King Narai
Moors	8	King Naresuan
Makassanrese	9	King Narai
Japan	10	King Naresuan
French	11	King Narai 1662
Portuguese	12	King Chairacha 1504
Dutch	13	King Naresuan 1604
English	14	King Songtham 1615
Wat Prod Sat	●	Royal Custom Gate in early to mid of Ayutthaya era
Rean Island	●	Small island in the middle of the Chao Phraya

Note: During King Naresuan and King Narai era, Ayutthaya had more welcomed to the foreigners to live in Ayutthaya due to country need military support for war during King Naresuan period and King Narai contact to more nations for a long term economic development from trade.

³⁷ The fort was built during the reign of King Narai by Chao Phraya Vichayen. It was built same time as the one on the east bank (opposite). Then a large chain was laid down from one side to the other to obstruct enemies and ships arriving by sea. It was used again by King Taksin for his palace in 1768.

³⁸ Thonburi was a capital city after Ayutthaya between years 1768-1782.

Figure 56 and table above are foreign settlements located in each period of the Ayutthaya era. It starts from the southern part of Ayutthaya Island to Wat Prodsat custom gate. All of the settlements were located on the banks of the river. Photograph was retrieved from www.google.com on November 21, 2011

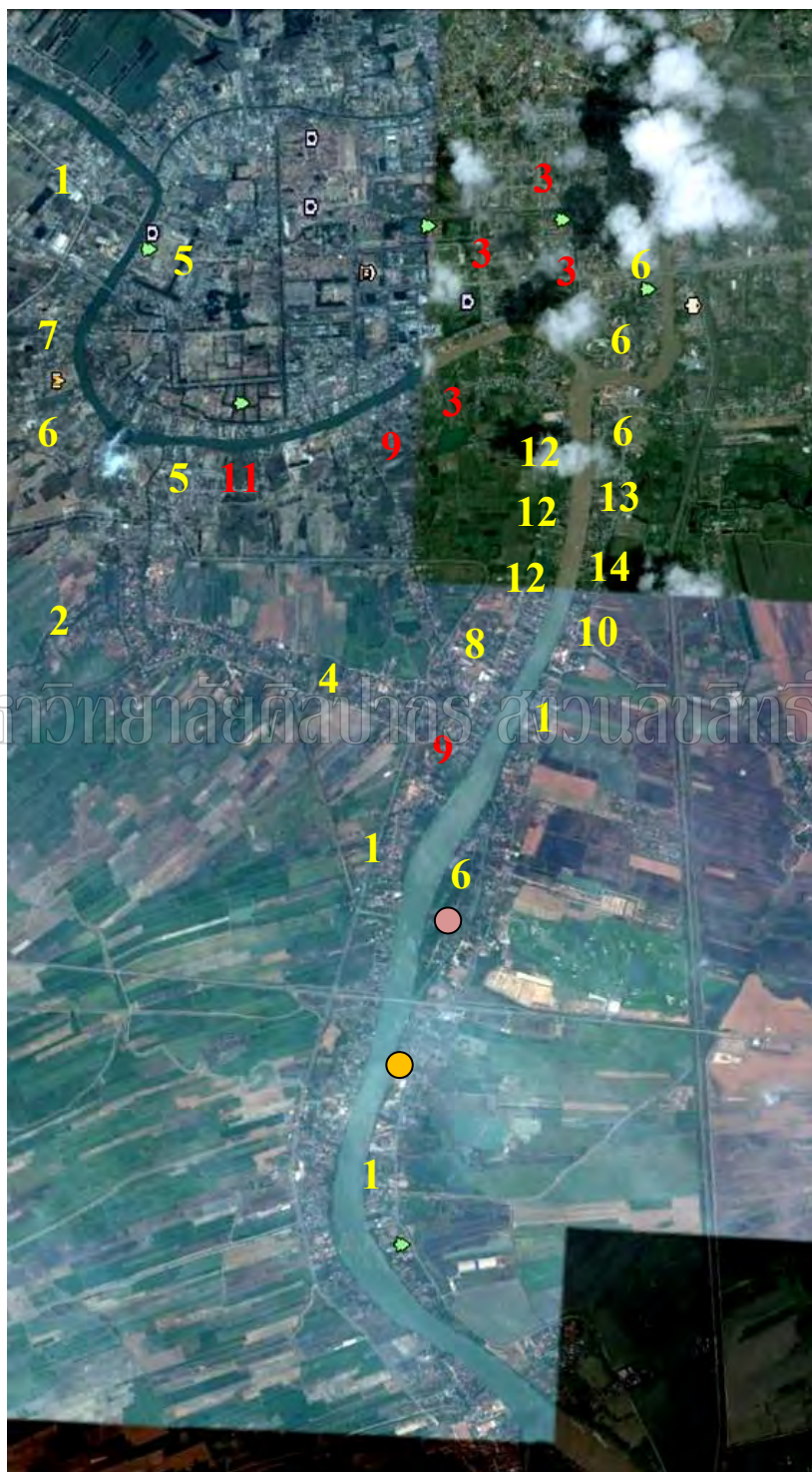




Figure 57 Map of old Pra Pa Dang settlement (arrow) and mouth of Chao Phraya River. Since Ayutthaya period, the river expanded for the range which made the Bangprakod canal or the Dutch settlement in old Prapadang far from the sea. Photograph was retrieved from www.google.com on November 21, 2011.



Figure 58 Samsen settlement is on the right bank. It is connected to Wat Rachatirat. Photograph was retrieved from www.google.com on November 21, 2011.

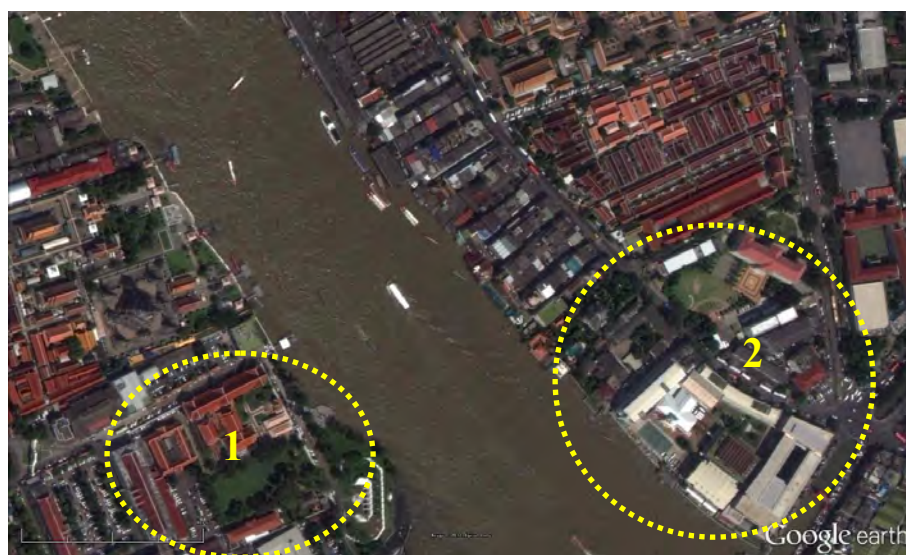


Figure 59 Vichaiprasit Fort area (1) and former settlement area on right side of The Chao Phraya (2). On the right side, today is Rachinee women school. Photograph was retrieved from www.google.com on November 21, 2011.

CHAPTER 3

The Europeans come to Ayutthaya

There are many studies and references to the Europeans in Ayutthaya but less about the causes for them coming to this region, especially to Ayutthaya. This chapter aims to explain the major causes for Europeans to expand to new frontiers in Asia.

The new trading route from Asia to Europe

It is widely known that Portuguese were the first European nation to arrive in Asia. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, there was a trading link between Arabs and Europe using the land routes through the Mediterranean Sea. It was known as the “Silk Road”. The trading routes used both land and sea to transfer goods from Asia to Europe, especially silk and spices. The middle traders, Arabs, used the land routes passing the Ottoman Empire³⁹. This was the best and shortest choice but it was costly and dangerous as it passed the region of the Nomads in the Middle East. Moreover, it took a very long time to transport goods from land and sea. Due to the difficulty of transportation and too many middle traders, some goods such as spices and silk had become extremely expensive for the Europeans. Goods from Asia were worth more than gold. During a long period of war⁴⁰ the Ottoman empire had blocked the trading area of the three continents, covering a large part of Southeastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa which were used as a trade route from Asia to Europe. Facing difficult issues for goods transportation, the Europeans started to search for new trade routes directly to Asia. Portugal was a great merchant country that found an opportunity to trade by traveling directly to the source by a sea route.

Meanwhile, ship technology was very much improved for long journeys. The maritime power of Portugal was strongly supported by the King Manuel I⁴¹. He invested

³⁹ The Ottoman Empire or Turkish Empire was active from 1299 to 1923. It covered three continents, controlling much of Southeastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. The empire was at the centre of interactions between the Eastern and Western worlds for six centuries.

⁴⁰ The Ottoman war started its westward expansion into the European continent in the middle of the 14th century. The war against the European countries occurred in a series of campaigns.

⁴¹ King Manuel I of Portugal and the Algarve (May 31, 1469 – December 13, 1521). He supported Portuguese exploration which was:
 1498 — Vasco da Gama discovers a maritime route to India
 1500 — Pedro Álvares Cabral discovers Brazil
 1505 — Francisco de Almeida becomes the first viceroy of India
 1503-1515 — Afonso de Albuquerque, an admiral, secures the monopoly of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf maritime routes (Sriwanttanasarn 1998, p.7).

his funds and supported a voyage for overseas trading, which later enriched the country⁴². Under the orders of the king, four vessels under the command of the famous navigator Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, continuing to the eastern coast of Africa to Malindi⁴³, then sailed across the Indian Ocean to Calicut⁴⁴. The wealth of the Indies⁴⁵ was now open for the Europeans to exploit. Strong competition between Portugal and Spain began but declined in 1493, when the Pope⁴⁶ enforced a treaty for territory assignment between Portugal and Spain. Spain would focus on the West and Portugal would focus on the East side of the world. Both countries were leaders of the maritime world for 50 years. (Ayutthaya in Spanish Archive, p.2)

The European relationship

It was found that a complicated relationship developed among countries in Europe. There were marriages between the leaders across the region. Religion was used to reduce tensions between countries with the lead taken by the Vatican. However, conflicts between countries had remained, as they wanted to dominate the continent. After a long conflict among countries between 12th-14th centuries⁴⁷, those countries turned to promote economic nationalism, which should be truly called mercantilism⁴⁸, new policies to increase and control the wealth of the country. However, it can be

⁴² The Portuguese Empire was one of the earliest to exploit the spice trade.

⁴³ Malindi is a town at the mouth of the Galana River, lying on the Indian Ocean coast of Kenya. In 1499 the Portuguese established a trading post which served as a resting stop on the way to India.

⁴⁴ Calicut was India's most important coastal city. It was a leading trading center for spices on the west coast of India.

⁴⁵ The Indies or East Indies (or East India) is a term used to describe the lands of South and Southeast Asia

⁴⁶ Pope Alexander VI (1 January 1431 – 18 August 1503) was a middleman in the agreement "Treaty of Tordesillas" for Spain to have rights in the west, North and South America and Portugal had rights in the East and Asia (Catholic encyclopedia 2011, www.newadvent.org).

⁴⁷ Major conflicts were between England and Spain, Spain and Portugal and the English and French who use religious disagreements, Catholics against the Protestants of England to proclaim wars. It started from a group of religious alliances such as Portugal, Italy, France, and Spain against England.

⁴⁸ After many wars, political and religious conflict had stopped, each country started to establish wealth by expanding trading territories, searching for goods and resources for their nation. This economic theory and policy influenced Europe from the 16th to the 18th century. It was government regulation of a nation's economy in order to increase its power at the expense of rival nations.

observed that this campaign came with the objective to use the economy to support a political agenda by expanding outside state boundaries. The simple and easy way to strengthen a country's political and economic power was to search for new opportunities in faraway lands. Later, countries such as England, Netherlands and France started to invade the trading conquests of Portugal and Spain when both countries had an inefficient trading system due to oversize of businesses. The situation was similar to a large wholesale company facing damage from complexity and redundancy in their system. Finally, the interlopers, the Netherlands, England and France could expand their trading territories and directly reach sources of goods in Asia, Africa and South America. That could be analyzed as the origin of free trade and free maritime territories that contradicted the mercantilism carried out by Spain and Portugal.

The situation in Europe

There was a long and profitable trading tradition between Portugal and Asia. The Spanish were the second Europeans interested in Asia during the period 1500-1600. Under Emperor Charles V (1519-1556) and King Phillip II, Spain had power over Asia by expanding religion, military influence and trading. However, it is interesting to observe the influence of the Spanish did not last long. The Spanish aimed too high; they wanted to dominate every country in Europe by means of the conquest of England. Finally, in 1588 the Spanish lost to England when the Armada failed in its attempt at invasion⁴⁹. This led to the country's economic collapse. The power of Spain in the Catholic religious hierarchy was also reduced dramatically. This also had a detrimental effect on the trading prominence of Spain in Asia, and North and South America. Later, the Spanish also lost in the ground war against the French in 1643, which caused the French to increase their power over Europe alongside England. The economic troubles from wars were the reason for Spanish influence in Siam and Indo-China to be short-lived. The Spanish however colonized the Philippines and it was to become a major trading centre for four centuries. The Netherlands was the third country that came to this region with a very strong effort to expand their trading territory to Asia and Siam. The situation of the Netherlands was very interesting, as after they had declared independence from Spain with help from the English and the French, they would go on to improve their economy by overseas trading. Although England won the war with Spain and became a very powerful country in Europe, they did not look for power from trading expansion at the beginning. However, the situation of the English was different when they sought power over countries in Europe by counterbalancing power with other countries. Finally, England realized they must trade to compete with other Europeans for economic purposes. The English were the fourth European nation to come to Ayutthaya to expand trading.

⁴⁹ The Armada was the Spanish fleet which sailed against England. The fleet set out with 22 warships of the Spanish Royal Navy and 108 converted merchant vessels with the intention of sailing through the English Channel to anchor off the coast of Flanders, near the south-east coast of England. The Spanish were driven back by an English fire ship attack and in the battle at Grave lines. The Spanish were forced to abandon the invasion and severe storms disrupted the fleets. It was wrecked on the north and western coasts of Ireland (Adams 2011, www.bbc.co.uk).

Then, from the 13th to the beginning of the 15th century, the situation in Europe changed rapidly and the countries in Europe attempted to exercise power or conquest over each other. The rise of power came in the form of war, marriage between royal families, agreements, financial support or even using religion. However, none of them could maintain power over each other for a long period. A strong competition among countries forced them to seek for opportunities and expansion outside of Europe. Thus, Asia was an ideal destination to look for new opportunities and search for resources. However, only few strong European countries were successful in Asian trading.



Figure 61 A view of Good Hope cape, land with strong winds and currents. Photograph retrieved from www.capepoint.co.za on February 17, 2010.



Figure 62 The route of Vasco da Gama from Lisbon, Portugal to India. Picture retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vasco_da_Gam on February 17, 2010.

The trading networks

After Vasco da Gama reached India, Asia became the destination for Portuguese traders and people who sought their fortune from the plentiful resources. Meanwhile, trade routes in Asia had started to link important ports and cities. It started from India and passed through Malacca, Macao and Nagasaki. Some decades later, sea trade routes

in South East Asian countries were linked to the main route, direct to Europe. It was a tremendous gateway to bring products from inland cities like Ayutthaya to supply Europe. Another successful factor for the Portuguese was a convenient path to cities inland when the Portuguese had a very strong development of maritime technology. The Portuguese used caravels for overseas transportation. The caravel was a special, small and low cost ship could sail upriver in shallow coastal waters. With its lateen sails attached, it could go fast over shallow water. It was very agile and it was esteemed as the best sailing vessel of its time. The exploration done with caravels made it possible to reach and trade to inland Ayutthaya and other countries in South East Asia.



Figure 63 The trading route or Silk Road in the Middle East, some routes remain to today in lands like Afghanistan. Photograph retrieved from www.worldbook.com/.../explorers/age_sailing on February 12, 2010.

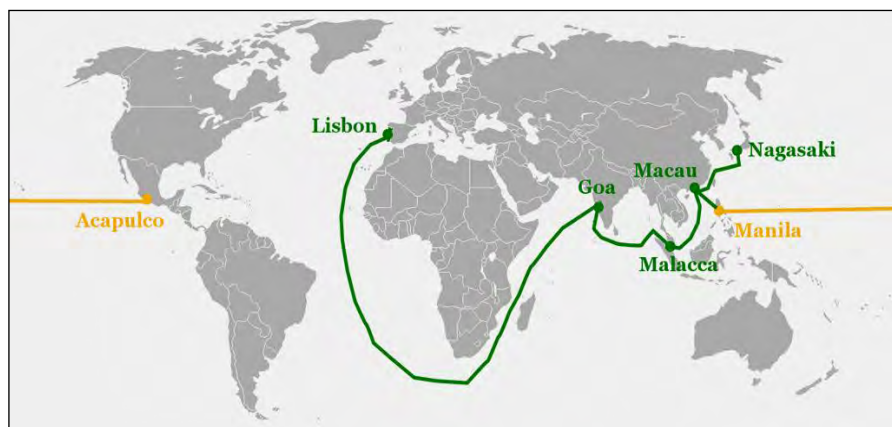


Figure 64 The trading route and major trade post of Portugal across the world. Picture retrieved from www.worldbook.com/.../explorers/age_sailing on February 14, 2010.



Figure 65 The caravel, the ship first used by the Portuguese. It is simple and convenient to travel in shallow water. It is an economical ship and easy to built. This ship is much smaller than the French and the Dutch cargo but it good for fighting enemies in shallow water. However, later this ship could not response to economic of scales; therefore it made the Portuguese could not compete in Southeast Asia trade. Photograph retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:PotugueseCaravel.jpg> on January 7, 2010

The Portuguese, the Dutch and the French come to Ayutthaya

The Portuguese arrival

In Ayutthaya, the arrival of the Portuguese was not only for trading but also they worked and merged as part of Ayutthayan society. There was an estimate of around 3,000 Portuguese living in Ayutthaya as permanent residents (Kasetsriri 2003, p.166) However, it is interesting to note when the Dutch trading company developed and grew in Asia it finally replaced Portugal. Between the two centuries 1602 to 1799, the Dutch East India Company, The Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Dutch, (VOC)⁵⁰ was the largest trading company in the world. Although, the VOC was established to operate primary as a trading company, it soon also came to play a prominent military, diplomatic and political role in countries in Asia included Ayutthaya for trading privilege and exclusivity. The VOC was the first multinational corporation in the world.

⁵⁰ The Dutch East India Company or VOC was established in 1602, when the States-General of the Netherlands granted it a 21-year monopoly to carry out colonial activities in Asia. The VOC remained an important trading concern for almost two centuries; it was bankrupt and formally dissolved in 1800.

It was the first business to issue stock. The establishment of this company was very interesting and would be elaborated for the causes of a very strong financial support. Previously, it was customary for a company to be established for a single voyage and to be liquidated right after the return of the cargo ship. As the competition between companies intensified, the profitability of the new trade was threatened and consolidation was not possible. Additionally, the company would face difficulties as the merchants of different provinces around the Netherlands were unwilling to cooperate. Then, in 1602, the Dutch government forced the issue of stock, sponsoring the creation of a single "United East Indies Company" that was granted a monopoly over Asia trading.

With the force of government, the VOC gained economic power from its better fund rising. During the 17th century, the Dutch become the most powerful traders in Asia. The VOC remained an important trading company paying a very positive annual dividend for almost 200 years, until it went bankrupt and was formally dissolved in 1800.

The Dutch arrival

The expansion of the Netherlands to South-East Asia can be explored in detail. In 1596, a four-ship expedition led by Cornelis de Houtman⁵¹ became the first Dutch contact in Indonesia, following Portugal. The expedition reached Banten, the main pepper port of West Java. In 1598, the large profits from trading in Asia increased the number of new cargos. In March 1599, a fleet of twenty-two ships under Jacob van Neck⁵² from five different companies was the first Dutch fleet to reach the "Spice Islands" of Maluku⁵³. The expedition made a 400 percent profit that was high enough to cover all loses. Therefore, the Southeast Asia becomes a strong profit destination that included Ayutthaya and the cities in the southern Siam were part of Netherlands' important trade network. In 1603, the first permanent trading post in Indonesia was established in Banten, West Java. The Dutch replaced the Portuguese in Ayutthaya during the King Naresuan era in 1604.

The VOC trading territory covered Africa to Japan. However, in the beginning, the Dutch also faced competition from races such as the Chinese and Arabs. They established more trading posts in large cities especially in South East Asia for convenience of collection and distribution of goods. Another important strategic location for the Dutch was in Malacca. Moreover, there were trading posts in the Siam territories, Pattani and Nakorn Sri Thammarat and later in Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya would

⁵¹ Cornelis de Houtman was the Dutch explorer who discovered a new sea route from Europe to Indonesia and was in at the beginning of the Dutch spice trade.

⁵² Jacob van Neck (1564-1638) voyaged to the East Indies (Indonesia) in 1598–1600.

⁵³ The Maluku Islands are in Indonesia. The islands were also historically known as the "Spice Islands" by the Chinese and Europeans; this term has also been applied to other islands.

become a very important trading post as it was considered as important as Malacca⁵⁴. The trading networks of the Dutch became very strong with tremendous volumes of merchandise across Asia to Europe. Finally, the Dutch developed as a middleman or brokers for both purchasing and selling goods to countries in Asia.



Figure 66 VOC. coins found in the Dutch settlement in Ayutthaya. On the top is the front and back of VOC coins in good condition. VOC. currency was used among posting countries. Photograph taken from Chao Sam Phraya Museum, Ayutthaya in June 2009 by Phungwong, N.

