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The Maritime Cultural Landscape between Siam and Guangdong Province, China: New Perspectives through Three Siamese Maps

Die Maritime Kulturlandschaft zwischen Siam und der Provinz Guangdong,
China: Neue Perspektiven durch drei siamesische Karten

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Abstract

In the study of maritime history, maps serve as a powerful tool. However, indigenous maps drawn outside of the conventions of western cartography have long been marginalized for their alleged “inaccuracy.” This is particularly true in Southeast Asia, where a secular mapping tradition has yet to be established. This research aims to show that indigenous Siamese maps, when properly decrypted, can, however, provide invaluable insights which allow cartographers and historians to weave original narratives, bringing new perspectives to existing studies.

The research framework is based upon Westerdahl’s theory of maritime cultural landscape (1992), which proposes an integrated approach to encompass all tangible and intangible remnants of maritime human life. In this context, new sources can be introduced into the discussion of the maritime history of Siam, which has been reconstructed almost entirely from foreign sources given the scarcity of first-hand Thai materials.

The backbone of this research is built on three indigenous Siamese maps. The first map is the Coastal Map, spanning from China to the Middle East, slotted into the Buddhist cosmological manuscript *Samut Phap Traiphum* [Picture Book of Three Worlds] in the 18th century. The other two are early 19th century maps discovered in the royal collection in Bangkok – one illustrates the eastern shipping sphere towards China, dubbed the China Map, and the other maps the waterways from the mouth of the Pearl River to Guangzhou, and is entitled the Kwangtung Map. Threading these three maps together is a Thai poetic travelogue, commonly known as *Nirat Kwangtung*, which relayed a first-hand eyewitness account of the Siamese embassy to China in 1781.

The geographical scope of this research is placed between the Chinese province of Guangdong and the Siamese capitals Ayutthaya, and later Thonburi and Bangkok. The time period is the 17th to the mid-19th centuries, following the timeframe of the three Siamese maps.

Following an introduction to the background and scope of the research in Chapter 1, cartographic analysis of the three maps is addressed in Chapter 2. The Coastal Map from the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript is inspected in detail to show the network and administration of the Siamese maritime trading system in the Ayutthaya period in Chapter 3. This is followed, in Chapter 4, by an examination of the China Map, which covered the sailing routes, maritime customs and transmission of nautical knowledge in the region in the early Bangkok period. Chapter 5 looks at the Kwangtung Map, which highlights the relevant stops for Siamese ships in the Canton System up to 1842. Chapter 6 provides a discussion and offers some concluding remarks.

Keywords: Sino-Siamese trade, maritime history, maps, *traiphum*, Guangdong, Ayutthaya, Bangkok

Zusammenfassung

Im Rahmen kulturgeschichtlicher Untersuchungen maritimer Lebensräume kommt dem Studium von Land- und Seekarten seit jeher eine große Bedeutung zu. Landkarten, welche außerhalb westlicher kartografischer Traditionen entstanden sind, wurden aufgrund ihrer vermeintlichen Unzulänglichkeiten in der Forschung bisher allerdings wenig Aufmerksamkeit zuteil. Dieser Befund trifft insbesondere auch auf Karten aus Südostasien zu, dessen Traditionen indigener, säkularer Kartografie bisher keine angemessene Würdigung zuteilgeworden ist. Das an dieser Stelle vorgestellte Forschungsprojekt wurde unter der Prämisse unternommen, dass traditionelle siamesische Karten, so sie einer sorgfältigen Analyse und Kritik unterworfen werden, vorangegangene Studien maritimer Lebensräume um konkrete Informationen wie auch wertvolle zusätzliche Perspektiven bereichern können und ihre Qualität als Quellen kulturhistorischer Forschung daher neu zu bewerten sind.

Christer Westerdahls Theorie maritimer Kulturlandschaften (1992), welche die Einbeziehung sämtlicher materieller und immaterieller Hinterlassenschaften menschlichen Lebens in die Rekonstruktion historischer maritimer Lebenswirklichkeiten vorsieht, bildet die theoretische Grundlage dieser Arbeit. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Erforschung der maritimen Geschichte Siams fast ausschließlich auf Grundlage von Zeugnissen auswärtiger Herkunft erfolgt ist, eröffnet dieser theoretische Ansatz eine umso willkommene Gelegenheit zur Verbreiterung der Quellenbasis und der Repräsentation indigener, von fremden Eindrücken und Werturteilen ungetrübter Perspektiven.

Im Zentrum dieses Forschungsprojektes stehen drei Karten siamesischen Ursprungs. Die erste dieser Karten, die sogenannte „Coastal Map“, entstammt dem Traktat der buddhistischen Kosmologie Samut Phap Traiphum aus einem Manuskript des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und enthält die Darstellung der Küstenlinie, wie sie sich von China bis in den Mittleren Osten erstreckt. Die beiden übrigen Karten aus dem frühen neunzehnten Jahrhundert wurden im Bangkokener Königspalast aufgefunden. In der sogenannten „China Map“ finden sich die von Siam nach Osten (China) führenden Schifffahrtsrouten verzeichnet, während die sogenannte „Kwangtung Map“ primär der Darstellung der Wasserwege von der Mündung des Perlflusses bis nach Kanton (Guangzhou) gewidmet ist. Inhaltlich verbunden werden diese drei Karten durch den in poetischer Form gefassten Reisebericht Nirat Kwangtung aus der Feder eines der siamesischen Tributmissionen des Jahres 1781 nach China begleitenden Beamten.

Die spezifischen Eigenschaften der im Fokus des Forschungsinteresses stehenden drei siamesischen Land- und Seekarten bestimmen den geografischen und zeitlichen Rahmen dieser Untersuchung. So ruht das Hauptaugenmerk folglich auf jenen Entwicklungen, welche sich im Bereich zwischen den siamesischen Hauptstädten Ayutthaya und Bangkok und der chinesischen

Provinz Guangdong gelegenen maritimen Lebensraum während des siebzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhunderts vollzogen haben.

Eine den Hintergrund und Umfang des Forschungsprojekts umreiende Einleitung bildet das erste Kapitel. Das zweite Kapitel ist der auf alle drei Karten anzuwendenden kartografischen Analyse­methode gewidmet. Eingehend findet sich die „Coastal Map“ aus der Traiphum­Handschrift in Bezug auf das Netzwerk des siamesischen Seehandels der Ayutthaya­Periode und seiner Verwaltung im dritten Kapitel untersucht. Die Auswertung der „China Map“ im vierten Kapitel wirft ein Schlaglicht auf Seerouten, Gepflogenheiten der Seefahrt und die Verbreitung maritimer Kenntnisse wahrend der fruh­en Bangkok­Periode, wahrend die siamesische Prasenz im kantonesischen Handelssystem in der Zeit vor 1842 Gegenstand der Diskussion der „Kwangtung Map“ im funften Kapitel ist. Das sechste Kapitel schlielich dient der Zusammenfassung der gesammelten Einsichten und ihrer weiterfuhrenden Eror­terung.

Durch die Erschlieung der siamesischen Land- und Seekarten, einer bisher weitgehend vernachlassigten Quellengattungen, leistet die vorliegende Arbeit einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Erforschung der maritimen Geschichte Thailands im Besonderen und des Studiums der Kartografie im Allgemeinen.

Keywords: Chinesisch-siamesischer Handel, Seefahrtsgeschichte, Karten, *traiphum*, Guangdong, Ayutthaya, Bangkok

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Joyce Ho-ching, KAM

Hamburg, 2023

Editorial Notes

The romanization of Chinese words follow the Hanyu Pinyin system. Although it may sound different from the Southern dialects spoken by the seafarers of the time, it is the official system used to transcribe Chinese characters into Latin script in the People's Republic of China. The Chinese text is written in Traditional Chinese characters to comply with the first-hand sources examined in this research. The Chinese calendar is expressed as: emperor's name year/month/date (Gregorian date).

The romanization of Thai words follows the Standard Romanization of the Asia-Africa-Institute at the University of Hamburg, which is close to the system of the Romanization applied by the Royal Institute of Thailand. The Thai terms and texts cited follow the spelling of its source, which might differ from modern Thai orthography. The Thai administrative document *cotmai het* is written in the format: CMH., reign number, #item number, (Gregorian year).

For book titles, if an English title is not available, a translation of the title is given in square brackets [.....] for ease of reference. For Thai authors, both name and surname are given for clarity; for works in other languages, only the surnames of the authors are cited in text.

The size of images and artworks is expressed in width x height in centimeters. The clarity of the images might be affected by the print settings. Yet all of them can be clearly read on the PDF format.

Unless otherwise stated, the dollar sign “\$” refers to the Spanish dollar that Western merchants used to trade within the Canton System.

Standard Romanization of Thai Language, Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg

Consonants

ก	ข/ฃ	ค/ก	ฅ	ง			
k	kh	kh	kh	ng			
จ	ฉ	ช	ซ	ฌ	ญ		
c	ch	ch	s	ch	y		
ฎ	ฏ	ฐ	ฑ	ฒ	ณ		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
ด	ต	ถ	ท	ธ	น		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
บ	ป	ผ	ฝ	พ	ฟ	ภ	ม
b	p	ph	f	ph	f	ph	m
ศ	ษ	ส					
s	s	s					
ย	ร	ล	ฬ	ว			
y	r	l	l	w			
ฮ	ห	ฮ					
(?)ò	h	h					

Vowels and Diphthongs

-ะ	-า	-ิ	-ี	-ึ	-ู	-ุ	-ู
-a	-a	-i	-i	-ü	-ü	-u	-u
เ-	แ-	ไ-, ใ-	โ-	-อํ	เ-		
-e	-ae	-ai	-o	-am	-ao		
-น	-อัน	-าน	-ิน	-ึน	-ูน	-ึน	-ุน
-on	-an	-an	-in	-in	-ün	-ün	-un
-อน	เ-น	แ-น	โ-น	-อน	-วน	เ-ียน	เ-ือน
-un	-en	-aen	-on	-òn	-uan	-ian	-üan
เ-ิน	เ-อน						
-oen	-oen						
เ-ย	เ-อย	-าย	-าว	-ิว	-ูว	-ุย	-ูย
-oei	-oei	-ai	-ao	-io	-io	-ui	-ui
เ-ว	แ-ว	โ-ย	-อย	-วย	เ-ียว	เ-ือย	เ-ีย
-eo	-aew	-oi	-òi	-uai	-iao	-üai	-ia
เ-ียะ	เ-ือ	เ-ือะ	เ-อ	เ-อะ	-ัว	-ัวะ	เ-ะ
-ia	-üa	-üa	-oe	-oe	-ua	-ua	-e
แ-ะ	โ-ะ	เ-าะ	-อ				
-ae	-o	-ò	-ò				

Weights and Money

Before standardization, in the 18th and 19th century, both Chinese and Siamese expressed the value of currency through the weight of silver.

Chinese weights/money

Picul 担 ↑ Catty 斤 ↑ Tael 兩 ↑ Mace 錢	$1 \text{ picul} = 100 \text{ catty}$ $1 \text{ catty} = 16 \text{ tael}$ $1 \text{ tael} = 10 \text{ mace}$	$\text{catty} = 1,600.00$ $\text{tael} = 16.00$ $\text{mace} = 1.00$	As decimals of taels:
---	--	--	-----------------------

When measuring weights, ‘picul.catty’ was the most common expression when trading in larger volumes. Tael and mace were also often used to measure things of smaller sizes. In the monetary system, tael was the default unit for expression. Picul and catty were never used.

Siamese weights/money

	$1 \text{ chang} = 20 \text{ tamlüng}$ $1 \text{ Tamlüng} = 4 \text{ baht}$ $1 \text{ baht} = 4 \text{ salüng}$ $1 \text{ salüng} = 2 \text{ füang}$ $1 \text{ füang} = 800 \text{ bia}$	$\text{tamlüng} = 80.00$ $\text{baht} = 4.00$ $\text{salüng} = 1.00$ $\text{füang} = 0.25$ $\text{bia} = 0.125$	As decimals of bahts:
--	--	---	-----------------------

Example: $\frac{๕๘}{๑๓๙}$ = 58 chang 1 baht 3 salüng 139 bia = 4,641.77 baht

In the Siamese system, all units from chang to bia could be used to describe both weight and money. Today, baht is used as the default unit for money.

Conversion between Siamese and Chinese weights/money

One of the earliest writings on the conversion between Siamese and Chinese weights is found in La Loubère (1693):

The word Cati (catty) is Chinese, and is called Schang (chang) in Siamese, but the Chinese Cati is worth two Siamese Catis. Teil, or as other do write Tael, is also a Chinese word, which is

called tamling in Siamese, but the Siamese Cati is worth but eight Chinese Taels, whereas it is worth twenty Siamese.¹

La Loubère said a Chinese catty is worth two Siamese chang, but it should be the other way around: two Chinese catties equal one Siamese chang. Subsequently, one Siamese chang is worth 20 Siamese tamlung indeed, but equals 32 (not eight) Chinese taels. The mistake, however, was passed on by scholars for centuries. In Bowring (1857): “Catty is Chinese, and in Siamese is called schang; but the Siamese catty is only equal to half of the Chinese. Tael is also Chinese, = in Siamese language tamling.” Here he is obviously referring to La Loubère’s description, but soon contradicts himself on the next page when he quotes McCulloch (1840): “But the picul of commerce contains only fifty catties, —the commercial cattie being double the weight of the Chinese, which is 1 and 1/3 lb.”² McCulloch’s description is the correct one.³

kg/unit	Siamese weights			Ratio	Chinese weights			kg/unit
60	Hap	หาบ	1	← 1:1 →	1	Picul	担	60
				↖ 50:1 ↗				
1.2	Chang	ชั่ง	50	← 1:2 →	100	Catty	斤	0.6
				↖ 10:1 ↗				
0.06	Tamlung	ตำลึง	1000	← 1:1.6 →	1,600	Tael	兩	0.0375
				↖ 2.5:1 ↗				
0.015	Baht	บาท	4000	← 1:4 →	16,000	Mace	錢	0.00375

Table 0.1 Conversion rate between Siamese weights and Chinese weights

A clear conversion is given in Nelkenbrecher (1890):

Handelsgewicht. Das Haï (Hab, Hap) oder der Pikol von 50 Xâng oder Tschang zu 20 Tömlöng oder Tehl (Tails) zu 4 Bat oder Tikal. Da das Xâng = 2 chinesischen Kättis = $2\frac{2}{3}$ lb. engl. avdp. = 1,2095804 kg, so stimmt der Pikol mit den chinesischen überein und ist das Tömlöng oder siamesische Tehl = 1,6 chinesischen Tehl.

Sehr häufig dient auch das chinesische Kätti.⁴

[Commercial weights. A hap or picul is of 50 chang, each of which is 20 tamlung or tael, each of which is 4 baht or tical. Since the chang = 2 Chinese catties = $2\frac{2}{3}$ pounds, avoirdupois = 1.2095804 kilograms, so the picul is the same with the Chinese and the tamlung or Siamese tael = 1.6 Chinese tael. The Chinese catty is also frequently used.]

¹ La Loubère (1693): *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, 164.

² Bowring (1857): *The Kingdom and People of Siam: With a Narrative of the Mission to that Country in 1855*, 258–260.

³ McCulloch (1840): *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, 167–168.

⁴ Nelkenbrecher (1890): *Nelkenbrecher’s Taschenbuch für Kaufleute* [Nelkenbrecher’s Paperback for Merchants], 65.

Nelkenbrecher's description is the most accurate. The Chinese catty was indeed used to record the weight of products, as seen in CMH.R.2 #15 (1813) and CMH.R.3 #49 (1844). The common expression saw numbers written only on the right-hand side of the cross, with picul noted in the space for baht and catty in salüŋ. As explained in the previous section, the numbers in baht and salüŋ in the Siamese expression system would not exceed three, as four salüŋ would be carried to one baht while four baht were one tamlüŋ. Therefore, we can easily recognize when the Chinese picul and catty were intended. For instance, $\frac{169}{83}$ denotes 169 Chinese piculs and 83 catties, instead of 169 baht and 83 salüŋ, which would be written as 2 chang 7 tamlüŋ 1 baht 3 salüŋ.

Conversion to Spanish dollars

The dollar sign "\$" is used hereafter to denote the Spanish dollar. Although the conversion rate between Chinese tael and Spanish dollars would not have been the same over the years, the fixed rate used in the academic world is 1 tael to \$1.38, or \$1 to 0.72 tael.⁵

We do not know the conversion rate between Siamese baht and Spanish dollars. But if we convert Siamese baht to Spanish dollars through Chinese tael, then 1 baht equals 0.4 tael, which computes to \$0.56. In 1822, Crawford estimated the cost of building a junk of a larger description in Siam to be 25 ticals (bahts) per ton⁶; and that a junk of 8,000 piculs or 476 tons cost \$7,400 in Siam.⁷ This means that 1 baht rounds up to \$0.62 in 1822, roughly 10 percent more than the \$0.56 resulted from computation. To remain consistent, this research adopts the conversion rate of 1 baht equals \$0.56 for ease of calculation among the three currencies.

⁵ Yan (2015): "In Search of Power and Credibility: Essays on Chinese Monetary History (1851-1945)," PhD thesis, ix. Van Dyke also uses this conversion in all of his books on the Canton System.

⁶ Crawford (1830): *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-general of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China: Exhibiting a View of the Actual State of Those Kingdoms*, Vol 2, 159.

⁷ Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Affairs of the East-India Company, and into the Trade between Great Britain, the East-Indies, and China (1830): 18 June 1830, no. 5894, 784.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

When the Scottish physician Francis Buchanan Hamilton got hold of some indigenous maps of the Kingdom of Ava from the natives during his eight-month stay in 1795 as a companion of the British ambassador Michael Symes, he remarked:

These, as might be expected, were very deficient in accuracy; but I found the people wonderfully quick in comprehending the nature of our maps; and some of them, to whom I could render the occupation advantageous, very soon improved their plans, and produced drawings, which have tended to throw much light on the geography of what, in the 7th volume of the *Universal History* (London, 1759) is called the Farther Peninsula of India.¹

One of the maps he procured, drawn by “a slave of the King’s eldest son,” was a map of Chiang Mai, which he spelled Zaenmae, in today’s northern Thailand. The cartographer was a man in great poverty, “who probably had been reduced to the servile state by debt, as his intelligence and manners denoted a person who had held considerable rank, and received a good education.”²

The Burmese cartographer first drew a map (Figure 1.1, left) with east on top and with the capital city Chiang Mai in the middle. Following the river system – in which the main river, The Salween, was shown as narrower than others – were towns in the surrounding areas with no specific distances given. Three prominent temples were depicted as big as the hills, which appeared as ridges. Dissatisfied, Hamilton requested the cartographer revise the map (Figure 1.1, right) in “the manner of delineation that is more accordant to European ideas.” First, the orientation was turned to give north up. Although not drawn to scale, the map was adjusted to be more proportionate, with the three temples reduced to one nameless, obscure *chedi* (Pali: *cetiya*). The spaces occupied by mountains were encircled. The roman numerals denoted the distance in days while the Arabic numbers represented the local measuring unit “the leagues of Ava.” While Hamilton believed “in some respects, the second of the accompanying maps is the most perfect,” he finally decided to publish both as the second only contained places near the capital due to space constraints. He concluded: “on the whole, I am inclined to think, that the relative situations of the places are best represented in the first map.”³

It is not hard to relate to Hamilton’s decision to reappropriate the first map. Indigenous maps, drawn freely without any guiding principles, were, and still to an extent are, deemed inferior to the western maps created upon scientific survey (that is, if geographic accuracy stands as

¹ Hamilton (1820): “An Account of a Map of the Countries Subject to the King of Ava, Drawn by a Slave of the King’s Eldest Son” in *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, Vol 2, 89–90.

² *Ibid*: 93–94. For more details on Hamilton’s map collection, see Schwartzberg (1995b): “Southeast Asian Geographical Maps” in *History of Cartography*, Vol 2:2, 743–752.

³ Hamilton (1824): “Account of Two Maps of Zaenmae or Yongoma” in *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, Vol 10, 59–61, 67.

the sole criteria for evaluating the value of a map). Yet in the end Hamilton also admitted that the indigenous map had its merits when it came to the representation of relative space. Such reflections speak to the core standpoint of this research.

In the study of maritime history, maps serve as powerful tools. They help visualize space and time to elucidate the course of events. However, the maps consulted in the field are mostly western maps, prized for their “accuracy.” Indigenous maps, here used to refer to maps drawn outside the conventions of the western cartography that has become the universal norm today, are often marginalized and excluded for their “illegibility” or “inaccuracy.” This is the case particularly in Southeast Asia, where its secular mapping tradition has yet to be established. This research will show that indigenous Siamese maps, when appropriately decrypted, can, however, offer invaluable insights which allow us to build an original picture, thereby bringing new perspectives to existing research in the field.

With virtually no extant first-hand Thai sources, the maritime history of Ayutthaya Siam is reconstructed almost entirely from foreign sources. A small number of government documents related to the crown trade have survived from the Thonburi and early Bangkok era, but their contents are fragmentary. With the conventional resources exhausted, it is only natural to search for new viable sources to fill the void in the country’s history.

The geographical scope of this research is placed between the Chinese province of Guangdong and the Siamese capitals of Ayutthaya and, later, Thonburi and Bangkok. The time period reviewed is from the 17th to the mid-19th centuries and covers the timeframe of the three maps, each of which has not, to date, been subjected to any in-depth analysis. Threading the three maps together is a Thai poetic travelogue commonly known as *Nirat Kwangtung*. This literary masterpiece gives a first-hand account from a Siamese embassy to China in 1781. The goal is to explicate the Sino-Siamese maritime cultural landscape forged by long-standing trade and tribute links.

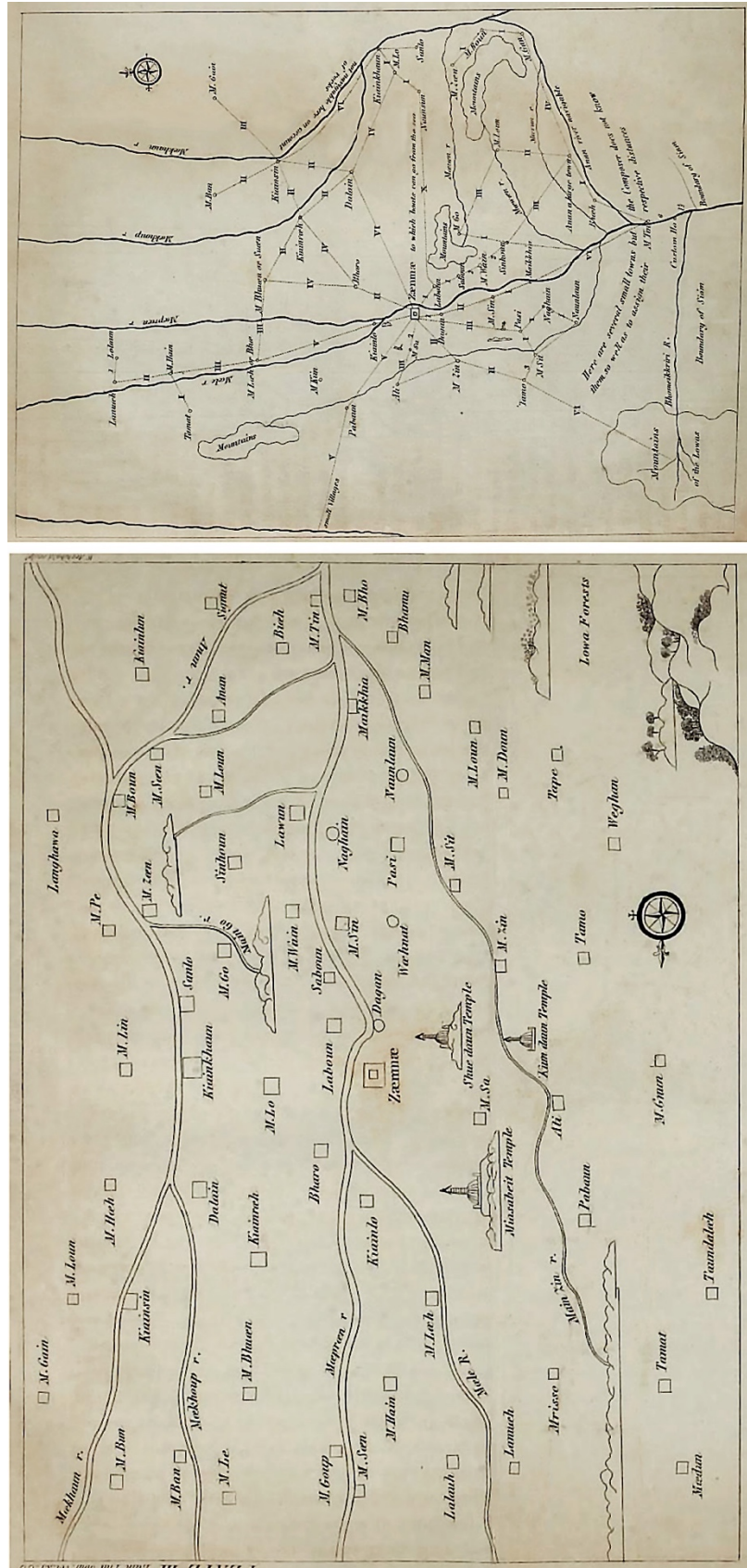


Figure 1.1 Copy of the indigenous map of Chiang Mai drawn by a Burmese slave (left) and the same map revised according to Western cartographic principles, as instructed by Hamilton in 1795. Source: Edinburgh Philosophical Journal (1824): Vol 10, 66.