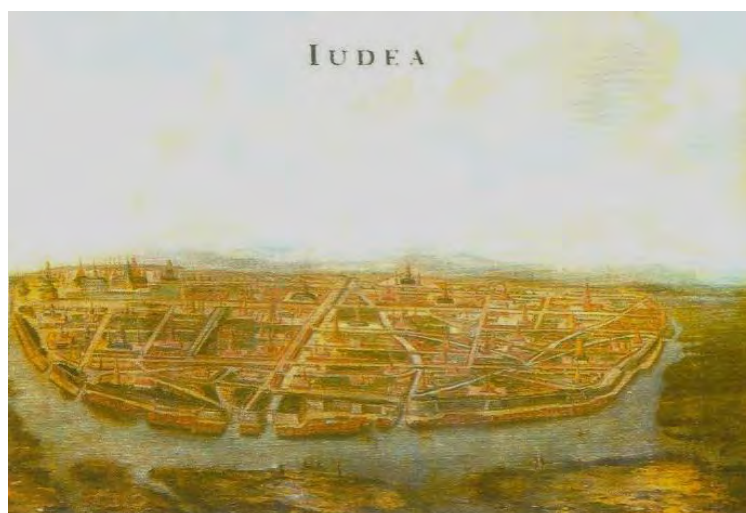


Figure 67 Painting of Ayutthaya (Iudea) is from The Dutch Encounter with Asia 1600-1959 by Rijksmuseum and Wanders Publishers, Netherlands.

⁵⁴ Ayutthaya was one of the important destinations of VOC. Ayutthaya was one of ten important port cities of VOC which had oil picture in 1663. The picture of Ayutthaya decorated VOC's board room, Heren XVII at VOC head office. Today, this picture is in Rijksmesum, Amsterdam.



Figure 68 Galiot, ship used by VOC traveling around Asia for trading. Photograph by Phungwong, N., December 2011 from Ayutthaya Historical Study Center.



Figure 69 A drawing of the board room of VOC, Heren XVII with oil paintings of ten important ports of VOC. This drawing is from *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat* by Uitgeversmaatschappij De Tijdstroom publishing, Netherlands. Left The actual Board meeting room of VOC, There are ten important port cities displayed in this room including Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. 1995.



Figure 70 Dutch trading routes summarized and ports cross the world. Retrieved from www.odu.edu/~mcarhart/hist102/slides/mapTrade.htm June 25, 2009.

In the early days, the Dutch had less participation and influence in Ayutthaya. This began to change in 1604, when the Dutch built their trade post with the permission of King Naresuan (Sanpet II) 1590-1605. In this period, the Dutch played a very strong part in the Ayutthaya court when the king needed support from them for weapons and new military technology to fight the Burmese⁵⁵. They dominated again in King Prasat Thong (Sanpet V) reign (1629-1655) when trade with Japan ceased as they closed their country. The increasing trade influence of the Dutch happened when they became intermediaries who purchased goods from Ayutthaya and sold to Japan while the other Europeans could not do the same due to religious conflicts⁵⁶. In this period, the Dutch were given a permanent settlement in Ayutthaya on the right side of the Chao Phraya River. However, later on, for the convenience of collecting goods and due to a strong friendship from King Songtham (1611-1628), they established a second settlement on the bank of the Chao Phraya River, at Pra Pa Dang⁵⁷. The reasons to have a second settlement can be explained as:

1. The new trade post was more convenient to collect goods from the coastal cities in the southern part of Ayutthaya such as Phetburi, Chonburi, Chan buri, Bangkok and Sumut Sakorn.
2. Another reason would come from the large size of Dutch cargo ships. The Dutch developed a very large ship for better scale of economy. Those ships could not reach Ayutthaya by the shallow waters of the Chao Phraya River in the summer.

Finally, the Dutch became involved fully in the political and military system of Ayutthaya when they were requested by the kings. The Ayutthayan kings usually allied with foreigners, as they need military technology, ammunition, human resources including military forces when they felt that Siamese nobles were unreliable to support their political power. For example, King Prasat Thong (Sanpet V) and King Songtham both needed support from the Dutch because both kings came from self-enthronement. They considered their nobles were less trustworthy and less reliable for political support.

⁵⁵ King Naresuan needed support from the Dutch instead of the Portuguese as they also traded with his enemy the Burmese.

⁵⁶ Japan did not trade with Catholic nations due to a conflict in religious beliefs but traded with the Protestant Dutch.

⁵⁷ Pra Pa Dang was an old coastal city during the Ayutthaya period. Today, the new city has moved to a different area but has the same name. The new city, Pra Pa Dang was built during King Rama III era. Therefore, today the old area is called by the canal name, Bang Prakod district.

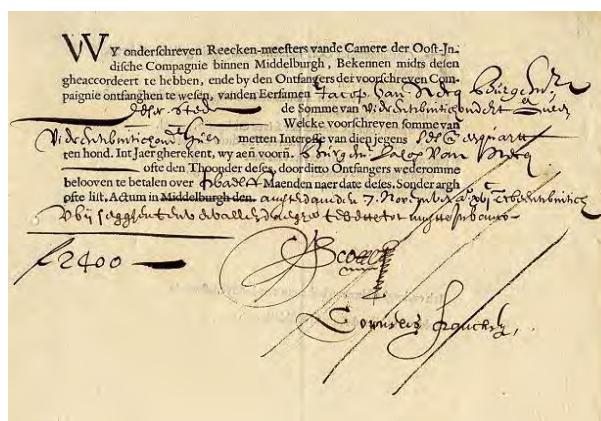


Figure 71 The stock paper issued to shareholders who invested in a Far-East cargo ship and trading of VOC. Photograph retrieved from <http://www.oldest-share.com> on June 23, 2009.

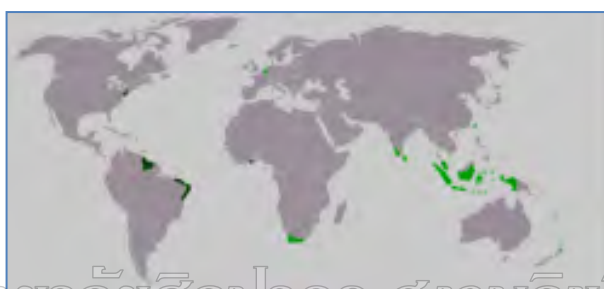


Figure 72 The area of the Dutch territories around the world, from Asia to South America. The Dutch could cover many trading posts in South-East Asia. <http://www.oldest-share.com> on June 23, 2009.

The French power in Europe.

As well as the Portuguese and the Dutch, the French were another European nation who had a very strong influence in Ayutthaya. The growth of French power could be observed from the decline of war in Europe and the end of the Hundred Years War, between their royal family and England⁵⁸. Thus, by 1453, the French nation was ready to evolve from a feudal country to an increasingly centralized state organized around a powerful absolute monarchy (Ramkamhang 1984, p.31). Finally, the French had strong influence across Europe and were able to involve the support other countries to get rid of English power⁵⁹. The French language was mainly used among European aristocracy, which advanced their cultural development. Finally, the French achieved a

⁵⁸ The Hundred Years' War was a series of conflicts lasting from 1337 to 1453 between two royal houses for the French throne. The conflict was punctuated by several periods and involved England in the war. It gave impetus to ideas of both French and English nationality.

⁵⁹ The French could gain back the country from England for the north part, the victory support to unite the nation and coronation of Charles VII as the French king.

very strong international status across Europe. The influence of the French reached a high level during the 17th century. The French started international trade, established colonies in North America and explored Asia.

French arrival

The French arrived in Ayutthaya in 1662 during the reign of King Narai the Great (1656-1688). It was widely known that they had a very strong relationship with Siam through their support of the Ayutthaya king. The good relationship between Ayutthaya and the French need to be interpreted in the context of the political situation of Ayutthaya. King Narai seized the throne by a coup d'état and took political power from the previous royal family and then looked for political and military support from the foreigners to balance the nobles' power. In King Songtham (1611-1628) and King Prasatthong (Sanpet V) 1629-1655) reigns both received military support and weapons from the Dutch. Consequently for more than 50 years, the Dutch enjoyed an almost 'most favored nation' status in Ayutthaya. The Dutch received several privileges such as permission to trade in tin, deerskin and other special goods. Reduced taxes and were granted, as were second trade posts in Pra Pa Dang. Additionally the Dutch represented Ayutthaya trade to Japan. However, the relationship with the Dutch was not continuously smooth as they were becoming greedier for trade and always using tactics to improve their position in Ayutthaya's political scene. Narai the Great who also took the throne by coup d'état, sought for a new alignment separate from the Dutch who supported the previous king⁶⁰.

Such interference in Ayutthaya's domestic affairs did not impress King Narai; indeed, it caused him to encourage the French to offset Dutch pressure. At the same time, the king welcomed embassies and traders from other European nations including England, Portugal and France. Over the years, the French influence became very strong as they were favored by King Narai. There were three ambassadorial delegations to France. The French, in turn, sent three embassies to Ayutthaya in 1685, 1686 and 1688 (Srinakarintraravirot 1985, p.160).

The French were part of the Christian missionary expansion into Asia with an intention to use Siam as the center to spread the religion to Indo-China. There were many arguments about Catholicism in Ayutthaya when the French began to think that their missionary work was succeeding and that King Narai had leanings towards the Church of Rome. It was a political plan of France's King Louis XIV⁶¹ by attempting to

⁶⁰ The threat to the power of the Dutch started when King Narai had permitted English merchants to open bases in Ayutthaya. The Dutch were very angry at this concession to England. They demanded a monopoly for the trading. The Dutch East India Company, VOC sent a fleet to blockade the entrance from Chao Phraya River. They wanted to use Dutch law.

⁶¹ Louis XIV of France (5 September 1638 – 1 September 1715), by the early 1680s, Louis XIV had greatly augmented his and France's influence and power in Europe and the world. French colonies were in the Americas, Asia and Africa, while diplomatic

convert King Narai to Catholicism, to gain favor from the Vatican. Later, after the success of the missionary initiatives, the French also attempted to gain more footholds in Siam; in 1687 they sent troops to garrison Bangkok and Mergui⁶² with the claim to use troops to protect French traders and residences.

Beside the focus on missionary work, there were men like Father Thomas⁶³ who aside from his religious intentions was also an engineer, architect and doctor. The French assisted and provided King Narai with educational, technology and construction projects at Ayutthaya, Lopburi, Bangkok and Thonburi⁶⁴. The King trusted this group of missionaries and gave them land to build their own homes and churches. The assistance given to Ayutthaya was done through French missionaries who played a very important role in engineering to construct fortifications in Ayutthaya, Thonburi and a new palace in Lopburi province for King Narai. In addition, French missionaries was also engaged in education, medicine and brought the first printing press into the country.

The death of King Narai in 1688 was followed by conflicts that broke out in late 1688 by group of the king's nobles who were becoming very agitated by the apparent foreign influence in Ayutthaya; it was considered a great risk to state security⁶⁵. This group of people was led by the king's successor Phra Petracha. He also terminated the post of the most eminent advisor to the king, the Greek Constantine Phaulkon⁶⁶. Therefore, after 1688 Ayutthaya had less contact with western nations. Indeed, there was increased trading contact with China. The trade with the Dutch, the Portuguese and neighboring countries continued but with fewer activities after the period of King Narai.

relations had been initiated with countries such as the Siam (through the embassy of Chaumont), then the French Jesuits and missionaries could be seen in South East Asia to China.

⁶² Mergui located in the south of present Burma on the coast of an island on the Andaman Sea. In the Ayutthaya period; Mergui was a port belonging to the Siam. It was an important trading center, especially for the Europeans.

⁶³ The leader of French Missionaries came to Ayutthaya during King Narai period.

⁶⁴ There were schools for priests built in Ayutthaya and Lopburi. The French also built an observatory at Saint Paolo church, Lopburi and a group of palace building in French style. The water system in Ayutthaya and Lopburi was first introduced by French.

⁶⁵ The interpretation of Phra Petracha's motivation to reduce risk of the country was when he depicted Phaulkon as an opportunistic foreigner who sought to use his influence to control the country on behalf of Western interests.

⁶⁶ In Thai เจ้าพระยาวิชาเยนทร์ - Wichayen was counselor to King Narai. He arrived in Siam in 1675 after working for East India Company in Siam. Phaulkon and his followers were arrested and executed by Prince Petracha on June 5, 1688 in Lopburi.



Figure 73 The Siamese Ambassadors meets Pope Innocent XI, December 1688.
Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France%E2%80%93Thailand_relations on January 12, 2010.



มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร - สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

Figure 74 The Siamese Ambassador, Ork Previsoutsathon, Kosa Parn was sent to meet King Louis XIV in Paris (Smithies (Translated) 2002, p.182).



Figure75 Print of Chevalier de Chaumont presenting a letter from Louis XIV to King Narai in the Lopburi palace. (Tangsiriwanitch, T. p. 63)

Conclusions

The beginning of the European expansion to Asia was to exploit resources and trading routes in Asia. Therefore, the marine route was the most economical way to transport goods to their homelands. A major city like Ayutthaya was a destination to gain a large profit from special goods especially forestry products. However, the relationship between Ayutthaya and Europeans depended on the goodwill of Ayutthaya's kings. It was a situation of mutual benefit when Ayutthaya's kings sought weapons, technology, people and power while the Europeans searched for goods, privileges for living and convenience to conduct activities in Siam. However, the objectives of the French were different when they wanted to expand the Catholic mission to Asia in order to support their aspirations in Europe. Often Europeans were invited to take more advantage and become involved in Siamese politics. Many of them such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French worked and lived in Siam for many years. They built residences and were part of Ayutthaya society. The rationale for coming to Asia and Ayutthaya since 15th century can be summarized as follows.

1. The Europeans searched for a new trade route to Asia, A sea trade route was a better way to reach Asia Southeast Asia which was a source for high value goods such as spices.
2. Asia was full of natural resources and goods that supported the population and economic growth in Europe.
3. It was a time when the Europeans had developed a very high degree of marine technology and maps. Their cargo ships could travel more accurately and faster with less cost.
4. The situation in Europe caused them to seek to improve their national economics by trading with Far East countries in Asia. Countries like the Netherlands used mechanisms to develop wealth.
5. The weakness of two leading countries Portugal and Spain gave more opportunities to countries like the Netherlands to develop their own trading routes to Asia.
6. New investment methods in the stock market like the VOC Company made trading more effective.
7. Countries like France wanted to play a dominant role as a leader in Europe by bringing Christianity to Asia to gain favor with the Vatican.
8. The Europeans has better technology and military expertise, which was needed by countries in Asia. Europeans were able to work with Ayutthayan kings as a trading partners and allies when Ayutthaya desired support from them.
9. Lastly, the European's roles were not limited to trade but they had involved countries like Siam to gain more business favor and support from the king of Ayutthaya. The kings exchanged trading befits for military and political support from those Europeans which made it easy to trade work and live in Siam.

CHAPTER 4

The Portuguese, Dutch and French Settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River.

The interpretation scope

This chapter will discuss the most active and important European settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River. The area started from the southern part of Ayutthaya to the mouth of the river in the Pra Pa Dang area. The time ranges from when the first Europeans arrived to the end of the Ayutthaya period. The most important Europeans who made the greatest impact were from Portugal, the Netherlands and France. They played very different and significant roles while they were in Ayutthaya. They were dominant not at the same time and they imparted a very strong influence on Ayutthayan society which remains to the present day. Their respective periods of dominance were related to the period of the respective Ayutthaya kings which will be explained in this chapter. The research is a study of facts and will include observations from sites, communities and remaining cultural evidence left from those Europeans. In this chapter the interpretation scope will cover the following.

- 1) Introduction of the settlement at the time of the first Europeans coming to Ayutthaya.
- 2) The establishment of the European settlements on the banks of the Chao Phraya River in the Ayutthaya period.
- 3) The relationship and dominant roles of each European community in Ayutthaya in the various time periods.
- 4) The Portuguese, Dutch and French life and work in Ayutthaya studied from the remains of their cultural heritage in today's Thailand. The remains of their culture indicate their roles and relationships to Ayutthaya's community.
- 5) A discussion of theories on the major European settlement locations on the banks of the Chao Phraya River.

The interpretation will present evidence of the Ayutthayan king's role in running the country. Moreover, the chapter will interpret the Ayutthayan king's needs to develop a strong friendship with the three European communities in different periods of Ayutthaya history.

Introduction

The wealth of Ayutthaya came from income as one of the most important port cities in Southeast Asia. Ayutthaya received goods from the mainland (forestry products) and from the sea trade brought by the foreigners. The city's development and dynamic economy brought a lot of foreigners from neighboring states as well as from faraway continents. Foreigners received warm hospitality and friendliness from the Ayutthaya people and their kings. These reasons drew the newcomers to visit, live and work. However, sympathy and the warm welcome of Ayutthaya's kings and people in

the city were limited because of the government's often tentative hold on power and the need for military caution towards foreigners. In Ayutthaya, foreigners and local people were restricted to live outside the city wall as in the following descriptions.

- 1) People in Ayutthaya were arranged to live in a specific area called "Yarn" to be controlled more easily;⁶⁷ mostly "Yarn" were outside the city wall.
- 2) The communities outside the city wall were still responsible for the protection of the city during wars. For example, the Portuguese gathered their people to fight against the Burmese in the 1569 war. They sailed their ships carrying cannons to fire on the Burmese camps. Thus, local people and foreigners were positioned in a buffer zone to protect the city.
- 3) Foreigners and a large group of Ayutthaya people were located outside the city wall to avoid riots, usurpation and to protect the royal family from assassination and being taken as hostages in a revolt.

The Southern Area of Ayutthaya Island

Outside the city wall were also rice fields and local residences which often became battlefields. The southern part of Ayutthaya was very important as it was a strategic location to defend against sea-bourne enemies. It was the point where Ayutthaya connected to the sea by the Chao Phraya River. Moreover, it was the strongest area protected from enemies by large numbers of residential buildings and the rivers Chao Phraya and Pasak. The area was called Bang Kraja district or Yarn Bang Kraja; it was also a port for boats, vessels and caravels since the Sukhothai period. The area was very active with floating markets as evidenced by the large volume of antiques found underwater dating from the Sukhothai period. The river was very wide; it was formed by the conjunction of the Chao Phraya River and the Pasak River. Pomphet Fort controlled this trading area, Bang Kaja. The fort was strongly made from laterite bricks in the European fashion. A picture drawn by a foreign person who came in the Ayutthaya period illustrated the formation of the fort in the form of a diamond. Today, the remains survive but are poorly cared for. Unfortunately, in the reign of King Rama I, bricks were removed to build the Bangkok city wall because the available bricks were not enough at that time and also to prevent the Burmese from using it a military base against Bangkok. Thus, the gigantic fort was left only in the memory and in the form of a small relic.

In the Ayutthaya period, Bang Kraja or Sampaow Lom (sinking ship) was a lively market area for local and foreigner trading activities⁶⁸. An old map and historical sites indicate that there were various national communities resident in this area, including Malay, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, English, Hollanders (Dutch) and

⁶⁷ In the Ayutthaya period the living areas were divided by activities and were called "Yarn" and "Pa" such as Yarn Klong Suanploo which was a Chinese residential and betel paper orchard or Pa Ma Prow which was a coconut market.

⁶⁸ There were many floating markets around Bangkaja area such as coconut, rope and spices markets. It was a place where foreigners could purchase food and traveling equipment.

French. Giant masts and wooden anchors of a large ship and other antiques have been found further south at Wat Kai Tiew and along the river corner of the island. This reflects a view of dynamic trading activity along the river in the Ayutthaya period. It can also be observed that the names of Tambon (districts or sub district) in this area are related to navigation and ships such as Sampoaw Lom (sinking ship), Karn Reau (the ship's beam), etc. With the merging of foreign settlers in large numbers and the local residents, the area was strongly represented in the international environment of Ayutthaya. The settlement of foreigners on the banks of the Chao Phraya River started from the river junctions and expanded along the river toward the south. It is very interesting that the remains of historic sites, cultures and living heritage of the European foreigners have survived along the Chao Phraya River until today. The areas and settlements of the Europeans during the Ayutthaya period were important and had a strong cultural influence on Siam when the live and contact to local people.



Figure 76 Pomphet (Diamond Fort). This fort was made from latalite and large bricks with a very strong foundation. This fort was the most important and largest among forts in Ayutthaya. In the beginning of the city, the city wall and fort was made from clay and wooden columns. It was reconstructed in bricks and stones during the reign of King Mahachakkaphat (1548-1568). He also built a large fort at the junction of the Parsak and Lopburi Rivers, Marhachai Fort to protect against enemies from the north. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on Jun 12, 2010.



Figure 77 Pomphet Fort and Chao Phraya River at Bang Ka Ja district. The fort could control activities and market places. During the Ayutthaya period, this area was crowded. From this fort, the military could easily observe foreigners activities on both banks. On the right side of this fort were Portuguese and Muslim settlements and on the left side were English, Dutch, Japanese and Mon or Raman. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on Jun 12, 2010.



Figure 78 Photograph of the remains of Ta-Kia Mosque built during the King Songtham period (1611-1628). The building was reconstructed during the King Rama V era. This area was a settlement of Shia Muslims from Persia. This mosque has been a landmark for the communities since the Ayutthaya period. In the past the river bank was close to the fence of this Mosque. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 21, 2010.



Figure 79 A graveyard of the Muslim leader was made during the Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 21, 2010.



Figure 80 Pottery from sunken cargos in the Chao Phraya River. In the center is a bottle in European style made from clay. Pottery was one of the important export products of Ayutthaya to South East Asia countries. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 81 European terracotta dolls found from sunken cargos in the Chao Phraya River between Wat Kai-Tear and Pomphet fort. The Chao Phraya River in Ayutthaya area would have been packed with import and export cargos. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010



Figure 82 A mother carrying a child. Celadon dolls were popular export goods and were made during the Sukhothai period. This doll was found from the Chao Phraya in the southern part of the island. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 83 Terracotta tea pots and jars were important goods sold for internal consumption. These pots were found from sunken vessels in front of Wat Kai Tiew. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 84 Large jars found from Chao Phraya River at Bang Kra Ja, Jar was export goods to Southeast Asia countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on November 3, 2010 from Chao Phraya National Museum.



Figure 85 Ayutthaya was also import the European porcelains or it was used for trade with other goods. It was goods of VOC Company made in China sold to country from Asia to Europe (left). Others were import porcelains in Thai design from China for local used in late Ayutthaya era (right). These plates were found from Chao Phraya River. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on November 3, 2010 from Chao Phraya National Museum.



Figure 86 A celadon bowl on top of Chinese ceramic bowls. This type of ceramic (celadon) was ordinarily made during the Sukhothai period. Celadon ceramic was an important export to countries in South-East Asia and Japan. The ceramics were found from sunken cargos in front of Wat Kai-Tiea and represented Ayutthaya as a place for both import and export goods since the Sukhothai period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 87 Ayutthaya also exported large timber logs. This Photograph is of a large teak log found in the Chao Phraya River where there was found a large volume of ceramics. Teak wood was very good for making ships and vessels. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 88 Weapons and agriculture tools found from sunken cargos. During the Ayutthayan age, steel tools and swords were very popular import products possibly from Japan as in the Ayutthayan period it was found that the Japanese could also export guns. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 89 Japanese swords and weapons found from sunken cargos in front of Wat Kai-Tear. During the Ayutthaya period, weapons and steel tools were important import products to Ayutthaya. Samurai swords were very popular among the Ayutthaya nobles. These indicate that the Chao Phraya River in the southern part of Ayutthaya would have substantial trading activities with a large number of ships and vessels anchored on both sides of the river. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 90 The writer and an ancient anchor from a Chinese vessel. The large size of the anchor reveals that large vessels could get through the Chao Phraya River. This anchor is 6 meters long and 2 meters wide. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 3, 2010.



Figure 91 Another pair of anchors, the larger is 6 meters and the smaller is 4.5 meters. The ship or vessel would have been very large. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on 3 April 3, 2010.



Figure 92 The Chao Phraya River is in flood season from October to January. The flood makes this river three times larger than normal. The river can carry large numbers of vessels with its depth between 10-15 meters. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on November 21, 2009.



Figure 93 The Chao Phraya River in front of Wat Kai-Tiea. A large volume of relics from sunken ships and vessels have been found here. This part of river is very large and deep which was suitable for the anchorage of a large number of ships. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on Nov 21, 2009.

The Portuguese Settlement

The stages of development

Portugal was the first European nation to come to Ayutthaya. It was also the first European nation with contact to countries more widely in Asia. They came to Ayutthaya as merchants and fortune-hunters. The Portuguese developed diplomatic relationships with Siam and, in return, Siam set up an embassy in Goa, the Portuguese settlement in India. Both countries developed a very strong relationship as there was no diplomatic competition from other European nations until the coming of the Dutch to Ayutthaya. The development of the Portuguese settlement in the Ayutthaya period can be classified into two stages.

- 1) The beginning of the Portuguese settlement and community in Ayutthaya started when a group of merchants came to Ayutthaya in 1511 and maintained continuous visits for trading and establishing relationships with people in Ayutthaya. An example was in 1516, when the Portugal government sent Duarte de Coelho⁶⁹, an official ambassador, on his third envoy visit to Ayutthaya. He promised to supply King Ramathibodi II with guns and ammunition. The two countries agreed an official Treaty of Amity which was the first treaty that Thailand made with a European nation (Pompongpat & Chavanakreangkrai 1986, p.11-12)⁷⁰. In return, Ayutthaya agreed to ensure religious freedom and facilitate the Portuguese in establishing a settlement and trading post in Ayutthaya (Bras de 1923. p.115).
- 2) The late stage of development started from the mid Ayutthaya period of King Naresuan's reign to the end of Ayutthaya. The Portuguese population in the settlement began to decline due to the diminishing of their roles to the Ayutthaya court and waning of their trading business. Siam was not a successful country for them when the Dutch increased their trading roles and political influence in Ayutthaya starting from King Naresuan to the King Prasartthong period, 1590 to 1655⁷¹. There was a decline in Portuguese trading power in South-East Asia in this period which came from the fact

⁶⁹ Duarte de Coelho, 1485-1544, was a military administrator of colonial Portugal. He was a founder of Olinda, a port city in Brazil in 1535. He came to Siam as an ambassador in 1516.

⁷⁰ The details of the Treaty are summarized as follows:

- 1) Portugal requested a spices trading monopoly.
- 2) Portugal wanted to set up trading stations in Siam colonies: Tranowsri, Marit, Pattani and Nakornsri Thamarat.
- 3) The Portuguese would receive permission to build a Catholic church which later was built for the Dominican order.
- 4) Portugal would supply guns, ammunition and cannons to Ayutthaya.
- 5) Portugal agreed with Ayutthaya to replace Muslim traders for business in Malacca (Bras de 1923. p.114).

⁷¹ From King Naresuan to King Prasartthong, the Netherlands was a leading country supplying modern weapons to Ayutthaya. They were also involved as a backup power to King Songtham in seizing the throne from King Prasartthong.

that Portugal was unified with Spain for 60 years⁷². In this region, Portugal lost many trading ports and trading routes in Southeast Asia included Siam. The Dutch came to dominate in trade and military activities. Additionally, later in Ayutthaya, the Portuguese were replaced by the French community and its rapid growth during King Narai's reign. In the late Ayutthaya period, Dutch traders had replaced the Portuguese cargos visiting Siam; moreover, Dutch forces had replaced the Portuguese in the Ayutthayan army which was later followed by the use of French troops by King Narai. Therefore in the late Ayutthaya period, there were fewer Portuguese in Ayutthaya and those remaining were of mixed Portuguese-Thai descent. The Portuguese and the Dutch both saw their influence decline and were replaced by the French during the reign of King Narai. The fall-off in business and activities would be expected to affect Portuguese migration from other parts of South-East Asia to Siam; however, during the King Narai period, the settlement was expanded to the new developing city of Bangkok due to the rapidly increase of the Catholic population in Ayutthaya. Another reason was the Portuguese soldiers received permission to live near their workplace; Vichayen Fort⁷³.

The first arrivals in Ayutthaya

Initially, there were about 300 Portuguese who gradually settled in Ayutthaya. Some were traders and some were military experts. Most of them were mercenaries. It is known in 1538, 120 Portuguese were directly employed by King Chairaja (1534-1546) as his bodyguards for the war in Changkarn. The main reason for employment was that they were experts in guns and munitions which was a new military technology to Ayutthaya. However, Ayutthaya was not the only country where Portuguese soldiers were hired. In 1549, when Ayutthaya and Burma went to war, both countries hired Portuguese soldiers and used Portuguese ammunition and cannons. Another example of the Portuguese role can be seen from the historical remains of King Mahachakkapart's reign (1548-1568) in the city wall and forts such as Karwpreak Fort in Hua Raw and Pomphet Fort. These constructions were designed in an arch form and European fortification format designed by the Portuguese. Many buildings and roads in Ayutthaya were developed by the Portuguese as the first European nation serving Ayutthaya development. At the beginning, the Portuguese were able to form a large community and were very active. In 1552 Diego Lopes de Sequeira⁷⁴ succeeded in leading a group of Portuguese Jesuit missionaries to Ayutthaya for the first time to serve the Portuguese community as Ayutthaya had a large Catholic population. Later, their

⁷² Between the years 1580-1640, Portugal was under a dynastic union with Spain. The Portuguese throne was seized by Philip II of Spain. He was an heir through his mother, Isabella of Portugal.

⁷³ It was a large group of Portuguese soldiers working under the French command who lived in Samsen area and nearby Vichaiprasit Fort in Bangkok.

⁷⁴ Diego Lopes de Sequeira was a government officer who came to Ayutthaya to analyze trading potential and brought a group of missionaries to Siam. He was subsequently made governor of the Portuguese in India from 1518 to 1522.

business in Siam went very well as the Portuguese were able to appoint a trade representative in the Siam colonies of Nakhon Si Thammarat and Pattani to conduct trading in rice, tin, ivory, gum benjamin, indigo, sticklac and sappan wood. The Portuguese also performed a role in the Ayutthaya court as consultants to the Ayutthaya king. Archeological excavations at the Portuguese site in Ayutthaya showed that the historical remains of the community were very large and complex due to the long period of development. Many buildings, churches and seminaries were built over the old ones due to the limited space.

One can observe the relationships between international communities such as the Portuguese, Japanese and French. They lived close to each other and were connected together by their religion, Christianity, and would often share the same church, especially the Christian-Japanese who did not have their own church. They went to the Portuguese churches which sometimes were lead by the French missionaries. In the Portuguese settlement, there were three churches established as the center of the community. Firstly, the Church of San Pietro, for the Dominican order (Ban Jacobin), was the first to be built when the Portuguese received their own land as a reward when Ayutthaya won the Chengkarn War. The second church was the Church of San Paolo for the Jesuit order (Ban Jesuit) and the last was for the Franciscan order that used the Church of San Francisco.

Alfonso de Albuquerque⁷⁵, Portuguese viceroy in Goa, had a policy to stimulate settlement and growth. He suggested that Portuguese men should marry local women (Fine Arts Department 1944, p. 55). This caused a rapid increase in the mixed-blood and Christian population in Ayutthaya. According to the historical record, approximately 3,000 people, including local people, were baptized or were married to Portuguese men in King Narai peroid (Chindadatch 2005, p. 1-2).

The settlement locations in Ayutthaya.

At the beginning of the relationship, the two countries were concerned about information regarding trading. After ties were established, King Ramathibodi II allowed the Portuguese to introduce Christianity to people in Ayutthaya. It was mentioned that they were allowed to put a big cross with the mark of Portugal's King⁷⁶ in the middle of the city (Bras de 1923, p. 216-217 and 220-221). However, in the beginning, they did not have a permanent settlement as they were just a few visitors. The Portuguese were allowed to establish a formal settlement in the southern part of Ayutthaya outside the city wall during the reign of King Chairaca. He gave land on the east side bank of the Chao Phraya River as a reward to the Portuguese volunteer forces after he won the war with Chengkarn in the year 1540.

⁷⁵ Alfonso de Albuquerque lived from 1453 to 1515. He was a Portuguese naval general. He conquered and established the Portuguese colonial empire in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia. He became the second viceroy of the State of India in 1509. In 1510, he took possession of Goa.

⁷⁶ King Manuel I, the 14th king of Portugal, reigned between 1495 and 1521.

The Portuguese settlement in Ayutthaya was formed on new land in the early period of Ayutthaya. The land was formed by an accumulation of sediment from the conjunction of the Chao Phraya River and the Pasak River. It was not an uninhabited area, however. On the west side, the island was surrounded by small canals, Krun Lakornchai and Kou Jarm, which were used as transportation routes for the Jarm⁷⁷ community and local residents who lived far from the river. Then, the area was an island shape. The site was where the first Portuguese ships had anchored and had been used as a temporary residence before they received permission for a permanent community from King Chairacha.

Trading, working for the Ayutthaya courts, religious freedom and the policy to integrate with local people by marriage to Thai women brought a large number of newcomers. It created a large group of mixed-blood, Siamese-Portuguese population in the settlement. According to the record in Prchumpongsawadarn during the King Narai reign there were eleven missionaries working in three churches and around 3,000 people in the settlement, mostly half-blood (Department of Fine Arts 1944, p11).

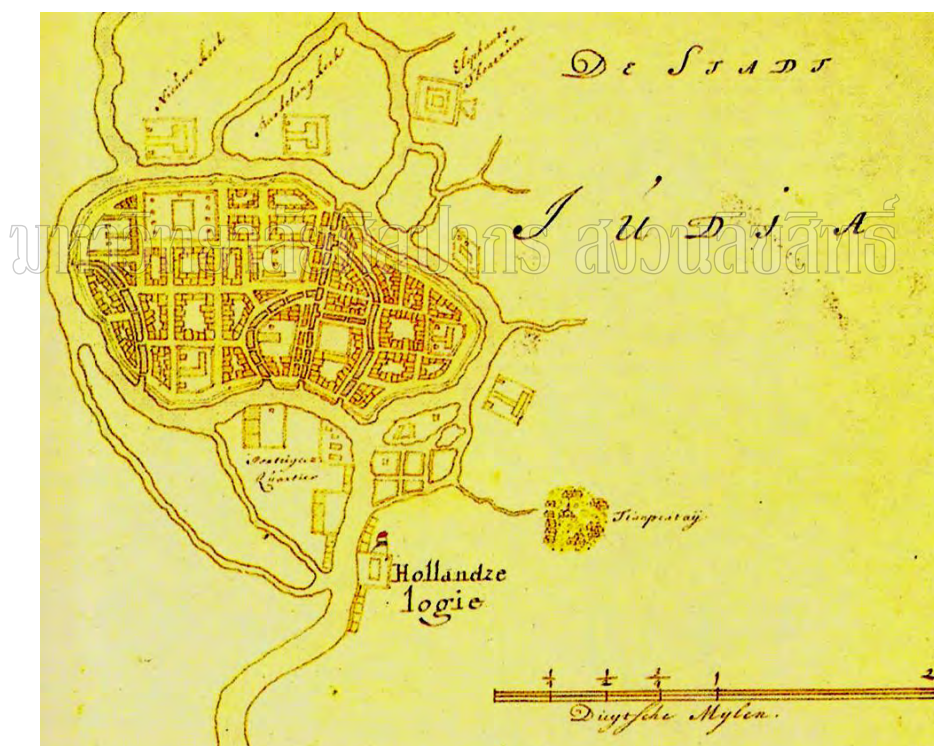


Figure 94 This map was drawn by an unknown Dutch map maker around 1690-1705, in the same period of King Phetracha. It shows the Portuguese settlement was in the form of an island shaped by canals. The Portuguese had a very large area of settlement. Also, the picture shows the building layout in the settlement. Photograph is from the Ayutthaya in the Europeans' Atlas. The original picture was from Atlas Mutual Heritage, Netherlands

⁷⁷ A Muslim population migrated from Cambodia after the war between Ayutthaya and Cambodia.

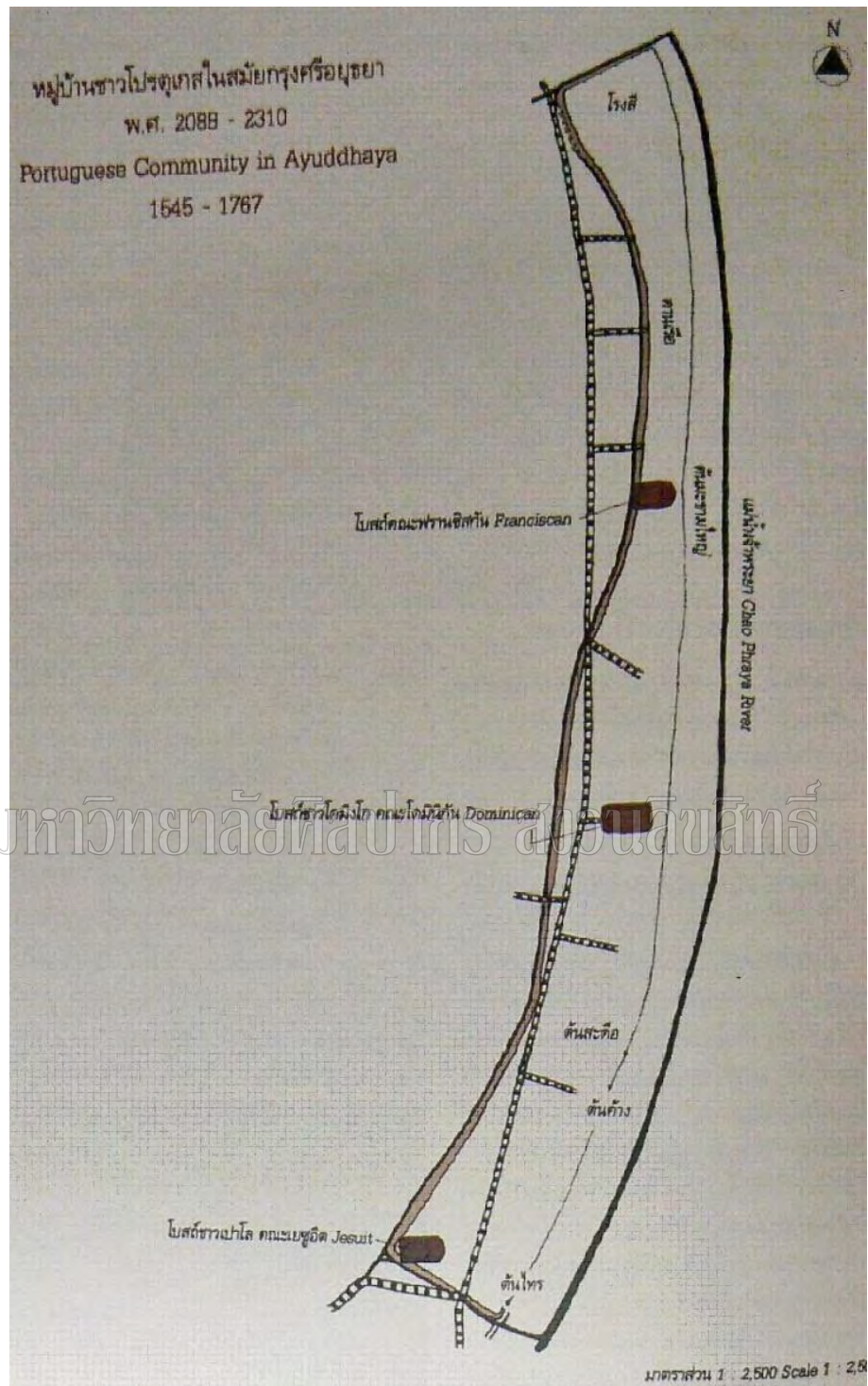


Figure 95 A layout of the Portuguese settlement in Ayutthaya province. This indicated the settlement had a very long bank to anchor large numbers of ships. This settlement was surveyed by Pratipat Poompongpaet, Director of the excavation site in 1983.



Figure 96 The area of the Portuguese settlement on the bank of Chao Phraya River in Ayutthaya. There was 2.5 Km. range of the settlement connect to the river. Photograph retrieved from www.Googleearth.com in November 2011.

The second settlement of the Portuguese

However, the Portuguese did not have only one settlement on the bank of the Chao Phraya River. When the settlement had grown larger after its establishment in Ayutthaya, they expanded to a new customs-gate town, Bangkok area. Since King Narai's reign all the cargo and foreign ships were required to stop in Bangkok before passing the customs gate to Ayutthaya. The rationale was to avoid an invasion on the capital directly. The banks around Bangkok became a new haven for foreigners. In Samsen District, there was a new Portuguese settlement which had moved from Ayutthaya during the King Narai period. The rationale for the establishment of the second settlement in Bangkok is as follows.

- 1) The settlement in Samsen was established around the year 1674 during King Narai's reign but it would be initially a French settlement as there was a French church built by Father Louis Lano (Chindadatch 2005, p.4). Later, the Portuguese who were members of the Church in Ayutthaya led by father Louis Lano moved to this area.
- 2) The settlement in Bangkok was built for a European military force of King Narai. They were led by French troops. However, the majority of the European troops were Portuguese. Thus, the community was dominated by the larger number of Portuguese, including their family members.



Figure 97 The Conception Church and community view from river. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figure 98 The community area which different from others church when the church was located among residential. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figure 99 The Conception Church and a detail from inside at Samsen, Bangkok. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figure 100 The original Conception Church built since King Narai period in Dutch architectural style. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figure 101 The cemetery in Conception church built since Ayutthaya period. There is a grave of Phraya Visetsongkram Ramparkdee , the founder of Visetrat . Family was original in Samsen settlement which family could track back to Ayutthaya period as Portuguese. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figur 102 The Cemetery of Conception Church is the only one evident show this area was a Portuguese settlement operated the church by French father. Today, there are few graves notice as Portuguese. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.



Figure 103 Top view of Samsen settlement are surrounding by Thai temples, Wat Racha and Wat Brod. The yellow arrow is Conception church. On the northern part (yellow), members were from Vietnam and the southern part members (blue) were Khmer. Photograph by Phungwong, N. July 16, 2010.

Work, Business and Activities of the Portuguese in Ayutthaya

Ayutthaya was a very attractive place for trading; it invited more than 40 nations to live in Ayutthaya, including the Japanese, Mon, Malay, Arabs, Vietnamese, Chinese and Europeans. All of them were allocated to live in specific areas or Yarn for ease of control. The Portuguese lived in a large community with systematic planning, lead by a group of missionaries. The population did different jobs in line with their ability, ranking from trading⁷⁸ to serving the government. The Portuguese were the first European nation to take on occupations that local people could not do well such as merchants, soldiers, doctors, technicians (cartographers, fortification builders, engineers, cannon makers, firearm and ammunition makers). Additionally, there were missionaries and ambassadors who exercised political and military influence in Ayutthaya. The Portuguese dominated various jobs as follows.

Government Traders: The Portuguese government was initially interested in Ayutthaya because they foresaw a trading potential and opportunity in a large country that had a lot of port cities and rich forest resources. Moreover, Ayutthaya was a powerful state with a large population based on immigration after winning wars with neighboring countries. The first Portuguese were trade representatives who came to Ayutthaya after they had realized that Malacca was at one time Ayutthaya's colony. The main goods introduced to Siam were guns and ammunition while Ayutthaya sold controlled goods such as rice, sappan wood and tin. However, later direct trade between the two states declined as the Portuguese government focused on selling only prohibited goods such as guns and munitions. Subsequently, Portuguese private merchants had more opportunity to open businesses in Ayutthaya.

In the early visits of the Portuguese, the ambassadors and attachés carried a double status as both government traders and diplomatic representatives. Afterwards, the first group of Portuguese ambassadors visiting Ayutthaya during the King Ramathibodi II era offered guns and ammunitions to Ayutthaya. In return, the king agreed to establish a good relationship⁷⁹ with the Portuguese as they occupied a productive port, Malacca. Portugal was the first nation to monopolize the purchase of spices and pepper from Siam. However, after the relationship was well established, the role of the ambassadors as diplomatic representatives declined while their role as traders became more obvious.

Private Traders: After the decline of the Portugal government trading to countries in Asia, Portuguese soldiers found their future had become less certain as they earned only very small wages from working at the Portuguese posts in Asia. They turned to fortune-hunting trading on high profit routes. Around the year 1520, there were a lot of Portuguese fortune-hunters functioning in Ayutthaya including working on the royal

⁷⁸ Even though Ayutthaya allowed free trade, it still held a monopoly and control on certain products such as rice, salt and weapons. The merchants directly traded with the king's treasury department for those controlled products.