Background

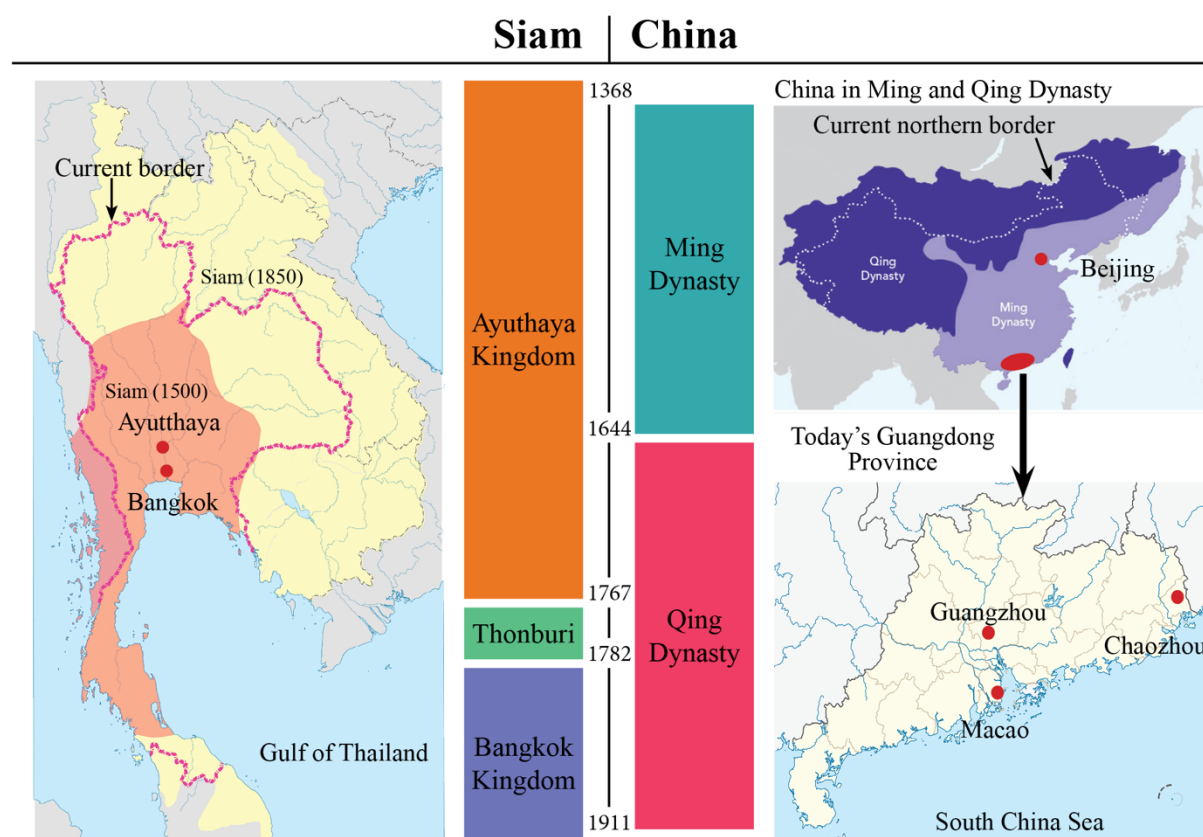


Figure 1.2 Dynastic timeline and geographic locations of the study areas. (From left) Territory of Siam in 1500 (in orange) and 1850 (in yellow), showing the capital cities of Ayutthaya and Bangkok; territory of China in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (in light and dark purple) showing the capital Beijing; today's Guangdong Province, and the location of Guangzhou, Macao and Chaozhou. Source: Author's rough annotations on Grabowsky (2010), Wyatt (2003:193); Hayes (2019) and Google Maps.⁴

Siam, the international name of Thailand until June 1939, had long retained an amicable relationship with China (Figure 1.2). In 1377, the Ming court (1368–1644) officially recognized Ayutthaya Siam (1351–1767) as a tributary country, with the dedicated point of entry set in Guangzhou, the provincial capital of today's Guangdong Province, in southern China. The only channel for foreign trade was through tribute trade, when extra goods were allowed to be sold to the court for monetary compensation following a tribute mission. Private trade was suppressed through intermittent sea bans throughout the dynasty.

The Qing court (1644–1912) initially inherited the Ming tribute trade system. Later, Emperor Kangxi (r. 1661–1722) separated trade from tribute, allowing private trade to be conducted in parallel with tribute missions.⁵ Guangzhou became the sole port for taxed foreign trade from

⁴ The territorial boundaries shown in the images are only rough estimates.

⁵ Zhao (2013): *The Qing Opening to the Ocean Chinese: Maritime Policies, 1684–1757*, Kindle Locations 2497–2617.

1757 to 1842 under what is now known as the Canton System. In addition, the Sino-Siamese trade relation was further tightened by the encouragement of rice imports, deemed tax-free official trade, from Siam to provinces in Southern China, such as Guangdong and Fujian, from 1722.⁶

In the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya Kingdom, maritime trade and foreign relations were governed by Krom Phra Khlang กรมพระคลัง [Ministry of External Relations and Maritime Trading Affairs⁷]. Trading affairs were divided along geographical spheres between two sub-departments – Krom Tha Sai กรมท่าซ้าย and Krom Tha Khwa กรมท่าขวา, literally Harbor Department of the Left and Harbor Department of the Right, respectively. The former was in charge of trades to the east, mainly China and Japan, and the latter to the west, such as India and the Middle East.⁸ The crown trade with China was mostly conducted through royally commissioned Chinese or Siamese junks, manned mostly by Chinese crew and their mixed-race offspring. The Portuguese also sustained a trading route from Ayutthaya to Macao following their settlement there in 1557.

Soon after Ayutthaya's destruction by the Burmese in 1767, King Taksin (r. 1767–1782) established the short-lived Thonburi Kingdom (1767–1782), with the namesake capital moved to the west bank of the Chao Phraya River, facing Bangkok. Born to a Chinese father and a Siamese mother, the general successfully neutralized the Burmese threat and earned the recognition of the Qing court as the “King of Siam.” A half descendent of Chaozhou origin, he relied on his fellow traders to communicate with Qing China, elevating the influence of the Chaozhou community in Siam.

The early Bangkok Kingdom (1782 till now), founded by King Rama I (r. 1782–1809), with the capital moved across the river, succeeded the trading system established during the Ayutthaya and Thonburi periods. Chaozhou traders continued to play a big part in the trade and tribute operations with China. After losing the First Opium War (1839–1842), China was forced to open four more treaty ports to foreign trade, effectively ending the Canton System. Given the political instability in China, Siam sent its last tribute mission in 1852 during the reign of King Mongkut (r. 1851–1868).

These time-honored voyages facilitated more than diplomatic relations and financial profit; they also forged a maritime cultural coalition on geographic knowledge, navigational techniques and custom beliefs.

⁶ *Qing shilu* 清實錄 [Veritable Records of Qing]: Kangxi 61/6/9, *juan* 298, 884.

⁷ There is no official translation for the ministry. This English term follows Breazeale (1999): “Thai Maritime Trade and the Ministry Responsible,” in *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia*, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*: 12–13.

State-of-the-art

While studies on Sino-Siamese trade abound, none to date have attempted to view the maritime connections using a multidisciplinary approach.

Major research with regard to Sino-Siamese trade includes the following texts. *Sino-Siamese Tributary Relations, 1282–1853*, by Suebsang Promboon (1971), explored the economic dimensions of Thai's tribute to China and the underlying political agendas. The study *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853* – first published in 1977 – by Sarasin Viraphol (2014), examined the clever contrivances that fostered strong bilateral relations through mutual economic benefits. Furthermore, *Fields from The Sea: Chinese Ship Trade with Siam During the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries*, by Jennifer Wayne Cushman (1993), highlighted the unique characteristics of the trade by analyzing the maritime policies of both nations. These studies have focused on trade between Thailand and the entire country of China, lacking in-depth insights on specific localities.

Political relations between China and Siam from the Yuan dynasty to the 20th century are summarized in Yu and Chen's (2009) book *Zhong-Tai guanxi shi* 中泰關係史 [History of the Sino-Thai Relations], while a more recent publication by Wang (2018) took a closer look at Sino-Siamese relations during the Qing Dynasty.⁹

In-depth analysis on the foreign trade conducted in Guangzhou can be found in Paul Van Dyke's (2011) *Merchants of Canton and Macao*, which unveiled the operations of prominent trading families in Guangzhou drawing on Dutch, Portuguese and Swedish records. No study has been undertaken specifically on the junk trade between Guangzhou and Siam in terms of volume, frequency and the Chinese trading companies involved.

Only a handful of books have been published on Chinese sailing rutter and manuscript maps. *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan: 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' (1433)*, by J.V.G. Mills (1970), studied *Zheng He's Navigation Map* 鄭和航海圖 (1628)¹⁰. *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689*, by Robert Batchelor (2014), took a look at the cities drawn on the *Selden Map of China* (ca. 1620s)¹¹. The two-volume *A Collection of Maritime Routes and Rutters of Imperial China*, edited by Chen Jiarong and Zhu Jianqiu (2016), listed all textual sailing routes known without any interpretation. The sailing routes from Guangzhou to Bangkok, therefore, have neither been fully established nor compared with the Chinese maps, let alone indigenous Siamese maps.

⁹ Wang (2018): *Sino-Siamese Relations during the Qing Dynasty* 清代中泰關係.

¹⁰ A set of navigation charts, also known as Mao Kun map, published in military treatise *Wubei zhi* 武備誌 [Treatise on Armament Technology or Records of Armaments and Military Provisions] compiled by Mao Yuanyi in 1621 and published in 1628. Online at www.loc.gov/resource/g7821rm.gct00058/?sp=12.

¹¹ Bodleian Library, MS.Selden supra 105, online at seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/.

Only one textual sailing route can be found in the Thai literature (see Chapter 4), and research on manuscript maps is scarce. One of the first monographs on the subject is *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, by Thongchai Winichakul (1994), which pointed out the influence of modern mapping techniques on Thai conceptions of nationhood. It is one of the few texts to have included an analysis of the indigenous maps in detail, as well as briefly exploring the Siamese mapping tradition. Later, in 2004, Santanee Phasuk and Stott's *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in 19th Century Thailand* provided a brief introduction to the 17 manuscript maps that were found accidentally in the Thai Royal Palace in Bangkok in 1996.

As for the Coastal Map drawn in the 18th century-illustrated Buddhist manuscript *Samut Phap Traiphum*, scholars tend to look at the content from a religious perspective, showing scant interest in its geographical aspect. One of the textual manuscripts was translated into English by Reynolds and Reynolds (1982) in the book *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, while Terwiel (2014) compared the paleography of the extant *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts in *On the Trail of King Taksin's Samut Phap Traiphum*.¹² Hence, the map has hardly been viewed as an actual geographical map with navigational features.¹³

On Ayutthaya's trade development, *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia* edited by Breazeale (1999) gave a comprehensive overview on its outreach network while Van der Cruyssen's (2002) *Siam & The West 1500–1700* outlined the arrival of western traders in Siam and the trading arrangements they negotiated. Most of the maritime historical discourse of Siam has been reconstructed from foreign sources.

This research fills a gap in the study of maritime history of Thailand, where original sources have been exhausted, and in the study of cartography, where indigenous Siamese maps have not been thoroughly or accurately examined. Although Siam played an important role in the sea trade between the west and the east from the 16th to the 19th centuries, Thailand's own maritime culture has been a largely understudied subject.

Research Framework

The theoretical framework of this research is based on Westerdahl's theory of maritime cultural landscape (1992), the definition of which is:

...the whole network of sailing routes, old as well as new, with ports and harbors along the coast, and its related constructions and remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial.

The core idea is that maritime culture is to be studied in an integrated manner, encompassing both the material and immaterial remnants of maritime human life. Archaeological findings

¹² Terwiel (2014): "On the Trail of King Taksin's Samutphap Traiphum" in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 102, 41–66.

¹³ More texts on the subject can be found in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

like shipwrecks and coastal structures are analyzed against the background of topography and sea routes to understand the physical aspect of the landscape. Meanwhile, traditions of the maritime community, navigation techniques, toponyms and oral histories can help reveal the cognitive aspect of the maritime landscape.¹⁴

This approach echoes Harley's (1987) view on maps as "mediators between an inner mental world and an outer physical world."¹⁵ A map, on one hand, charts the geographic features of maritime environs; yet, at the same time, it reflects how such features were perceived in the mind of the cartographer through the chosen form of representation. The synthesis of both physical and cognitive elements makes maps a unique and befitting medium to study the maritime cultural landscape.

In addition to indigenous maps, another critical source used in this research is a poem in Thai, commonly known as the *Nirat Kwangtung*. The proposition of treating *nirat*, a traditional genre of Thai literature translated as poetic travelogue, as a credible source for historical topography has its base in Terwiel's book *Through Travelers' Eyes: An Approach to Early Nineteenth-century Thai History* in 1989. The genre is used when the poet is on a journey. The pain of the separation with his beloved is expressed in a graceful language, intertwined with descriptions of events he experienced en route. Things outwardly perceptible, animals, plants and landscapes, are his point of reference, which serve as a vehicle for the melancholic poet's yearning for love.¹⁶ Terwiel found that the poets in the early 19th century stayed close to reality within their "creative license" with high accuracy in toponyms and seldom did the poet make mistake in the order of appearance.¹⁷ In the case of *Nirat Kwangtung*, in which the sentimental verses are not discussed, only the parts relevant to circumstantial facts and customs of seafarers are extracted and compared against other independent accounts. Through the course of this dissertation, it will be validated as a reliable supplementary source for the study of maritime history.

The initiative of using indigenous maps and interdisciplinary sources to construct an original narrative fall within the broader call for paradigmatic revision of historical studies. Hunt (2014) defined a paradigm as:

an overarching account or meta-narrative of historical development that includes a hierarchy of factors that determine meaning, and that hierarchy in turn sets an agenda for research, that is, shapes the choice of problems deemed worthy of study as well as the approaches considered appropriate to use to carry out those studies.

¹⁴ Westerdahl (1992): "The Maritime Cultural Landscape" in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, Vol 21:1, 5–10.

¹⁵ Harley (1987): "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography" in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 1, 1.

¹⁶ Wenk (1995): *Thai Literature: An Introduction*, Kindle locations 225–265.

¹⁷ Terwiel (1989): 22–26.

She added that traditional paradigms have lost their vitality in the face of challenges from the age of globalization, leading “sometimes... to assertions that history as an academic discipline was inherently Eurocentric and therefore of limited use in the present.”¹⁸

The narratives of maritime history, especially that of the age of discovery, certainly have their fair share of criticism for being Eurocentric and entangled in exaltation of Western nationalism and imperialism. A paradigm shift has thus been proposed. Subrahmanyam (1997) suggested that we view the European voyages of exploration in connection with the travels of other cultures to examine how the conceptions of space, and thus cartography, have been interinfluenced.¹⁹ One example of this is that the geographic knowledge circulating throughout Asia from Chinese and Islamic sources in the 14th century, through the travelogue of Marco Polo, was eventually consumed by celebrated European explorers such as Henry the Navigator and Christopher Columbus.²⁰ Wigen (2005) fleshed out four paradigms, inspired by how early cartographers had conceptualized sea-space, to shed light on the emerging geographies of connective history. Researchers could approach interarea studies “as extensions of national history, through transnational networks, by focusing on contact zones, and analyzing global flows or processes” to reconstruct a metageographical framework to accommodate new findings and new questions.²¹ To apply the concept in the study of cartography, Leca (2017) suggested that we view maps as products of cross-denominational conversations, cautioned us not to let European voices drown out their interlocutors. This could be achieved by highlighting the processual nature of maps and acknowledging the synchronicity of vernacular mapping to paint a fuller picture of a connected world.²²

This dissertation is grounded in these multidisciplinary yet complementary theoretical approaches to construct an original narrative that pushes the boundaries of the known maritime and cartographic connections between Siam and China. Its key objectives are:

- delineate the nature of three selected indigenous Siamese maps and how they represent the cartographic development in Siam;
- analyze the maritime trading network and system established during the Ayutthaya Kingdom and its legacy in the subsequent Thonburi and Bangkok eras;
- reconstruct the various sailing routes between the Chao Phraya River and Guangdong Province;
- investigate the customs and beliefs of Siamese and Chinese sea traders;

¹⁸ Hunt (2014): *Writing History in the Global Era*, ix–xi, 1.

¹⁹ Subrahmanyam (1997): “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia” in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 31:3, 737. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/312798.

²⁰ Park (2012): *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia*, 4.

²¹ Wigen (2005): “Cartographies of Connection: Ocean Maps as Metaphors for Interarea History” in *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History*, 150–151, 161.

²² Leca (2017): “Cartography and the ‘Age of Discovery’” in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, 135–138, 141.

- explore how Siamese tribute junks operated within the Canton System;
- and demonstrate how indigenous maps and poetic travelogue are viable sources for the study of maritime history.

Main Sources

This research is built on three Siamese maps and one Thai poetic travelogue. The first map is the Coastal Map, spanning from China to the Middle East, slotted in the Buddhist cosmological manuscript *Samut Phap Traiphum* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิ [Picture Book of Three Worlds] in the 18th century. The other two are early 19th century maps discovered in the royal collection in Bangkok – one illustrates the eastern shipping sphere towards China, dubbed the China Map, and the other map the waterways from the mouth of the Pearl River to Guangzhou, titled the Kwangtung Map.

• **The Coastal Map**

Although *Samut Phap Traiphum* is a popular genre in the Tai Theravada Buddhist world all across Southeast Asia, only four extant manuscript copies from Central Thailand bear the Coastal Map: one is in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin, Germany, and three are in the National Library in Bangkok, all of which are available online at the National Library of Thailand.²³

Berlin II650: Formerly catalogued as Handschrift IC 27507 and now as II 650, this manuscript, made of greyish *khòì*-paper and written in the Pali and Thai languages, arrived in Berlin in 1894. Gerolamo Emilio Gerini, Director of the Military College in Bangkok, had acquired the manuscript from a “palace lady, descendant from the family of King Phya Tak” for Adolf Bastian, the Director of the Museum of Ethnology. It might have been the draft for the manuscript that King Taksin commissioned in 1776.²⁴ The Coastal Map (Figure I.1) is intact and is spread across six leaves (ca. 138 x 51.8 cm).

On the map are a total of 129 toponyms: 33 islands (three have no name while one is marked with two names), 87 rectangular boxes (two have no name while one toponym is noted twice), six river-mouths, six villages and one mountain on land. The ocean is covered with waves, on which a Chinese junk is drawn heading towards Ayutthaya while a Western ship is crossing the Bay of Bengal. Mythical creatures from the Himavanta Forest playfully emerge from the

²³ Department of Fine Arts (1999a): *Samut phap traiphum chabap krung sri ayutthaya* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิฉบับกรุงศรีอยุธยา [Picture Book of Traiphum Ayutthaya], online at 164.115.27.97/digital/items/show/4567; Ibid (1999b): *Samut phap traiphum chabap krung sri thonburi* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิฉบับกรุงธนบุรี [Picture Book of Traiphum Thonburi], online at 164.115.27.97/digital/items/show/4569; Department of Fine Arts (2000): *Samut phap traiphum chabap akson tham lanna lae akson khòm* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิฉบับอักษรธรรมล้านนาและอักษรขอม [Picture Book of Traiphum in Tham and Khòm Scripts], online at 164.115.27.97/digital/items/show/5542; Ibid (2009): *Samut phap traiphum akson khòm phasa thai* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิอักษรขอม ภาษาไทย [Picture Book of Traiphum in Khòm and Thai Scripts], online at 164.115.27.97/digital/items/show/10941.

²⁴ Terwiel (2014): 60–66.

waves. Most boxes and islands are interconnected by red lines with distance indicated in the traditional anthropic Thai measuring unit *yot* โยชน์.²⁵

Ayutthaya 6: This undated manuscript is believed to have been created as a copy during the Ayutthaya era, judging from the painting and writing style. It is assumed to have been drawn after 1645 as the distinctive Qing hairstyle is seen on a Chinese man on board a ship in the manuscript.²⁶ Unfortunately, only a fraction of the Coastal Map (Figure 1.3, left) – two out of six leaves (ca. 40 x 53.5 cm) showing the Gulf of Thailand – remains. Of the legible toponyms, it is identical with those on Berlin II650, except the box between Chaiya and Nakhon, left empty on Berlin II650, is marked again as Chaiya here. It also shows the distances from Yakatra to Kò Timun Farangdam and Masolot Farang, as well as Buranai to Yihon, which have worn off on Berlin II650. The decorative drawing on the map is rather simple, with shrubs on land and fish in a calm sea.

Ayutthaya 8: Also estimated to have been made during the Ayutthaya era, this manuscript has badly deteriorated to the point where the texts are almost illegible. On the Coastal Map (Figure 1.3, right), spread across six leaves (ca. 150 x 60 cm), only the toponyms are marked and some waves drawn. Few other details can be seen.²⁷

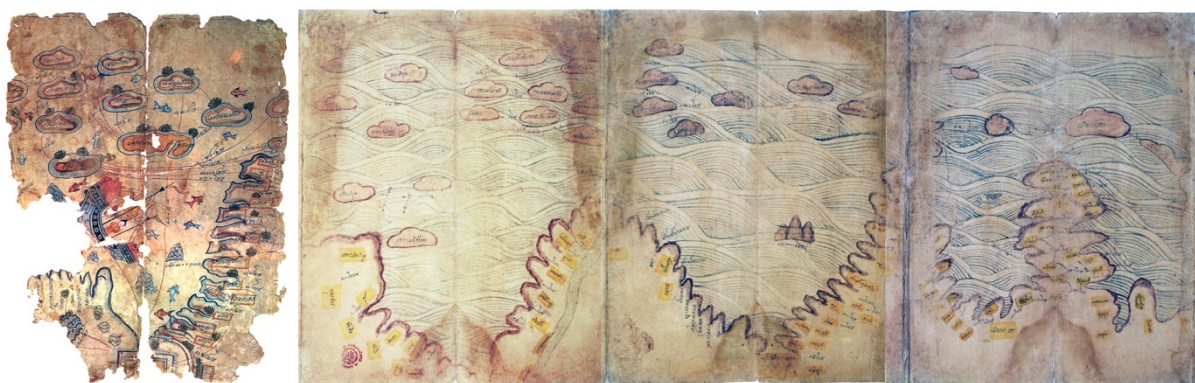


Figure 1.3 The Coastal Map in Ayutthaya 6 (left), and Ayutthaya 8. Source: Department of Fine Arts (1999), Vol 1, 61, 163–165.

²⁵ Shortened from the Indian measurement *yojana*. A Thai *yot* is standardized as 16 kilometers under the modern metric system, but its value varied in the past.

²⁶ Following the fall of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), when people used to tie their hair into a bun known as a topknot, the Manchu ruler of the Qing dynasty almost immediately issued an edict to order all *Han* men to shave their foreheads and braid the rest of their hair into a queue identical to those worn by the Manchus as a sign of submission, or face the death penalty. Gerth (2003): *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*, 74–77.

²⁷ Department of Fine Arts (1999a): 5–6.