⁷⁹ The third visit of the ambassadors was the first official diplomatic contact from the Europeans.

vessels trading with the Chinese. A large Portuguese private trader did business at the ports on the west shore of Siam (from Tawai and Tranowsri) before other Europeans. The Portuguese traded goods from India which were directly transported to Ayutthaya such as copper, cinnabar, spices, rose perfume (from Persia), cloth (from India), eaglewood, tin (from Phuket), and silk and rice (from Ayutthaya).

However, the business to Siam was quite unique and could be explained as trading there was controlled and monopolized by the Royal Trading Department (Treasury Department). At that time, the trading domination policy might be changed upon the accession of a new king. For example, during the reign of King Ekathotsarot, Portuguese trading was the most active. However, later they could not compete with newcomers like the Dutch, the Japanese and the French. In the later Ayutthaya era, the Portuguese trade declined dramatically. During the active period, large number of cargos had come directly from Malacca to Ayutthaya, Puket and Tanowsri up to sixteen times during the years 1564-1593(Kongsaisaw 2004, p.89). These did not include the cargos arriving in Siam from other Portuguese ports. Thus, Ayutthaya was a very active place for visiting and was a place for the crews to stay during loading of goods from Ayutthaya.

Table 4 Following are sample tables of Portuguese government ships that visited Siam between years 1564-1593 (Kongsaisaw 2004, p.90)

Year	Name of Trader	City	Visiting Time
1564	Femando Goncalves Gaviao	Tanowsri	2
1569	Gaspar Q.de Vasconcelos	Tanowsri	2
1579	Duarte Machado	Tanowsri	2
1581	Jeronimo de Lima	Tanowsri	2
1583	Gaspar M.de Araujo	Tanowsri	2
1583	Manuel M. Videira	Phuket	2
1585	Diogo P. Tibao	Ayutthaya	2
1585	Antonio S. de Araujo	Tanowsri	1
1585	Luis Borges	Ayutthaya	3
1586	Francisco Riberio	Tanowsri	2
1587	Pedro Alves	Ayutthaya and Japan	3
1590	Lorenco F. Gramxo	Tanowsri	2
1592	Antonio de Cova	Phuket	4
1593	Antonio B. de Macedo	Tanowsri	2

Soldiers and mercenaries: The Portuguese received considerable benefit from Siam including trading profits and permission to live in Ayutthaya. The favors were in return for Portuguese help and work for the Ayutthaya army on both a permanent and temporary basis. Throughout the 16th century, the Portuguese were asked to protect the capital city several times. The Ayutthaya kings gave rewards in return for their efforts. The rewards included the waiving of custom taxes, permission to own land and

establish a Catholic church in Siam⁸⁰. Most of the Portuguese residents in Ayutthaya occasionally turned to volunteer soldiers to protect their businesses and properties when enemies attacked. Besides, the mercenaries were military and technology experts who made cannons, built forts, and trained Ayutthaya's soldiers in western military formation. From King Chairacha to King Narai (1534-1688), Portuguese soldiers officially worked as the king's bodyguard and served in the army as a volunteer group or Kong Arsa in Thai. They received formal titles and officer ranks. For example, in the reign of the King Narasual, Kun Kalamapichit was the commander of the Right Solider Unit under the Department of Fire-Gun Soldiers and held Sakdina for 400 Rais (Krommaluang Direkreat p.238) Another example was when King Chakkraphat gave orders to improve the city protection system; the Portuguese role was to build and to design a new city wall and reform the fortifications and ramparts⁸¹.

There were large numbers of Portuguese soldiers and other Europeans working for Ayutthaya with Rachatinnanam and Sakdina as in the sample table below (used only for foreigner officers) (Department of Fine Arts, Kodmai Trasamdong, p.162-163).

Table 5 Rachatinnanam and Sakdina

Rachatinnanam (Title)	Position	Sakdina (Rais)
Mern Reuttapolchi	Samuhabanche	300
Long Ramronnapop	Palad Kom Panakkarnbok	600
Loung Pipittanarong	Palad Lear Sai	600
Long Songvichi	Palad Lear Kwa	600
Pra Pittadecha	Chao Krom Hardyang Farang (head of department)	800

Missionaries: They played a leading role in Ayutthaya as they were a source of knowledge and technology. Siam allowed missionaries to teach people about Christianity. Within a short period, a large number of local people joined the first Catholic Church in Siam. From their first arrival in Ayutthaya to the beginning of King Narai's reign, the Portuguese missionaries dominated in the mission. Apart from the religious mission, the missionaries usually came with medical and construction knowledge⁸². During the King Chairacha and the King Chakkraphat eras, Siam dug new

⁸⁰ The first Catholic Church in Siam was the Church of San Petro. It was one of the rewards after the Portuguese supported King Chairacha in the Changkarn war.

⁸¹ The city wall on the east was changed and reconstructed by the Portuguese military engineers. It was changed from clay and wood to bricks. The Portuguese also reconstructed Pomphet forts and others fort in European formation.

⁸² The Portuguese used arch forms to bear the weight of brick bridges and forts and used theodolites and survey methods to build canals, river and roads.

canals⁸³ which relied on Portuguese survey technology (Kruogharm, V. Sept. 6, 2011). However, during the King Narai period, the religious authority of the Portuguese was replaced by that of French missionaries. In King Narai's reign, the French received strong support and were allowed to build the Joseph Church in the settlement in the fifth year after arrival. Therefore, the Portuguese missionaries would no longer dominate the religious mission in Ayutthaya. Great conflict arose between the Portuguese and the French who claimed that they possessed rights given by Pope Gregory XV⁸⁴ to the religious missions in Indo-China.

The Influence of the Portuguese on living, working and religion in Siam

Their culture passed from Siamese-Christians to local Ayutthaya society. Portuguese culture was disseminated into society via marriage to the local population and the influence of Siamese Christians. Today, the Portuguese culture still remains embedded in Thai culture. In the present day several Portuguese foods and desserts are incorporated in Thai dishes without anyone noticing. In the Ayutthaya period, the Portuguese lived by adapting themselves to Siam culture. However, they continued to follow their own traditions which can be seen in today's food and language.

The Portuguese culture in Siamese food.

Before their arrival, Thai people mostly ate rice and various kinds of fish which were their major source of protein. The Portuguese brought different styles of food where a major source of protein came from red meat and dairy products such as milk and eggs. Siam's desserts were mostly made from rice and sticky rice with coconut and palm sugar such as Kanom-Tom, Lord-Chong and Kaow-Neaw-Peak. Later, people acquired new recipes for many well known Portuguese desserts containing eggs as a major ingredient. These were Tongyep, Tongyod, Foytong, Babin, Look-Chup, Tongmoun, Kanoom-Ping, Kanoom-Morkang, and Curry-Puff. These desserts were not originally Siamese recipes. These Portugal's desserts would have been cooked in settlements from India to Macao, including Ayutthaya, as there were similar deserts available along Portugal's trading routes. There was a record about Madam Phaulkon⁸⁵

⁸³ The first canal was dug in Bangkok to open the Chao Phraya during reign of King Chairacha for convenient transportation of traders. The second canal was in Ayutthaya dug during King Chakkaphat for city protection.

⁸⁴ Gregory XV was pope from 1621-1623. He took a great interest in the Catholic missions in foreign countries. These missions had become very extensive and the missionary countries differed greatly in language, manners, and civilization from the countries of Europe. This mission was dominated by the French. His direction was to last long.

⁸⁵ Marie Guimar was the mixed-race Portuguese-Japanese wife of Constantine Phaulkon, minister of King Narai. She had a strong influence on the cooking of the royal household and introduced the concept of baking and use of dairy products, egg yolks and flour (Kantamara 2001, p. 4, 16). The influence on Siam's desserts can be

who was a royal chef to King Narai. She had introduced Portuguese food and desserts to the royal palace which later would filter down to people outside. Her food was well known among people in Ayutthaya (Kasetsriri 2003, p.308). These are examples of authentic Portuguese's desserts available in Portugal which are similar to desserts in Thailand.

- 1) Queijadas de Coimbra (Cheese Tartlets) is similar to “Babin”. The Portuguese use cheese but young coconut is a major ingredient in “Babin”.
- 2) Fils d’or looks and tastes very similar to “Foytong”.
- 3) Trouxos das caldas looks very similar to “Tongyep”
- 4) Massapaes is a local dessert of Algarve⁸⁶. It is made from almonds in Portugal. In Thailand it is called “Lok Chub” cooked from green beans.

Although these were similar desserts, they adjusted the recipes to be based on local ingredients.



Figure 104 This is Kanom “Babin” using coconut and is either baked or grilled. It is similar to Queijadas de Coimbra of the Portuguese. This is homemade Babin cooked by baking or grilling which was a new technique of cooking for people in Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on July 4, 2010

seen in desserts with the Thai word for gold, “Tong”, a reference to the yellow/orange color imparted by use of egg yolks.

⁸⁶ People who made this desert came from Algarve in Portugal.



Figure 105 This is famous Kanom “Babin” from Amphur Tharue in Ayutthaya province which is today commercially sold. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 22, 2011.



Figure 106 Kanom Thong-Yod (1), Med-Ka-Noon (2), Foi-Thong (3) and Thong-Yip (4). This Kanom is very popular with a very positive meaning of gold, success and richness. It is usually used for celebrations in marriage, a new house celebration and monkhood ceremonies. It is made from eggnog, powder and boiled in sugar syrup. Med-Ka-Noon has added ground green beans. These are desserts directly copied from the Portuguese since the Ayutthaya period. Today, most people do not realize the origin. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 2, 2011.



Figure 107 Kanom Mor-Kang is made from ground green bean, egg, powder and coconut milk mixed together and grilled, later topped by fried onion. It is normally put in small pot or small tray. It is one of the desserts from a Portuguese recipe, popular in central Thailand. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 2, 2011.



Figure 108 “Lok Chub” cooked from green beans; it was adapted from a Massapaes recipe. It is usually made in the shape of Thai fruits. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 2, 2011.



Figure 109 The ordinary Thai dessert, Kanom Neaw is made from boiled rice powder. It is eaten with sugar syrup and coconut. Thai desserts illustrate Siam as an agricultural culture where people use rice as a main ingredient for cooking. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 12, 2011.



Figure 110 Kanom Sod-Sai , Thai-Mon desserts made from rice add coconut milk. These desserts show a tradition Thai cooking style by steaming and using rice as a basic ingredient. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 15, 2011.

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร ล่วงลิขสิทธิ์



Figure 111 Kaw-Tom-Mad represent Thai food and dessert was origin from agricultural social. Especially, countries in Southeast Asia region used rice support country economic and cultural. This dessert made from sticky rice and added coconut milk. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 15, 2011.



มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

Figure 112 Above Kanom Tom and below is Ka-Ra-Mare, both are traditional Thai desserts. Mostly, Thai desserts are made from rice or sticky rice powder mixed with coconut and sugar. Originally, Thai desserts did not use egg in the recipe and mostly were cooked by boiling or steaming. Both desserts are in traditional ceremonies. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 15, 2011.



Figure 113 These summer desserts usually give a cool feeling. The first is Kow-Tork-Nam-Katee made from stirred rice. Second is Lod-Chong made from rice powder. The last is Kaow-Neaw-Pek made from dark sticky rice. All desserts have added coconut milk and sugar for a better flavor. The traditional Thai desserts also were influenced by the Morn in this region which also had a similar agricultural culture to Siam. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 12, 2011.

There are some Portuguese traditional desserts which are cooked similar to the original. This dessert shows the cooking technique and ingredients in a very European style. Today, it is made only in the Portuguese community in Bangkok. Their names are related to people and festivals in the community such as:

1. Kanom Farang named after the word that Thai people call the Europeans as 'Farang'. It uses dairy products, egg, wheat, sugar, and water mixed together and baked in a charcoal oven or grilled, which is a European technique.
2. Kanom Kudsalung. Its name was derived from "Kanom Trud Farang" or Christmas Day dessert. It has the same ingredients as Kanom Farang but instead of baking or grilling, it is cooked by deep-frying and is sweetened with sugar. This dessert was made only on Christmas Day.



Figure 114 Kanom Farang left and right; these are very popular desserts from Kudee-Chin which was a Portuguese community in the early Rathanakosin period. The topping is sugar and dry grapes or Lok-Gade. The word "Gade" was from Thai people calling Portugal Po-tu-gade. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on September 1, 2010.



Figure 115 Kanom Kudsalung, Its name was derived from "Kanom Trud Farang" or Christmas Day dessert. This dessert is rarely found, it is seen only around Conception Church area during Christmas time. However, Thai adopted it to "Krob Kem" which covers by caramel. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on December 20, 2010.

New ingredients and cooking techniques from the Portuguese

With the food and desserts which came from the Portuguese, Siam also received very strong influences on cooking techniques and new ingredients. The early Siamese food was a combination of Indian and Chinese cuisine which was common in all South-East Asia countries. In the 13th to 17th centuries, after the arrival of the Europeans, especially the Portuguese, red meat, pork, poultry and dairy products would provide different dishes and more sophisticated food for Siamese people. Siam food changed from plain rice, fish, and fresh vegetables to European traditional foods. Baking and roasting as used by the Portuguese changed the way of cooking from a clay pot. The Portuguese influence on royal cuisine was one of the most noticeable.

The Europeans introduced ingredients such as white potato (first taken by the Spanish to the Philippines in the 16th century and by the Dutch to Java in the 17th from whence they were taken to Siam), maize and wheat - initially used to make noodles - a Chinese and Vietnamese contribution. Cashew, a New World tree, would be introduced to Siam by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Other Western explorers brought onions and shallots, as well as fruits like rambutan, mangosteen, lychees (linchee), longan, jackfruit, custard apple, sapodilla, star fruit, papaya, watermelon, pineapples and passion fruit originally grown in their own countries, or in nations along their trade routes. These new fruits were brought to Southeast Asia and dispersed by merchants and later propagated in Siam. Another example is guava named “Farang” (foreigner), in Thai. The guava was brought from the New World by the Spanish at an early date and was brought to Siam by the Portuguese and, today, it is perceived as a local fruit. As another example, previously people in Siam had sweetened food with honey or the extract of the sugar palm or coconut tree whereas later people used sugarcane, domesticated in New Guinea. The merchants also brought garlic and onion, western cooking ingredients but perceived as Thai. Moreover, capsicum chilies were unknown in Siam before the 16th century as it was native from South America and likely brought to Ayutthaya by the Portuguese. (Svastivat, La Loubere 1688, p.79)

From the 15th to the 17th centuries, particularly in King Narai’s reign (1629-1688), the arrival of European merchants including British, French, Dutch and Portuguese exposed Siam to previously unknown culinary techniques and ingredients. The major culinary influence would come from the Portuguese whose contribution arrived via India and Malacca by its trading posts. For example, before 1600, kaeng phet (chili soup) was paste based like kaeng pa (without curry). The 1600s saw the addition of coconut milk to give the curry body, a technique used by both Portuguese and Indians (likely via Goa). Also, they added tomatoes and eggplants (Svastivat, 2007 p.3). After a very long period of Portuguese cooking techniques being available in Siam, only a few original Portuguese dishes survive and are cooked today only on special occasions in their community in Samsen and Kudeechin⁸⁷.

1. “Tom-Ma-Fard” (ต้มมะฝาด) is a boiling of vegetable with pork, duck, chicken, or beef with a lot of spices. There were several uses of spices such as ground

⁸⁷ The Portuguese community in Thonburi was established after the end of Ayutthaya and remaining today.

coriander seeds, cumin, bay leaf, cloves, coriander root, garlic, and turmeric which originally did not grow in Thailand. It seems the Portuguese would have known more about spices than people in Siam as these spices were not available in Ayutthaya.

2. “Kang Ngow-Hgord” (แกงเหงาหงอด) is a sour soup and is similar to Thai “Kang-Som”. It starts by preparing the chili paste like Kang Som style. Chili paste is made from dried chili and yellow fresh chili pounded together with onion, garlic, shrimp paste, and lesser galangal. This recipe uses many ingredients such as shrimp paste, onion and chili which were new to people in Siam.
3. “Near-Sammo” (เนื้อแฮมโม) is a dish for a special occasion. It made from boiling fried thick cut meat in a soup with pepper, red onion, salt and soy sauce. This food strongly represented traditional European foods cooked from red meat.

These foods are not well-known to local people because they are cooked for people in the community. Also, they take a long time to prepare and are cooked only on special events.



Figure 116 Both photos are terracotta cooking tools, right photograph is pots, pan and scoop. The left photograph is pots and stove. The terracotta kitchenwares were available during Ayutthaya period found from Chao Phaya River. In Ayutthaya period, the cooking techniques were not complicated as Thai people mostly used boiling and grill technique. Photograph by Phungwong, N. from Chao Sam Phraya National Museum on July 16, 2010.

Portuguese words in the Siamese language

It was common for people in Ayutthaya to use new words or new things brought by the Portuguese in Ayutthaya; many have remained in the Thai language until today. The Portuguese language was the first European language spoken in Siam. It was widely known among people in Ayutthaya as it was used to communicate with other Europeans⁸⁸ before English. Variations of the Portuguese language can be found in the Thai language of which only a few people are aware. It is assumed that many words indicated new things brought to Siam for the first time by the Portuguese. Below are examples of Thai words which came from Portuguese words.

Table 5 A sample of borrowed words from Portuguese language (Werawong, S. page 8-10) (only selected word with the same pronunciation).

Thai	Portuguese/English word	Meaning	Source
ปิ่นโต	Pinto	Food container	Keerati Boonjeur
กั๊มป์ระโดร์	Comprador	Commander	Keerati Boonjeur
กะละมัง	Kallemao	Water container	Keerati Boonjeur
กงสุล	Consul	Consulate	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
สบู่	Soap	Soap	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
เลหตั้ง	Leilao	Discount	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
กูรูส	Kung Rusko	Twelve Dozens	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
ปัง	Pao	Bread	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
สลัด	Salad	Salad	Portugal-Thai Dictionary
คาราวาน	Caravel	Group of small vehicles	Present word
กะละแม	Kalame	Caramel	Portugal-Thai Dictionary

Food and language received from the Portuguese reflect a very close relationship between the Siamese and Portuguese. However, there are several things brought by the Portuguese as new things since Ayutthaya become part of today lifestyle. Therefore, the Portuguese played significant roles and lead local people by introducing new techniques, technologies and new goods to Ayutthaya.

⁸⁸ In 1822 when the English ambassador John Crawford contacted Siam, he had a very difficult time communicating with Siamese officers as they used the Portuguese language.

The Netherlands Settlements

This part of the present chapter will consider the Dutch settlements on the Chao Phraya River. The interpretation will present the roles and influences of the Dutch, which were unique and different from those of the Portuguese. The international situation in Ayutthaya was very interesting and became very competitive when the Dutch arrived in Siam. The expansion took place at a time when they were the most influential Europeans in Siam. The Dutch lived in Ayutthaya in a closed community and had less contact with local people. They mostly were officers of the trading company VOC, as there was not a policy to encourage people to live outside the country. Moreover, their roles in Ayutthayan society were very limited as they mainly worked and interacted with the monarch and nobles. Thus, their roles could be observed in very specific areas that will be presented in this part.

The beginnings of the Dutch involvement in Asia

The establishing of the Portuguese settlements in Asia brought it large profit, prosperity and good prospects over other nations in Europe. Other countries in Europe sought the same opportunities but it was not easy for those nations to make contacts in Asia due to the trade barrier and monopoly trading of the Portuguese to countries from India to Macao. During the 16th century, the Dutch had chances to expand their overseas power when Portugal's fortunes declined in the period when that country was occupied by Spain⁸⁹. The integration caused an uncertain situation and less focus on Portugal's trade with Asia. The gap allowed the Dutch trading company VOC to expand to Asia for spices. Moreover, a second opportunity arose when the Dutch had the chance to raise funds for trade and increase funds through the Dutch stock market. It was the first nation to have a new way to increase funds quickly and in large volumes. Dutch ship builders brought a new technology of navigation and were able to make larger ships. They were very successful in South East Asia in the spice trade and replaced Portugal in Sumatra, Malacca and Banten. The Dutch East India Company, VOC set up a trading system and appointed trading representatives to Pattani, the colony of Siam, in 1601. After a few years, they were the third European nation in Ayutthaya⁹⁰.

The Dutch were known by Siamese as the Hollanda, Vilanda or Belanda which means a white man. Two years after the first visit to Ayutthaya, the Netherlands sent an ambassador, Cornelius Spec, to make official contact with King Naresuan the Great (1590-1605) for a trading agreement on supplying ammunition, firearms and cannons (Anumanratchathon, S. p. 17). In return, they received permission to open a trading post in Ayutthaya. However, at first there was some mistrust as the Siamese had heard negative stories of the Dutch from their major competitor, the Portuguese. There was a

⁸⁹ During 16th century, Portugal merged with Spain.

⁹⁰ The Spanish was the second Europeans to visit Ayutthaya but had less business success as trading was already monopolized by the Portuguese. Their business was mainly to South America.

rumor that the Dutch always occupied the port cities and countries that they traded with. Moreover, Siam did not contact the Netherlands at a diplomatic level because Ayutthaya was engaged in a war with Burma at that time. The record of Youst Straten, the chief of the trading post of Ayutthaya, said that the first group of Siam ambassadors⁹¹ was sent to Holland during King Akkatodsarot's reign. They found that the Dutch had their own country and were not pirates as the Portuguese had mentioned (Chumsai M., p.46).

The settlement location in Ayutthaya

The permission given by King Naresuan⁹² was an open door for the Dutch to set up a settlement in Ayutthaya. The first settlement in Ayutthaya consisted of wooden buildings and warehouses. The location of the Dutch settlement was among the Catholic nations, the Portuguese, the French and the Japanese (Christian) in Ayutthaya. Its location is summarized as follows:

1. The settlement was located on the east side of the Chao Phraya River bank, in the southern part of Ayutthaya. The area was vacant as it was on new land formed before the Ayutthaya period.
2. The north part of the settlement was adjacent to the Chinese community next to the Maebea delta⁹³.
3. The southern area was close to the English settlement with a small canal in between.
4. Historical remains of ruined temples of the Ayutthaya period have been found on the eastside of the settlement connected to the rice field and local peoples' community.
5. It was situated on the opposite side from the Portuguese settlement across the Chao Phraya River.

Even though the settlement was located opposite to their major competitor, the Portuguese, it seems there was less confrontation as they lived in very close proximity with a low population. The settlement was developed over time, starting from wooden buildings and then brick buildings. As the record of Dr. Keampfer⁹⁴ has mentioned, on the southern area of the Dutch settlement was a small road to the Chao Praya River. The Dutch had factories and a luxury shop house on this land. The southern part was the Japanese, Morn and Malacca settlement.

⁹¹ There was a first group of Siamese ambassadors, 16 people, who left Ayutthaya during the King Ekathotsaerot reign on December 9, 1697. They reached Den Haag, Holland, on November 5, 1698 (Chumsai 1974, p.49).

⁹² An assumption of a strong relationship with King Naresuan came from the spoiling of a previously good relationship with Portugal when they traded with his enemies, Burma, at the same time.

⁹³ The small delta of an old river, Maebea River, connected to the Chao Phraya River.

⁹⁴ Dr. Keampfer was a German doctor who worked for the VOC Company in 1690.

The settlement of the Dutch was later developed to include a strong brick warehouse, approximately 100 by 30-35 feet, that today has remained only as a foundation. The settlement would have been populated throughout the period of Ayutthaya but no records exist of that population. The archeological evidence indicates that most residences were those of traders, officers of the VOC, their family members and local workers who worked for the VOC; the buildings had vaults and an underground room. Today, the area and buildings have been paved and are used by local people for boat yards and docking. The area has been donated back to the Fine Arts Department for excavation, by the Sricharearn Docking & Boat Yard Co. However, presently more than 50% of the area has not been explored. There is a commemorative bronze sign showing this area was the Dutch settlement with an inscription in the Dutch language.

HIER STOND
VAN 1634 TOT 1767
DE FACTORIJ
DER VEREENIGDE
OSTINDISCHE
COMPAGNIE
VOC

It can be translated as “Here was the settlement of the Dutch of Dutch East India Company of Holland in years 1634 to 1767”.

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Figure 117 The Malacca settlement from a drawing by Valentyn, De Stad between 1724-26. This picture gives a good view of the Dutch settlement in Ayutthaya. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_Malacca12 on June 12, 2010.



Figure 120: The area of the Dutch settlement in Ayutthaya, today, it is in Sricharean Docking and Boat Yard. Photograph was retrieved from www.Googleearth.com on July 16, 2010.



Figure 121 The area of main warehouse, on the right hand side is the residential area. Only the warehouse area was excavated and found a large number of import goods such as glass bottle, pipes, ceramics and coins. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on June 8, 2010.

The second settlement of the Dutch

For 133 years, the Dutch business in Siam was very successful and profitable. Its trading posts were spread widely from India to Japan. However, their success was not limited to business in Siam and would not come from themselves only but also from favorable policies of Ayutthaya kings when the Dutch could support their political and military power. Finally, during King Songtham's reign they received permission for a second settlement on the Chao Phraya River bank closer to the sea. The reasons were:

1. They worked and traded honestly, behaved well and were friendly to Siamese people. What is more, they helped in several government administrations and when the Siamese went to war; as a reward they received land and permission for a new settlement that would be suitable for their trading activities.
2. The Dutch did not choose to get involved in Ayutthaya's political issues but finally it was unavoidable. Involvement in military and political activities at high levels made them no longer to be fully trusted to anchor their ships close to the capital. Therefore, the new port towns such as Bangkok and Pra Pa Dang were places to keep them safely away from Ayutthaya.
3. It was the intention of the Ayutthaya kings to develop barricade towns such as Pra Pa Dang, Bangkok and Nonthaburi. These cities had foreigners and local forces on duty. Pra Pa Dang was envisaged as a place for the Dutch to live and to be on duty⁹⁵.
4. The last reason was that the Dutch used large and deep cargo ships for better economies of scale that could not pass through the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. They were struck on the sandbar and the shallow part of the river in summer⁹⁶. They needed to anchor in deep water areas such as Pra Pa Dang from which they could load goods from the coastal cities of Chonburi, Chanthaburi and Phetchaburi.

The new Dutch settlement was very active and important for trading business and became known as "New Amsterdam". It was on the West bank of Chao Phraya River in the old town, Pra Pa Dang, which today is a district in Samutprakarn province. The area was located at the mouth of Bang Pla Kod Canal. The Dutch established a splendid permanent trading post with full facilities, warehouses and a residential area that also gave a very strong influence to temples and architectural styles of local surroundings especially in central area of Siam.

Finally, the settlement was ignored as King Songtham later ordered the building of a new town on the right bank of Chao Phraya River, Samut Prakarn, to replace the old Pra Pa Dang. The new town was far away from Pra Pa Dang as the riverbank expanded gradually. Pra Pa Dang's importance as a port city declined when Samut Prakarn was established for its better location. Additionally, the settlement of New

⁹⁵ In the late Ayutthaya period, Siam met many foreigners who could be harmful to Ayutthaya; therefore, a new city far from the capital like Bangkok was developed and used by French and Portuguese military.

⁹⁶ The Chao Phraya River is usually shallow during the summer from March to June every year; it is difficult for a large cargo ship pass through.

Amsterdam was impacted by declining trade and political influences between Siam and the Dutch. Siam traded on its own and contracted more with the French in the reign of King Narai. Later, the relationship between Siam and the Dutch deteriorated. Therefore, this trading post had likewise declined. Later, the river gradually eroded the bank and destroyed the buildings and the settlement area after it was abandoned during the war.



Figure 122 The Chao Phraya River shows the Dutch settlement on the left side of river. It was not far from the river mouth but today the river has expanded far from the original settlement (Department of Fine Arts 1 Ratchaburi)



Figure 123 The mouth of Bang Pra Kod canal which had a large community in the late Ayutthaya period. Today on the right side is Mitpol's Sugar warehouses and left is local people houses. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 124 The inner canal had communities of local people in the Ayutthaya period. Today, this area is full of houses factories and small communities. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 125 On the north part of the mouth of the canal was a Dutch community; today it is by large local houses without significant notice. The front part of the settlement area has eroded although large foundations remain under these houses. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 126 The community ground built over the large space of old settlement Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 127 The Chinese shrine built over the original. It reflects that the settlement had Chinese members who worked for the VOC in large numbers. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 128 There were three layers of settlement wall used for protection. This is a second wall remaining after the outer wall collapsed into the river. Moreover, people brought bricks for their own proposes. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 129 The middle wall remains in a large part which indicates that this settlement was not only warehouses but it was used for shelter and defense. There were forts and gun powder warehouses outside this wall. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 130 The middle wall was around 150 meter long and covered by peoples' houses. Behind this wall are water tanks used for keeping fresh water for cargo ships. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 131 Children are playing inside the old water tank which has more than two together. Size is approximately 10 by 6 meters. During summer water around this area was very salty as it connected to the sea. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 132 There were many of gun powder warehouses then this should be ammunition factory and military camp fought back English when they closed mouth of Chao Phraya against the Dutch. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.

Work, Business and Activities of the Dutch in Ayutthaya

In their 133 years in Ayutthaya, the Dutch brought the latest technology and innovations to Siam. However, the Dutch relationship was different from that of the Portuguese. The Siamese related more socially and culturally to the Portuguese as they were longer residing and had integrated with the local community. The reasons for the largely different relationship could be interpreted as follows.

1. The Dutch aimed for trade, trying to avoid involvement in political activity directly. However, they were ready to get involved in internal issues if it affected their trading interests.
2. During the Dutch period in Ayutthaya, they did not directly work for the Ayutthaya court as officers. The Dutch came to countries in Asia, including Ayutthaya, to further the business of the VOC Company which aimed at buying and selling products for profit. However, they provided a service to Ayutthaya's kings for maritime technologies such as during the King Parsat Thong and King Narai periods when they were recorded as ship engineers who came to build the king's ships
3. The Dutch did not engage in Christian missionary work. Their religion was Protestant which would make them more able to deal with Japan when that country closed and turned against the Catholics.

After the Dutch trading network was developed in South-East Asia, Ayutthaya would become a very important destination as it was in the middle of the route from India to China and Japan. It was also a very good place for logistics and the collection of goods from inland. The Dutch were merchants or VOC officers and none of them were recorded as workers of the Ayutthaya court. However, it was unavoidable when the country was invaded; they helped the Siamese to defend the capital city. Their objective would be to protect their business and trading interests and, lastly, gain favors from Ayutthaya's kings, the same as the Portuguese did. There were careers of the Dutch in Siam which can be mentioned as follows:

The officers of the trading Company, VOC, or merchants of VOC: The officers of the VOC occupied various roles starting from the chief of the trading post who was also a trade representative and sometimes an ambassador to the Ayutthaya court at the same time. The officers of VOC also included accountants and clerks. Furthermore, their role in the trading post were not only buying and selling goods in Siam but also the Dutch were middlemen (brokers) who traded goods from countries indirectly connected to Ayutthaya. As an example, trading between Japan and Siam declined during the King Parsatthong period when the Japanese did not allow Siam to sell goods directly, likewise the Chinese merchants faced the same situation. It was a very difficult time for Siam and China to trade freely in Japan. Moreover, Japan had now closed the country to foreign influence⁹⁷ during the Shogun era. The Tokugawa Shogun did not want people turning to Christianity and banned Catholics from the country. Additionally, Japan was against trade to Catholic countries like Portugal and Spain. Moreover, the Shogun

⁹⁷ Japan had closed the country for 30 years, from 1633 to 1663.

prohibited the Japanese who lived outside the country from returning to Japan⁹⁸. Then the trading connection between Ayutthaya and Japan was broken. Therefore, the VOC became the new trade broker (middleman) for Ayutthaya and Asia. The Japanese in Ayutthaya turned to collecting goods and forestry products such as sappan wood, deerskins and string-ray skins from local people and selling these through the VOC who had permission to trade with Japan.



Figure133 In return, the VOC sold cannons and ammunition to countries in Asia, including Siam. After arrival of the Portuguese, countries in Asia used guns and heavy armory such as cannons in their battles. These two cannon were Dutch cannons which still have the mark of the VOC. The last one on the right is Portuguese cannon. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in June 2009.

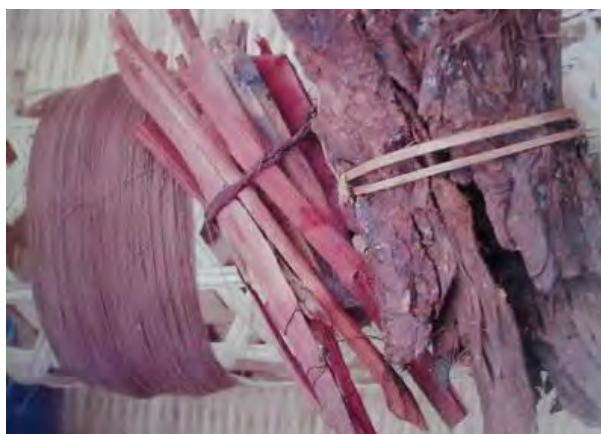


Figure 134 Dry sappan wood or fang wood used for dyeing. It was a major export good of Ayutthaya. This wood is used in the dyeing industry in Japan. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in June 2009.

⁹⁸ The Japanese government did not allow Japanese to return to the country because of the policy that it did not want the Christian Japanese to return due to the religious banning policy.



Figure 135 The fresh Sappan wood is rare today. In the past, it was plentiful in the central and north of Siam. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on June 18, 2009.



Figure 136 Forestry products were very important goods of Ayutthaya and were mainly exported to Japan by the VOC. This photo is imitation cargo form Ayutthaya carried forest products. Photograph by Phungwong N. in December 2011 from Ayutthaya historical Study Center.



Figure 137 Forestry products such as deerskins were very important export goods to Japan. The photo shows a Samurai wear deerskin suit for horse riding. The VOC possibly brought swords and agriculture tools to Ayutthaya in return. Photograph retrieved from travel.nationalgeographic.com on August 30, 2011.



Figure 138 Above is a photo of present-day exported dry sting-ray skin use for bags and furniture and below a photo showing, in the past, sting-ray skins were used for making sword handles. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on June 18, 2009.



Figure 139 Samurai sword handle made from ray's skin Photograph by Phungwong, N. in June, 2009.

Construction technicians and ship builders: During the first visit of the Siam ambassador to Amsterdam in 1608, King Ekathotsarot requested technicians and ship builders to work for Ayutthaya as the Dutch were very famous for large shipbuilding for sea traveling and specialized in marine navigation. They were also famous for carpenters and artisans. (Rachanuparp 1997, p.192). Large numbers of Dutch brought woodwork and new construction techniques to Siam. Their style and technique was very new and modern. It was also a contemporized style that simply used local material. Therefore a large number of the royal buildings and temples in the central area of Siam were following the Dutch architectural styles.

Navigators and crews: The VOC used very large cargo ships that carried a lot of goods to trade in many cities around Asia and Europe. The large ships of the VOC can be studied from an example ship of the VOC, in Amsterdam⁹⁹. It was built in the 18th century to transport goods between the Netherlands and the settlements in the East Indies. On an outward voyage, these ships carried guns and bricks for the settlements and trade posts. Additionally, they carried silver and golden coins to purchase goods from Asia. On their return, the ships carried goods such as spices, fabrics and ceramics from Asia back to Europe. On an outward voyage of eight months, the ships were crewed by around 240 men and on a return journey by around 70 men. (From www.hollandhistory.net/amsterdam.html). Thus, during the time cargos were being loaded in Ayutthaya, their crews would stay at the settlement for a few months, as they must wait for the windy season to sail out of Siam. Usually, the sailing season was from August to March every year.



Figure 140 The replica cargo ship, Amsterdam, is the actual size. The ship voyaged between Amsterdam and the settlements in the East Indies. Photograph retrieved from <http://www.hollandhistory.net> in April 2010.

⁹⁹ It was an 18th century cargo ship of the Dutch East India Company. It traveled between Amsterdam and settlements in East-India to carry goods such as spices and fabrics. The ship, commanded by the 33-year-old captain Willem Klump, had 203 crew, 127 soldiers, and 5 passengers.

Soldiers and security: The number of soldiers living in the settlement can be interpreted from when the Dutch East India Company was very rich and cargos carried valuable goods between trading posts in Asia and Europe. In this region, they confronted competitors, pirates and enemies. The officers and merchants alone were not enough to protect their business hence the military forces were called upon. After a long period of living in Siam, an increase of military personnel was seen. Dutch domination in military matters occurred during King Songtham's (1611-1628) reign when the Dutch supported his ascending to the throne in 1611. This favor was in exchange for reducing taxes and monopolizing the deerskin trade in Siam. The Dutch supported an armed force to quash the Japanese riots in Petchaburi in 1612 and to expel the troops of King of Lan Chang of Laos¹⁰⁰ when they invaded Siam at the same time (Department of Fine Arts, Relationship Recorded, Book 1, p.14). There is a record of the Dutch repelling the English army in the Gulf of Siam. Furthermore, three Dutch warships attacked English ships in the Pattani Gulf in 1619. The Dutch prevailed in both conflicts. Another example was a request from King Parsat Thong in 1634 to fight against the riots at Pattani while in return the Dutch received a 50 percent tax reduction as reward (Department of Fine Arts, 1970, p. 36, 129 and 137). Again, it is recorded that, during the King Narai reign, the Chinese in Ayutthaya surrendered to the Netherlands settlement and the VOC officers fought back. In addition, the Dutch army closed the mouth of Chao Phraya River (Patthanotai 1973, p. 64). Therefore, through the period they were in Siam, the evidence of their military activities show the Dutch would have a large armed presence in the settlements and on board their ships.

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Figure 141 The remains of gun powder warehouse in the old Pra Pa Dang settlement. The settlement could turn to be a defensive shelter during wars. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.

¹⁰⁰ King of Lan Chang, Laos, was invited to expel the Japanese from Petchaburi but, instead, he tried to occupy Ayutthaya.



Figure 142 The docking area that could reach the gun powder warehouse in Pra Pa Dang settlement. It represent of military activities in the settlement. Therefore, in the settlements, especially Pra Pa Dang, it should have a large number of soldiers or people who were ready to fight to protect business. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure143 The remaining of the middle wall is in the Dutch's settlement, Bang Prakod district and fort's foundation. This settlement had three layers of wall to protect people and their businesses. This settlement could turn to a defensive fort during siege. Therefore, there should be a large number of soldiers in the settlement. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on October 21, 2011.



Figure 144 Picture of VOC soldiers in uniform, retrieved from <http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/amh> on January 6, 2011.

The Population

There was a limited number of Dutch in the settlements but actual numbers are not recorded. However, it should be interpreted by using a comparison study of the population in the Cape Town Settlement, Africa, in 1664, working for the VOC. They could be classified to four groups as follows:

1. The leader or commander for the VOC, including the head for each function in the community and among the merchants.
2. The workers for the VOC or support workers such as secretaries, bookkeepers, warehousemen and so forth. The groups would also have included slaves.
3. Ships' crews such as the midshipmen, doctors and carpenters
4. Soldiers and guards were very important to protect the ships and trading posts. They would include a master of the horse, attendants and police officials. However, during an emergency the entire company of workers would turn to protect their lives and business. The example of Cape Town had 178 company officials who lived together. (Introduction to the Resolutions of the Cape of Good Hope Council Policy)

The influence of the Netherlands on life in Siam

A study of Dutch life can be assisted by a reflection on the Dutch influence on Thai culture which should give a view of how they lived in Ayutthaya. However, it is observable that their cultural habits were not widely passed on to local people but rather it was mostly their technology. In Thailand today, people in the central area classify a house and building in the Dutch style as Vilanda style and call woodworking tools with the name added such as "Reuy Vilanda" or "Vilanda saw". In the late Ayutthaya period, the constructions in central areas especially on the banks of the Chao Phraya River were very strongly influenced by Dutch architectural style especially in brick buildings that can be grouped as following.

1. The Dutch architectural style in royal buildings

Several royal buildings in the late Ayutthaya period were built by adding more functions and separate rooms that were different from Thai architectural style, where functions were mostly combined. They also used brick walls to carry the roof load and more stories than the traditional Thai format. Many historical buildings in Ayutthaya were directly built in the Dutch architectural style which is easily distinguished. Moreover, in the late Ayutthaya period, the Dutch had the highest influence in new technology among the Europeans in Ayutthaya when some of the royal buildings were built in the Dutch style. However, the Dutch style did not give a grand vision; therefore only small buildings were made in the Dutch style.



Figure 145 The Gouda city hall is in the western Netherlands. It looks very similar to the late architectural style of Ayutthaya building. There are several royal palaces that had received Dutch influence. Photograph retrieved from http://www.thefullwiki.org/Gouda#International_relations on August 12, 2010.

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Figure 146 Kam-Yard Palace in Aung-Thong province was built in brick and mortar, size 10 meter by 20 meters. The building was built in the hybrid of Dutch-French (Gothic) and possibly Persia (Muslim) architectural style in the period of King Borommakord (1733-1758). It shows that Thai architecture was strongly influenced by the Dutch. This type of building is called a Vilanda building. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on September 19, 2010.



Figure 147 Kam-Yard Palace, a small summer palace built middle of rice fields in Aung-Thong. The Dutch had very strong influence in Ayutthaya but their style could not service a large building that needed an elegant look. This type of building is called Vilanda building. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on September 19, 2010.



Figure 148 Pra Chao Haow building built for an important Buddha image in Narai's Palace, Lopburi. This building did not follow French architectural style as other important buildings in the palace but it used Dutch architectural style which was suitable for small building. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on September 19, 2010.

2. The Dutch architectural style in the temples and religious buildings in Siam

The influence of Dutch architecture was a new style to the Siamese which passed from the royal household buildings to local communities. Mostly, it can be seen in the remains of temples. Many temple buildings in Siam built in the late Ayutthaya period had a very strong Dutch influence which could be seen from temples around the settlements in Prapradang, Nonthaburi, Pathumthanee and Ayutthaya. Those temples were built in the Dutch architectural style using beams to carry the load from roofs and give more space. Moreover, they used arched windows and door entrances. The walls were also made from bricks which were used for load bearing without columns.



Figure 149 Wat Chotikaram in Nonthaburi was built in the Dutch or Vilanda style. The building is without columns and uses walls to carry the load. Mostly, local buildings in the central area received a very strong impact from the Dutch architectural style as it was simple and economical to build. The temple was built in the late Ayutthaya period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 12, 2010.



Figure 150 Wat Kern in Nonthaburi was built in the Dutch or Vilanda style. The location is on the Chao Phraya River. The Vilanda style was very popular as it was easy to build and decorate by using simple material. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on September 16, 2010.

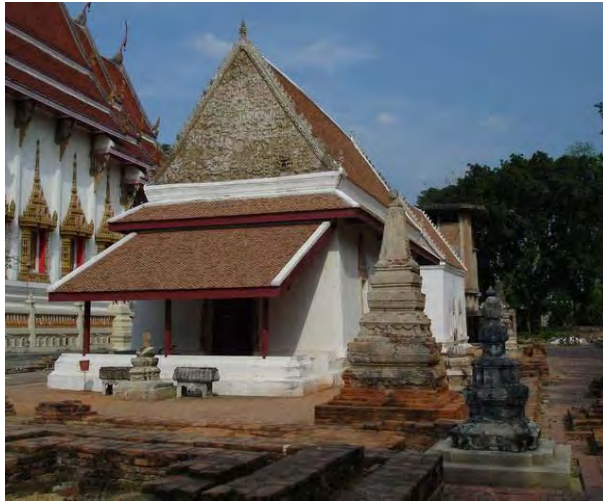


Figure 151 Wat Chompoowek in Nonthaburi was built in the Dutch or Vilanda style. The building is without columns and uses walls to carry the load. The temple was built in the late Ayutthaya period by local residential. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 12, 2010.

3. The Dutch architectural style in Siamese residences.

The influence of Dutch architecture was not limited to only royal and noble residences but it reached to the local people. The Dutch housing style was called a Vilanda house. The major difference from the Thai style is in the roof slope that is between 30-45 degrees while the Thai house roof slope is 60 degrees. In addition, the houses built in the Dutch style are single buildings with shade and columns when the traditional Thai house built as a group of pavilions with separate functions and have less shade.