Thonburi 10k: Acquired by the National Library in 1900, this manuscript is believed to be a copy of the single-sided manuscript Thonburi 10, from the mid-1800s. Hence the number 10K.²⁸ The Coastal Map (Figure 1.4) is extended to 12 leaves (ca. 276 x 52 cm), stretching the coastline. The entire manuscript is available online at the National Library of Thailand.²⁹



Figure 1.4 The Coastal Map in Thonburi 10k. Source: Department of Fine Arts (1999), Vol 2, 92–97. As the most intact and accurate among the extant maps, the Coastal Map in the Berlin II650 manuscript was selected to be studied in this research. The Coastal Map was presumably last updated in the Ayutthaya period after 1641,³⁰ but the manuscript itself was created by order of King Taksin on the 12th day of the waxing moon of the 11th month in 1138 CS, the Year of the Monkey (24 September 1776). As the preamble states:

Having reflected on the knowledge from the old manuscript of Buddhist cosmology, the King intended that all commoners and all mankind understand the three realms and five ways³¹, which are the birthplaces of deities, humans, demons, and all animals. Thus the King has ordered Cao Phraya Si Thammathirat, the chief minister, to prepare an accurate paper manuscript and send it to the painters to draw out the cosmos in the office of the Supreme Patriarch, so that the Supreme Patriarch may check and control the text following the Pali narratives and will have the Pali verses copied in the manuscript so they will be brightly preserved for the future.³²

The names of the four royal painters and four royal scribes who worked on the manuscript are listed at the end. Terwiel (2014) put forward a convincing analysis that Berlin II650 might have been the draft for a well-decorated manuscript presented to King Taksin, now lost.³³ Nonetheless, the Coastal Map carried in Berlin II650 is certainly a copy made in 1776 instead of an original.

²⁸ Ibid: 6–7. Thonburi 10 is widely accepted by Thai scholars to be the original document created under King Taksin's decree of 1776. Yet Terwiel (2014) proposed another possibility. Nevertheless, since Thonburi 10 does not carry the Coastal Map, it is therefore not addressed here. The first letter in the Thai alphabet is ก (k); hence the name 10k.

²⁹ Online at 164.115.27.97/digital/items/show/12451.

³⁰ See Chapter 3.

³¹ The three worlds are, in descending order of merit, the World without Material Factors; the World with a Remnant of Material Factors; and the World of Desire. See Chapter 2 for more explanation on the *Traiphum* cosmology.

³² Peera Panarut (2019): 145.

³³ Terwiel (2014): 64–66.

- **The China Map**

The undated and anonymous China Map (Figure I.2, ca 417 x 172cm) was discovered in a forgotten corner of the Grand Palace in Bangkok in 1996, alongside 16 other maps among which share little in common. It is drawn on two separate cotton sheets, showing the coastline of today's Gulf of Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, China, and Korea, along with the outlying islands of Luzon, Taiwan, Rukyu and Japan. It was created from a seafarer's point of view, with specific sailing instructions. Interestingly, it also features a simple compass and grid with no legend.

Two short texts – *sin khet müang cin* สิ้นเขตเมืองจีน [end of Chinese territory] – designate the borders of China with Vietnam and Korea. A total of 29 towns in China are marked with fortified walls while only nine are drawn outside China, denoting that China was the focal point of the map. Its color scheme is rather monochromatic, which implies that it skews towards practicality instead of visual aesthetics.

- **The Kwangtung Map**

Also discovered among the bundle of maps in the Grand Palace is the Kwantung Map (Figure I.3, 191 x 188 cm). This map covers the main strait of Zhujiang, or the Pearl River leading to Guangzhou and its western tributary Xijiang, or the West River flowing towards the west of Macau and out into the South China Sea. It reflects the relevant stops for Siamese or royally commissioned Chinese junks within the Canton System. The rectangular map is orientated with East on top and all texts read one way. It shows five walled cities³⁴ and a number of villages, fortresses, pagodas and archways. Roaming the sea are Chinese and Western vessels and an abundance of mystical sea creatures.

The sole copies of both the China Map and the Kwantung Map are now housed in the Map Room of the HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Library. A brief introduction to each map can be found in the book *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in Nineteenth Century Thailand*, co-written by Santanee Phasuk and Philip Stott in 2004, which estimated the maps were made in the early Bangkok era.³⁵ The circumstances pertaining to who commissioned the maps, for what purpose, and how they ended up forgotten in a cupboard in the Grand Palace remains mysteries. No other study on either of the maps has been found so far.

The cartographic traits of the three maps are explored in Chapter 2, while their geographical contents are discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

- ***Nirat Kwangtung***

³⁴ Also called *wiang* เวียง in Northern Thailand and Laos.

³⁵ Santanee Phasuk and Stott (2004): 14–23, 162–181.

Poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung* นิราศกวางตุ้ง, also known as *Phraya mahanuphap pai müang cin* พระยามหานครภาพไปเมืองจีน [Phraya Mahanuphap goes to China], was written in 1781 following a voyage of Siamese diplomats to Beijing via Guangzhou. The envoy of 11 ships departed from Thonburi on the 13th day of the waning moon in the seventh month, B.E. 2324 (19 June 1781), arriving at Guangdong after 33 days. The poetic travelogue first recounts the preparation for the trip, followed by the voyage to Guangzhou, the scenery and customs in China, and lastly the return to Thailand. The poet was an official who presumably had stayed in Guangzhou instead of continuing the journey with the other diplomats on land to deliver the royal letter to the Forbidden City in Beijing.³⁶ He was later granted the title Phraya Mahanuphap by King Rama I, who retained his service.³⁷ Widely recognized as a masterpiece of Thai literature, the poetic travelogue remains the only eyewitness account of a Siamese mission sent to China.³⁸

A comprehensive overview of the poetic travelogue can be found in Supakan Siriphaisan's article “Nirat kwangtung khòng luang naisak P.S. 2324: Wannakam prawasat nai bòribot khwamsamphan thai-cin samai krung thonburi นิราศกวางตุ้งของหลวงนายศักดิ์ พ.ศ. 2324: วรรณกรรมประวัติศาสตร์ในบริบทความสัมพันธ์ไทย-จีนสมัยกรุงธนบุรี [Poetic Travelogue to Kwangtung of Luang Naisak B.E. 2324 [1781]: Literature and History in the context of Sino-Thai relations in the Era of Thonburi]”, from 2012³⁹, and more recently in Manipin Phromsutthirak's “Nirat kwangtung khòng luang nai sak (phu) นิราศกวางตุ้งของหลวงนายศักดิ์(ภู) [Poetic Travelogue to Kwangtung of Luang Nai Sak (Phu)]”, from 2019.⁴⁰

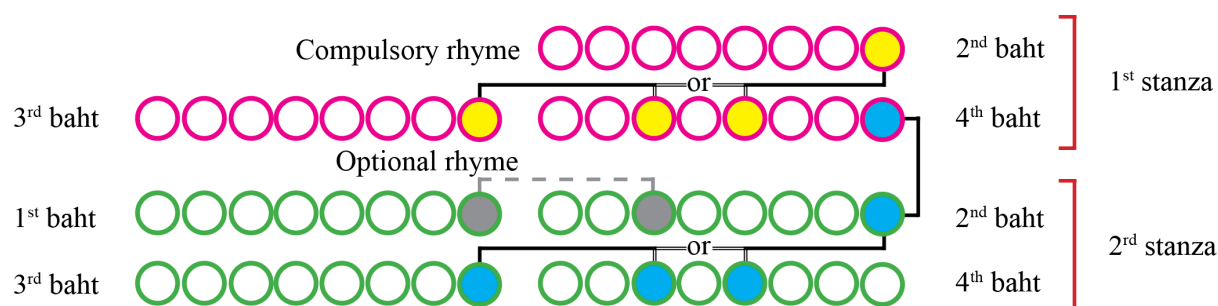


Figure 1.5 Rhyme scheme of *klòn phleng yao*. Within a stanza, the last syllable of the second baht shall rhyme with the last syllable of the third baht, as well as the third or fifth syllable of the fourth baht. The last syllable of the fourth baht dictates the rhyme of the next stanza. An additional rhyme between the last syllable of the first baht and the third syllable of the second baht is optional.

Source: Author's illustration.

³⁶ Supapon Phlailek (2005): *Kwangtung, nirat* กวางตุ้ง, นิราศ [Kwangtung, Poetic Travelogue].

³⁷ Seni Wilawan (2004): *Prawat wannakadi thai samai thonburi lae rattanakosin* ประวัติวรรณคดีไทย สมัยธนบุรีและรัตนโกสินทร์ [History of Thai Literature in the Era of Thonburi and Rattanakosin], 18–20.

³⁸ Suebsaeng Promboon (1971): 271.

³⁹ Supakan Siriphaisan (2012): in *100 Ekkasan samkhan: sap sara prawatsat thai lamdap thi 14* 100 เอกสารสำคัญ: สรรพสาระประวัติศาสตร์ไทย ลำดับที่ ๑๔ [100 Important Documents: Entire History of Thailand Series No. 14], 99–194.

⁴⁰ Manipin Phromsutthirak (2019): in *Wannakhadi samai krung thonburi* วรรณคดีสมัยกรุงธนบุรี [Literature of the Thonburi Period].

Nirat Kwangtung was written in the poetic meter called *klòn phleng yao* กลอนเพลงยาว [long song poem], which comprises eight syllables in one *baht*, or verse, while four *bahts* form a stanza. The first line of the poem begins as the second *baht* in the first stanza. Rhyming rules, some compulsory and some optional, apply within each stanza and between two stanzas (Figure 1.5). In 1940, Hsu published a Chinese translation of the poetic travelogue of 739 *bahts* in the poetic style of five words per verse to better capture its artistic quality.⁴¹ Like the Thai original, the subject and object of a sentence are often omitted, leaving a string of verbs for readers to ponder upon the abstract beauty of the figure of speech.

Two manuscript copies of the poetic travelogue – Ms 3 and Ms 4 – are kept in the National Library of Thailand. The sequel of the registration number indicates only the chronological order of the manuscripts’ registration at the library, and possibly, but not necessarily, the order of the manuscript acquisition. It certainly by no means reflects the chronological order of the manuscripts’ production.

A multiple-text manuscript, Ms 3, consists of *Nirat Kwangtung* in the first part, followed by King Rama II's Ramakian. The two texts appear to have been written by the same hand, and probably around the same time. It is not possible to pinpoint the exact date of Ms 3’s creation, but we can assume that it was copied after the Ramakian text of King Rama II (r. 1809–1824) was originally composed. On the other hand, Ms 4 is a standalone copy with a paratext written on the first page: “*Luang song suradet song nirat kwangtung prathan hai khat wai samrap hò phra samut* หลวงทรงสุระเดชส่งนิราศกวางตุงประทานให้คัดไว้สำหรับหอพระสมุด [Luang Song Suradet sent *Nirat Kwangtung* to be copied and kept in the National Library of Thailand].” Luang Song Suradet was the title held by Phraya Suriyanuwong Prawat (Ten Bunnag) พระยาสุริยานุวงศ์ประวัติ (เต็น บุนนาค) from 1902 to 1908 until he was promoted again to be Phraya Intharawichit พระยาอินทรวิชิต as the governor of Ang Thong Province. Meanwhile, the National Library of Thailand only opened its doors in 1905. The manuscript therefore is likely a copy made between 1905 and 1908.

The two manuscripts do not seem to be related: Ms 3 has 18 missing *bahts* while the spelling of words differs widely from Ms 4. On the number of days to sail from Phutthaimas to Kò Khwang in *baht* 134, Ms 3 noted three days while Ms 4 two days, a contextual detail that no copying scribes would change. Thus, the two manuscripts most likely stem from different hyparchetypes. The first printed edition of *Nirat Kwangtung* in 1918, titled *Nirat phraya mahanuphap pai müang cin khrang krung thonburi müa pi chalu 2324* นิราศพระยามหานุภาพไปเมืองจีน ครั้งกรุงธนบุรี เมื่อปีฉลู 2324 [Poetic Travelogue Phraya Mahanuphap goes to China, during Thonburi era, in the Year of the Ox 2324 (1781)], is largely the same as the text on Ms 4. This dissertation, therefore, follows the text on Ms 4 based on the fact that it is more complete

⁴¹ Hsu (1940): “Notes on the Poem of the Siamese Envoy to China, 1780 鄭昭貢使入朝中國紀行詩譯註” in *Journal of the South Seas Society* 南洋學報, Vol 1:2, 33–47.

and contains fewer errors. A simple English translation is provided in Appendix II, devoid of much of the poetic flair. The focus is placed on the descriptions of events from the perspective of historical study instead of literary appreciation.

Methodology

Since few studies have been done on the study of indigenous maps, there are hardly any precedent to model this study upon. The methodology applied in this research is formulated from Harley’s (1987) approach for the study of cartography, which stipulates that “any appreciation of the historical importance of maps depends upon a clear conception of their nature, of the factors that have shaped their making and transmission, and of their role within human societies.”⁴² To apply these steps of analysis on indigenous Siamese maps – and to a greater extent on Southeast Asian maps – some adjustments must be made to account for the differences between Western and Southeast Asian cartography. The following points are the key adaptations found useful in the course of this cartographic research. They are briefly discussed below in the hope of inspiring further study of indigenous maps.

- **Conception of Nature**

The first and foremost step in analyzing a map is to determine its intended purpose, or mode. In the Western paradigm, each mode is considered an individual category as it comprises a specific pattern of processes by which maps are produced, circulated and consumed. For instance, maps showing the layout of a town for administrators are known as plans; and those showing coastlines and water depths for sailors are called charts. Edney (2019) identified 14 modes of mapping (Table 1.1) that have been pursued in the Western world in various eras.⁴³

Finer resolution mapping of discrete portions of the world, potentially observable by one individual:	
Place	Physical and cultural landscapes of specific locales in order to create, perpetuate, and reconfigure their distinctive meanings as places; also called “topography” in the sense of “describing place,” but clarity requires this term be reserved for one subset of systematic mapping (below).
Urban	Entire urban places in plans or views, recognizing the cultural significance granted to cities as artificial and self-regulating communities.
Property	Landscapes fragmented into discrete parcels of property.
Engineering	In support of planning and building roads, buildings, fortifications, and so forth.
Chorographical	Each region without reference to the global framework of geography, but likely entailing a geographical-style compilation of sources.

⁴² Harley (1987): 1.

⁴³ Edney (2019): *Cartography the Ideal and its History*, 30–33.

Coarser resolution mapping of spaces, beyond the ability of one individual to observe and delineate:	
Cosmographical or World	The known world (<i>mundus</i> or <i>oikumene</i>), depicting the interrelations between humanity, the rest of nature and creation (cosmos), and the divine; often astrological or metaphysical.
Geographical	The terraqueous globe of the earth and its regions, including much special-purpose mapping (e.g. road maps).
Marine	Coastlines and features in coastal zones, from oceanic charts to coastal charts to harbor charts, generally made by and for mariners.
Celestial	The heavens and heavenly bodies, from star charts and cosmological diagrams to detailed mapping of other planets.
Modern, State-driven mappings:	
Boundary	Relatively narrow areas over geographical distances along a border or frontier between states.
Geodetic	The earth's size and, after ca. 1700, its shape.
Systematic or Territorial	Mapping based on comprehensive surveys that extend finer resolution mapping across expansive spaces, whether landscapes (topography), coasts and oceans (hydrography), properties (cadastral), or for aeronautical purposes (post-1900).
Analytic	Distribution of social or physical phenomena in conjunction with social and natural sciences and governmentality, often called "thematic mapping," but excluding "special-purpose maps" produced for narrowly specific ends within other modes; generally coarse resolution but can be fine.
Overhead Imaging	The earth from above, whether by analog aerial photography or digital remote sensing, not only contributing substantially to most other modes but also engendering distinct spatial discourses.

Table 1.1 Summary of 14 modes of mapping in three main categories in Western cartography.

Source: Edney (2019: 32–33).

While these modes of mapping can certainly provide a point of departure for the study of indigenous maps, it should be noted that many non-western maps might fit in the context of more than one mode. For example, the Tamnan Map (Figure 2.3) in the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts starts with the legendary locations visited by the Buddha, intertwined with depictions of well-known episodes of Jataka tales, and followed by actual polities and cities in Southeast Asia, including Ayutthaya, Laos, Cochin China, Champa, Burma and Sri Lanka. In this case, the mode of the map is simultaneously cosmographical, geographical and in a way analytic or thematic as it aims to illustrate the spread of Buddhism. There is therefore no need to put an indigenous map into just one context and define it as a plan or a chart.

In Thai, modes of map do not warrant any new terminologies, but only a noun following the word "map." A plan would essentially be called *phaenthi müang* แผนที่เมือง [map of city], while

a chart *phaenthi thale* แผนที่ทะเล [map of sea]. The arbitrary naming system reflects the flexible cartographic practice in which no clear boundary was set between modes. The three Siamese maps are hence referred to, in this dissertation, as coastal maps instead of charts so as to remain close to the vernacular.

In short, understanding the nature of the map can be achieved through determining its mode. Yet indigenous maps might feature characteristics of more than one mode. Such versatility should be duly addressed and not confined.

• Influencing Factors on Making and Transmission

The core determinant that affects the making of a map is how the world was perceived in the eyes of the cartographer. Here we take the map of Chiang Mai drawn by the Burmese slave for Hamilton (Figure 1.1) as an example to facilitate discussion. Although it is not a Siamese map, it shares some similar characteristics, including:

- Buddhist symbols feature prominently;
- it is not drawn to scale;
- it was created purely from the perception of the cartographer.

One major difference between the cartographers of the West and those of Southeast Asia was their views on religion. During the Renaissance in the West, cartography underwent substantial changes. The surface of the earth was codified to be represented in uniform space, scale and proportion with the prominent application of longitude and latitude. The practice also gave rise to the notion that objects placed in the same space should be synchronous, leading to the separation of allegorical and contemporary information on maps.⁴⁴ In Southeast Asia, however, geographic knowledge was expanded under the overarching concept of Buddhist cosmology well into modern era. In Siam, for instance, the genre of *Samut Phap Traiphum*, or the Picture Book of the Three Worlds, describing the different levels of the world including heavens and hells, continued to be copied in the early 1900s, with extant copies being stored in the British Library and the New York Public Library.⁴⁵ Despite King Mongkut's advocacy of Western geography and astronomy, and his urging of his royal relatives to have a European-style education, the belief in *Traiphum* cosmology had been too ingrained in the minds of the Siamese of all walks of life to simply fade out abruptly.⁴⁶ An indigenous Siamese map, therefore, is often intellectual and spiritual, replete with religious symbols. Yet that does not mitigate its geographic value.

The fact that the Chiang Mai map was not drawn to scale was perhaps the main reason that prompted Hamilton to have it redrawn. In the Western cartographic paradigm, maps are created

⁴⁴ Woodward (2007): "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change" in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 3, Part 1, 11–13.

⁴⁵ Ginsburg (2000): *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western Collections*.

⁴⁶ Thongchai Winichakul (1994): 38–39.

based on geographic survey, supported by actual distances, to form absolute graphical correlations between all objects within a map. Fidelity to geographical data demanded Western maps be indifferent to the objects they portrayed. The indigenous maps in Southeast Asia, however, were quite the opposite. The distance between objects was expressed via supplementary texts without complying to any scale. This gives a certain flexibility for the cartographer to include all essential surroundings, breaking free from constraints of space. The objects attached with greater importance in the eyes of the cartographer, like the major towns and religious landmarks, were often drawn in a larger size to reflect their significance. Such maps would be considered of low value in the times when maps were evaluated solely on their geographical accuracy. But in fact, these maps merely carried multiple layers of information that required a different standard of examination.

Despite Hamilton's best efforts, he did not seem to have found any indigenous maps and therefore resorted to asking locals to draw for him. This reflects the facts that maps were not a common commodity that the general public had access to in late 18th century Burma. The same can be said for Siam. From the extant Siamese maps, we do not see many, if any, woodblock printed maps. The indigenous maps were mostly hand drawn and made in limited numbers.

On comparison, since a simple world map printed from two woodblocks was incorporated in the *Rudimentum Novitorum*, published in 1475 in Lübeck, Germany, maps had been widely printed and circulated among the West as tools to learn about geography.⁴⁷ Karrow (2007) estimated that some 1.3 million individual maps existed in 1600, giving one map for every four persons in the cultural heartlands of Europe.⁴⁸ Royals were no doubt some of the most important patrons of map production, but there were also various groups of advocates, like mariners, Jesuits and publishers, who made substantial contributions not only to surveying and creating new maps, but also to the spreading of new geographic information. With such a large number of maps made and surveying expeditions on record, it is possible, and also meaningful, to trace and date the transmission of information in Western maps for a better understanding of its content.

In Siam, since most of the historical documents were destroyed during the fall of Ayutthaya, we cannot estimate the number of indigenous maps made nor the people involved in their making. The Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* is one of the earliest examples of extant Siamese maps. Since it was slotted in a Buddhist manuscript, which was passed down by copying, most of the time undated, we also do not have enough information to check whether the map had been amended during the copying or not in this instance. The Coastal map was also probably created not as an original part of the genre of *Samut Phap Traiphum*, but a later

⁴⁷ Cormack (2007): "Maps as Educational Tools in the Renaissance" in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 3, Part 1, 622–636.

⁴⁸ Karrow (2007): "Centers of Map Publishing in Europe, 1472–1600" in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 3, Part 1, 621.

addition to complement the body of knowledge in the genre. Drawing on this experience, it is best to keep in mind that the production date of a certain Siamese manuscript does not necessarily equal its content. As for the other extant maps, many are sole copies without much background information on their production. The small corpus of extant maps makes it highly challenging to trace and date the transmission of information within the Siamese indigenous mapping tradition.

- **Role within Societies**

The first question to answer here is: who gets to read the map? Who the intended readers or users of a map are is a great indication of the role of a map in a society.

Judging from the extant Siamese maps, it appears that these maps were never created for the general public but were rather dedicated to specific audiences. Hints can be drawn from the map – be it the orientation, the toponym or the illustration – to determine who these privileged groups were. Explicating the target audience of an indigenous map can, in turn, shed light on the nature of the map and enable a deeper comprehension of the way it was drawn.

For instance, *khòì* paper manuscripts like *Samut Phap Traiphum* were not ordinary objects that commoners would have access to. Only royals and monks would be able to read them, so the audiences of the Coastal Map are clear. It served mainly as tools to spread updated geographic information among the educated elites in Siamese society.

Given the lack of study on the indigenous maps of Southeast Asia, it is hard to infer the content of the maps by cartographic analysis alone. In this research, the three maps are elaborated through the hermeneutics approach, with the assistance of multilingual and cross-disciplinary materials, yielding effective results.

Limitation

This research investigates only the information contained in three selected Siamese maps. Its material aspects, like the paper and paints used, do not fall under the scope of this research. Chemical analysis of the materials or pigments used might shed light on how the maps were created. This topic is worthy of future study and might potentially reveal critical information on the factors that influenced traditional Siamese cartography.

Research Outline

After an introduction to the background and scope of the research in Chapter 1, a cartographic analysis of the three Siamese maps is given in Chapter 2. This chapter, however, does not aim to delineate the entire history of Siamese cartography; it merely seeks to explicate the subtle links between the three selected Siamese maps and the global developments in cartography. In Chapter 3, the Coastal Map in the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript is inspected in detail to

reveal the network and administration of the Siamese maritime trading system in the Ayutthaya period. Analysis of the China Map in Chapter 4 reflects on the sailing routes, maritime customs and transmission of nautical knowledge in the region in the early Bangkok period. Chapter 5 looks at the Kwangtung Map to highlights the relevant stops for Siamese ships in the Canton System up to 1842. A discussion and some conclusions comprise Chapter 6.

Since each chapter touches on a different subject, a general literature review is not offered in this introduction chapter. Instead, a more focused review of the relevant primary and secondary literature alongside the main sources is given at the beginning of each chapter to give a more precise idea of the state of research in each specific area.

Chapter 2 Cartographic Analysis of Three Siamese Maps

The intention of making a map is simple: to illustrate spatial relations. The process, or what we today term “cartography,” however, is not straightforward. It involves a series of conscious choices as to what to and not to include, flattening an objective geographical realm into a subjective two-dimensional imagination with a clear intention. Maps, as mediators between an inner mental world and an outer physical world, as Harley (1987) aptly described, are fundamental tools for helping the human mind make sense of its universe at various scales.⁴⁹

Yet, the “series of conscious choices” made by cultures in the West and the East, quite literally, went to two extremes. While generations of Western astronomers, mathematicians and navigators strove to envisage the world within the scaffold of longitude and latitude, any Eastern literate who dabbled in the art of painting could pick up a brush and draw a map.⁵⁰ Sandwiched in the middle, the Siamese were therefore inevitably influenced by both traditions.