Figure 152 The Old Dutch house. Photograph shows the roof style “Dutch Gable” with roof slope less sharp than the Thai style where the roof slope is over 45 degrees. Photograph retrieved from <http://www.andrewcusack.com> on August 12, 2010.



Figure 153 Photograph of a traditional Thai house. Ruern Tab Kwan owned by Silpakorn University, Nakorn Pathom campus. The traditional Thai house was built with an integration of pavilions of various functions with an open ground floor. Moreover, it used wood columns and beams to carry the load. The roof gable is even sharper than 60 degrees. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on April 13, 2010.



Figure 154 Photograph of a shop house in Thailand influenced by the Dutch style. The shop house was built with a long slab roof. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in January 2010.



Figure 155 Another house built in Malacca with Dutch shop house influence. It looks very similar to small house in the central area of Thailand which opens the side against street or river. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in December 2009.



Figure 156 There are houses and shop houses in Malacca influenced by the Dutch farmhouse style. There are a lot of shop houses today in Thailand similarly influenced by the Dutch architectural style. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in December 2009.

The Netherlands influence in woodworking technology

We know that the Dutch were expert in architecture and woodworking. Their expertise and working methods were directly transferred from ship construction. They left many woodworking tools which have been used among Thai carpenters since the Ayutthaya period. Some tools have a similar shape to the originals such as plane hammers and saws. Moreover, some tools even have names related to Holland or Vilanda such as Vilanda saw.



Figure 157 A plane set in Thailand which is similar to Dutch wood working tools. These planes are used to build Thai houses or wooden boats. They come in different sizes for various purposes. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in April 2010.



Figure 158 This vintage plane comes from the Netherlands in a traditional design. This Photograph retrieved from maritime-connector.com on August 12, 2010.



Figure 159 Photograph of a bow saw from the Netherlands is similar to a saw in Thailand. This Photograph retrieved from maritime-connector.com on August 12, 2010.



Figure 160 Vintage wood working tools which are available in the Netherlands have the same look as in Thailand. This Photograph retrieved from <http://www.halfaworldaway.com.au/pages/jobs/tools.cfm> on May 19, 2010.



Figure 161 Photograph of carpenter's tools in Thailand. The saw is called "Leuy Vilanda" or "Vilanda Saw". Photograph by Phungwong, N. in May 2010



Figure 162 Chinese junks were very popular for Siam merchants in the early Ayutthaya period. They were not complicated and were advanced as cargo ships in late Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.



Figure 163 A model of an Ayutthaya cargo ship as used in the late Ayutthaya period. It was built in the Dutch pattern and it looks very similar to the cargos of the VOC. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.



Figure 164 Woodworking tools. On the left is a hand drill in Chinese technology and on the right a hand drill in Dutch design which is today available for carpenters in central Thailand. These tools were available in Chantaburi ship dock, active in the late Ayutthaya to early Rattanakosin period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.

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Figure 165 Woodworking tools saw and axe used to shape rough wood. These tools remain in boat making technology until today. This dock was active in the late Ayutthaya to early Rattanakosin period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.



Figure 166 Woodworking tools for ship construction at Historical Chantaburi Dock. Hammer, chisel and plane are very similar to tools in Europe. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.



Figure 167 This photograph shows a ship building process in the historical Chantaburi Dock. The construction processes for the ships in this dock are similar to large ship construction in Europe. This construction technique was retrieved from the Dutch who taught it to people in Ayutthaya. The photograph shows that the ships built at this dock were larger than Chinese cargos and were built in a very European pattern. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.



Figure 168 The remains of a keel have the same structure as a European ship. The bottom of the ship was made by following the European pattern or Dutch technology. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 22, 2010.

The influence of the Dutch in Siamese music

The technology and knowledge from the Dutch was not limited to only construction, as influences could also be seen in Siam's music. From the Ayutthaya period to the present, the royal ceremony has used a trumpet and horn. The natural trumpet or Vilanda trumpet, sometimes called "Fanfare", is specifically used and played together with an old Thai horn and conch horn. Usually, it is played when the king celebrates and to inform everyone of the king's arrival. There is evidence that the Dutch introduced this musical instrument, as it is called a Vilanda trumpet. Moreover, there is a traditional Thai song from the Ayutthaya period called "Vilanda Ort" or "Crying Dutch". The rhythm was very similar to the European marching songs. This song was regularly used in royal ceremonies.



Figure 169 Photograph of a natural trumpet or Vilanda trumpet, used only at royal ceremonies since Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on November 18, 2010

Although the Dutch were in Ayutthaya for a long period and had two settlements on the Chao Phraya River, they were a small group of VOC officers who would be transferred between posts. They integrated their life style only very little with local people due to the duties and policies of the VOC. This was very different from the Portuguese who lived in Siam for a longer period and possibly fully integrated with local people. The residents in the Dutch community directly contributed their technology and knowledge to very specific groups of people in Ayutthaya. For instance, they worked as carpenters and ship builders to the kings. Hence, their influences were limited to very specific groups of people. Moreover, their religion, Protestantism, was not widely known in Far-East Asia. Protestantism was held only among the settlement members without spreading to Ayutthaya, as well as not being fully accepted in Europe¹⁰¹. Therefore, only a few aspects of the Dutch life and cultural heritage remain today.

When the Dutch were in Ayutthaya, the relationship between both nations had a very strong impact on the settlement. They were given a permanent settlement after they gained trust from the Ayutthaya king. Moreover, the Dutch received new land for a trading post from King Songtham as a favor for supporting his authority. During the mid to late Ayutthaya period, their relationship was mainly focused to support the Ayutthaya kings in exchange for privileges. However, only in the period of King Narai were the Dutch not in a dominating position when compared to the French who gave a very strong political supports after he did coup d'etat for king Suthammaracha¹⁰². In the late era of Ayutthaya, most of the enthronements were supported by the Dutch. Thus, a small group of the Dutch population had the highest influence on the Ayutthaya people by participating in the royal activities.

¹⁰¹ The term Protestant is from the word protest which was against some beliefs and practices of the early 16th century Catholic Church. Then, the group of the Protestants was against the Catholic members in Europe.

¹⁰² King Suthammaracha was a younger uncle of king Chai. He was number 27th king of Ayutthaya. He did self enthronement after he got rid of King Chai who was a king Prasart Thong's son by helps of Narai, later he became king Narai.

The French Settlement

This section of the chapter will elaborate on the establishment of French settlements on the Chao Phraya River including lifestyles and the influences passed on to people in Siam. Among the European settlements in the Chao Phraya River area, the French were late newcomers to Ayutthaya but possibly the most remembered in the present. The French came to Ayutthaya in the period of King Narai in 1662. They settled for only a very short period in Siam, between 1662 to 1689, yet they developed a very strong influence in the Ayutthaya court and determined important agendas. Their role in Siam was very significant and they left a lot of lifestyle and cultural influences which can be seen today.

French situation in Ayutthaya

The French's situation in Ayutthaya was different from other Europeans. They had a very specific objective that could be interpreted in three periods in Ayutthayan history.

1. The beginning period can be interpreted as when the French were interested in Ayutthaya for religious expansion. They used Ayutthaya as a contact point between France and Cochin-China. The French found that Ayutthaya did not reject any beliefs or religious practices. The missionaries started their mission in Ayutthaya and established a minor seminary in Lopburi, a second capital city of Siam during the King Narai period. Moreover, they attempted to persuade the Siamese including King Narai to become Christian.
2. Trading with Ayutthaya was found as the French second purpose after the success of the Christian mission. After coming back from Rome and France in 1668, Françoise Pallu suggested establishing Ayutthaya as a trading hub for contact with Sumatra, Java, and Borneo that linked India and Damagusga. Additionally Ayutthaya was used as a base to expand trading to Cochin-China and China. This strategy led to Chevalier de Chaumont signing a trade agreement with Siam in 1685. In this contract, Siam allowed the French to trade directly with the Department of the Royal Treasury and to open a shop house in Ayutthaya.
3. After the success of the religious missions and trading in Ayutthaya, the French increased their interest in Siam by becoming more involved by dominating political power and the military forces. In the late period of King Narai's reign, the French were able to work for the Siamese court and received the permission of King Louis XIV for having troops under the command of General Desfarges¹⁰³ in Bangkok.

The stages of settlement development

¹⁰³ He was a French general who led a large number of French troops, namely 300 officers, to Siam. These troops were allocated to Siam in Pattani, Narkorn Ratchasrima but mainly Bangkok.

The purpose of the French coming to Ayutthaya and the period of their influence in Siam directly relates to settlement locations on the river that could be explained as follows.

- 1) Before the permanent settlement was set up, the first group of French arrived in Ayutthaya and Lopburi¹⁰⁴ for diplomatic and Christian missions. The Siamese allowed this small group to have an embassy located within the city wall. The reason for living inside the city wall close to King Narai was that he needed a backup power¹⁰⁵ for his colonization. Moreover, King Narai needed to establish new, closer relationships with the French in order to counter-balance the Dutch power in the Ayutthaya court¹⁰⁶.
- 2) Later, having won trust and respect for the missionaries who expanded Christianity and energetically healed patients, the French received a very strong favor to establish a permanent settlement on the bank of the Chao Phaya River in Ayutthaya.
- 3) Throughout his reign, King Narai really needed strong support and military protection from his opponents. A few years later around 1665, the French were allowed to establish a very strong foundation by providing a large group of military personnel to support the king's power while in return the king avoided having too large a military force close to the capital. They received King Narai's permission to live on both banks of Chao Phraya River in Bangkok¹⁰⁷ around Vichayen Fort.

The settlements

The first French group came to establish relationships and set up shelters in Ayutthaya after the missionaries¹⁰⁸ had failed in Vietnam and China. The missionaries

¹⁰⁴ King Narai also constructed a new palace at present-day Lopburi ("Louvo" in the French accounts) utilizing the expertise of French architects and engineers. European influences are evident in the architectural style.

¹⁰⁵ King Narai's power could not assume the support of Ayutthaya's nobles as he ascended to the throne by taking the throne from King Suthammaracha (Sanpet VII) (August 8-October 26, 1655). The beginning of political instability resulting from this seizing and the beginning of his political power came from the support of his consultant, Chao Phraya Vichayen (Phoulkon), and the Moors.

¹⁰⁶ The conflict between the Siamese and the Dutch occurred in 1664 when the Dutch navy blockaded the Gulf of Siam to enforce a trade monopoly in Ayutthaya.

¹⁰⁷ Bangkok was an old fortress city and customs site. In King Naria's reign, he ordered the Vichayen Forts, huge forts situated on the both sides of the Chao Phraya River bank. The forts were built by French architects and engineers. About 200-300 soldiers guarded the forts.

¹⁰⁸ The first group of French missionaries in Siam consisted of Father Lampert de la Mothe, Father Deydier and Father De Bourge. Their objective was to spread the Catholic faith to local people in Asia, China and Vietnam.

received permission to have their own land to establish a western style school for Catholicism. King Narai also gave them money, materials and construction tools for this new settlement in Ayutthaya. The French settlement was at the mouth of Takean canal at Yuan village in Banplahet. The location can be summarized as follows:

North: The settlement adjoined the Chao Phraya River bank.

East: The settlement was next to the Portuguese settlement with Kujarm Canal in between.

South: The settlement was surrounded by the Makassar Muslims¹⁰⁹

West: The location was connected to the Takean Canal and Muslim settlement.

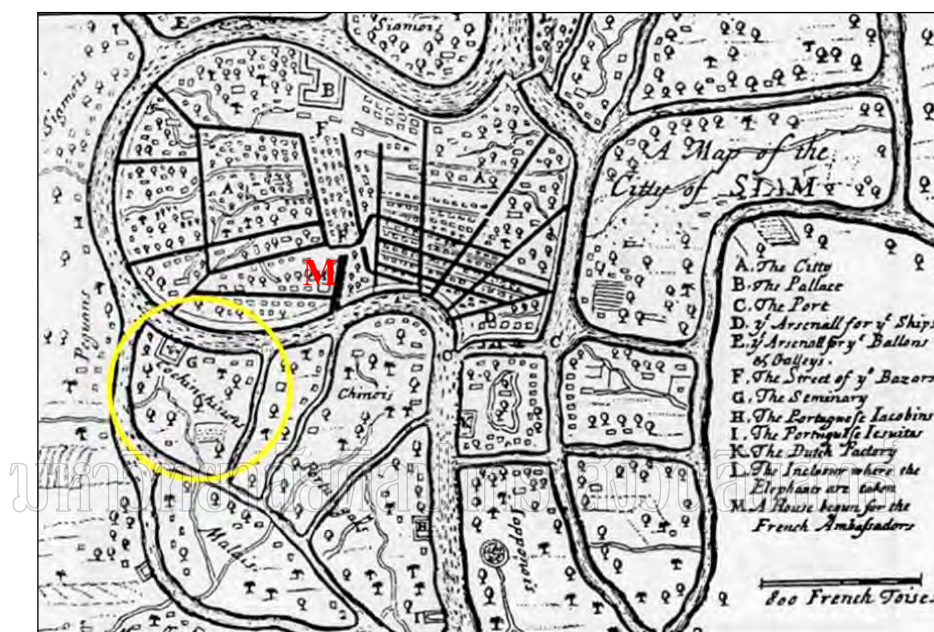


Figure 170 A map by La Lubere, the French ambassador of King Louis XIV drawn in 1688 showing the French settlement located very near to the Grand Palace. The French had the privilege of having their ambassador inside the city wall (M). The settlement was located in the southern part of Ayutthaya. From the map, it shows the French settlement located next to the settlement of Muslims and the Portuguese (Tangsiriwanit 2006, p.86).

¹⁰⁹ This group of Sunni Muslims, the Makassar, came from Sulawesi (Celebes) Island in Indonesia. In Ayutthaya, they lived together with Muslims from Malaya and Indonesia.



Figure 171 A copper coin used by the French East India Company found in the French settlement in Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in June 2010.

In 1668, the settlement was expanded and used for additional trading purposes when the French East India Company (French trading company) received permission to build a warehouse¹¹⁰ to purchase goods from China, Japan, and for cargos that visited Ayutthaya (Department of Fine Arts part 44, books26, p. 7). Then, the settlement in Ayutthaya was mainly a head office for the mission to the east and it was a place for training and living in the early period. Later on, after Ayutthaya gave a very warm welcome and accepted the French troops to join the Ayutthaya force, the areas of the settlement in Ayutthaya were reserved for a large group of French troops and their families.

The settlement in Bangkok

As mentioned previously, in 1688 the French greatly assisted King Narai by sending an armed force consisting of around 200 soldiers to guard Ayutthaya. However, they were not fully trusted by the King and nobles of Siam as a large force might later turn against his throne. Hence, they were allocated a new permanent French settlement in Bangkok. King Louis XIV appointed Chevalier de Chaumont, a colonel, as ambassador and Father De Choc'ee to be a counselor. Traveling from Brest, France, to the mouth of the Choa Phraya River on 23rd September 1685, the envoy stayed overnight at Vichayen Fort. Inside the fort, there was a welcoming lodging. There were two forts, one on the east and the other on the west side of river. The fort was expected to be huge as it was intended to be a military camp for French troops. The area around the fort would be residential. The location of the fort on the east side was around the mouth of today's Rattankosin city canal (Klong Ku-Meung Darm) connected to the Chao Phraya River that today is Rachinee Lang Women's School. The officer's houses and family members were located around and inside the forts. Next to the east fort was an area of low plain land and rice fields and the fort was surrounded by Chinese villages. On the west side of the river was also a fort which was smaller and surrounded

¹¹⁰ The French East India Company was founded in 1664. The company received permission from King Narai to build a warehouse and a trading post in Ayutthaya.

by orchards and local people's houses built on both banks of old Chao Phraya River¹¹¹ which today are called Bangkoknoi, Bangkok Yai and Chak-Pra canals.

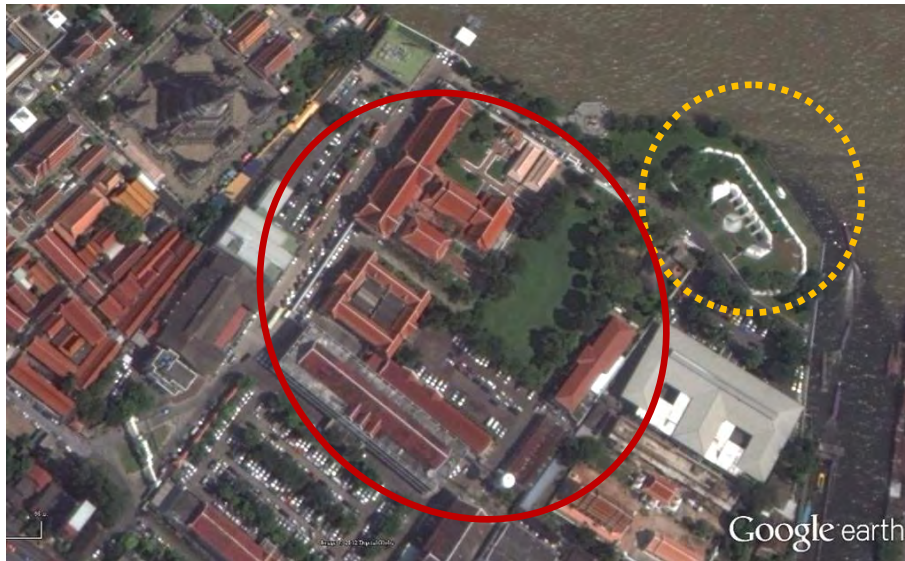


Figure 172 The remaining of Vichaiprasit fort (yellow), another part was used as Thonburi palace (red) and later became Navy head office. Photo retrieved from www.Googleearth.com on December 14, 2011



Figure 173 Top view of area of French settlement when there were in Bangkok which should live in forts area both side of river. On the right side was demolished as it was a large residential of the French officer. Today it is in Rachineebon school area and part of Tatiean market and Wat Poo. Photo retrieved from www.Googleearth.com on December 14, 2011

¹¹¹ King Chairachathirat, (1534-1546) had ordered the digging of Lad Bangkok Canal (a short cut) at the mouth of Bangkok Yai Canal around 1542. The houses on the bank of the old Chao Phraya River developed to be a bigger community called 'Yarn Bangkok' which today is located on both sides of Bangkok Noi and Bangkok Yai Canals. It is evident that this area was the oldest community in Bangkok.

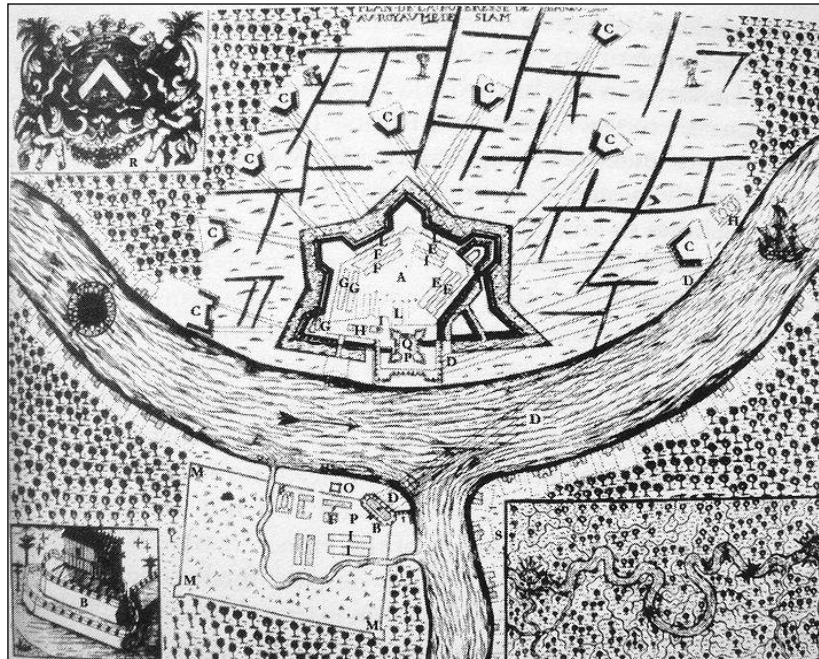


Figure 174 Fort on Bangkok side was very large when compare to Vichaiprasit fort on the mouth of Bangkok Noi. This fort was built by followed fortifications of Vauban pattern which was very famous and first design by Sbastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707), military engineer of King Louis XIV. Picture came from *Da royaume de Siam par Monsieur de la Laubere* (Tangsiriwanit 2006. p.86).



Figure 175 Mouth of Bangkok Yai canal with Vichaiprasit fort (1), Bangkok Yai canal was part of the old Chao Phraya River (2). The new manmade canal became wider and deeper until it became part of the new Chao Phraya River (3). The area of the right fort was transformed to be part of Rattanakosin Island and today is the women school, Rajini (4). Photograph by Phungwong, N. in December 2010.



Figure 176 Bangkok Noi area was the oldest community in Bangkok. The communities were developed from small villages on the old Chao Phraya River. This area was known as the origin of Bangkok. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on May 21, 2011.

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Life of the French settlers

When Chaumont returned to France, Claude de Forbin, who had accompanied Chaumont with the rank of major aboard the *Oiseau*, was induced to remain in the service of the Siamese king, and accepted, though with much reluctance, the posts of grand admiral, general of the king's armies and governor of Bangkok. His position, however, was soon made untenable by the jealousy and intrigues of the minister Phaulcon, and at the end of two years, he left Siam, reaching France in 1688. He was replaced as Governor of Bangkok by the Chevalier de Beauregard.

Work, Business and Activities of the French in Ayutthaya.

As we know, the French were in Siam for a very short period but they were very active as they came with very advanced technology from Europe which was more advanced than that of other Europeans, including medical, educational, scientific, military, and construction technologies. At the same time, it was a peak period of Ayutthaya's economic and trading activities. In addition, the territories of Siam were widely expanded by wars against Pattani, Songkha, Narkorn Sri Thammarat and Chiang Mai. These new cities were rich and very active in trading. Because of the strong economy the Ayutthayan king, Narai, was able to establish a second capital city and a new group of palaces in Lopburi where he visited for 6-7 months a year. With a very active and dynamic economy and the latest technologies and knowledge from the French, the city was pushed to the peak of development. The French roles and work in

Siam were very important and supported changes to Ayutthaya which can be analyzed as follows.