With a small corpus of extant maps, studies dedicated to indigenous Southeast Asian maps are scarce, let alone Siamese maps. This chapter does not aim to delineate the entire history of Siamese cartography; it merely seeks to explicate the subtle links between the three Siamese maps studied in this research and wider global developments in cartography. It begins with a literature review and a brief summary of the study of cartography. To understand the Siamese mapping tradition, the genre of *Traiphum* is introduced before the geographical merits of the Coastal Map are highlighted. The cartographic significance of the China Map and the Kwangtung Map are then explored to gauge the changes in the indigenous mapping concept against global cartographic trends.

Literature Review

On the fundamentals of cartography, the *History of Cartography*, by the University of Chicago Press laid the basis. This on-going multivolume series, first published in 1987, gave comprehensive reviews of the mapping traditions of different cultures. The cartography of medieval Europe was addressed in Volume 1 while the practices of traditional Islamic, South Asian, East and Southeast Asian societies were discussed in Volume 2, published in three books between 1992 and 1998. In the chapter on Southeast Asian cosmography, Schwartzberg (1995) first explained the Buddhist contribution in *Traiphum*, or the Three Worlds, before he briefly introduced the Coastal Map carried in the *Samut Phap Traiphum* in a chapter on

⁴⁹ Harley (1987): 1.

⁵⁰ Yee (1994): “Chinese Cartography Among the Arts: Objectivity, Subjectivity, Representation”, in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 2, Book 2, 164. The Chinese also employed a grid system in cartography as early as the Song dynasty as seen in *Yuji tu* 禹跡圖 [Following the footsteps of Yu] (1136), but such practice was not regarded as the only principle in cartography like the West.

Southeast Asian geographical maps.⁵¹ While he succeeded in illustrating the complex Meru-centric cosmic system of Indian origin in simple terms, his geographical analysis of the Coastal Map was limited due to a lack of comparative materials as it was, and still is, the only known indigenous map from Southeast Asia of near continental coverage.

The first scholar to write on *Samut Phap Traiphum*, or Picture Book of The Three Worlds, was Klaus Wenk, who published two works in 1965 based on the manuscript II650, kept in Berlin, Germany. His book *Thailändische Miniaturmalereien: Nach einer Handschrift der indischen Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* [Thai Miniature Paintings: After a manuscript in the Indian Art Department of Berlin State Museums] construed the content and painting style of selected episodes in the manuscript complemented by images so stunningly reproduced that the scenes looked alive.⁵² Wenk examined the Coastal Map separately in “Zu Einer ‘Landkarte’ Sued- und Ostasiens” [A ‘Map’ of South and East Asia],⁵³ in which he believed the map was intended to be a piece of cosmographic painting, not a geographical map, due to its terrestrial inaccuracies. When geographer Ulrich Freitag published two articles on the cartography of Thailand in the early 1980s,⁵⁴ he also regarded the map as a representation of cartographic ineptitude before the modernization of Siamese cartography at the turn of the 1900s. The articles are entitled “Geschichte der Kartographie Thailands” [History of Cartography in Thailand] (1982) and “Zur Periodisierung der Geschichte der Kartographie Thailands” [Periodization of History of Cartography in Thailand] (1983).

The entire text of *Traiphum Phra Ruang* was translated by Reynolds and Reynolds in 1982. Their book – *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* – gave English readers an overview of the cosmic hierarchy. Still, the content of the Coastal Map in the picture books did not garner much attention except for a brief discussion in Terwiel’s (1986) paper “Muang Thai and the World: Changing Perspectives During the Third Reign,” in the context of how traditional *Traiphum* cosmology impacted the minds of Siamese elites.⁵⁵ In 1989, Klempe printed the Coastal Map in his book *Asien auf Karten von der Antike bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Asia in Maps from Ancient Times to the Mid-19th Century]⁵⁶, almost in

⁵¹ Schwartzberg (1995a): “Cosmography in Southeast Asia”; and (1995b): “Southeast Asian Geographical Maps,” both in *History of Cartography*, Vol 2, Book 2, 701–740, 741–827.

⁵² Wenk (1965a): Text on coastal map on 64.

⁵³ Wenk (1965b): In *Felicitations Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies: Presented to His Highness Prince Dhaninivat Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn on the Occasion of His 18th Birthday*, Vol 1, 119–122.

⁵⁴ Freitag (1982): in *Forschungsbeiträge zur Landeskunde Süd- und Südostasiens (Festschrift für Harald Uhlig zu seinem 60 Geburtstag)* [Research Contributions to Regional Studies of South and Southeast Asia (Commemoration for Harald Uhlig on his 60th birthday)], 213–232; and Freitag (1983): in *Kartenhistorisches Colloquium Bayreuth '82. 18 – 20 März 1982 Vorträge und Berichte* [Map Historical Colloquium Bayreuth '82. 18 – 20 March 1982: Lectures and Reports], 213–227.

⁵⁵ Terwiel (1986): “Muang Thai and the World: Changing Perspectives During the Third Reign,” paper presented at the seminar on Asia: A Sense of Place. Online at www.academia.edu/29239163/Muang_Thai_and_the_World_19th_century_intellectual_history_1986.pdf

⁵⁶ Klempe (1989): Map 42.

the original size, permitting close-up inspection. Yet its supplementary text was a mere description without analysis. Similarly, Ginsburg (1989) also included a short description of the Coastal Map in the book *Thai Manuscript Painting*, in which he introduced the cosmographical concept of *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts.⁵⁷

Likewise, scholars in Thailand have found little to no interest in the geographic aspect of the Coastal Map. Wright was the only one who wrote on the subject in Thai in a 1985 magazine article.⁵⁸ He went on to publish a short book called *Phaenthi phaenthang nai prawatisat lok lae sayam* แผนที่เส้นทางในประวัติศาสตร์โลกและสยาม [Maps of Routes in the History of the World and Siam] in 2005, an attempt to roughly identify the toponyms based on phonetic similarities. Approaching the subject from another perspective, Thida Saraya (1994) pointed out the changes in the Thai cartographical concept by reviewing the geographical information shown on coeval Western maps that might have prompted the creation of the Coastal Map.⁵⁹

Synchronous with Schwartzberg's articles in 1995 was Thongchai Winichakul's innovative study on the construct of nationhood through cartography in the book *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (1994).⁶⁰ Schwartzberg acknowledged the apparent map errors on the Coastal Map were not out of geographic ignorance but were deliberate choices. However, the fact that it was being slotted into a cosmographic manuscript entailed that it was not created to aid practical navigation. On the other hand, Thongchai Winichakul argued that the map was indeed a geographical one but drawn in a fashion similar to Chinese maps, characterized by a more abstract representation.

Both scholars assumed that the Coastal Map was created in 1776 as the two extant manuscripts that feature the map – one in Berlin (Berlin II650), the other Bangkok (Thonburi 10k) – owed their creation to King Taksin's decree, as stated in their preambles. Later, in 1999 the Department of Fine Arts in Thailand identified two more recensions (Ayutthaya 6 and 8), albeit incomplete, from the Ayutthaya era, without preambles. All *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts from Central Thailand up to the Thonburi era under their care were published in two books.⁶¹ The paleography and codicology of the extant *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts from Central Thailand were thoroughly divulged in Terwiel's article "On the Trail of King Taksin's *Samutphap Traiphum*" in 2014.

⁵⁷ Ginsburg (1989): *Thai Manuscript Painting*, 13–21.

⁵⁸ Wright (1985): "Khon boran mòng phumisat lok คนโบราณมองภูมิศาสตร์โลก [Ancient People Perceived the World's Geography]" in *Sinlapawatnatham* ศิลปวัฒนธรรม [Arts and Culture], January issue, 90–96.

⁵⁹ Thida Saraya (1994): "Kanplianplaeng khatit traiphum lae manothat kiaokap phaenthi nai sangkhom sayam การเปลี่ยนแปลงคติไตรภูมิ และมโนทัศน์เกี่ยวกับแผนที่ในสังคมสยาม [Change of the Traiphum Concept And Cartographical Concept in Thai Society]" in *Rat boran nai phak phün esia tawanòk chiang tai: Kamnoet lae phatthanakan* รัฐโบราณในภาคพื้นเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้: กำเนิดและพัฒนาการ [Ancient States in Southeast Asia: Origin and Development], 334–354.

⁶⁰ Thongchai Winichakul (1994): Text on coastal map in *Traiphum* on 24–33.

⁶¹ See footnote 23.

In 1966, Sternstein made an inventory of the collection in the Museum of the Royal Thai Survey Department.⁶² The Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* aside, the only indigenous Siamese map that predated scientific mapmaking was known to be a military map that covered central and north-eastern Thailand, first discussed by Kennedy in 1970.⁶³ A significant breakthrough came in 1996, when 17 maps were discovered in forgotten corners of the Grand Palace in Bangkok. The maps, which had little in common, were carefully preserved in the Map Room of the HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Library. A brief introduction to each map can be found in the book *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in Nineteenth Century Thailand*, co-written by Santanee Phasuk and Philip Stott in 2004, followed by a 2006 condensed edition called *Siam in Trade and War: Royal Maps of the 19th Century*.⁶⁴ As aforementioned, two of the core maps – China and Kwangtung – studied in this dissertation came from this serendipity. So far, no other articles on either of the maps have been found.

On maps of Southeast Asia, Suarez (1999) recounted the stories behind various maps made by Arabs, Chinese, Europeans and local Southeast Asians in *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia: The Epic Story of Seafarers, Adventurers, and Cartographers Who First Mapped the Regions Between China and India*. It reconstructed a solid timeline on the exchange of maritime knowledge. In the same vein, the *Collected Maps: History-Geography-Politics and Colonialism in Southeast Asia* ประมวลแผนที่: ประวัติศาสตร์-ภูมิศาสตร์-การเมืองกับลัทธิอาณานิคมในอาเซียน-อุษาคเนย์, edited by Charnvit Kasetsiri, covered the ever-changing dynamics between Thailand and her neighbors through the eyes of European mapmakers from 1542 to 1908. It also included one map in Chinese, submitted to Emperor Qianlong (r. 1735–1796) by King Taksin of Thonburi (r. 1767–1782), showing the territories of Siam and Burma.⁶⁵

Although extant Chinese maps noting Southeast Asian countries can be traced back to *Huayi tu* 華夷圖 [Map of Chinese and Barbarian Territories] in 1136, the first map with adequate representation was the Mao Kun Maps, attached in *Wu bei zhi* 武備志 [Records of Armaments and Military Provisions] in 1628.⁶⁶ The map, covering Southeast Asia to East Africa, was believed to have been compiled from information obtained during admiral Zheng He's expeditions between 1405 and 1433. One of the pioneering studies on the map was Mills' book

⁶² Sternstein (1968): "A Catalogue of Maps of Thailand in the Museum of the Royal Thai Survey Department, Bangkok," in *Journal of the Siam Society*, 56:1, 44–100.

⁶³ Kennedy (1970): "An Indigenous Early 19th Century Map of Central and Northeast Thailand" in *In Memoriam Phya Anuman Rajadhon*, 315–348.

⁶⁴ Narisa Chakrabongse et al. (2006): *Siam in Trade and War: Royal Maps of the 19th Century*.

⁶⁵ Charnvit Kasetsiri (2012): "Cotmaihet phaenthi 'sayam' rüa From Siam to Burma Map 'phaenthi senthang denthap cak krung thonburi thüing krung angwa' không somdet phra cao krung thonburi taksin maharat จดหมายเหตุแผนที่ 'สยาม' หรือ From Siam to Burma Map 'แผนที่เส้นทางเดินทัพ จากกรุงธนบุรีถึงกรุงอังวะ' ของสมเด็จพระเจ้ากรุงธนบุรีตากสินมาหาราช Sino-Thai Map from Bangkok-Thonburi to Ava-burma" in *Pramuan phaenthi: Prawattisat-phumisat-kanmüang kaplatthi ananikhom nai asian-usakhane* ประมวลแผนที่: ประวัติศาสตร์-ภูมิศาสตร์-การเมืองกับลัทธิอาณานิคมในอาเซียน-อุษาคเนย์ *History-Geography-Politics and Colonialism in Southeast Asia*, 102–114.

⁶⁶ Mao (1628): online at www.loc.gov/item/2004633695/.

Ying-yai sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433), in 1970. For an overview of Chinese nautical materials related to Thailand, Chen (2015) offered a comprehensive list in the article “A Brief Explanation on the Books and Maps of Sino-Siam Nautical Needle of Early Qing Dynasty 清代前期中—暹航海針經、地圖略釋。”⁶⁷

As mapping technology has evolved, so has our ability to make and read maps. Recent publications, such as *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography* (2017) and Edney's (2019) *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, have put forward novel angles to view the subject and explored its effects on contemporary society.

The Study of Cartography

The discovery of longitude and latitude laid the foundations for a new approach to cartography. Geographical maps morphed from representations of “imagined” lines measured by our perception into “real” coordinates verifiable by the position of the sun. The transition began in the 1500s, when mathematicians in the West attempted to calculate the geometricity of the earth's spherical surface. Determining latitude can be easily done by measuring the altitude of a celestial body. The theoretical way to determine longitude is also no secret – simply measure the difference in time between two locations by timing a mutually observable celestial event such as solar eclipses. However, it was technically infeasible until the 1790s, when chronometers finally became widespread enough for mariners to be able to compare local time with chronometer time.⁶⁸ Although it took almost three centuries to perfect, this method soon became the default way to make maps for the entire world, and remains so today.

The study of cartography began in the 1830s as a handmaiden to the history of geography.⁶⁹ Thus, it inherited an ingrained bias that maps were valued primarily for their fidelity to geographic reality. By the time it had gained enough foothold to be treated as an independent scientific discipline, its narratives were often intertwined with histories of science, exploration and imperialism as well as a hidden agenda to celebrate the triumph of Western civilization over other cultures. Hence, the word “map” acquired a very limited connotation of being an elite product derived from the Western tradition of cartography; anything else was just a “map-like object.”⁷⁰

Such undertones drove many early Western travelers in Southeast Asia to conclude that, despite such cultures as the Javanese being known as excellent seafarers, people in Southeast Asia did not know how to make “maps.” The Englishman Frederick Neale was no exception to this

⁶⁷ Chen (2015): In *Silu de yanshen: Yazhou haiyang lishi yu wenhua* 絲路的延伸：亞洲海洋歷史與文化 [Extension of Silk Road: Asian Maritime History and Culture], 11–34.

⁶⁸ Edney (2017b): “Mapping, Survey, and Science” in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*.

⁶⁹ Harley (1987): 12.

⁷⁰ Edney (2017a): “Map History: Discourse and Process.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, edited by Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic, Kindle, 68.

prejudice. Upon his visit to Siam in the 1840s, he received an audience with King Rama III (r. 1824–1851), who, on the issue of a border dispute, snarked at the Burmese and called them “a complete flock of silly geese” to have had the audacity to defy him. The King then proudly showed a map drawn by his prime minister (Figure 2.1).

The map was about three feet by two; in the center was a patch of red, about 18 inches long by 10 broad; above it was a patch of green, about 10 inches long by three wide. On the whole space occupied by the red was pasted a singular looking figure [the Siamese king], cut out of silver paper, with a pitch-fork in one hand and an orange in the other; there was a crown on the head, and spurs on the heels... In the little patch of green, a small Indian-ink figure [the Burmese king Tharawaddy], consisting of a little dot for the head, a large dot for the body, and four scratches of the pen to represent the legs and arms...

Between the green and the red, there was a broad black stripe, an indisputable boundary line; and on the red side of the black stripe, a little curved thin line drawn with ink, to indicate the territory laid claim to by the Birman but disputed by the Siamese; the rest of the map was all blue, and on this blue, which was the ocean, all round the red or Siamese territory vilely painted ships were represented sailing to and fro, some with the masts towards the land, the others evidently bottom up, at least their masts pointed in the wrong direction. The poor Burmese had not even so much as a boat to display.

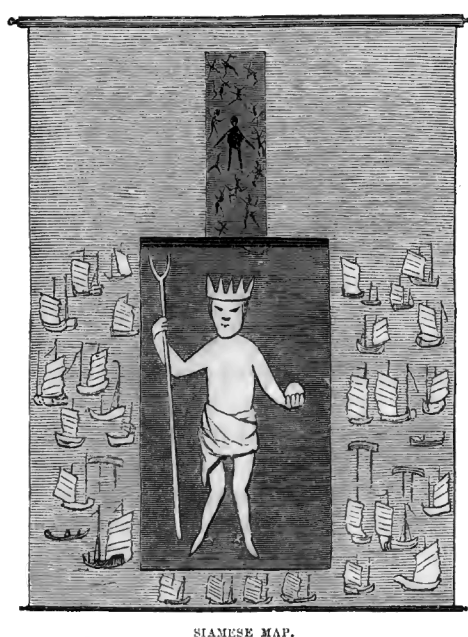


Figure 2.1 Caricature of the Siamese map showed to Neale at the court of Siam (5.7 x 7.9 cm).

Source: Neale (1852: 55).

Yet the king’s expectation of flaunting “the brilliance of the painting, and the exquisite display of Siamese geographical talent... [to cause Neale] to faint away on the spot, or to go into rapturous fits of delight,” fell short. Neale perceived it as nothing more than ridicule:

Happening, however, to be Europeans, and more especially Englishmen, and having changed to set our eyes upon such things as charts and maps before, no such disastrous effects resulted. We were, however, very nearly outraging all propriety by bursting into fits of laughter, and very painful was the curb we were obliged to wear to constrain our merriment.⁷¹

This infamous episode gave a glimpse into Western attitudes to indigenous maps which held well into the early 19th century. Since spatial relations were perceived and hence represented differently, these “map-like objects” were deemed primitive and of little value. That, however, did not prevent them from serving their intended purpose for the intended audiences, as Edney (2017) noted:

New studies of modern, pre-modern and non-Western mapping have demonstrated that all maps in all cultures possess significance and purpose other than as instrumental statements of spatial facts and relationships. By raising issues of social and cultural relations – for example, by drawing attention to the role of maps as intellectual resources, access to which has varied by class, gender and ethnicity – map history has stimulated critical approaches to cartography.⁷²

The Siamese map shown to Neale was intended to map the relative omnipotence of the Siamese and Burmese sovereigns as propaganda.⁷³ Geography was only used in the sense of showing the impenetrable integrity of the Kingdom of Siam. Physical features had little to do with the subject matter.

Fortunately, in recent years, the advent of computer science and geographic information systems (GIS)⁷⁴ has led to a reevaluation of what defines a map,⁷⁵ now commonly held thus:

A map is a symbolised representation of geographical reality, representing selected features or characteristics, resulting from the creative effort of its author’s execution of choices, and is designed for use when spatial relationships are of primary relevance.⁷⁶

This updated definition recognizes maps as symbolic representations of reality, entailing that the focal point of map study should shift from geographic accuracy to spatial relationships. Under this expanded context, indigenous maps in Southeast Asia can rightfully be reviewed through a new set of eyes.

For instance, the indigenous maps of Burma have lately received some scholarly attention. A survey of extant maps of pre-modern Myanmar in the UK, especially *parabaik* (traditional

⁷¹ Neale (1852): *Narrative of a Residence at the Capital of the Kingdom of Siam, with a Description of the Manners, Customs, and Laws of the Modern Siamese*, 54–56.

⁷² Edney (2017a): 68–69.

⁷³ Suarez (1999): Kindle Locations 810–820.

⁷⁴ Digital systems for capturing and displaying data related to positions on Earth's surface, like Google Earth.

⁷⁵ Board (2015): “Map: Definition of Map” in *The History of Cartography*, Vol 6, 798–801.

⁷⁶ Latest definition written on the mission statement of International Cartographic Association (ICA) that is subjected to periodic review. See icaci.org/mission.

form Burmese paper made of daphne bark) maps of the Konbaung Period (1752–1885), was detailed in the book *Myanmar Historical Cartography: Parabaik Maps and Other Map Sources* by Tin Naing Win (2018). A set of three maps – Map of the Maingnyaung region⁷⁷, Map of Sa-lay township⁷⁸ and Map of the Royal lands, showing the distribution of rice (wet season) and leguminous (dry season) crops in the southern part of the Ko-ka-reing districts, Shan Province⁷⁹, in the Cambridge University Library formed the core of the book. The research also explored the origins of Myanmar historical maps and the cartographic technique. Tin Naing Win’s research also inspired Marie de Ruyg to write a thesis on “Aux confins des empires. Cartes et constructions territoriales dans le nord de la péninsule indochinoise (1885–1914),” translated and published into English in 2022 as *Imperial Borderlands: Maps and Territory-Building in the Northern Indochinese Peninsula (1885–1914)*. The book included an analysis of indigenous Vietnamese maps. These publications have all shed new light on the field of cartography in contemporary Southeast Asia.

The Genre of *Traiphum*

Religion has played a pivotal role in the shaping of cosmology in Southeast Asia since long before modern times. The universe is simultaneously intellectual and spiritual, inhabited by mortal and immortal beings. In Thailand, no religious narrative rivals the lore of *Traiphum*, an important doctrinal tradition in Theravada Buddhism. With an etymology from Sanskrit, *tri* means three while *bhūmi* signifies level or stage. *Traiphum* is therefore translated as “three worlds.” It describes the cycle of life in the Buddhist cosmic structure that an individual, or indeed any living creatures even mythical ones, may take over many lifetimes according to one’s merits. To analyze indigenous Siamese mapping traditions, it is crucial to first understand the concept of *Traiphum* to decrypt the Coastal Map painted in its picture books as it is highly likely the earliest inter-continental representation among extant Siamese maps.

In the genre of *Traiphum*, the earliest extant text in vernacular Thai is *Trai Phumi Katha* ไตรภูมิกถา [Treatise on Three Worlds], commonly known as *Traiphum Phra Ruang* ไตรภูมิพระร่วง [Three Worlds of King Ruang], penned by King Lithai (r. 1347–1368) of the Sukhothai Kingdom in 1345.⁸⁰ Its prologue listed over 30 titles on Buddhist sources referenced during the composition. Held in high prestige in Thailand, the text is now preserved in palm-leaf

⁷⁷ Item no: Maps.Ms.Plans.R.c.1, paint on woven cotton, 204x209cm. Online at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MAPS-MS-PLANS-R-C-00001/1.

⁷⁸ Item no: Maps.Ms.Plans.R.c.2, paint on woven cotton, 176 x 300 cm. Online at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MAPS-MS-PLANS-R-C-00002/1

⁷⁹ Item no: Maps.Ms.Plans.R.c.3, paint on woven cotton, 259 x 405 cm. Online at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MAPS-MS-PLANS-R-C-00003/1.

⁸⁰ Reynolds and Reynolds (1982): 5.

manuscripts copied in the 18th century.⁸¹ The royal association with the text has contributed to its prevalence across Southeast Asia.⁸²

The pictorial manifestation of the *Traiphum*'s cosmography was a popular endeavor – especially in Central Thailand – often seen on temple murals⁸³ and also drawn in folded books made of tree bark fiber, called *Samut Phap Traiphum* สมุดภาพไตรภูมิ [Picture Book of Three Worlds]. A sub-genre in its own right, the picture books do not illustrate or follow a particular text. Instead, they depict the collective cosmography in the *Traiphum* genre. Titles referenced, if available, might be stated on the preamble.

Widely used in Southeast Asian countries, the folded books were made of the inner bark of a bush called *khòì* (*Streblus Asper*), found in Thailand. The bark was first boiled into a paste and dried to form long sheets of paper, before being folded back and forth into page-sized openings while attached to other sheets. The finished product, usable on both sides, can be extended up to several meters in length when unfolded. It is fairly durable but susceptible to humidity and insect pests.⁸⁴ While these folded books are called *samut khòì* or *samut thai* in Thai, they are also known as *leporello* books in Western literature.

Given their popularity across the region, the extant *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts are written not only in the Thai script. The Department of Fine Arts in Thailand has published all *Samut Phap Traiphum* in its collection in four books – the first two included manuscripts from Central Thailand in the Ayutthaya and Thonburi period, one for those with Khòm and Thai scripts, and one for those in Lan Na⁸⁵ and Khòm scripts. All of them are available online at the National Library of Thailand. A few copies are archived in overseas institutions, such as the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin, Germany. Although regional differences are shown in the illustrations, the core construct shares recognizable similarity.

- ***Traiphum* Cosmography**

The entire cosmological system in *Traiphum* is a complex subject that is beyond the scope of this research. A brief synoptic overview (Figure 2.2) is provided here to facilitate understanding of *Samut Phap Traiphum*.

The three worlds are, in descending order of merit, the World without Material Factors, consisting of four realms; the World with a Remnant of Material Factors with 16 realms; and the World of Desire with 11 realms. From this total of 31 realms across these three worlds, the vilest beings are placed in the lowest section, while the more virtuous ones reside in the higher

⁸¹ Peera Panarut (2019): 53–55.

⁸² For more on Thai kingship and *Traiphum*, see Reynolds and Reynolds (1982): 7–11.

⁸³ For instance, the royal monastery Wat Phra Chetuphon and Wat Phra Kaew in Bangkok. Matics (1979): “Hell Scenes in Thai Murals” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 62:2, 35–39.

⁸⁴ Ginsburg (1989): *Thai Manuscript Painting*, 10.

⁸⁵ The Lan Na or Tai Tham script is used in Northern Thailand while the Khòm script is the variant of the Khmer script used in Thailand.

levels. The realm of mankind is slotted roughly in the middle of the World of Desire, between six heavens above and four realms of loss and woe below. These realms might be abstract but their spatial relations are written in concrete terms using the unit *yojana* in Sanskrit.

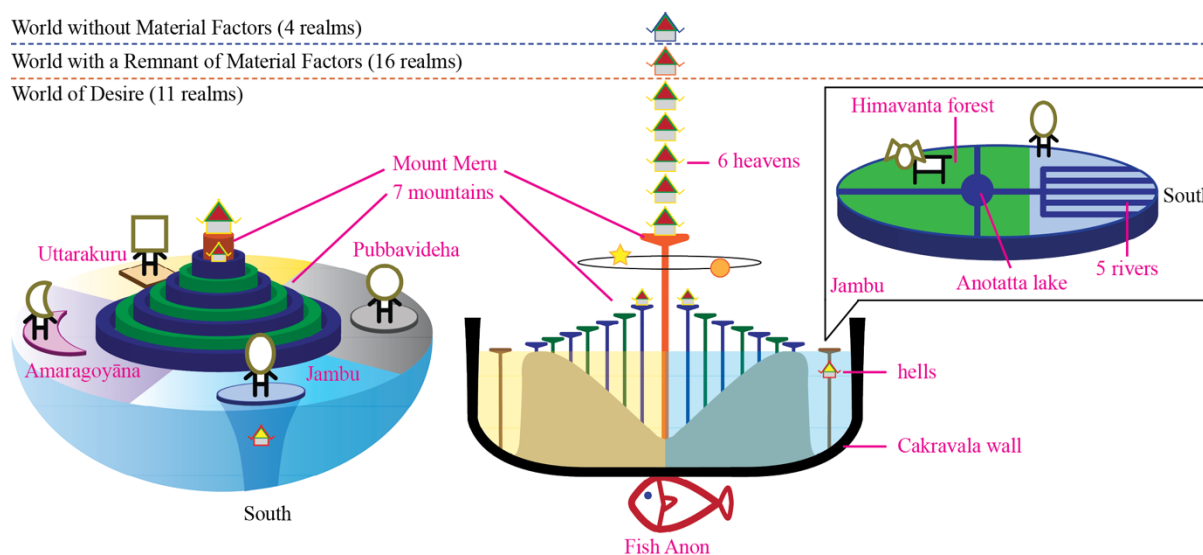


Figure 2.2 Basic construct of *Traiphum* cosmography. Source: Author's illustration.

Standing in the center of the galaxy as *axis mundi* is the highest mountain – Mount Meru – 84,000 *yojana* above sea level, around which the stars and the planets revolve. Above its summit are realms in the World without Material Factors and the World with a Remnant of Material Factors, as well as the heavens in the World of Desire. Mount Meru is surrounded by seven concentric mountain ridges, each separated from the other by an immense ocean. In the outermost ocean lie four continents, each surrounded by 500 small islands. They are the square-shaped Uttarakuru in the north; the circular-shaped Pubbavideha in the east; the crescent-shaped Amaragoyāna in the West; and the oval-shaped Jambu in the South. Each one is inhabited by a group of humans with faces of the same shape as the continent. Humans of our kind live on the Jambu continent, which differs from those on the other continents in various ways. For instances, those on Uttarakuru can live up to 1,000 years. Beneath Jambu lies a number of gruesome hells where sinners atone.⁸⁶ At the edge of the universe is the Cakravala wall, supported by a big fish called Anon.

The Jambu is a round continent of 10,000 *yojana* wide, but only 30 percent of the land is roamed by humans. Water covers 40 percent and the remaining 30 percent is dedicated to the mythological Himavanta forest, off-limits to humans but home to fairy-tale-like creatures where precious flora and fauna abound. There are seven large bodies of water in Himavanta, one of which is called the Anotatta Lake, which has four outlets following the cardinal directions. The water that flows out to the south dashes against mountains and passes through rocks until it breaks into five great rivers like fingers – one being the Gaṅgā (Ganges) –

⁸⁶ Reynolds and Reynolds (1982): 275–288.

streaming into populated areas. The most significant happening on Jambu was the birth of the Buddha.⁸⁷

In short, humans and other sentient beings, like deities of various degrees of potency, go through cycles of rebirth in a vertically structured, tripartite, ethicized cosmos, according to their merits, until they attain Nirvana, the highest domain of nothingness beyond the three worlds.⁸⁸

The Picture Book of Three Worlds

In the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts from Central Thailand, the cosmic levels are depicted in order from high to low. They start with the Great City of Nirvāna,⁸⁹ a materialistic manifestation of the abstract concept of nirvāna, followed by the realms in the World without Material Factors and the World with a Remnant of Material Factors, and the heavens in the World of Desire, before reaching Mount Meru and the Jambu continent. Then, judgement on the deceased and their intense suffering in each hell are shown. This sequence often ends with a set of illustrations on the life of Siddhattha Gotama, the most recent Buddha.⁹⁰

• **The Tamnan Map**

Most manuscripts, on the reverse side, carry a cosmic map depicting the Jambu continent, on which stories from the life of Buddha, various Jataka, and legends about Buddhism coming to Southeast Asia, are told. From Mount Meru, it traces its way through the Himavanta Forest to the Anotatta Lake. Then, following one of the five rivers flowing from the lake, the Vessantara and other great births of the Buddha are featured at some actual places on the profane earth. The sequence first recounts the Buddha's life by addressing his great moments at various legendary locations, such as the heavenly city of his father, the place he attained enlightenment, the trees he contemplated under, and the cities he preached in. Immediately adjoining these sacred places is Northern Thailand. This last part of the sequence (Figure 2.3) is known as the Tamnan Map, a Khmer loanword which means legend. The name was coined by Thongchai Winichakul (1994) as the map seems to be reflecting the spatial relations of places in religious legend stories. It shows Ayutthaya flanked by Laos, Vietnam and Champa at the top and Burma at the bottom. Across the open sea is an oversized Sri Lanka, highlighted by the important pilgrim site Adam's Peak, followed by Kò Nakwari, where naked people live. It ends with an assortment of fish headed by Fish Anon, which causes earthquakes when he shakes his body. Although earthly cities are incorporated, the Tamnan Map was still very much created within

⁸⁷ Reynolds and Reynolds (1982): 289–303; and Thanee Chinchusak (2015): *Jitdrathanee Brush Drawing: An Art Book Of Mythical Creatures In The Himavanta Forest Characters From The Thai Classical Literature And Basic Thai Designs Lesson*, 98–102.

⁸⁸ Schwartzberg (1995a): 714–717.

⁸⁹ More discussion in Terwiel (2019): “The City of Nibbana in Thai Picture Books of the Three Worlds” in *Contemporary Buddhism*, Vol 20:1–2, 184–199, DOI: 10.1080/14639947.2018.1524625.

⁹⁰ Terwiel (2014): 42–43.

the framework of *Traiphum* cosmography as its orientation – with east up – and the elongated illustration of the landmasses are dictated by the finger-like rivers flowing southwards to the ocean. In addition, various temples and Buddha footprints are clearly marked, seabound mythical creatures from the Himavanta Forest are drawn, and a well-known episode from the Ramayana – where Rama orders his monkey-commander to build a road across the sea to Lañkā, a town of demons which bears a similar name to Sri Lanka in Thai – is featured. What we do not see on the map are any indications of traveling distances or political borders.

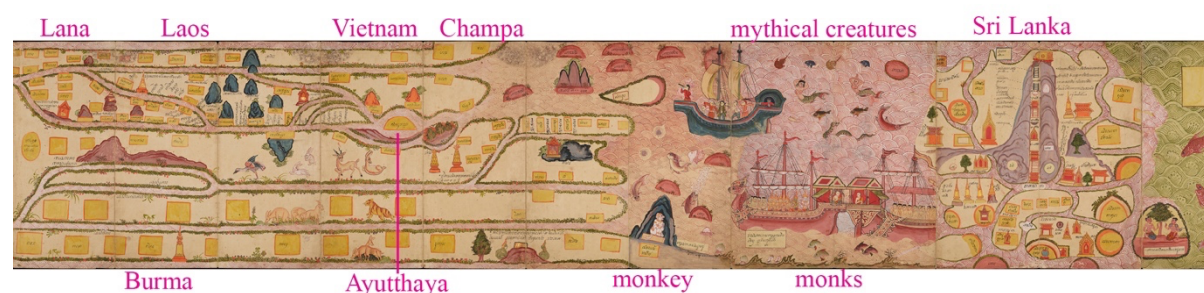


Figure 2.3 The Tamnan Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* Berlin II650. Source: © Berlin State Museums, Museum of Asian Art, Photo: SBB-PK Hagen Immel.

In the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscripts made after the Ayutthaya era, such as the II650 in Berlin, two ships boarded with two monks are seen added to the Tamnan Map. The left-hand vessel, identifiable as Indra by the colour of his body, visualises the episode of Buddhaghosa's voyage to Lanka to translate the commentaries (aṭṭhakathā). At sea he encounters and greeted the elder Buddhadatta, who said that the port city ahead corresponded to the reign of King Mahānāma.⁹¹

Despite the introduction of this new narrative scene, the map's toponyms remain virtually identical to those in Ayutthaya-era manuscripts, aside from orthographic variation. The combination of iconographic updating and toponymic stability suggests that the *Tamnan* map prioritised the transmission of a religious-historical narrative over the incorporation of contemporary geographic information. As Thongchai Winichakul pointed out, all cities are placed according to how Buddhism is spread in Suwannaphum สุวรรณภูมิ [Sanskrit: Suvarṇabhūmi, Pali: Suvaṇṇabhūmi] – or the land of gold, the generic term for Southeast Asia in Buddhist literature – not the earth's surface.⁹² Their spatial relations are defined by their shared connection to the higher celestial realms, not the physical distances among them.

• The Coastal Map

As stated in Chapter 1, only four extant manuscript copies from Central Thailand bear the Coastal Map. In the National Library in Bangkok, Thailand, Ayutthaya 6 and 8 are incomplete

⁹¹ Rungroj Piromanukul (2009): An Analysis Study of the Origin of the Traibhumi Paingint Manuscript การศึกษาเชิงวิเคราะห์ที่มาจากสมุดภาพไตรภูมิ, PhD Thesis, Silpakorn University, Thailand, 320–322.

⁹² Thongchai Winichakul (1994): 24–26.

while Thonburi 10k is a copy made in the 1800s. The Coastal Map found in manuscript Berlin II650, kept in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin, is most intact and accurate among the extant maps, and was therefore chosen to be studied in this research.

The Coastal Map is slotted as the opening sequence on the reverse side of the manuscript, which is dedicated to the Jambu continent, the human realm that we all know of. It is obvious that the artist intended to create a map reflecting the seaborne connections from the perspective of Ayutthaya, as most inland cities, even the major ones in Northern Thailand, are omitted. Comparing to the Tamnan Map, the representation of the *terra firma* veers from the conventional long stripes to ragged peninsulas, on which stand cities of geographical proximity, while islands are grouped in clusters. This transition demonstrates a conscious shift of attention from the celestial to the terrestrial, and even the political, in Siamese cartography. In essence, it is not unlike the development in Renaissance cosmography when geographical maps gradually severed ties with astrology and theology to configure the world's features graphically through geometricity.⁹³

Yet its blunt ignorance of the physical landscape and deviance from known reality in the 17th century have left scholars baffled. The prime impediment to understanding the map stems from its unrealistically twisted coastline and blatantly false location of islands (Sri Lanka in particular), with which the Siamese were well familiar. Coupled with the fact that it is featured in a Buddhist manuscript, Wenk (1965) decided that the Coastal Map is a *Traiphum* cosmographic chart. Sharing a similar view, Terwiel (1986) regarded the map as an example of the Siamese people's capacity to absorb new geographical information from the West within *Traiphum* cosmographical ideas.⁹⁴ Wright (1985) and Thongchai Winichakul (1994), on the other hand, suggested the map should be understood as a geographical map drawn in the Chinese tradition.⁹⁵

Indeed, the perspective of the Coastal Map resembles that of horizontal Chinese maps on scrolls. The traditional "scene-matching" method orients topographical features from the observer's "gaze" at the bottom on the scroll with no regard for cardinal directions nor scale.⁹⁶ For instance, if a coastal map is intended for the viewer to be read on land, the coastline would protrude from the bottom, with the outlying island furthest from the observer's eyes lying at the top of the scroll (and vice versa) (see Figure 4.16 as an example).

With Ayutthaya predominantly positioned at the bottom center of the manuscript, looking out onto the islands, the Coastal Map surely complies with the "scene-matching" tradition. However, a more plausible explanation lies in the hierarchy of the Krom Phra Khlung

⁹³ Edney (2017b):145–146.

⁹⁴ Terwiel (1986): 7–10.

⁹⁵ Thongchai Winichakul (1994): 29–30.

⁹⁶ Feng and Lin (2008): *Outlining Geographical Expanse with a Brush: Historical Maps in the Collections of the National Palace Museum*, 18.

กรมพระคลัง, which was responsible for maritime trade and general relations with foreigners from overseas. Trading affairs were divided along geographical spheres between two of his deputy ministers – Krom Tha Sai กรมท่าซ้าย and Krom Tha Khwa กรมท่าขวา, literally Harbor Department of the Left and Right. The former was in charge of trade to the east, mainly China and Japan; the latter to the west, such as Malay, India, Persia and the Middle East.⁹⁷ Although Western influence is seen on some toponyms, most indigenous geographical intelligence must have come from the Krom Phra Khlang during the creation of the Coastal Map. Putting east on the left side and west on the right side of Ayutthaya makes for a more familiar setting to coincide with local knowledge.

Some of the map's "obvious mistakes" and peripheral arrangements could be explained when it is juxtaposed with the Tamnan Map (Figure 2.4), which might have served as a base map. Table 2.1 shows the toponyms found on both maps. Mount Phanom Yong (2) and the city of Phanphum (7), flanking Ayutthaya (1), are highly likely legacies from the Tamnan Map as both had little connection with sea trade. While the toponyms of some major cities remain the same, the distances between them are updated from the counting unit of days on the Tamnan Map to *yot*, short for *yojana*, on the Coastal Map. Upon closer examination, one can see that most of the cities and islands – except for three cities and one island in the right bottom corner in the region of the Middle East – are all interlinked with red lines. This suggests that physical measurements did not elude the cartographer's mind. Much like the other sequences in the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript, spatial distances between places are indicated by textual explanation on the side, not by the graphical correlations on the map.

Furthermore, the three most important landfalls in the Gulf of Thailand are noted: the Con Dao Islands (18) mark the entrance to the Gulf of Thailand; Sam Ròi Yòt mountain (16) signals arrival in the inner gulf; and Kò Sichang (17) provides anchorage for ships to wait to enter the Chao Phraya River.⁹⁸ The conscious selection of these three islands, leaving out the rest on the Tamnan Map, implies the map is based on first-hand navigational knowledge. However, despite the Coastal Map having the characteristics of a topographical map, we must resist the temptation to analyze it in a sole geographical context, as it is not entirely independent of the *Traiphum* cosmology.

⁹⁷ Breazeale (1999): 12–13. Also see Chapter 3.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 4 for sailing routes in Gulf of Thailand.

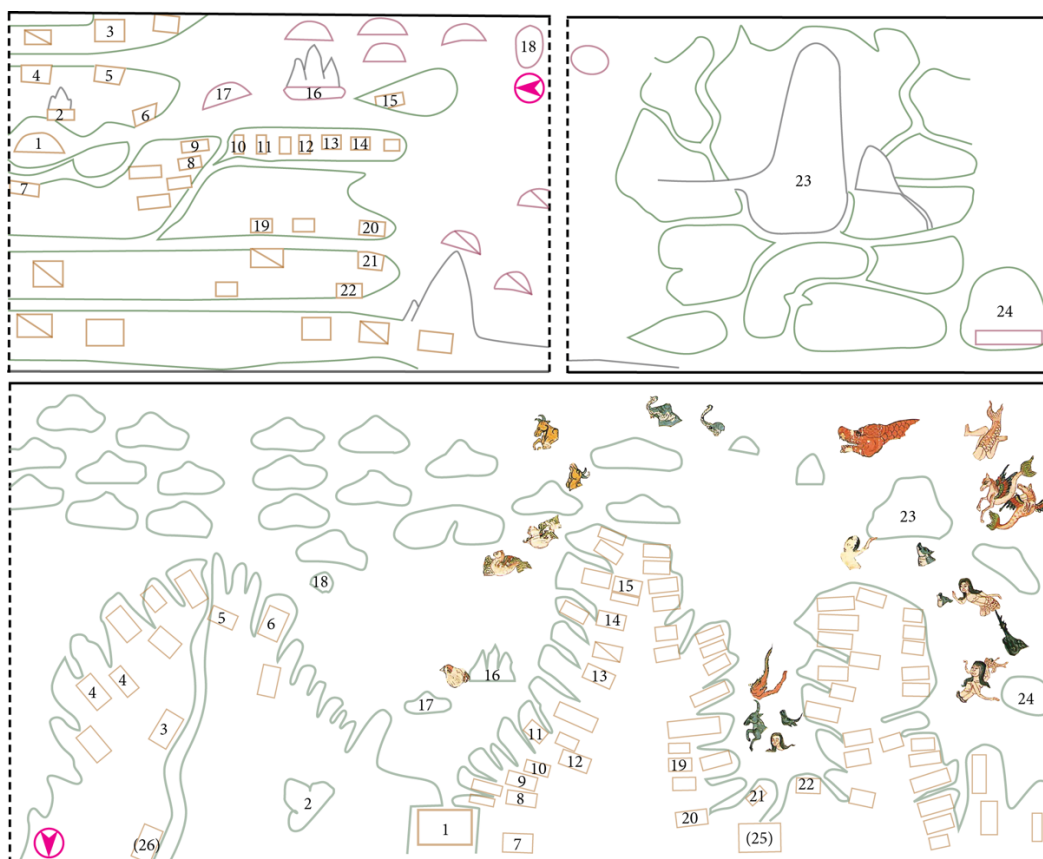


Figure 2.4 Comparison of excerpts of the Tamnan Map (above) and the Coastal Map in Berlin II650.

A slash signifies no name was given on the manuscript. Source: Author's illustration.

No	Tamnan Map	Coastal Map	No	Tamnan Map	Coastal Map	No	Tamnan Map	Coastal Map
1	ศรีอยุธยา Sri Ayutthaya	อยุธยา Ayutthaya	11	กวย Kui	กวย Kui	21	มจ่า Macham	มะจ่า Macham
2	พนมโยง Phanom Yong	พนมโยง Phanom Yong	12	หุ่มกอร Thumphòn	ชุมภร Chumphon	22	สเรียง Sariang	สเรียง Sariang
3	ยวน Yuan	ยวนใหญ่/ยวน น้อย Yuan Yai/Nòi	13	ไชยา Chaiya	ไชยา Chaiya	23	Multiple towns are named	เมืองลังกา Müang Langka
4	นครหลวง Nakhòn Luang	นครหลวง Nakhòn Luang	14	นคอ Nakhòn	นคร Nakhon	24	เกาะนาควาริคน เปลี้ย อยู่มาก Kò Nakwari	เกาะนาควาริคน เปลี้ย อยู่ Kò Nakwari
5	รวก Rawaek	แรก raek	15	พัตลุง Phatthalung	พัตลุง Phatthalung	25	หงษา Hongsa	หงษาเวตี Hong sawati
6	จันบุรี Canburi	จันทบุรี Chanthaburi	16	เขา เกาะ ๓๑๑ยอด Khao Kò 300 Yot	เขา๓๑๑ยอด Khao 300 Yot	26	ล้านช้าง Lan Chang	ล้านช้าง Lan Chang
7	ลพพันพุม Laphanphum	พันพุม Phanphum	17	เกาะสซัง Kò Sichang	สีซัง Sichang			
8	ราชบุรี Ratchaburi	ราชบุรี Ratchaburi	18	เกาะฟัก Kò Fak	เกาะฟัก Kò Fak			
9	เพชรบุรี Phechuburi	เพชรบุรี Phetchaburi	19	ทวาย Thawai	ทวาย Thawai			
10	ปราน Pran	ปราน Pran	20	มลำเลิง Malamleng	มะลำเลง Malamleng			

Table 2.1 Toponym comparison between the Tamnan Map and the Coastal Map in Berlin II650.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Hongsa (25) and Lan Chang (26) are found in the earlier section of the Tamnan Map sequence. See Figure 2.3.

The island of Sri Lanka (23) has always been regarded as a place where Buddhism has blossomed. Its superior religious status is reflected by a detailed depiction of pilgrimage sites on a disproportionately large island on the Tamnan Map. Although its representation on the Coastal Map is reduced to a mere island, it retains a trapezoid shape – taken after Adam’s Peak – in a size larger than other islands. Sri Lanka and Kò Nakwari of “many naked people” (24), mark the end of the Tamnan Map sequence, which can be interpreted as the edge of the human habitat on the Jambu continent. This could be the reason behind the conspicuous faulty location of the islands as the main spatial relationship expressed here correlates with the human realm in *Traiphum* cosmography, signified by the borders of the Coastal Map, more than the geographical distance from the Indian subcontinent.

Hints of the *Traiphum* hierarchy can be observed in the placement of the mythical creatures of Himavanta Forest, present only on the right side of the Coastal Map near Buddhist countries. These creatures are deemed as celestial beings that pose no harm to humans, not to be confused with the sea monsters appearing on Medieval and Renaissance maps. The most influential depiction of sea monsters in the West came from the nine-sheet map of northwestern Europe titled *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum* [Nautical Chart and Description of the Northern Lands and Wonders], published in Venice in 1539. Based on legends and hearsays from sailors, the cartographer Olaus Magnus created a series of gruesome sea monsters, serving as a model for future charts.¹⁰⁰ While these beasts first intended to be visual metaphors for dangers lurking in the sea, they soon became an extra paid feature to be added as decoration while commissioning a chart.¹⁰¹ At first glance, the Himavanta creatures on the Coastal Map might echo some of these sea monsters, such as the sawfish and mermaids, but they are direct products of the imagination from Siamese manuscript culture, without Western influence.

The word *himavanta* means “covered by snow”. It probably refers to the top of the Himalayas, which were inaccessible by humans due to the extreme cold weather. The mythological creatures from the Himavanta Forest were thus not to be encountered by ordinary men. Mostly a hybrid of two animals, the seabound Himavanta creatures often feature the body of a mighty land animal, like an elephant or ox, with a fish tail. These images are commonly found in Buddhist manuscripts, temple murals, and on escort vehicles for the king during royal ceremonies.¹⁰² For instance, in the scroll (Figure 2.5) showing the funeral procession of King Phetracha in 1704, filed under Ca 129 in the Dresden State Art Collections, trolleys mounted

¹⁰⁰ Nigg (2013): *Sea Monsters: A Voyage Around the World's Most Beguiling Map*, 8–9.

¹⁰¹ Van Duzer (2014): *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps*, 48–50.

¹⁰² S. Phlainòi (1989): *Sat Himaphan สัตว์หิมพานต์* [Himavanta Animals], 8–14.

with figures of mythological animals, pulled by people in formal dress, are seen preceding the carriage carrying the king's corpse.¹⁰³



Figure 2.5 Excerpts of scroll (Ca 129) on King Phetracha's funeral procession led by escort vehicles in the image of Himavanta creatures. Photo: Terwiel

Their selective presence on the Coastal Map, therefore, might connote that the places on the right side are deemed to be more meritorious in *Traiphum* cosmography. Hence the skewed location of Sri Lanka.