Missionaries: They were the first French group in Ayutthaya which was intended to be a center of the French Catholic mission by the command of Pope Clement IX¹¹². The reason for coming to Siam was that Ayutthaya was freely open to other religions. Ayutthaya was the only country in South East Asia where Catholic priests could establish themselves. The first group of French missionaries in Ayutthaya was led by Father Pierre Lambert de la Motte, Bishop of Berytus accompanied by Father De Bourges and Father Deydier. They came to Ayutthaya in 1662. Between 1665 and 1666 they built Saint Joseph Seminary in Ayutthaya and the Seminary of the Holy Angels, now in Penang, Malaysia¹¹³, with the approval of King Narai. The French Roman Catholics used Ayutthaya as headquarters; they also founded a missionary college in Ayutthaya. The rapid growth of the mission came directly from King Narai's warm welcome to these missionaries, providing them with land for the church, mission-house and seminary. In return, the missionaries established a western style hospital in Siam, with Father Lano who worked as the head doctor. Their Christian mission heritage has remained until today.

Ambassadors: The ambassadors later followed the missionaries to Ayutthaya to establish an official relationship with the King Narai. During the period that the French were active in Siam, several ambassadors were exchanged. It was a period when Siam developed a very strong relationship with the French over other Europeans. The response of King Narai for diplomacy can be summarized as follows.

1. After the visit of a first group of missionaries, King Narai sought to expand relations with the French, as a counter-weight to Portuguese and Dutch influences in Ayutthayan political affairs. In 1680, Phraya Pipatkosa the first Siamese ambassador was sent to France. He travelled on board the Soleil d'Orient, but the ship was wrecked off the coast of Africa.
2. A second embassy contact was sent in 1684 led by Khun Pijaiwanit and Khun Pijitmaitri, requesting the dispatch of a French embassy to Siam.
3. Chevalier de Chaumont was the first French ambassador of King Louis XIV in Siam in 1685. Chevalier de Chaumont tried without success to convert King Narai to Catholicism. However, he did succeed in concluding significant commercial treaties. A provisional agreement was signed to facilitate trade between France and the Royal Treasury Department. France was granted a tin monopoly in Phuket and received the territory of Songkla in the south of Siam.

¹¹² It was a direction from Pope Clement IX whereby the Vicariate of Siam was entrusted to the newly founded, 1658; the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris which was not follows the traditional of Spain and Portugal's missionary works in foreign countries.

¹¹³ Penang was part of Ayutthaya's colony during King Narai's reign.

4. A Siamese embassy to Louis XIV was led by Kosa Pan¹¹⁴, the second ambassador to the French in 1686¹¹⁵. He accompanied the returning embassy of Chevalier de Chaumont. He brought a proposal for an eternal alliance between France and Siam.
5. A second French embassy to Siam was sent in March 1687. The embassy consisted of a French expeditionary force of 1,361 soldiers, missionaries, envoys and crew aboard five warships. The same trip brought the Siamese ambassador, Kosa Pan, back home. The military forces were led by General Desfarges, and the diplomatic mission by Simon de la Loubère and Claude Céberet du Boullay, a director of the French East India Company. The mission included fourteen Jesuit scientists, doctors and astronomers sent to Siam at the request of King Narai. Desfarges established troops in Mergui¹¹⁶ and Bangkok. With the agreement with King Narai, General Desfarges was placed in command of the fortress of Bangkok, with 200 French officers and men.
6. A third Thai embassy to France went in 1688, when Father Guy Tachard returned to France with the title of "Ambassador Extraordinary for the King of Siam". He was accompanied by Ok-khun Chamnan, and visited the Vatican in 1688. He and his Siamese embassy met with Pope Innocent XI.

The diplomatic records show a very strong relationship between Siam and the French. However, there was always a hidden agenda of taking advantage of each other. Thus, the French did not only use Ayutthaya for a religious mission but trading was also a target to gain advantage over other Europeans. Ayutthaya granted many benefits to the French that enabled them to live well though only in the period of King Narai.

¹¹⁴ He is the most famous of Siam's ambassadors during the Ayutthaya period. His rank was Chao Phraya Kosathibodi.

¹¹⁵ He stayed in France from June 1686 to March 1687. Kosa Pan was accompanied by two other Siamese ambassadors, Ok-Luang Kanlaya Ratchamaitri and Ok-Khun Sisawan Wacha. The main street of Brest was named Rue de Siam in honor of this group of ambassadors.

¹¹⁶ Mergui or Marit (มะริด) is a seaport city located in present-day southern Burma. It was successively a port city of Sukhothai to Ayutthaya. It was trading center that carried goods from the Indian Ocean to the mainland.



Figure 177 Chevalier de Chaumont presents Louis XIV's letter to King Narai. (Smithies 2001, p. 64).

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Figure 178 Painting of Kosa Pan, the most famous Siam ambassador to the French in 1686, Paris. Retrieved from <http://www.ayutthayastudy.org/content/view/126/64/> on September 22, 2010.

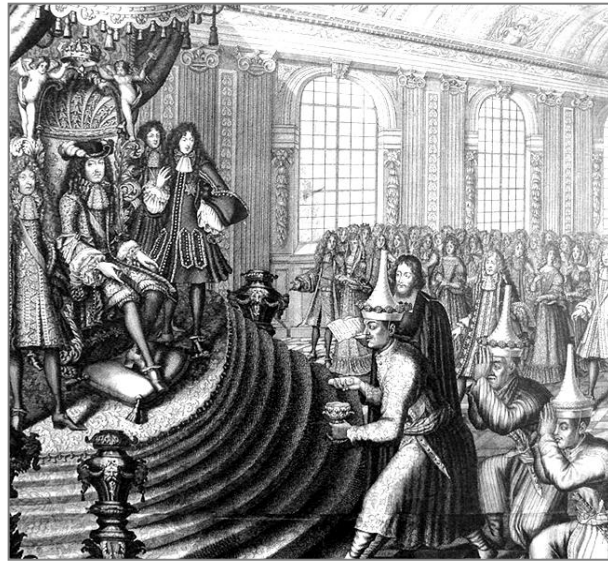


Figure 179 Siamese Embassy, Kosa Pan to Louis XIV, in 1686 at Versailles. Retrieved from www.ayutthayastudy.org on September 22, 2010.



Figure 180 Pope Innocent XI receives the Siamese envoys, led by Father Tachard who reads the translation of the message from King Narai, December 1688. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:SiameseEmba.jpg> on September 22, 2010.



Figure 181 The honor coin made during the visit of the Siam Embassy to Louis XIV in Versailles. Retrieved from www.OmniCoin.com. on September 22, 2010.



Figure 182 The Rue de Siam (or Siam Street) is the main residential and business street in Brest. It was named after the arrival of three ambassadors led by Kosa Pan on the 29th of June 1686 to meet Louis XIV in Versailles. Retrieved from <http://www.ambafrance-th.org> on September 22, 2010.

Traders: These were established after Ayutthaya's contact with missionaries for a few years and after the French had established a strong trading foundation in India. In 1680, the French East India Company came to Ayutthaya and established a trading post beginning with the objective to buy tin and pepper from Siam and at the same time purchase goods from the Chinese and Japanese who were traders in Ayutthaya and including other local goods. Moreover, at the same time King Narai also allowed the French to set trading posts in southern Siam such as at Phuket and Songkla in order to reduce the trading and political power of the Dutch in this territory and at the same time control the city. Siam signed trading agreements with the French which gave them considerable advantage in free trading and they became a monopoly trader in Siam for the period of the reign of King Narai. The trading situation of the French went well as they worked closely with Constantine Phaulkon who was a trade representative of the Royal Treasury. The French would go on to build large warehouses in Bangkok, a new important port city.

Engineers, doctors and scientists: This group of people imported new technologies from France to Siam. They included fort construction techniques, astronomy, military training, etc. The doctors and scientists from the French were also missionaries. In this period, there is evidence that Ayutthaya built an observatory in the Lopburi Palace. Also, new technologies such as waterworks in Siam were started in this reign which was supported by the French engineers. Furthermore, there was a large number of forts built during the Narai period by the French priest, Thomas, and other French military engineers. In 1665, the King ordered the forts to be built in Lopburi, Nakorn Sri

Thamarat, Nakorn Rachasima, Tanowsri and at the mouth of Bangkok Yai canal which was called Vichayen Fort¹¹⁷.



Figure 183 The Sun Eclipse observation at Kraisri Building, part of Narai's new palace in Lopburi with King Narai (in window), missionaries and French officers in 1688. Retrieved from <http://thaiastro.nectec.or.th> on September 22, 2010.



Figure 184 This drawing presents the observatory building built during the King Narai period. It was the first observatory in Siam built in St Paul's Church area by missionaries. An old drawing shows a full view of the observation building and residential quarters. This picture retrieved from www.thaiastro.nectec.or.th

¹¹⁷ Later on King Taksin gave it a new name, as Vichaiprasit Fort. In addition, there were several forts built by Father Thomas. He also built the fort on the opposite side where the present Rajini School is situated as a pair to Vichayen Fort.



Figure 185 The remains of an observatory built by the French in Lopburi. Today, it is in Wat San Palo or Saint Paul Church. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on February 2011.

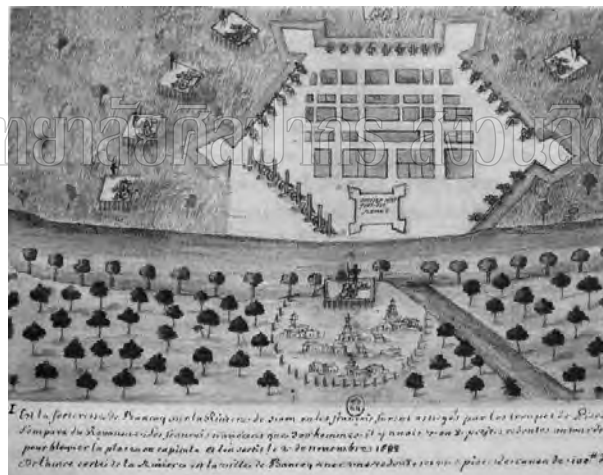


Figure 186 Layout of the French fortress, Bangkok. It was a very large construction on the East of the Chao Phraya River with buildings inside the fort. The fort was built in Italian or French formation (the most popular formation in that period) with very flat construction and a star shape. From the picture, there were rice fields on the Bangkok side (east) and orchards on the Thonburi side (west). On the west of the river was a smaller fort but it has remained until to today as Vichaiprasit Fort (Thangsiriwani 2006. p. 98).



Figure 187 Remains of Vichiprasit fortress today on the west bank of Chao Phraya. This fort was designed and built by French engineers. There were a larger fort on the right side of the river but was withdrawn by King Phetracha. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in August 2011.



Figure 188 Old Photograph of Korat (Nakorn Rachasrima) city wall which was planned and built by French engineers under the command of King Narai between 1656-1688. During this period, Korat was a large city with many people coming from Ayutthaya. It still has a temple named Wat Pra Narai built during his period. This photograph was taken in the King Rama V era. Retrieved from <http://www.skyscrapercity.com> in February 2011.



Figure 189 A water tank (1) and pottery water pipe (2) built in the King Narai Palace, Lopburi. The water pipe was constructed by a French engineer. They introduced waterworks between 1682-1684 starting at Lopburi and around 1685-1686 at the Ayutthaya palaces. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.

Architects: The architects offered a very strong European Renaissance style that passed from royal to local architecture. During the King Narai period, the French provided the strongest influence in Siam architecture which was seen extensively in his new palace at Lopburi. Moreover, many historical buildings built during the King Narai era had a European style. Windows and entrance doors in this period usually had arches copied from the Gothic style in France. The fashion can be seen in Dusit Sawan Thanya Mahaprasat Palace, Vichayen House, and a small temple in Wat Prasri Mahathard, Lopburi, Wat Puthaisawan, Ayutthaya and Sermon Hall in a monastery at Tongpu temple, Lopburi.



Figure 190 Vichayen home built in Lopburi within the group of King Narai's new palaces. It was built in French- Renaissance architectural style which can be seen in the windows and entrances. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.



Figure 191 The grand hall of Dusit Sawan Thanya Mahaprasat building in Narai's palace, Lopburi. It fully received French influence in its architectural style. The middle photograph is a group of windows and below is the door entrance built in mixed Gothic and Thai architectural style. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.



Figure 192 A group of windows in Narai's palace; the windows were built in a repetitive style with a Palladian influence. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.



Figure 193 The entrance door to inner Narai's palace; it used a hybrid of Gothic and Muslim-Moor. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.



Figure 194 The small temple in Wat Prasri Mahathad, Lopburi, built with the influence of Gothic style but with fewer windows. It was call Ma-Ha-Aud style in Thai. This temple was built during King Narai's period. Photograph by Phungwong, N. in February 2011.



Figure 195 Left and right photo, Tham Nak Praput Thakosajarn, Wat Putthaisawan in Ayutthaya built in the Narai period. This building was in a hybrid architectural style of French and Siamese. This building was funded by King Narai. Photograph by Phungwong, N. April 24, 2010

Soldiers: After Siam and France had established a very close relationship by exchange of ambassadors. King Louis XIV sent French soldiers to train Siamese troops in the western method led by Chavalier de Beauregard who was later granted the title of Uakprasak Songklam¹¹⁸. Therefore a large number of soldiers were in Siam. The major reason was that King Narai would aim to set up a western style army to defend against threats from the Netherlands and England. King Louis XIV, therefore, sent 1,400 volunteer soldiers under the command of General Desfarges. Some of the soldiers were garrisoned at Bangkok as well as in Songkla as King Narai and his nobles did not fully trust these troops as they may harm the capital. Therefore, there was a control regulation that sent them to be stationed at Bangkok which was far from Ayutthaya. Using French troops was stopped by the next king, Phetracha, who had anti-foreigner policies.

¹¹⁸ Ayutthaya usually had foreign soldiers who worked for the army and were given Siamese titles.



Figure 196 Picture of the French soldiers in Siam during the 17th century painted in a lacquer ware cabinet (Lai Rot Nam) in the Pavilion of Suan Pakkad Palace, Bangkok. This painting shows the French soldiers and their horses walking along a street among local people. Photograph by Phungwong, N.

Thus, the short period of the French settlement in Ayutthaya and Samsen, Bangkok, brought a lot of development to Siam. The French were able to live in Ayutthaya only in the period of King Narai as both relied on each other for mutual benefit. The king was looking for a counter-balance to the power of the nobles and other foreigners - the Moors, Portuguese and the Dutch - while the French sought to make themselves dominant over the Dutch, English, Spanish and Portuguese. The French supported a strong development at a time when Ayutthaya was economically powerful as an international port. Additionally, Ayutthaya was a peaceful place and gave a very warm welcome to the missionaries while Siam received education and medical support in return. Even though they were in Siam for only 26 years and mostly worked directly for the Siam court, they had a strong influence on Siam's culture through their religious and missionary work. The French Catholic presence in Siam was a strong foundation which is still accepted among Thai people today. It is a reflection of the reality that they were in Siam in an environment of happiness and freedom.

Conclusion

The arrival of the Europeans in Ayutthaya fully developed the city as an international port. Ayutthaya had a unique advantage as the location could be easily reached from the sea by the Chao Phraya River. It was also ideally situated to collect varieties of forest goods for trading. The strong economy of Ayutthaya mainly came from internal consumption and trade with foreign countries. The internal consumption

generated income tax or 'Souy' in the early Ayutthaya period. The state received more tax when the population increased due to war and conquest. However, since the middle of the Ayutthaya period to the end, Ayutthaya participated more in foreign trading both from Asia and Europe. Ayutthaya received income from trading profit and received more trading taxes or 'Arkorn'.

The Ayutthaya's kings did not look at the economic benefit from Europeans at the beginning. The business from trading would start when the Portuguese, the first Europeans, traded munitions for goods from the Ayutthaya king. Later, they were allowed to open shop houses and sell products to people in Ayutthaya. The Portuguese firstly found Ayutthaya's kings needed military technology for wars and they wanted to gain trust and receive favor by joining the army. Moreover, the policy of Portugal's king needing people to settle down in Asia drove a large population to live in Ayutthaya as a permanent residence. In Ayutthaya, the Portuguese would live in their settlements closely related to people in Ayutthaya soon they became part of the Ayutthayan society and were role models for people's life style and imparted European culture to Siamese society.

The Dutch followed the trading route of Portugal but did a better job in terms of business improvement; the Dutch used the company VOC to expand their trading territories. However, the business between the Dutch and Ayutthaya was more developed as the Dutch were a very good trading partner. Dealing with the Dutch created a large currency flow to Siam as the Dutch relied on the currency system. Therefore, Ayutthaya had more power to purchase goods from other countries by using money from the Dutch. During the time the Dutch were in Siam, Ayutthaya possibly had the most powerful economy in South East Asia. During the time of King Prasarthong, the city was fully developed for infrastructure and new palaces¹¹⁹. King Songtham fully supported Buddhism¹²⁰ by funding several temples in Ayutthaya and Saraburi using money from foreign trading and exporting goods from Ayutthaya. Therefore, it was not only in the period of the King Narai when Ayutthaya was strong in its international relationships but also late Ayutthaya, in the period of King Songtham and King Prasarthong, should also considered as a strong international period.

The relationship sometimes drove Siam to semi-colonization, when the Europeans were able to lead or control the King decisions. Mostly, it was a period when they strongly supported the King's power. However, it was found that none of Ayutthaya's kings used and relied on many relationships from foreigners at the same time. Many nations from Europe competed among themselves for a dominant role in Ayutthaya but not all of them were welcome and successful. They were carefully selected and controlled by the kings for counter-balancing power among the Europeans.

¹¹⁹ Wat Chaiwathanaram, a large group of Buddhist temples was built by King Prasarthong. He also built a large group of palaces in Nakornhloung, Ayutthaya.

¹²⁰ Wat Pra Put Tha Bath in Saraburi was built during the King Songtham era. It was a large temple built on mountains that were very difficult to visit from Ayutthaya; also King Pasarthong built a large number of temples and palaces in Ayutthaya such as Wat Chaiwattharam.

Unlike the other Europeans, the French came to Ayutthaya at an auspicious time when the king, Narai, needed to balance power from the Dutch after a very long contact and the start of trading conflicts with them. Therefore, from the time when Ayutthaya first met the Europeans, it can be seen that Ayutthaya had to balance their roles and influences. Thus, the Europeans' supported Ayutthayan politics. Portugal, the Dutch and the French received the most trust and most success in business in Siam. It could be interpreted that Ayutthaya understood the situation of Europe and their influence in Asia. Therefore, the Ayutthaya kings always avoided taking risks in their dealings with Europeans recognizing their power to affect change.

Europeans could set their settlements on the area to the south of Ayutthaya Island as it was newly formed land in need of a new development and new settlement. The southern part of Ayutthaya was also a good area for anchorage. Moreover, it had a large area of vacant land along the Chao Phraya River. The Portuguese settlement was the first European settlement and was a largest among others. However, it was indicated that all foreigners were controlled to live in their own area. There was a linkage between settlements by mutual benefit such as goods and religious exchange, especially people who joined the Christian activities. The king and his nobles felt the Europeans could be dangerous to the capital, especially when Ayutthaya was strongly linked to the foreigners (the Dutch) from the time of King Agathosarot. This was strongly emphasized during the King Narai period when he was aware of the Europeans' colonial muscle. Cargo ships could not pass the customs gate in Bangkok without permission. In the late Ayutthaya period, the cities had largely developed. There was a large development along the Chao Phraya River from Ayutthaya to the mouth of the river. Many small towns such as Samkork became Morn residences, Samsen was for Portuguese and French settlement and Pra Pa Dang was developed as a new town for the Dutch. It was very interesting when many new towns were found mostly related to foreigners, their living activities and their early settlements.

It was evident from the middle to the late Ayutthaya period that Ayutthaya had fewer wars for gaining resources. The country relied on trading and new people coming to live in Siam. When the country had more population, it created internal income and economic surplus. On the other hand, when Ayutthaya was more developed to a large city with a large population, it needed more of technology and innovation from the Europeans.

Possibly, Portugal was the closest European friend to Ayutthayan society; they become more integrated into the society as they were in Ayutthaya for a very long time. The settlement had a very high population which they would expand to Samsen. In contrast, the Dutch came to Ayutthaya mainly for trading and service to the VOC. However, being leaders in marine technology made the Dutch become involved in specific technologies and skills such as ship construction and architecture. The architecture of the Dutch became very popular among the local people in Siam as it was a simple style which local people could emulate at low cost by using available materials. During the time they were in Siam, they received favors in return for trading territories in the south such as Songkla, Marit and Puket. Therefore, during their time, it is more likely Ayutthaya was under the economic control of the Dutch. Caution in

dealing with the Dutch meant the new settlement must be located far from Ayutthaya in Pra Pa Dang. Later, King Narai felt he must reduce their power over Ayutthaya and his colonies by welcoming the French and seeking support to his authority. There was a very close relationship with the French at a beginning as they lived very close to the Grand Palace. High trust would come from King Narai as his nobles were very impressed by the priests' medical work and the peaceful teaching of their religion. However, the French was later found involving themselves in Ayutthayan political situations as they needed a very strong support from the king for their mission. The French power play was passed through the King Narai's counselor, Phaulcon. The king wanted to avoid domination by the French military force. Therefore, a second French settlement was set up in Bangkok for a place that military forces and their families could live far from Ayutthaya. Moreover, the dangerous cargo ships would be anchored in Bangkok. It was noticeable that, when the Europeans were in Ayutthaya, their cultural and lifestyle activities were absorbed and merged into Siam's cultural life. It indicated that they were leaders in both the latest technology and new cultural influences from Europe.

The bank of the Chao Phraya River was suitable for residences of both foreigners and locals. When the river was changed by nature, it impacted on the European settlements. In many areas, the European settlements were built to increase the town development or lead the local people to live nearby. They were sources of new development. Even though the French were in Ayutthaya for only a very short period, they were involved in the Catholic mission which had a very strong foundation in Siam, therefore around their settlement in Ayutthaya and Bangkok, were found many religious constructions such as churches, seminaries and mission colleges. The French missionaries achieved successes by replacing the Portuguese fathers. Their mission was very successful using Ayutthaya as a center to propagate Catholicism in both Siam and South East Asia. They were allowed to work freely by respective Ayutthayan kings. They were able to continue their mission in Siam after the French military had been pushed back from Ayutthaya in 1697 by King Phetracha.