Geographical Merits

The fact that the Coastal Map is incorporated in a religious context does not mitigate its function as a geographical map. On the contrary, *Samut Phap Traiphum* can be considered a Buddhist's fundamental textbook on spaces and places; one can argue that there is no manuscript more pertinent to hold such map. Its perception among the Siamese was reflected in another coastal map, made by King Taksin and submitted upon the request of the Qing court in 1771 under the reign of the Emperor Qianlong.

While the Burmese invaders rejoiced over the demise of the four-century-long Siamese Kingdom of Ayutthaya in 1767, they did not have much time to celebrate. Instead, they were called on to defend their homeland against an invasion from China. Siam was left in turmoil until Taksin eventually emerged as the new king presiding over a new capital, Thonburi. Despite being a leader of great charisma, Taksin was probably the son of a Chaozhou Chinese migrant and his Thai wife, and thus had no traditional claim to the throne.¹⁰⁴ Leveraging his connections with Chinese traders, he actively and repeatedly sought approval from the Qing court to legitimize his reign. His first appeal, submitted on 13 August 1768 via Chinese merchant Chen Mei 陳美¹⁰⁵, was met with a strong rebuke by Emperor Qianlong, who considered the request a coup d'état and a display of decadence.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Terwiel (2016): "Two Scrolls Depicting Phra Phetracha's Funeral Procession in 1704 and the Riddle of their Creation" in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 106, 79–94.

¹⁰⁴ Baker (2014): *A History of Thailand*, 25.

¹⁰⁵ Memorial on Qianlong 33/7/17 (28 August 1768) titled "Liangguang zongdu li shiyao zoufu chaming xianluo yu huadufan goubing qingxing zhe 兩廣總督李侍堯奏覆查明暹羅與花肚番構兵情形折 [Report from Viceroy of Liangguang Li Shiyao on the war between Siam and Burma]. Quoted in *Shiliao xunkan* 史料旬刊 [Historical Materials Published Every Ten Days] (1931): Vol 30, 105–107.

¹⁰⁶ *Qing shilu*: Qianlong 33/8/19 (29 September 1768), *juan* 817, 1070–1071. For more on King Taksin's interaction with China, see Wang (2018): Ch 3.

In fact, Emperor Qianlong had already got wind of the collapse of Ayutthaya in autumn 1767 and had instructed the Viceroy of Liangguang¹⁰⁷, Li Shiyao 李侍堯, to launch an investigation. Li sent *youji* 遊擊 [Brigade Commander]¹⁰⁸ Xu Quan 許全 from Guangzhou to Ha Tien¹⁰⁹, in modern Vietnam, to gather information from its governor Mo Shilin 莫士麟.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, Xu died of illness on the way and no reply was sent back. Upon receiving King Taksin's request, the emperor again urged Li to locate the lineage of the Siamese king and produce maps showing the water and land routes between Siam and Burma for their own records in case military intervention was called for.¹¹¹ When Xu's subordinates finally returned to Guangzhou on 22 August 1768, they brought back a map showing the shortest sea route from Guangzhou to Siam, made by Mo Shilin.¹¹² The untitled map is now known as *Chaxun guangdong zhi xianluo haidaocheng tu* 查詢廣東至暹羅海道程圖 [Waterways from Guangdong to Siam] (Figure I.5, 70 x 64 cm).¹¹³ Mo Shilin's initiative to submit a map and protect the grandson Caocui เจ้าจู่ย of King Thai Sa (r. 1709–1733) was appreciated by Emperor Qianlong.¹¹⁴

Upon receiving this new command from the emperor, Li quickly dispatched another Brigade Commander, Zheng Rui 鄭瑞, to map the routes between Siam and Burma, probe the causes of the fall of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, and do background checks on the potential candidates to the throne. He collected testimonies from the *tusi*¹¹⁵ in Sichuan and Yunnan, and Chinese traders who commuted between Ayutthaya and Burma to draw another map showing the inland cities between Guangzhou and Ava in Burma. The facts were verified with foreign guests in Guangzhou, including an old monk called Mei-zhou 哎囑 from the country of Meng-zhan

¹⁰⁷ A Viceroy 提督 supervised both military and non-military affairs in two or more neighboring provinces. In the Qing dynasty there were nine such posts. The one for Liangguang 兩廣 oversaw Guangdong and Guangxi, while he also served as the Governor of Guangdong. Hucker (1985): *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 543.

¹⁰⁸ Leader of a brigade commanding 500 soldiers. Hucker (1985): 584.

¹⁰⁹ Ha Tien was a trading town established by a group of Chinese migrants from Guangdong Province in around 1700 under the leadership of Mac Cui 鄭玖. The town later became a de facto autonomous area that paid tribute to Cambodia, Siam and Vietnam. The town stood as the object of Siamese-Vietnamese rivalry in the 18th century, see Puangthong Rungwasdisab (1995): *War and trade: Siamese interventions in Cambodia, 1767–1851*, 42–50.

¹¹⁰ Son of Mac Cui and a Vietnamese from Bien-hoa, Mo Shilin – or Mac Thien Tu 鄭天賜 in Vietnamese – ascended to governor after his father's death in 1735.

¹¹¹ *Qing shilu*: 「著傳諭李侍堯，留心察訪，該商內曉事之人，詢問該國近日實在情理，該國王現在何處，及暹羅至緬甸水程若干，陸程若干，遠近險易若何，逐一詳悉諮詢，如能約略繪圖，得其大概，亦可存備參酌。」 Qianlong 33/7/2, *juan* 814, 995–996.

¹¹² Second attachment “Chaolu youji Xu Quan genbing yuan bingwen 抄錄遊擊許全跟兵原稟文 [Copy of the original report by subordinates of Brigade Commander Xu Quan]” of Li's memorial on Qianlong 34/6/29 (31 June 1769) in Palace Memorials and Grand Council Archives (PMGCA), *guji* no 010263.

¹¹³ Fifth attachment of *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Qing shilu*:

「付陳美齋回諭示其河仙鎮目莫士麟既將該國形勢繪圖呈送，而暹羅國王之孫逃居該境又為安頓留養，頗知禮義亦應諭以數行，稍示嘉獎。」 Qianlong 33/8/19 (29 September 1768), *juan* 817, 1069.

¹¹⁵ First established in the Yuan dynasty, the *tusi* 土司 system gave tribal chiefs and headmen in areas of South and Southwest China nominal official status and titles while allowing them customary, autonomous authority over their peoples so long as they were submissive. Hucker (1985): 547.

孟盞 (Kingdom of Vientiane), the Siamese chief envoy Piya¹¹⁶ Song-tong-ya-pei 丕雅嵩統啞沛, and a Dutch doctor called Xi-ji 吸唧, who had just arrived from Siam.¹¹⁷ This map is now known as *Jiaozhi zhongnan bandao qingxing tu* 交址中南半島情形圖 [Map of Southeast Asia] (Figure I.6, 64.5 x 63 cm).¹¹⁸ Two days after Zheng's return, Li submitted a detailed memorial entitled *Zouwei zunzhi chaxun xianluo guoqing xingyou* 奏為遵旨查詢暹羅國情形由 [Report on the Investigation on Siam's Situation upon Imperial Command] along with reports from Xu's subordinate and Zheng, as well as Mo's map of Qianlong 34/6/29 (31 June 1769).¹¹⁹ Both maps show only the major towns and landfalls complemented by short textual navigation directions without many topographic features.

The Siamese envoy Piya Song-tong-ya-pei was recorded as having arrived in Beijing in 1766 to present tribute. When he set foot on his homeland again, the Kingdom of Ayutthaya had fallen. He brought the undelivered royal letter and gifts for the deceased King Ekkathat back to Guangzhou and left again on the Qianlong 33/10/30 (8 December 1768).¹²⁰ He would have arrived Siam in 1769, knowing that the Qing court was mapping possible routes between Siam and Burma. At the same time, a third Brigade Commander Cai Han 蔡漢 was sent to Ha Tien to meet with Mo Shilin to gain intelligence on Konbaung Burma, with whom the Qing court had just reached an unwilling truce for its fourth campaign. He arrived in February 1770 and wrote a letter, following Mo Shilin's advice, to King Taksin requesting him to capture a Burmese chief.¹²¹ He also asked him to produce a map showing the routes between Ayutthaya and Ava. Although the request was not noted in Chinese sources, King Taksin mentioned in his letter to Lan Xang in April 1771 that a high-ranking military officer from Qing China's Board of Rites had asked for such a map.¹²²

In response, during Qianlong 36/5 (June or July 1771), King Taksin sent 51 officers he captured in Burmese-occupied Chiang Mai (12 died enroute) to China via Guangzhou, alongside the

¹¹⁶ *Piya* is the Chinese transcription of the Thai title *Phraya* พระยา.

¹¹⁷ Third attachment “Chaolu shu youji zheng rui deng fangcha jielue 抄錄署遊擊鄭瑞等訪查節略 [Copy of the investigation report by Brigade Commander Zheng Rui and his subordinates]” of PMGCA, guji no 010263.

¹¹⁸ PMGCA, guji no 014906.

¹¹⁹ Printed in Lin (2012): *Mapping the Imperial Realm: An Exhibition of Historical Maps*, 178–179, 188–183.

¹²⁰ Memorial submitted by Guangdong *xunfu* 巡撫 [provincial governor] Zhong Yin 鍾音 on Qianlong 34/7/4 (5 August 1769), copied and archived at the Board of Rites. Quoted in *Ming qing shiliao gengbian* 明清史料庚編 [Collection of Ming-Qing Historical Materials] (1987): Vol 7, 538.

¹²¹ *Qing shilu*:

「但去歲遊擊蔡漢，往諭河仙鎮目截擒緬酋時，蔡漢聽信莫士麟之言，曾行文丕雅新一體擒獻。」
Qianlong 36/8/17 (25 September 1771), *juan* 891, 942–943.

¹²² Krom Luang Narintharathewi (1908): อันหนึ่งซึ่งราชการบ้านเมืองกรุงศรีอยุธยาทุกวันนี้ เดิมมีลือปู้ดำทั้งอันมหาเสนาธิบตีสมเดจพระเจ้ากรุงดำถึงผู้ใหญ่เมืองกรุงจีนเข้ามาถึงกรุงศรีอยุธยาว่าให้ทำแผนที่ทำทางซึ่งจะไปกรุงอังวะนั้นส่งออกไป. “พระราชสาส์นกรุงธนบุรีถึงกรุงศรีสัตนาคนหุต Phra-ratchatsan krung thonburi thung krung si sattanakhanahut [Royal Letter from Thonburi to Lan Xang]” in *Cotmai het khwam songcam khong krom luang naritharathewi* จดหมายเหตุความทรงจำ ของ กรมหลวงนรินทรเทวี [Memoirs of Krom Luang Narintharathewi].

requested map depicting the territories of Siam and Burma.¹²³ The map is now titled *Xianluo hanghai tu* 暹羅航海圖 [Navigation Map of Siam] (Figure I.4, 61 x 43.5 cm) and is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.¹²⁴ From then on, despite Mo Shilin's attempt to make Caocui king, the Qing court gradually grew to trust King Taksin as he succeeded in unifying the kingdom and demonstrated his military prowess against the Burmese.

Orientated with west up, the map is tailored to suit the vista of the Qing court. It illustrates the sea route circling the Isthmus of Kra and the Malay peninsula to the main seaports of Burma, as well as the land routes over Northern Thailand to the Burmese territory of Chiang Mai and the capital Ava (Inwa). Similar to the depiction on the Coastal Map, the main land mass is merely a generic peninsular with no recognizable physical attributes, flanked by two boxes named Siam and Hanthawaddy (Bago/Pegu) at its two extremities. The cities in-between can all be accounted for on the Coastal Map (Figure 2.6).

Table 2.2 lists the toponyms on the Coastal Map and the Navigation Map of Siam.¹²⁵ The official language of China is Standard Mandarin, which can be romanised with the Hanyu Pinyin system. The system – created in the 1950s – was exclusively based on the pronunciation of the Beijing dialect, used by officials in the Imperial Court; hence the term “Mandarin.” Most seafarers in the South China Sea, however, did not speak Standard Mandarin. Instead, they spoke dialects from coastal cities like Cantonese from Guangzhou, Teochew from Chaozhou in today's Guangdong Province and Hokkien from Fujian Province and Taiwan. While some words might sound similar, others are distinctively different. Hence, the phonetic correlations between the Thai and Chinese toponyms on the maps are more apparent when pronounced in Southern dialects.

There is little doubt that King Taksin copied the Coastal Map, on which he made a few adjustments. First, he changed the orientation for the viewer to position oneself at the right bottom, facing west. There, one can see Ava lying straight ahead, and, although both lay at the extremity of the peninsular, the capital of Siam is located more southwards than Hanthawaddy (Pegu), unlike the Coastal Map, which appears on the same level. Its intended message is lucid: to direct the Chinese military in Yunnan Province to target Burma. He color-coded the cities to specify the territories of Siam (white), Melayu¹²⁶ (yellow) and Burma (blue). The names and locations of cities in Siam and Malay (1 to 26) are left the same, but the smaller cities on the Burmese coastline are excluded to highlight only the major seaports (27 to 31). Additionally,

¹²³ Memorial titled “Chaolu piya xin laiwen 抄錄丕雅新來文 [Copy of the letter from Phraya Xin]” PMGCA, *guji* no 014348. Memorial no 346–8, submitted by Li Shiyao and De Bao 德保, on Qianlong 36/7/28 (6 September 1771). Quoted in Yu and Chen (2009): 119.

¹²⁴ PMGCA, *guji* no 014792. Printed in National Palace Museum (2012): 180; and National Palace Museum (2018): *A Selection of Chinese Antique Maps in the National Palace Museum*, 130–131.

¹²⁵ See Chapter 3 for geographical identification.

¹²⁶ The term was used in a collective sense to refer to the territories controlled by different sultanates in Malaysia.

eight inland cities in northern Thailand and Burma are introduced to show the land routes to Chiang Mai and Ava. The number of days required to travel are marked next to the routes in red dots.

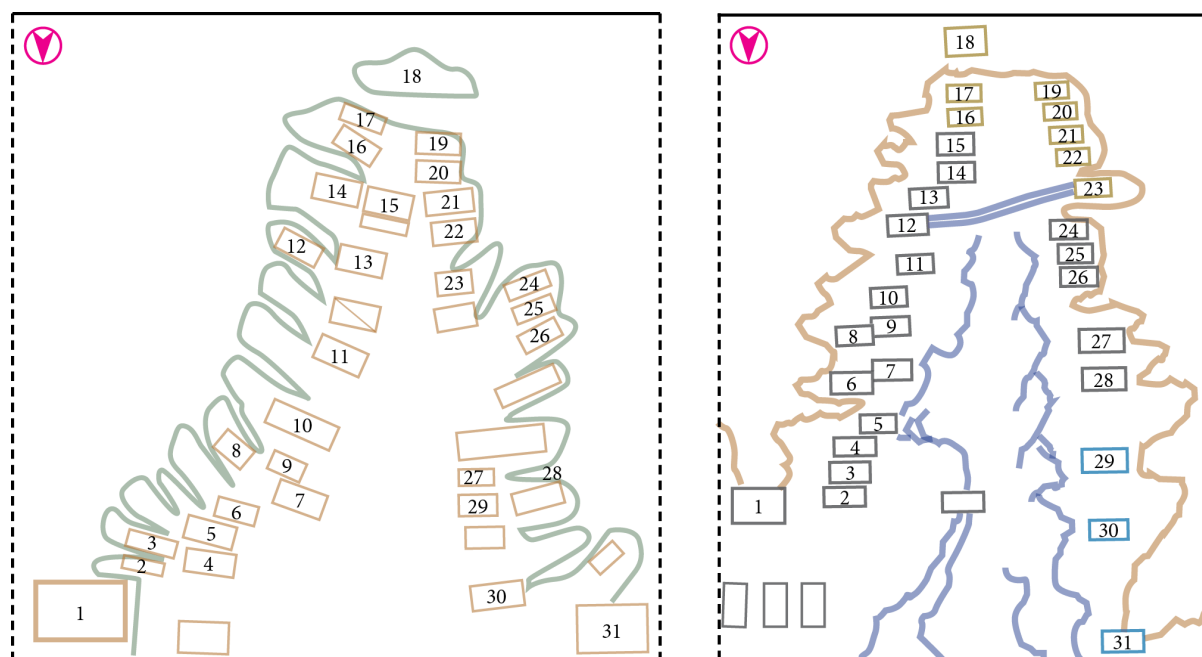


Figure 2.6 Similarity of the excerpts of the Coastal Map (left) and the Navigation Map of Siam (1771). Source: Author's illustration.

No	Coastal Map	Navigation Map	No	Coastal Map	Navigation Map	No	Coastal Map	Navigation Map
1	อยุธยา Ayutthaya	暹羅國 Xiao-luo Guo	11	ไชยา Chaiya	赤仔 chi-zi	21	ประเวศ Prawat	波羅抹 Bo-luo-mo
2	ท่าจีน Thachin	他戰 Ta-zhan	12	จันทรม Chikhram	他坎 Ta-kan	22	เมืองแปร Müang Prae	網悲 Wang-bei
3	แมกลอง Macklong	歌廊 Ge-lang	13	นคร Nakhon	祿崑府 Lu-kun Fu	23	กะตะ Kata	結韃 Jie-da
4	ราชบุรี Ratchaburi	佛坡 Fu-po	14	สงขลา Songkhla	宋腳 Song-jiao	24	เมืองกระ Müang Kra	望甲 Wang-jia
5	เพชรบุรี Phetchaburi	力坡 Li-po	15	พตลึง Phatthalung	珀真攏 Po-zhen-long	25	บางศรี Bang Khri	望崎 Wang-qi
6	ปราน Pran	班 Ban	16	ตานี Tani	大年 Da-nian	26	ถลาง Thalang	息籠 Xi-long
7	ชุมพร Chumphon	上本 Shang-ben	17	ยี่ห่น Yihon	遊佛 You-fu	27	ตนาว Tanao	丹瑙 Dan-nao
8	กุย Kui	龜山 Gui-shan	18	ปาหัง Pahang	枋行 Fang-xing	28	ปากน้ำมริด Paknam Marit	瑪力 Ma-li
9	สทิว Sawi	蘇遊 Su-you	19	มลากา Malaka	麻六甲 Ma-liu-jia	29	ทวาย Thawai	駝歪 Tuo-wai
10	ภูมเรียง Phum Rieng	蜂嶺 Feng-ling	20	เมืองกลัง Müang Klang	望匡 Ma-kuang	30	มัตตะมะ Mattama	打馬 Da-ma
						31	หงษาเวตี Hongkawati	紅紗 Hong-sha

Table 2.2 Toponym comparison of the Coastal Map in Berlin II650 and the Navigation Map of Siam (1771).

King Taksin created and submitted the Navigation Map of Siam (1771) to provide practical terrestrial intelligence in the hope of persuading the Qing court to assist his defense against the Burmese. It was certainly not in his interest to offer outdated information or an unverifiable celestial representation of the world, particularly when he might have heard from the Siamese envoy that the Qing court had also made their own map. The Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* is therefore conceivably an embodiment of the best-known geographical knowledge at the time, and evidently a genuine terrestrial map in the minds of the Siamese that was realistic enough to be presented to a powerful ally.

When the Qing court received the Navigation Map of Siam in September 1771, then called the “new map,” its toponyms were compared with the Map of Southeast Asia, the “old map.” Yellow labels were left next to the same toponyms found on both maps as the Chinese transcription of the Thai names were not identical. Here we see rare evidence of direct exchange of cartographic information between Siam and China.

To sum up, the Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* was created within the framework of *traiphum* cosmography to reflect the surface of the Jambu continent, but its content has a solid base in the coeval indigenous knowledge from Krom Phra Khlang. Using the Tamnan Map as a reference, the Coastal Map partially broke away from the conventional *Traiphum* setting to represent the geographic earth. Later, part of its territorial knowledge, transmitted through the Navigation Map of Siam as a proxy, was consumed by the Qing court as military intelligence. It goes to show that the influence of the Coastal Map extended beyond religion and its value as a topographical map should not be underestimated.

The China Map

Discovered in a forgotten corner of the Grand Palace in Bangkok in 1996, the China Map was originally found in two separate cotton sheets. The small portion on the left shows the Malay Peninsula, the Gulf of Thailand and part of Vietnam while the large portion the complete coastline from the central part of Vietnam to the East Asian countries. Its geographical information is analyzed in Chapter 4.

The map is without doubt drawn from a seafarer’s point of view with junk symbols placed at significant ports. Only a few colors are used on the map, making it appear moderately monochromatic. Black is used for the outlines and shading; brown for dangerous shallows such as sandbars or coral reefs; and bluish grey for shading on the mountains. Red, as an accent color, paints the sea routes, flags on fortified walls and the bows of junks. An occasional gold color can also be seen on certain flags flying over important cities like Guangzhou, Xiamen and Nanjing.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Santanee Phasuk & Stott (2004): 165.

• Cartographer

Two short texts *sin khet müang cin* สิ้นเขตเมืองจีน [end of Chinese territory] designate the borders of China with Vietnam and Korea. A total of 29 towns in China are marked with fortified walls while only nine are drawn outside China, suggesting that China is the focal point of the map. The depiction of the fortified walls and junks are all wholly Chinese in character.¹²⁸

The toponyms are also consistent with those mentioned by a Chinese junk owner in CMH. R.2 #15 (1813) titled *Rüang cin nai rüa khum samphao sinkha pai camnai müang cin* เรื่องจีนนายเรือคุมท่าเกาสินค้าไปจำหน่ายเมืองจีน [Regarding a Chinese junk owner who oversees the sale of goods in China]. It includes Kò Chang-cham เกาะช้างข้าม (Kò Chang) near Trat; Tung-kia ตั้งเกี้ยว (Hanoi) in Vietnam; Kwang-tung กวางตุ้ง (Guangzhou), Nam-ò น้าอ้อ (Nan'ao) and Tung-leng ตั้งเลง (Donglong) in Guangdong Province; E-mui เอมูย (Xiamen/Amoy) in Fujian Province; Kao-cio เกาจิ๋ว (Jiaozhou) in Shandong Province; and major port cities like Siang-hai เซี่ยงไฮ้ (Shanghai) and Thian-cin เทียนจิน (Tianjin). Two assumptions can be made here: the cartographer was of Chinese ethnicity; and the map dates from around the early Bangkok period in the 1800s, supporting the same conclusion drawn by Santanee Phasuk & Stott (2004) based on orthography and drawing style.

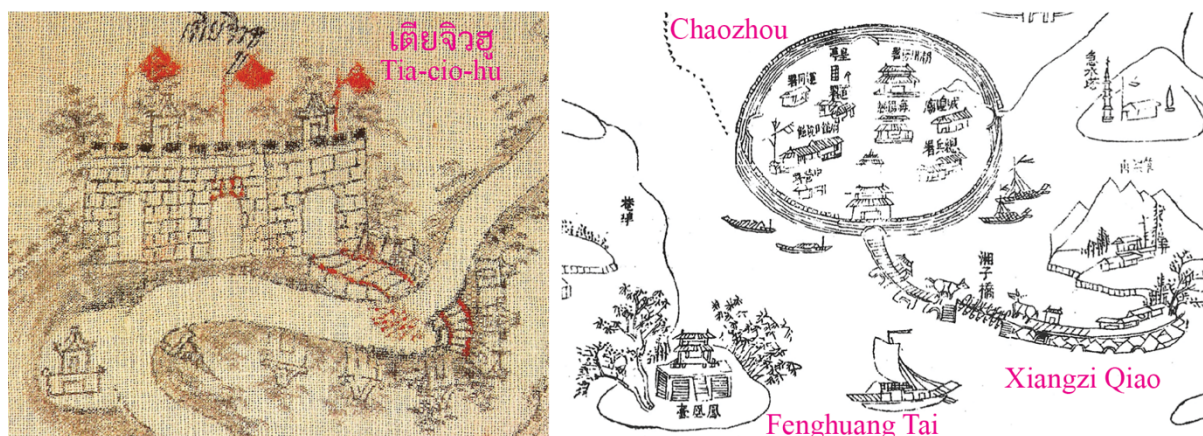


Figure 2.7 Tia-cio-hu on the China Map (left); and the equivalent Chaozhou in *Yue haiguan zhi*.

Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Liang (1839:93).

Furthermore, the cartographer was likely to have hailed from the city of Chaozhou, in what is now Guangdong Province. This city – Tia-cio-hu เตี้ยจิ๋วฮู – is the only place on the entire map adorned with local landmarks (Figure 2.7). The layout of the city is almost identical with that of Chaozhou in *Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 [Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs], written in 1838.¹²⁹ To the left of the walled city lies Fenghuang Tai 鳳凰臺 [Phoenix Terrace], built in 1568; to the right, extending from the city, is a bridge called Xiangzi Qiao 湘子橋, first built in 1171. On the China Map, the bridge comes across as broken with the middle part sunken

¹²⁸ Ibid: 46.

¹²⁹ Liang (1839): *Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 [Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs], 93.

into the river. That is in fact an accurate representation as Xiangzi Qiao is a pontoon bridge comprised of floating boats strung together in the middle. This implies that the cartographer had a deep understanding of the city. Both structures, in a remodeled form, still stand as landmarks of Chaozhou today (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.8 Xiangzi Qiao (left) and Fenhuang Tai in today's Chaozhou. Source: The People's Government of Chaozhou Municipality.¹³⁰

Further evidence suggesting the cartographer was of Chaozhou origin comes from the toponyms and sailing directions on the map, which are hardly self-explanatory as the texts do not make sense in Thai. The texts largely accord with the Teochew dialect spoken in Chaozhou, more than with other Southern Chinese dialects often spoken by sailors such as Cantonese from Guangzhou and Hokkien from Fujian Province and Taiwan.¹³¹ The creator was familiar with toponyms used in Chinese rutters, spoke the Teochow dialect, and could read Thai script – all pointing to the Chaozhou community in Thailand, a community heavily involved in sea trading.

- **Scope and Scale**

Although the cartographer was presumably a Thai-Chinese, the framework of the China Map was conceived within the principles of Western cartographic tradition. On the lower right of the map lies a bar scale and a circle with a line pointing North, resembling the compass rose and grid scale on Western maps. It is clear that the intention was to create an aerial view of the region with compass bearings and distances in mind, on which local adaptations were made. This contributes to the significant transitional phase in Eastern cartography in which traditional sources were blended with Western mapping techniques.

The extant of the China Map can be replicated on Google Earth (Figure 2.9) with relatively high fidelity. The landmasses of the Malay Peninsula, the Indochina Peninsula, Mainland China and the Korean Peninsula are well proportioned while the islands of Luzon, Taiwan, Okinawa and Japan are all appropriately placed. It is hard to imagine such a realistic depiction could have been achieved without consulting Western charts. The analysis in Chapter 4 will show that the China Map was highly likely made in the first half of the 1800s, coeval with the

¹³⁰ Online at www.chaozhou.gov.cn/.

¹³¹ See Chapter 4.

Yale Maps in Chinese. The Yale Maps are a set of anonymous maps confiscated from a Chinese trading junk in 1841 by HMS Herald of the British Royal Navy. A preface was added to the maps explaining the circumstances of their confiscation:

This book of charts was taken out of a Chinese trading junk, of between 400 & 500 tons burden, trading from the Gulf of Pechila (Yellow Sea) in China to the Straits of Singapore, by Philip Beau, of H.M.S. 'Herald' in the year 1841; the junk begin taken as a prize by the 'Herald.' At that time, charts, like these, were the only guide which Chinese sailors used in navigating their junks from the north of China to Singapore, a distance of many thousand miles. In this chart the form of the lands & islands is given, which directions as to their bearing on the compass. For the junks rarely lose sight of the land. Since the war of 1840–1843 (First Opium War), the intercourse of the Chinese with English has led them to perceive the universal superiority of English charts, which are now eagerly sought for by many masters of Chinese officials. Hence native charts, like these in this book, are falling into discuss, and many soon be curiosities.¹³²

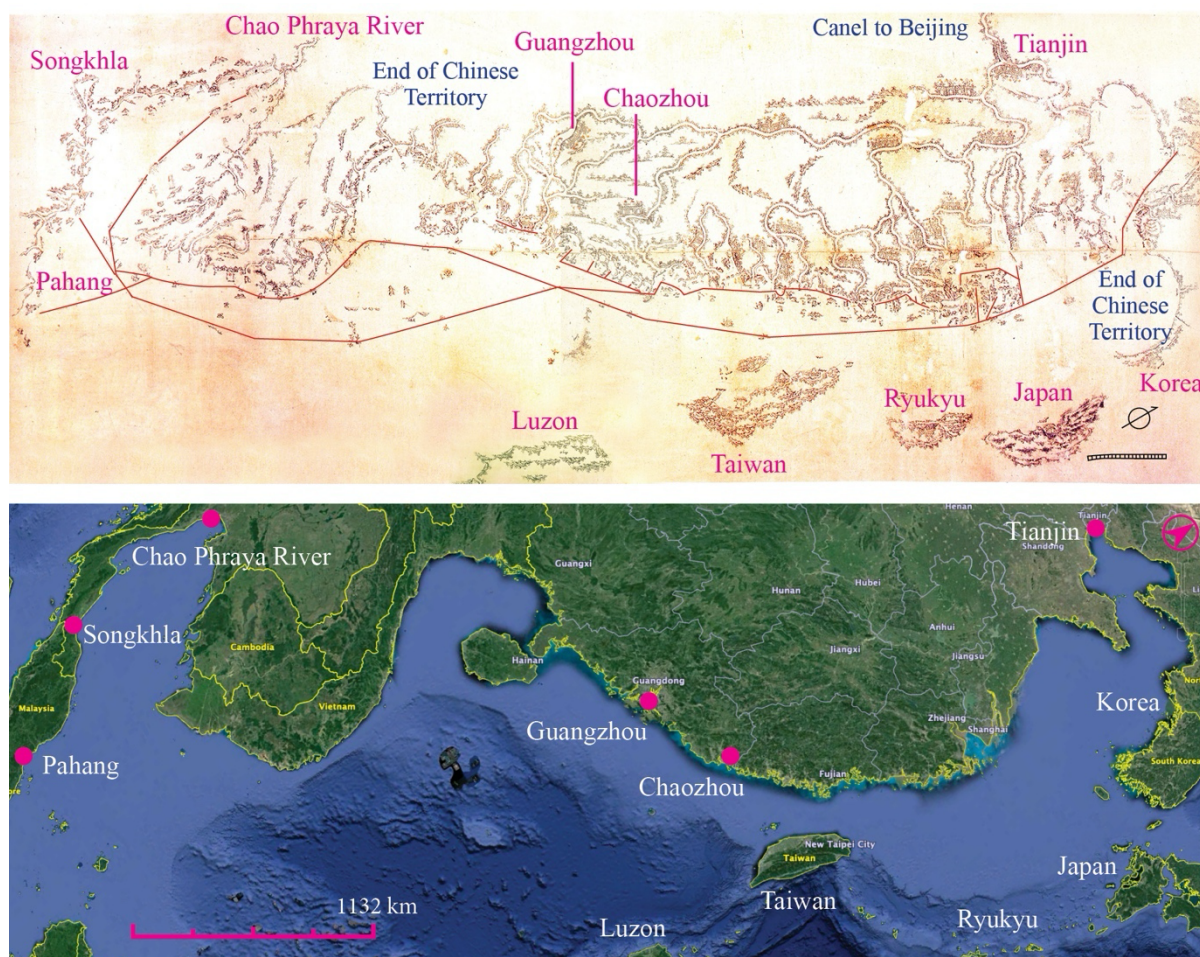


Figure 2.9 Scope of China Map annotated on Google Earth. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Google Earth.

¹³² Pechila or North Zhili was a province in Imperial China. Zheng (2018): *Yale University's Old Chinese Maritime Map: A Study* 明清東亞舟師祕本: 耶魯航海圖研究, 15.

From the description, we know that the Chinese were adopting western maps in the 1840s. Since the China Map was created by Thai-Chinese, the cartographer was likely influenced by the trend. It should also be pointed out that the Chinese emperors and top-ranking officials had seen Western style maps as early as the 1600s, but such cartographic knowledge did not seem to have trickled down to provincial officials or seafarers until early 1800s. Nonetheless, future studies are invited to explore the links between the China Map and coeval Western maps circulating in Siam.

The cartographer decided to orient North not at 0°, like most Western maps, but at 60°, as indicated by the compass. The map therefore pertains a long rectangular shape which resembles the Siamese folded books and Chinese scrolls. The whole coastline, roughly extending from 2.5° to 40.8° north latitude, could then be drawn in a rather horizontal manner within 172 cm to save space. In this orientation, Chaozhou also stands in the center of the map.

While no unit of measurement is given on the China Map, the map scale on Google Earth rounds up to 1:31,710,000. The bar scale on the China Map is loosely drawn, implying its function leans more on the symbolic side than the practical. Yet it is still a stark reminder that the cartographer was indeed aware of map scale, an awareness absent from the Coastal Map.

Few indigenous Asian maps carry Western cartographic features. The Selden Map, estimated to have been drawn in the 1620s, was the first known Chinese map marked with a compass rose and scale.¹³³ Following increased contact with Western voyagers, two almost identical Chinese maps – *Dongyang nanyang haidao tu* 東洋南洋海道圖 [Sea Map for the Eastern and Southern Seas] and *Xinanyang gefan zhenlu fangxiang tu* 西南洋各番針路方向圖 [Map of Sailing Directions to Countries in Western and Southern Seas] – submitted to Emperor Kangxi between 1712 and 1721 also carried a compass rose.¹³⁴ But such features never became prevalent. None of the other 16 Siamese maps discovered alongside the China Map carried any compasses or scales.

Lastly, the choice of drawing the map on cotton – although compliant with the Siamese cartographic tradition as all the other maps found in the Royal Palace were made of cotton – implies that the map was not meant to be carried on board, but rather to be used on land.

In sum, the China Map was probably created by one or a group of Thai-Chinese traders in the first half of the 1800s. Using Western charts as bases, the cartographer swapped the toponyms with the Thai transcription of the Teochew pronunciation of the Chinese place names noted in the rutters in the Ming or Qing dynasties with which they were familiar. This represents a major transition towards modern cartography for the Siamese.

¹³³ Nie (2014): *The Selden Map of China: A New Understanding of the Ming Dynasty*, 17–22. Online at: seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/.

¹³⁴ Chen and Zhu (2016): *A Collection of Maritime Routes and Rutters of Imperial China*, 501–504.

The Kwangtung Map

Discovered alongside the China Map was the Kwangtung Map, showing the estuary of Zhujiang, or the Pearl River. It covers the main strait leading to Guangzhou and its western tributary Xijiang, or the West River, which flows towards the west of Macau into the South China Sea. The rectangular map is orientated with East on top and with all texts read one way. Four colors are employed for the main topographic features: black for outlines; dark green for sea waves and vegetation; blue for islands and mountains; and red for fish.¹³⁵

The map reflects the relevant stops for Siamese or royally-commissioned Chinese junks within the Canton System (1757–1842).¹³⁶ The policy officially began in 1757 under an edict issued by Emperor Kangxi to mandate Guangzhou as the only city designated for foreign trade.¹³⁷ The system ended upon the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 after the First Opium War, when the British forced the Qing court to open up four additional treaty ports: Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai.

The location identification of the Kwangtung Map is analyzed in Chapter 5. Among the 10 toponyms on the map, two are unrecognizable while the geographic representation is simplified to an extent that might not be practical for actual navigation. On the other hand, the illustration on the map is filled with realistic details that can be verified by export paintings in the 1800s. It is obvious that the cartographer paid more attention to the aesthetic value of the map than its geographic accuracy.

- **Aesthetic value**

The illustration on the Kwangtung Map, especially the depiction of different kinds of structures, are similar to those in *Yue haiguan zhi* (1839). The realistic detail implies that the cartographer may have traveled to Guangzhou. The waves are delicately drawn while the mountains are carefully painted and adorned with flora and fauna, suggesting that the map is intended to be an exquisite object pleasing to the eyes.



Figure 2.10 Types of sea creatures on Kwangtung Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

Another prominent aesthetic feature is the sea creatures. Compared to the Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum*, the sea creatures depicted on the Kwangtung Map are less in variety but more in quantity. All of them are ordinary marine animals – mostly fish, with the occasional

¹³⁵ Santanee Phasuk & Stott (2004): 185.

¹³⁶ See Chapter 5.

¹³⁷ *Qing shilu*: Qianlong 22/11/10 (10 December 1757), 1023–1024.

sawfish, shrimps, rays and turtles – with no mythical beings. Most are seen curiously emerging from the waves or hunting other fish. Their distribution does not appear to follow any specific pattern. The sea creatures here, therefore, are purely decorative to enlighten the map with vivid imagery.

The Kwangtung Map represents a new kind of map use in the Siamese mapping tradition: primarily as an object of art, with aesthetics taking precedence over its practical value. The idea might have been inspired by the export paintings prevalent in Guangzhou in the 1800s. Maps and scenes of the thriving city were popular souvenirs for western travelers to return home with. Painting studios could be seen along the main commercial street targeting westerners.¹³⁸ The Kwangtung Map might have been created with the same intention. Yet instead of commissioning a Chinese artist to draw an artwork following existing templates, the Siamese artist decided to visualize his own imagery: a combination of actual geographic information with decorative features. This makes the Kwangtung Map simultaneously a rare example in the history of indigenous Siamese cartography and a unique piece of evidence testifying to the role of the Siamese within the Canton System.

Connections with Cartographic Trends

Little is known about the Siamese indigenous maps before modern cartography began with the establishment of the Royal Thai Survey Department in 1885. However, this does not mean that the Siamese did not have a map-making tradition. The earliest mention of a Siamese map can be found in *Ming shilu* 明實錄 [Veritable Records of Ming] on Hongwu 6/12/29 (10 February 1374):

The minister Po Kun Gang-xin and others who had been sent by Can-lie Bao Pi-ya Si-li Duo-luo-lu, the king of the country of Siam (Hu), presented a gold memorial of felicitation for the coming New Year's Day, offered tribute of local products and presented a map of their country. It was Imperially commanded that eight bolts each of patterned fine silks, silks gauzes and variegated silks, all interwoven with gold thread, be conferred upon the king of the country, that two bolts each of fine silk and silk gauzes as well as a set of clothing be conferred upon Po Kun Gang-xin, and that the deputy envoy Chen Ju-cheng and those subordinate to him be given fine silks, silk gauzes or cloth, as appropriate.¹³⁹

At the moment, the *Navigation Map of Siam*, submitted by King Taksin in 1771, is the only Siamese map known to have survived from Imperial China. It also predates the 1776 copy of the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript, although the Coastal Map carried in the manuscript is

¹³⁸ See Chapter 5 for details.

¹³⁹ Wade (trans): Southeast Asia in the *Ming shilu*: an open access resource. Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore. Online at epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hongwu/year-6-month-12-day-29, accessed 17 August 2023.

estimated to have been created during the Ayutthaya period. Extant maps explicitly dated from the Ayutthaya period have yet to be found.

Following Terwiel's (2017) analysis of Francois Valentijn's map, entitled *The Great Siamese River Me-Nam* and published in *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* [Old and New East-India] in the mid-1720s, it has transpired that Valentijn's Dutch informant may have seen an indigenous Thai map of the area from the northeast of Ayutthaya to Laos. The map, slotted in the section on Siam in the five-volume work describing the trading offices of the Dutch East India Company, shares distinctive features with another indigenous map covering the northeastern part of modern Thailand, entitled *Military Map from the Reign of King Ramathibodi I* (Military Map).¹⁴⁰ Currently, there are six copies of the Military Map in the royal Thai Survey Department, undated but estimated to be 19th century copies – of which three are colored – based on an original from the late 18th century.¹⁴¹ The similarities in the two maps could not have been coincidences, and hence point to the possibility of a precursor serving as an original source of information. In addition, the section on upper Isan on the Military Map is almost identical with the map on Isan, one of the 17 maps found in the Royal Palace and estimated to have been drawn between 1794 and 1850.¹⁴²

Despite the lack of dated materials, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that an indigenous mapping tradition did exist in the Ayutthaya era and was carried through the Thonburi era until the early Bangkok period.

- **Religious Maps**

From this perspective, the Tamnan Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* should be considered one of the early products within the Siamese indigenous mapping tradition. It is in essence no different from the T-O maps made during Medieval times, which divided the world into three schematic parts with T-shaped waterways within a circle. The continent of Asia is placed at the top, Europe at the bottom left and Africa at the bottom right. East, where the sun rises, is at the top because it was where medieval Christians looked for the second coming of Christ. Many of the T-O maps also place Jerusalem in the middle following a verse in the book of Ezekiel in the Old Testament of the Bible: "Thus says the Lord God: This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations." One of the best examples is the unique *Mappa Mundi* (Figure 2.11) in Hereford Cathedral, United Kingdom, created around 1300. There we can see actual locations on the profane earth intertwined with biblical stories like Noah's Ark and the Tower of Babel, Greek myths like the Columns of Hercules and the Cretan Labyrinth, as well as fabulous monsters like the sub-Saharan African Blemmyes with mouths and eyes in their chests. The

¹⁴⁰ Terwiel (2017): "Francois Valentijn's Map of 'The Great Siamese River Me-Nam'" in *Journal of the Siam Society*, 105, 73–96.

¹⁴¹ Sternstein (1968): 63. For more on the Military Map, see Kennedy (1970).

¹⁴² Santanee Phasuk & Stott (2004): 130–137.

heavenly paradise of Eden is drawn as a walled city inaccessible to humanity, right under an image of Christ at the top of the map. The construct of the map mirrors that of *Samut Phap Traiphum*, which also begins with a manifestation of the highest spiritual aspiration, the city of Nirvava, followed by Jataka tales on mythical and actual locations on the Tamnan Map.



Figure 2.11 The medieval *Mappa Mundi* at Hereford Cathedral. Source: Hereford Cathedral¹⁴³

Another comparable example from the Islamic tradition is the two-volume treatise *Kitāb Gharā'ib al-funūn wa-mulaḥ al-'uyūn* [The Book of Curiosities of Sciences and Marvels for the Eyes] (Book of Curiosities), an anonymous work compiled in Egypt between 1020 and 1050 during the Fatimid Caliphate. The first part, on celestial matters, begins with a description of the heavens followed by illustrations of comets and stars. The information presented is primarily astrological and divinatory without much mathematical basis. The second part, on earth, is largely built on Ptolemy's *Geography* (150), updated with Arabic and Islamic sources. Along with geographical and historical texts in the Book of Curiosities are maps of the world, towns and rivers. The arrangement resembles the recto part of *Samut Phap Traiphum* on the cosmography and the verso part on Jambu continent.

There are currently nine extant manuscripts of this treatise around the world. The manuscript acquired by the Bodleian Library, the University of Oxford, in 2002 from a London dealer in rare books, is by far the oldest and most complete, with two world maps – one rectangular and the other circular – and 15 other maps and diagrams. Based on the paper used, it was probably made in Egypt in the 12th or the 13th century. The other copies, made from the 16th to the 19th centuries, contain all or portions of the text but lack most of the illustrations.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Hereford Cathedral: *Mappa Mundi*, 134 x 159 cm, ink on calfskin. Online at www.themappamundi.co.uk.

¹⁴⁴ Savage-Smith & Rapoport (2014): *An Eleventh-century Egyptian Guide to the Universe: The Book of Curiosities*, 1–2.

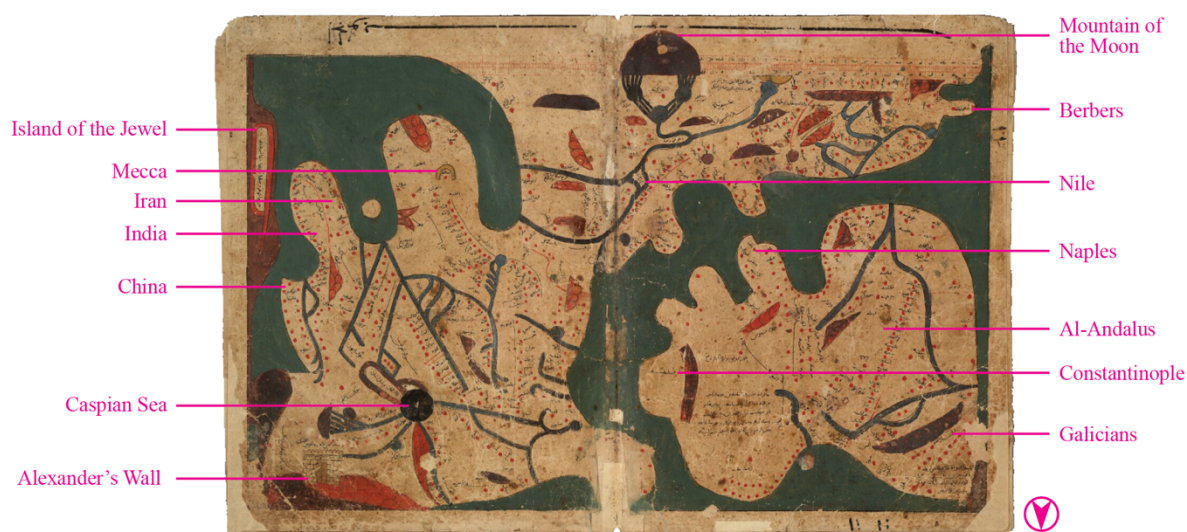


Figure 2.12 Rectangular world map in the Book of Curiosities. Source: Bodleian Library¹⁴⁵

The circular world map is well known from other sources. Virtually identical versions of this circular map are found in six copies of the treatise *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* [Entertainment for He who Longs to Travel the World], composed by al-Idrīsī for Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, in 1154.¹⁴⁶ The rectangular world map (Figure 2.12), on the other hand, is unique to the Bodleian manuscript. Orientated with south on top, a common feature on Islamic maps, it aims to depict the inhabited landmasses of the world. Despite the presence of a scale, the map is not mathematically plotted. Placed prominently over the scale on the top is the Mountain of the Moon, considered by medieval Greek and Arabic writers to be the source of the Nile.¹⁴⁷ On the Arabian Peninsula – relatively large in comparison to the one on the east subsuming Persia with India – the holy city of Mecca is highlighted by a yellow horseshoe-shaped symbol, while other cities are indicated by red dots. The easternmost limit has a brown landmass bearing a remark that reads: “Island of the Jewel, and its mountain surrounds it like a basket.”¹⁴⁸ On the lower left corner, the legendary wall constructed by Alexander the Great

¹⁴⁵ Item no: MS. Arab. c. 90, 49 x 32.4 cm. Online at digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/48645929-93bb-4629-8e1e-e1747ddca04f.

¹⁴⁶ Johns & Savage-Smith (2003): “The Book of Curiosities: A Newly Discovered Series of Islamic Maps” in *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 55, 7–24.

¹⁴⁷ The mountain was reported by Greek merchant Diogenes (ca. 404–323 BC) to be the source of Nile, and accepted as true by Ptolemy in his monumental work *Geography* (150). The image of the semi-circular mountain – from which 10 streams diverge, five on either side, pouring into two circular pools, which in turn feed into one lake before emerging as the River Nile – is often seen on medieval Greek and Arabic maps.

¹⁴⁸ First appeared in the treatise *Ṣūrat al-Ard* [Depiction of the Earth] by Persian mathematical geographer al-Khwārizmī (ca. 780–850), who placed the island close to the Equator and near the Sea of Darkness, or the Atlantic. It has been said to be Taiwan but its identity remains a mystery.

to imprison Gog and Magog is shown.¹⁴⁹ The landmass on the lower right is Europe, half dominated by the Iberian Peninsula, or al-Andalus, emphasizing the Islamic territories.¹⁵⁰

The Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, the rectangular map in the Book of Curiosities and the Tamnan Map were products of different cultures in different eras. Yet they all represent the world in the same format: geographical cities are arbitrarily placed alongside allegorical ones under a religious context. While the former two maps are regarded as significant legacies of medieval geography, the Tamnan Map has received much less scholarly attention to its geographic aspect mainly due to its “unrealistic” representation. On the subject, the anonymous author of the Book of Curiosities explained the reasons behind his choice. He first pointed out that there were “many cases of land turning into sea and sea turning into land,” such as the city of Alexandria. Secondly, if the shape of the sea is reproduced accurately on the basis of the longitude and latitude coordinates given by Ptolemy, it is not possible to “position a city in its correct location amidst the curves in the coast or pointed gulfs because of the limits of the space that would correspond to a vast area in the real world.” Therefore, he chose to draw the map in a way whereby all cities can be seen clearly. His intention of creating the treatise was penned thus:

Although it is impossible for created beings to know the extent of God’s creation, the knowledgeable and qualified among them are entrusted with witnessing or imparting a small part of it. We have only mentioned here what we have heard from trustworthy sailors, from which I selected and made my own judgments; and what had reached my ears from the wise merchants who traverse the seas, and from any ship captain who leads his men at sea. So from that, I have set forth what I have learned.¹⁵¹

It is not hard to imagine that the author of *Samut Phap Traiphum* first created the treatise out of the same sentiment: to pass down the teachings of the Buddha with the best of the author’s contemporary knowledge. Although its depiction might be far from reality, the Tamnan Map still warrants further research to shed light on early Siamese geographic knowledge and cartographic tradition.