Since the first visit of the Portuguese until the end of the Ayutthaya period, the Europeans were very welcome to live in Siam. They lived in specific areas using the Chao Phraya River as a main course of transportation and source of life and living activities, the same as people in Siam. Their fortune depended on favors in each period of the Ayutthaya kings. The Ayutthaya kings always considered the benefits of friendship with the visitors.

What makes Ayutthaya different from others port city around South East Asia would be an important question. The answer could be that the situation and positioning of the foreigners by Ayutthaya was much different from that of many port cities around South East Asia, as Ayutthaya was not a direct colony of the Europeans. Therefore, the income and natural resources could be used and trade for profits made. This was unlike the European colonies in South East Asia like Batavia¹²¹ and Malacca, which were directly colonized by the Portuguese, the Dutch or others Europeans who always took advantage for their own mother countries.

¹²¹ It was the old Dutch colony town or port of spices in North Jakarta.

Therefore, the study and interpretation of the European settlements would indicate that through the period that they lived in Siam, they lived happily and received a very warm welcome from the kings and people in Siam. Their work, knowledge and life styles were largely adopted by people in Ayutthaya as a positive influence on local people. However, they were not completely successful when they were pulled into playing political support to the kings.

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion: the European Settlements to the end of Ayutthaya.

This last chapter will discuss the situation of the European settlements in the late Ayutthaya period, explaining reasons for the decline of European activities and the failing of settlements from the Chao Phraya River. It will also present the situation of the European settlements after the end of Ayutthaya.

The impact on the settlements

A rich and prosperous economy made Ayutthaya an important destination for visitors. However, Burma ended the glories of Ayutthaya in 1767. Ayutthaya, the capital city was looted and burned down. The enemy destroyed the country's political power, culture, and economy; relationships with foreigners were destroyed. Additionally, a large number of local people and foreigners were captured as prisoners of war. They were brought back to Burma as slaves including highly skilled people and technicians (Kanparit 1985, p.58). However, the Burmese army did not occupy the whole of Siam; some faraway large cities such as Chanthaburi, Nakornratchasima and Nakornsrithamarat did not fall under Burmese control (Tantoon, p. 24-25). These cities were safe places for people to hide. Fortunately, a few months later, Siam was liberated by a small group led by the Tark Governor, Sin¹²² who reestablished the nation. He ran a liberation campaign across Siam and later established a new capital in Thonburi in 1768¹²³. He became the single King of Thonburi. During the Thonburi period, Siam started to regain power from colonization¹²⁴ and improved the country economically by trading with foreigners again such as rice trading to China. However, business with the Europeans was founded mostly on guns and ammunition.

The situation of the European settlements was the same as the fallen capital city. When the war started, many foreigners including the Europeans escaped from the city¹²⁵. Some of them joined the Ayutthayan forces in order to protect their own businesses. However, the situation of the French was largely dissimilar when a large group was pushed back by the anti-foreigner policy of King Phetracha, whereupon only missionaries were allowed.

¹²² He was a former Tark city governor in the north of Siam.

¹²³ He established a new capital after he defeated five independent groups in Siam. These included a group of Burmese who controlled Ayutthaya and had a base at Pho-Sam-Thon camps.

¹²⁴ Siam started invasions into Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

¹²⁵ The foreigners migrated to the cities and countries nearby when Burma started the siege.

When did the Europeans leave Ayutthaya?

The reasons the Europeans left their settlements in Ayutthaya were different for each nation. Causes for the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French leaving were based on the political situation and relationships between the Europeans and the Ayutthaya court. Furthermore, it depended on the situation in the home country. Their situations can be analyzed in detail, starting from France followed by the Netherlands and Portugal.

The French leave Ayutthaya

When the reign of King Narai ended, a large group of the French military force that included their family members was pushed out from Ayutthaya and Lopburi to the Bangkok settlement. Before the king passed away, it was an unsettling period for Siam when the country was on the verge of becoming a French colony and King Narai might eventually become a Christian (Smithies 2002, p.49). Thus, Prince Phetracha began the nationalist movement and gained the respect of the nobles.

When King Narai was very ill, Phetracha got rid of the counselor, Phaulkon and executed his coup d'état. He was at the center of people who claimed to defend the country from French power. Finally, King Phetracha seized Bangkok and exiled all French troops from Siam. King Phetracha can be analyzed as a representative of the "nationalist party". He claimed to defend the country from French occupation and became the leader of the kingdom. He exiled and banned all French representatives. His activities made a very strong impact on the French settlement in Bangkok, especially when the Vichaiprasit fort on the right side of the river and residential was destroyed at his command. It marked the end of the settlement in Bangkok; later the Portuguese replaced the French fully. In the Ayutthaya and Samsen settlements, only missionaries were allowed to stay and continue their religious activities until the beginning of the last war in 1766. They then escaped to Chantaburi¹²⁶, Cambodia and Vietnam for safety. The reasons for the declining relationship between Siam to the French settlements can be analyzed as following:

1. The new Ayutthaya king did not favor the Europeans; since the beginning of the Ban Plu Luang dynasty, an anti-foreigners campaign was used to strengthen nationalism, therefore the French were pushed back from Ayutthaya.
2. The relationship between France and Ayutthaya revolved around King Louis XIV and King Narai. A strong relationship was conducted by Constantine Phaulkon. When King Narai passed away, Phaulkon was terminated right away and then the relationship ended.
3. The anti-foreigner campaign was strongly pursued throughout the period of King Phetracha from 1688 to 1703.

¹²⁶ Chantaburi or Chantaboon was also a center for the mission in the east of Siam.

4. The situation that made the last group of the French leave Ayutthaya possibly was when France engaged in the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697)¹²⁷ and later was involved in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713)¹²⁸. The war expanded both inland and to maritime endeavors which made it difficult for the French to travel to countries in Asia.

From the archeological evidence found from the last period of Ayutthaya, the French settlement was used for defense and shelter during the war. This shelter was run by Christian church members, both Portuguese and French. This made their enemies destroy and burn residential buildings, missionary colleges and churches along with the rest of the Ayutthayan city¹²⁹. The church, a center of the settlement, was destroyed on 23 March 1767. After the end of Ayutthaya, the settlement was abandoned and was used by local Siam people as farmland and housing until the period of King Rama V of Ratanakosin. In 1831, Father Pallegoix began to restore churches in Ayutthaya in a more Rococo style, which was completed in 1847. In addition, the Romanesque style churches were restored by Father René-Marie-Joseph Perros during the reign of King Rama VII.

In 1767, Bangkok was also attacked and occupied by the Burmese. The right side of the settlement had been destroyed by ordered of King Phetracha. They used Vichai Prsit Fort (left side) for the immigration control of people who traveled by river. People in Samsen settlement (Portuguese and French fathers) scattered and escaped to other large cities. They came back again after Siam had established a new capital at Thonburi. Later, at the beginning of the Rattanakosin era, the Samsen area became a mixed Christian community and welcomed Catholic people from Cambodia and Vietnam. It was called “Ban Khmer”.

¹²⁷ This war was also called the “Nine Years' War”. It was a fight between King Louis XIV of France and a European alliance comprising the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch, Spain, and Savoy.

¹²⁸ The war was fought among several European powers for seeking a balance of power.

¹²⁹ During 1766-1767, the French settlement became a bastion and refuge for fleeing Christians, growing into a considerable garrison. Finally, the Portuguese settlement and the St Joseph seminary were isolated and surrounded by the attacking Burmese on the right side. The missionaries together with their Christian followers and seminarians were taken as prisoners of war and brought to Burma.



Figure 197 Picture of European cargo ships, probably French, as the size and height look very large. Is it passing Vichayen forts to Ayutthaya (on top of this picture)? This painting is on the Wat Suthad Wararam column, Bangkok. The temple was built in the King Rama I of Rathanakosin era. This temple was built to remind of the prosperous period of Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 3, 2011.



Figure 198 The remains of the Vichaiprasit fort on left side of the Chao Phraya River used as the King Taksin Palace. Today it is a Navy head office. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August, 12 2011.



Figure 199 Today the community in Samsen is mixed in cultures and nationalities but people live together by using the same church, Conception and share the same belief in religion. The church becomes the center of today's community. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 18, 2011.



Figure 200 Samsen community around Conception Church in Bangkok, the surrounding area becomes a normal Thai community which is very hard to distinguish from the original, French and Portuguese was replaced by Khmer and Vietnamese and Thai cultural. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 18, 2011.



Figure 201 The new French church, Saint Joseph in present Ayutthaya province was built over the old foundation which some are remained in front of Church. The area has no excavation yet; today it is actively used by Thailand Catholic Mission. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 16, 2011.

The Dutch leave Ayutthaya

Unlike the French, the situation of the Dutch settlement or VOC office in Ayutthaya was largely different. They were not closely related and bound to local people. The Dutch would regularly rotate among trading posts of the VOC. When the war started and Ayutthaya could not offer help and safety, the Dutch suddenly withdrew people and officers from the settlements. They sailed to the port colonies of Siam in the south, at Songkla and Pattani. This also included residents from Prapradang settlement. Reasons for the Dutch vacating the city can be explained by their experience of invasion¹³⁰ in the Alongpaya War. During the war in 1767, their settlement in Ayutthaya was sacked by a force of Chinese and was burned down¹³¹ (Ruangsilp B, p.262, 267). However, there is no evidence of the settlement in Pra Pa Dang being ruined by man during the war; instead, it was destroyed by Nature in the form of the Chao Phraya's tide. More than 90 percent was destroyed by the erosion of the riverbank and people who took bricks for their own use. Moreover local people came in for housing, as the area is higher than tide level and dry because the ground is full of bricks and makes a strong foundation. After the end of the Ayutthaya era, the relationship between Siam and the Netherlands weakened due to the following factors.

1. Firstly, during the Thonburi period (1767-1782), the relationship between Siam and the Netherlands was very loose, as the Dutch did not officially contact Siam after the country was liberated. There was no trading post established again in this period.
2. Moreover, during the Thonburi to early Ratanakosin (1767-1824), Siam focused on trading with China and had purchased only a small amount of weapons from the Netherlands.
3. War issues in Europe would cause the Dutch to be unable to make official contracts. At the outset, there was the fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780-1784¹³². Moreover, almost continuously, again they faced a period of hostilities of the French Emperor Napoleon across the European continent in 1795. Finally, the Netherlands came under the control of the French army.
4. The last factor was in the early 18th century, as the VOC business declined almost to the point of bankruptcy and finally the VOC was formally dissolved in 1800.

¹³⁰ Their warehouses in both Pra Pa Dang and Ayutthaya settlements were looted as both were on the Burmese army route from the south to Ayutthaya.

¹³¹ From the Ayutthaya archive, it mentions the fire in the city set by the enemy for ten days. It burned the palaces, houses, temples and other important sites.

¹³² The Fourth Anglo–Dutch War (1780–1784) was a conflict between Great Britain and the Netherlands. Most of the British operations against Dutch colonial economic interests were successful. The war ended disastrously for the Dutch and exposed the weakness of the political and economic foundations of the country.

Siam reestablished a formal relationship at the diplomatic level and traded with the Dutch again¹³³ when Siam was socially and economically reformed in the period of King Rama III, King Nang Klao of Rattanakosin.

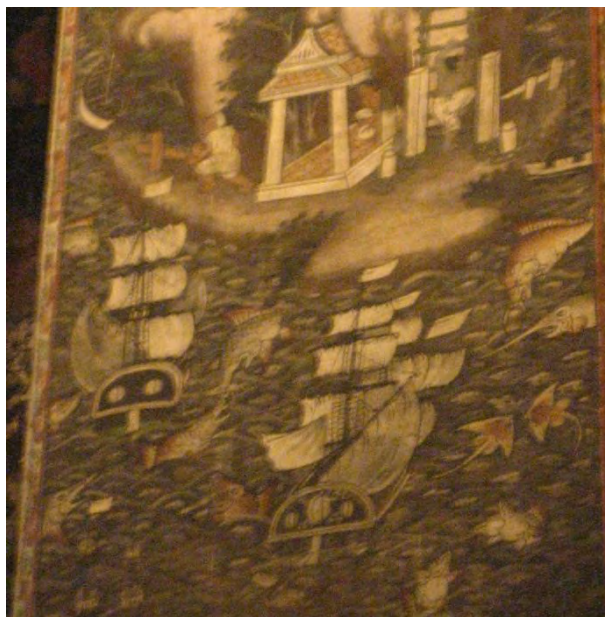


Figure 202 Two cargo ships, expected to be VOC as the picture is painted in very similar manner on Wat Suthad column. It would remind one of the settlements in old Pra Pa Dang as it shows sea fishes around the ships and port. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 3, 2011.



Figure 203 The remains of the Dutch settlement in Ayutthaya after excavation found a large foundation. Buildings on the other side have not yet been explored but are expected to be a residence of the VOC. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 16, 2011.

¹³³ The Dutch regained independence from France in 1813 and become the Netherlands.



Figure 204 Today at the mouth of Bangpakod Canal, the area of former second Dutch settlement, both sides are covered by houses and a sugar warehouse. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August 12, 2011.



Figure 205 The remains of the historical trading post of the VOC in old Pra Pa Dang. Today, there are local houses on the site. There are a lot of stories, buildings and foundations which represent that this settlement was very large but was destroyed by the river current and by humans using bricks from the post. In this picture Mr. Teerasak Pomgarm is pointing at the gunpowder warehouse which is considered to have been a cannon and gunpowder factory selling to Ayutthaya.

The Portuguese did not leave Ayutthaya

The situation of the Portuguese and their settlements was uniquely different from the French and Dutch experience. They were in Ayutthaya until the end without being exiled from Siam as they had already merged into the society. In the late Ayutthaya era, their dominant role in the military would fall off starting from the period of King Narai when they were replaced by the French troops. Meanwhile, in late Ayutthaya, the Portuguese power in Europe also declined the same as in South East Asia; Portugal lost their trading territory to the Dutch¹³⁴. However, the mixed Siamese-

¹³⁴ Portugal's wealth after the 16th century declined. The country was under the rule of the Spanish monarchy from 1580 to 1640 and went to an Amada war with Spain to invade England. This brought an attack on Portuguese's colonies by Spain's opponents, especially the Dutch and English, from 1595 to 1663.

Portuguese joined King Taksin's campaign to liberate the country, as they were the largest European population, including the mixed Siam-Portuguese. After King Taksin's victory, he was enthroned as the King of Thonburi. He used the Vichiprasit area on the Thonburi side for his Grand Palace. Therefore, he gave the land at the south of Kudeechin canal for the new residences of the Portuguese who joined his liberation campaign. Later, the other Christian populations settled this area, for example, the Christians who emigrated from Vietnam lived together in the Kudeechin area but without a church as a community center. Later in 1769, Father Gorre, French missionary and his church members who escaped from the war to Cambodia returned to Bangkok. He received a favor to stay under royal patronage and was given land to build a church in Kudeechin village and named it Santa Cruz¹³⁵.

The Portuguese situation in the last period of the war

There are two points to be made regarding the Portuguese settlement situation on the bank of the Chao Phraya.

1. The Portuguese settlement in Ayutthaya became a shelter and defensive camp similar to the French settlement. As the Portuguese had a large population, they would have mounted strong resistance against the Burmese during the war. There is archeological evidence of a large number of bullets and weapons around the settlement wall. After the country was liberated, some residents came back and settled down again in Ayutthaya. Today, there are some families who claim that their origins come from the old Portuguese settlement back to Ayutthaya.
2. In Samsen, people also escaped from the war and returned in the Thonburi period mostly moved to the latest settlement, Kudeechin. Some of them remained in the Samsen settlement and later the area becomes a center for Catholic people using the Conception Church. Later, the settlement in Samsen was called Ban Khmer and Ban Yuan village. It was started by King Rama I of Rattanakosin when the Khmer-Catholics migrated to Bangkok. Again, the Vietnamese-Catholic, Yuan also migrated to this area during King Rama III reign¹³⁶ when Siam went to war with Vietnam. Consequently, the area in Samsen became a place for the various Catholic groups in Siam to settle down and share the same church. This settlement is considered as the oldest Catholic community in Bangkok.

¹³⁵ The church was rebuilt for the third time in 1913, and completed in 1916. The building style is a combination of neo-classic and Renaissance. It is a rectangular brick building with high dome decorated with glass in various colors.

¹³⁶ During the reign of King Rama III of Rathanakosin, the Vietnamese migrated to Siam on major 3 occasions. The first migration was a migration during Siam had war with Vietnam around year 1833 by followed Phraya Visetrat back to Bangkok. The second migration was in 1838, many of them were Christians. The King located them in the Samsen area. In the third migration, the Buddhist population was sent to Bang Poo and Kanchanaburi.

The Portuguese came back after the end of the war and gathered in new settlements of Kuddeechin and Samsen. In both settlements, there were churches and the French Catholic fathers brought back the people. The French settlement around the Vichiprasit fort completely changed in significance when the new capital city, Thonburi, was in place for fifteen years. After the Thonburi era, the area of the east fort became the new capital, Rattanakosin. Rattanakosin reestablished diplomatic relationships with the Portuguese again in the period of King Nungklao, Rama III, for greater trade, and initiated a warm welcome to the Europeans to modernize the country.



Figure 206 Picture of the European cargo ships on the Wat Suthad Wararam column, Bangkok. The temple was built in King Rama I of the Rathanakosin era. This temple was built as a reminder of the prosperous period of Ayutthaya, when one could see many ships from around the world visiting the island of Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on January 3, 2011.



Figure 207 The Portuguese settlement become parts of World Heritage site represent a very close relationship of the settlement in the past and glory period of Ayutthaya. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August, 16 2011.



Figure 208 In Samsen , there are only cemetery indicated of Portugueses were here since Ayutthaya period. This is the grave of Visetrat family who original was Portuguese in this settlement. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August, 18 2011.



Figure 209 The first Conception church built since Ayutthaya period, it was built in Dutch architectural style. Photograph by Phungwong, N. on August, 18 2011.

In the view of the foreigners, Ayutthaya was a glorious city which had a great presence, grand palace and Buddhist institutions as a center of the city's prosperity. Yosauten, a Dutch merchant who lived in Ayutthaya from the time of King Songtham's reign to that of King Prasarttong, recorded that it was most prosperous. In the reign of King Narai, the economy was booming and technology was advanced. The relationship of the Siamese court with King Louis XIV of France allowed advanced technology to be available in several fields including architecture, engineering, medical science, astronomy and modern military methods. However, in the early period, technology and economic development of Ayutthaya did not only come from the French but also from other powerful countries such as Portugal and the Netherlands. The growth and development of Ayutthaya as an important port and trading post could not happen without the Chao Phraya River, the Siamese source of life. Thai cultural evolution and several significant events in Thai history have occurred on both sides of this river. The

three capital cities of Siam – Ayutthaya, Thonburi and Bangkok - were situated on this river. Moreover, along the way that the water flows, it brings rich sediments creating the vast plain which is one of the best places for cultivation in the world. This rich plain has attracted people to settle on the riverbank. From Ayutthaya to Bangkok, there were a lot of local and foreign settlements, villages and residential areas. In the late Ayutthaya era, we find that Bangkok was a new development area and a fresh port city of Siam. Since the 16th century, Bangkok has been well known among navigators and merchants who traveled for trade with Siam. These navigators and merchants had to stop at Bangkok before traveling on to their destination at Ayutthaya. Since the Ayutthaya period, the river has been changed significantly by both man and nature which was beneficial for the life of people on the banks of the river.

Therefore, the rich resources of Ayutthaya were mainly derived from the Chao Phraya River. Ayutthaya was the destination for foreigners, especially Europeans, who sought their fortune from trading and working. Similarly to the local people in Ayutthaya, they lived and traded along this important river. The river was also an active market place which allowed trading business to grow prosperous. This made the foreign merchants such as Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Dutch very successful in Ayutthaya.

The cultural evidence of the Europeans' life represented one of the longest periods of peace and solidarity in Siamese history. The complex political power, cultural development, economic prosperity and relationships with other countries, both neighboring and western countries such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, England and France, were good evidence of the prosperity of the Ayutthaya Kingdom. The existence of the European communities, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French on this river has represented very well the historical heritage of the Chao Phraya, the river of life.

Moreover, today, the historical settlements along the Chao Phraya River in Ayutthaya, Pra Pa Dang and Bangkok are ignored and mostly are abandoned as they are not understood of significant. These places need a strongly care, restoration and interpretation in order to preserve the historical heritage between Thai and Europeans which represent of a good relationship between Thailand and these important European countries in the past.

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- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. | Johnson & Johnson Advertising School | Japan | 1997 |
| 2. | Marketing Research | Thailand | 1998 |
| 3. | Standard of Leadership | Hong Kong | 2003-2004 |
| 4. | Sales Management and Negotiation | Singapore | 2004 |
| 5. | Distributor Sales Management | Thailand | 2005 |
| 6. | Process Excellent and Six-Sigma Green | Thailand | 2005-2006 |

Working Experience

Name of Company: Siam Urbana Co., Ltd.

Type of business: Property Business

Position: Managing Director (Jun2011-Present)

Name of Company: Siam Residence Co., Ltd.

Type of business: Property and Hospitality Business

Position: Managing Director (Jun2007-Present)

Name of Company: Johnson & Johnson Consumer Thailand Ltd. Bangkok Thailand

Type of Business: FMCG Consumer Healthcare Business

Position: Sales Efficiency & Business Development Manager (Feb 2005-Feb2007)

Position: Marketing Manager (Jan 2004-Jan 2005)

Position: Senior Channel Manager & Business Transitional Manager (Jun 2002-Dec 2003)

Position: Customer Marketing Manager (Jun 2000- Jun 2002)

Position: Senior Trade Marketing Manager (Apr 1999-May 2000)

Position: Product Manager for Oral Care & Wound Care (Mar 1998-May 1999)

Position: Product Manager for JOHNSON'S Baby (Feb1997-May 1998)

Position: Asst. Product Manager for Shower to Shower (Mar 1996-Jan 1997)

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