• Geographic Maps

Entering the age of Renaissance (1450–1650), European cartography took a distinct discourse following developments in mathematics, science technology and navigation. While religious maps continued to be circulated, a profound interest re-emerged in making maps orthogonally with geographical coordinates. Although measuring longitude was still technically challenging,

¹⁴⁹ The legendary barrier, also known as the Caspian Gates, was said to have been built by Alexander the Great to block out the uncivilized barbarians. The story often appears in medieval travel literature; while a similar one is noted in the Quran.

¹⁵⁰ Rapoport & Savage-Smith (2008): “The Book of Curiosities and a Unique Map of the World” in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, 121–138.

¹⁵¹ Savage-Smith & Rapoport (2014): 442.

the theory of the earth's graticule had been accepted and empirical data were collected to fill in the gaps in geographical knowledge. Thus, historical tales and allegories were left out to make way for only the most up-to-date information. Maps of different function also matured into specialized genres, in which sea charts, in particular, were highly valued during the Age of Discovery for their practicality.¹⁵²

However, such deliberate separation of historical and contemporary information did not occur in the East until the rise of modern cartography. Therefore, if we isolate the Coastal Map from *Samut Phap Traiphum* and pitch it against its Western counterparts in the 17th century, it appears to be, as Wenk (1965b) commented, “more a painting than a map.” Yet if we examine it in the context of the Siamese cartographic tradition and compare it with the Tamnan Map, the cartographer's intention to make a geographic map is apparent. The Tamnan Map follows the river system described in the *Traiphum* cosmography, dotted with actual cities and temples alongside allegorical tales of Jakata, Ramayana and the Buddha's footprint. It is stripped of topographic features and has no indication of political boundaries and travel routes. In contrast, travel routes are drawn prominently on the Coastal Map, and influential political centers like Ayutthaya and Hanthawaddy are highlighted. What we do not see are features of Jambu Continent and references to the Buddha or religious sites.

In fact, world maps drawn from a Buddhist perspective are far from novelties. Monks, regarded as men of wisdom, were some of the few privileged enough to afford pilgrimage abroad. One of these pioneers was the Chinese translator and exegete Xuanzang (ca. 602–664), whose 16-year overland journey to India was published in the travelogue *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [The Great Tang Records of Travels to the Western Regions] in 646 at the request of the emperor.¹⁵³ His record served as an important reference for the three geographic maps in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Chronicles of the Buddhas and Patriarchs], written by the Southern Song monk Zhipan (ca. 1220–1275), a massive work of Buddhist historiography.¹⁵⁴ The maps show countries and cities from the Far East to the Middle East via the Silk Road, with a particular focus on the pilgrimage routes to India.

¹⁵² Woodward (2007): 3–24.

¹⁵³ Already a noted scholiast in China, Xuanzang decided to make the dangerous trek from China, through the Central Asian oases, to the Buddhist homeland of India in 627 to visit sacred sites, collect manuscripts and study under eminent teachers. He penned down detailed descriptions of the geography, climate, customs, languages and religious practices of the different countries that he visited. The travelogue serves as an indispensable tool in the study of the geography and Buddhist history of these regions. Buswell & Lopez (2014): *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 224.

¹⁵⁴ Written in the manner of an official chronicle, the 54-roll work begins with the life of the Buddha, the division of his relics, and the compilation of the Buddhist canon. It then details the lives of the 24 Indian patriarchs, beginning with Mahākāśyapa and ending with Śiṃha Bhikṣu, followed by the patriarchs in China and other worthy monks. It is an important source for studying the history of the Tiantai tradition and the ways in which the school envisioned Buddhist orthodoxy during the Song dynasty. Buswell & Lopez (2014): 306. Part of the work is also translated in English by Thomas Jülch in *Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China* (2019).

The monumental work of Xuanzang, and possibly a lost map showing his travel routes, also made its way across the East China Sea. Now, at the Horyuji temple in Nara, Japan, lies the oldest extant *Gotenjiku zu* 五天竺圖 [Map of the Five Indies], drawn by Jukai in 1364.¹⁵⁵ It is speculated that the first Map of the Five Indies was probably produced in China during the Tang or Sung dynasty, and was taken from China to Japan by way of Korea. The map records nothing beyond the lands travelled and described by Xuanzang, suggesting its original intent was to record the revered pilgrimage. Back then, the Chinese commonly regarded India as synonymous with the Jambu continent. The extent of Xuanzang's travels on the map hence came to represent the whole Jambu continent. The Map of the Five Indies continued to be copied well into the 17th century in Japan, partly due to the *Sakoku* 鎖国 [closed country] policy from 1630s to 1853, when all commoners, including monks who aspired to go on pilgrimage, were not allowed to leave the country. Extant copies can be found in various temples. The Horyuji temple also keeps an unfinished one by a priest called Zenjo, who left us with his thoughts: "With prayer in my heart for the rise of Buddhism in posterity, I engaged myself in the work of making this copy, wiping my eyes dim with age and feeling as if I were travelling through India."¹⁵⁶

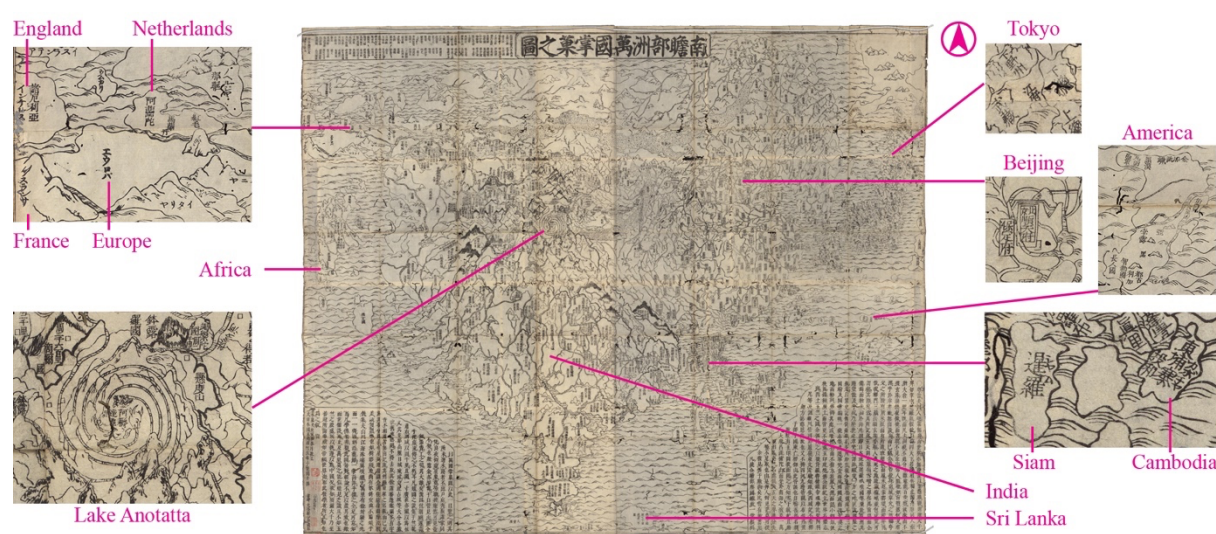


Figure 2.13 Visualized Map of All Countries in Jambudvipa, Bundaiken edition (1710). Source: Stephen S. Clark Library, University of Michigan Library.¹⁵⁷

The Map of the Five Indies, deemed an early prototype of a world map for Japanese Buddhists, continued to serve as the basis for a number of new maps in the early 18th century, an attempt to reinstate the Buddhist worldview amid the influx of Western geographic ideas.

¹⁵⁵ For genealogy of the extant Map of the Five Indies, see Unno (1994): "Cartography in Japan" in *History of Cartography*, Vol 2, Book 2, 371–376.

¹⁵⁶ Muroga & Unno (1962): "The Buddhist World Map in Japan and Its Contact with European Maps" in *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 16, 49–51.

¹⁵⁷ 145 x 115 cm, folded to 18 x 24cm, woodblock print, ink on paper. Online at quod.lib.umich.edu/c/clark1ic/x-001094494/39015091921257_03.

On the *Nansenbushu zu* 南瞻部洲図 [Map of Jambudvīpa]¹⁵⁸ (ca. 1708), European countries – probably for the first time – were included in the Jambu continent, which morphed from an oval to a reversed teardrop shape with India jutting out as a peninsula in the south. Numerous peripheral islands have been added, among which are the American and African continents.¹⁵⁹ Upon the Map of Jambudvīpa, the scholar-priest Soshun Hotan¹⁶⁰ made even more revisions for his famous woodcut map entitled *Nansenbushu bankoku shoka no zu* 南瞻部洲万国掌菓之図 [Visualized Map of All Countries in Jambudvīpa], published in 1710 (Figure 2.13).¹⁶¹ The Jambu continent is now asymmetrical to appear more realistic although the area represented still does not extend beyond China, India and Central Asia. Lake Anotatta from the Map of the Five Indies still stays roughly in the middle while old, and even legendary, toponyms belonging to different periods are retained side by side with new ones. Leveraging the woodblock printing technology, the map was widely reproduced and became the new prototype for Buddhist world maps for the following centuries until the preaching of such cosmography was forbidden in 1876.¹⁶²

To sum up, records of world maps drawn within the Buddhist's cosmography can be traced back to the 7th century. In Japan, the tradition was practiced as late as the 19th century.

In the case of the Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum*, which covers the areas from Japan to Mecca in the Middle East, it appears that the intention of the cartographer was not to represent the known countries on the Jambu continent as Western visitors like the Portuguese, French and Dutch had already been to Siam in the 17th century. Since Islamic Middle East cities are included in the map, the intention of depicting Suwannaphum, or the land of gold, like the Tamnan Map, can also be excluded. Instead, the map seems to reflect the influence of Ayutthaya, which sits in the middle of the map as the center of a *mandala* [Sanskrit: circle]. Related to the cosmography of *Traiphum* – the concentric mountains surrounding Mount Meru – *mandala* is a model used to describe the patterns of diffuse political power mainly in early

¹⁵⁸ 155.5 x 150.8 cm, manuscript map, Kobe City Museum, Nanba collection. Online at: www.kobecitymuseum.jp/collection/detail?heritage=365284.

¹⁵⁹ Sakakibara (2019): “Localizing Asia: Mapping Japan, Asia, and Europe in the Early Modern World” in *Mapping Asia: Cartographic Encounters Between East and West*, 112–114.

¹⁶⁰ A leading priest of the Kegon Sect, Soshun Hotan 僧濬鳳潭 (1654–1738) published the map under his penname Rokashi 浪華子. He later founded the Kegonji temple in Kyoto in 1723.

¹⁶¹ Two editions were first published in Kyoto in 1710, one by Bundaiken Uhei and another Nagata Chobee. The woodblocks were subsequently updated and modified to print in different sizes, leaving behind a number of extant copies. A detailed study has yet to be done to determine their genealogy. For instance, the one in the C.V. Starr Library at UC Berkeley (Item no: Beans 1710.1) matches closely that of the Maclean collection in patchwork and configuration, but is completely different from the two versions (Item no: Maps 11.a.46 and C.21.bb.8) in the British Library. See Pegg (2014): *Cartographic Traditions in East Asian Maps*, 97–99. Some also have appeared on auctions for private collection.

¹⁶² In 1876, the Meiji government's Ministry of Religious Affairs officially forbade the preaching of the “Sumeru theory,” compelling Buddhists to recognize their traditional cosmology as religious myth, rather than doctrinal truth. It was part of a broad campaign to stamp out Buddhism in Japan during Meiji Restoration. See Sakakibara (2016): “Cosmology and Science in Japan's Last Buddhist World Map” in *Cartographic Japan: A History in Maps*, 115–117.

Southeast Asia. With Ayutthaya depicted as the center of domination on the Coastal Map, its political influence stretched to Japan and the Middle East via long-standing trading relationships. Western countries, newly known to the Siamese, were not considered part of the Ayutthaya *mandala*. The intention of creating the Coastal Map possibly mirrored that of the Visualized Map of All Countries in Jambudvīpa, when the traditional Buddhist cosmographic view was challenged by the new geographic information coming from the West and was in need of updating. While greater weight was attached to geographic accuracy, the fundamental framework still complied to the *Traiphum* perspective. The concept of *Traiphum* might have dwindled in significance but it never became obsolete in Siam, with the copying of the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript carried on well into the 20th century.¹⁶³

Although the Navigation Map of Siam (1771) is a partial copy of the Coastal Map, the map was intended entirely as a geographic one without any association with Buddhist cosmography. King Taksin extracted only the geographic information from the Coastal Map as the basis for his Navigation Map of Siam to reflect the war between Burma and Siam for the Qing court. This entails that the Siamese in the 1770s were capable of imagining the profane earth outside the Buddhist cosmographic context and making pure geographic maps.

• Modern Maps

Following the advent of the chronometer through the lifelong works of the likes of John Harrison from the 1730s to the 1790s, mariners could finally calculate longitude, prompting highly accurate geographic representation on Western charts. These charts and mapping techniques then made their way into the East and inspired a transitional phase in Eastern cartography.

One of the examples from China is the *Daqing tong zhi gong wanguo jingwei diqiushi fangyu gujin tu* 大清統職貢萬國經緯地球式方輿古今圖 [*The Great Qing Dynasty world map of tribute bearing countries with spherical coordinates, past and present*], made by the scholar Zhuang Tingfu 莊廷尊 in 1794. The original manuscript map is now archived in the Library of Congress in the United States.¹⁶⁴ On the second paragraph of the lengthy lower inscription of the map, it states that the British envoy arrived in Beijing in 1793, during which maps and globes were presented as exchange. Yet Zhuang did not just translate the world map into Chinese, he adapted it with local knowledge, such as adding the Chinese traditional calendar of 24 seasons. Its title “World map of tribute bearing countries” also reflects that Zhuang’s map was still created from a China-centric perspective, instead of taking a more objective stance as seen in the coeval Western world maps. The cartographer slightly revised his map in 1800 (Figure 2.14), which is now in the MacLean Collection in Illinois, United States. The

¹⁶³ The British Library houses a copy (Item no: Or. 15245) made in the 1900 to 1920s.

¹⁶⁴ Zhuang (1794): item no. G3200 1794 .Z5, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 105 x 147 cm. Online at www.loc.gov/resource/g3200.ct003384/.

1800 map served as a prototype for the woodblock-printed *Jigu jeonhudo* 地球前後圖 [Maps of the Front and Back [hemispheres] of the Globe], the first Korean world map, made by Kim Jeongho 金正浩 and Choe Hangi 崔漢綺 in 1834.¹⁶⁵

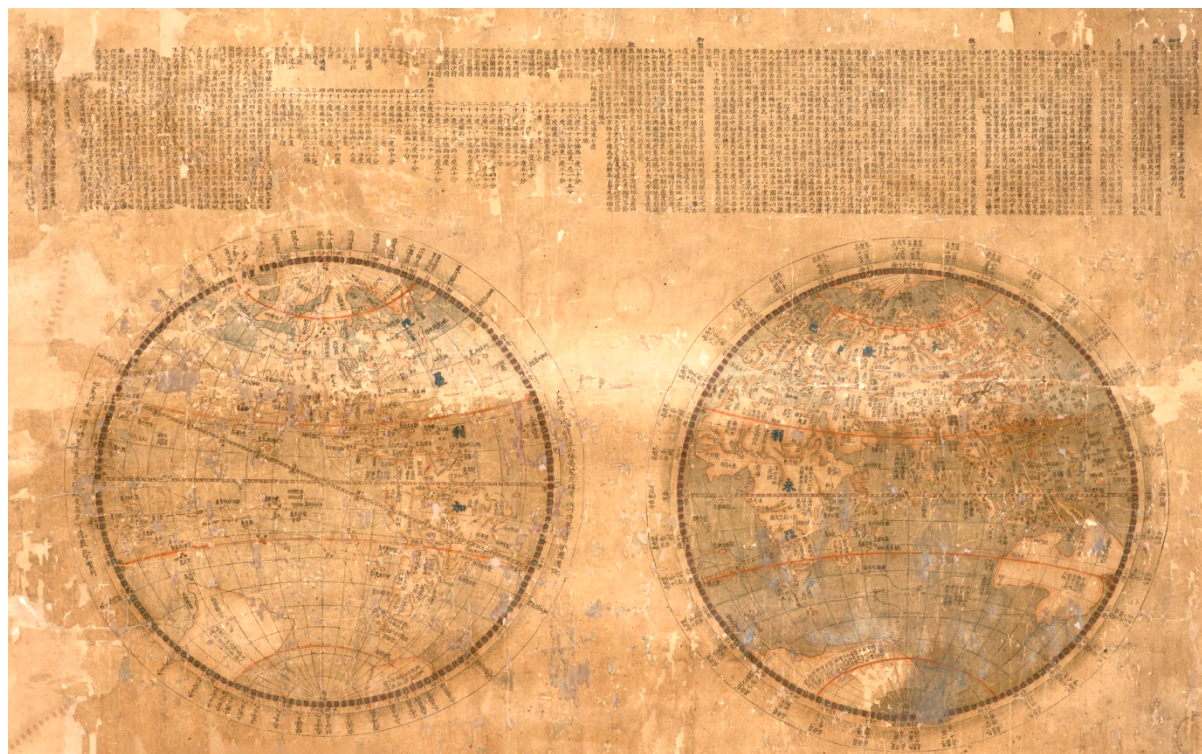


Figure 2.14 An 1800 copy of the *Daqing tong zhi Gong wang guo jing wei di qi shi fang yu gu jin tu* (1794), inspired by the British embassy to Beijing the year before. Source: Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library¹⁶⁶.

Likewise, the China Map was a Siamese endeavor to blend Western mapping techniques with local knowledge. Based on scaled Western charts, the cartographer did not simply make a copy but digested the principles for his own use. He first altered the orientation to practically fit the long coastal line on a rectangular surface, and conveniently placed his hometown in the middle of the map. The Western toponyms and sailing routes were all replaced by more familiar Chinese names and sailing instructions in Thai. This represents a significant step towards modern mapping in the indigenous Siamese cartographic tradition.

The Kwangtung Map, also made in the early 1800s, shows a new use of maps in Siamese cartography, in which practicality plays second fiddle to aesthetics. It has a dual purpose of being a map as well as an object of art which would please the eyes of its collector. Its artistic value is apparent when compared with the China Map. The Kwangtung Map painstakingly fills

¹⁶⁵ Pegg (2014): 35–42; and Pegg (2021): “Zhuang Tingfu: Cartographic Encounters and Echoes” on the website of Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center, Boston Public Library. Online at www.leventhalmap.org/articles/zhuang-tingfu/. A copy of the Maps of the Front and Back [hemispheres] of the Globe can be found at silhak-en.ggcf.kr/archives/artwork/map-of-the-earth-old-and-new.

¹⁶⁶ Item no: MacLean Collection 29773, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 93 x 60 cm. Online at collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:v405wp97j.

the entire sea with delicate waves and mythical sea creatures for embellishment while the China Map left most spaces empty and without any decorative features so as to aid reading. This implies that the mode of maps in the Siamese tradition has been diversified.

Summary

In this chapter, the nature of the three Siamese maps has been examined and their relationship to global cartographic developments of the time was discussed. Beginning with the concept of *Traiphum*, the development of indigenous Siamese cartographic traditions before the emergence of modern mapping was illustrated through the three maps discussed in this chapter.

Created in the same vein as Medieval religious maps, the Tamnam Map in the *Samut Phap Traiphum* manuscript is considered one of the earliest Siamese maps. It is geared towards representing the *traiphum* concept upon the land of Southeast Asia and places accurate geographic as a low priority. The Coastal Map in the same manuscript was therefore deemed by scholars to be a cosmic map instead of a geographic one. Such opinions reflected the trend of cartographic study being Western-centric in the past, which equated the value of a map with its geographic accuracy. The Coastal Map, therefore, has received little scholarly attention. Although Thongchai Winichakul (1994) proposed that the map was intended as a geographic one, no further analysis followed. The map is in fact an updated view on the geographic facts within Buddhist cosmography, akin to the trend of creating Buddhist world maps in Japan. This chapter also found solid evidence supporting the map's geographic properties to settle the dispute over the nature of the Coastal Map.

After the fall of Ayutthaya, King Taksin sought approval from Emperor Qianlong to be crowned King of Siam. To better understand the situation, the emperor ordered maps to show the routes from China to Siam in case military intervention was needed. In 1771, King Taksin submitted the Navigation Map of Siam, based on the Coastal Map. He copied the representation of the peninsular and most cities noted between Ayutthaya and Hanthawaddy on the Coastal Map, and added eight inland cities in northern Thailand and Burma to show the land routes to Chiang Mai and Ava. The map is oriented in a perspective that made it easy for the Chinese military in Yunnan Province to read and target Burma. We can therefore conclude that the Coastal Map was indeed the best geographic representation in the minds of the Siamese in the 1770s, realistic enough to be presented to a powerful ally as military intelligence.

In less than a century, the China Map shows a significant leap towards geographic mapping. Given the scope of the map, stretching from Malaysia to Japan, the Siamese could not have made the survey on their own as there were no records of any surveying expeditions. A more plausible scenario is that scaled Western charts were referenced. This fits in with the transitional phase in Eastern cartography, when traditional geographic information was being given a new representation through the mapping techniques brought by westerners. Since the

cartographer was highly likely of Chaozhou origin, he altered the orientation of the map to place his hometown in the center, allowing him to fit the long coastline from Malaysia to Japan on a rectangular cloth. The map is clearly intended for practical use as the toponyms and sailing directions are up-to-date in that era, with shoals of danger carefully noted. The Kwangtung Map, on the other hand, skews towards aesthetics rather than practicality. It was probably inspired by the export paintings of Guangzhou in the 19th century, which were popular souvenirs for westerners looking for souvenirs to take home with. This would suggest a diversified map use in the indigenous Siamese cartographic tradition.

While the West emphasized a clear take on the mode of maps from the Renaissance on, the indigenous maps in the East, and especially in Southeast Asia, often featured a mix of two or three modes that were heavily dependent on the world-view of the cartographer instead of factual geographic survey. Therefore, we cannot simply pitch these maps against the coeval Western maps for direct comparison without deciphering the nature of the map, the factors that influenced its representation, and its viewers. The duality of these maps actually provides not only insights on the known geographic knowledge of the era, but also the cartographer's perspective and practical needs. These indigenous maps should thus be seen as valuable first-hand information that should not be left out of the cartographic history of Siam.

Chapter 3 Ayutthaya's Maritime Trading Network and System

This chapter explores the geographical information on the Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* to garner a clear picture of Ayutthaya's maritime trading network. Beginning with hints drawn from the map, the timeframe for investigation is the first half of the 17th century. The map is then broken down into various regions for ease of analysis. Although all the toponyms on the map are addressed, the focus is put on the Eastern sphere of the map to comply with the research scope of this dissertation. The Western sphere is examined with the purpose of illustrating a general picture of the maritime network, so the Sino-Siamese trade in that era may be better understood. Since the trade circuits in each region are involuted, the discussion here is centered on the connections, visible or not, that shaped the map. The foreign sources referenced to construct the map are then explored. It is also affirmed that the map was last updated in 1641, when Nagasaki was made the sole authorized port for Japan's foreign trade.

With this time stamp, the map is then compared with two documents, perhaps the earliest available, that exhibit the geographic literacy of the court of Ayutthaya in the 17th century. The first is the instructions given to the Siamese envoy to Lisbon in 1684, including the official answers to questions regarding the size and tributary states of Siam. The second is a poetic travelogue that recorded the voyage of the envoy to Paris in 1685. The toponyms mentioned in these texts are pitched against those on the Coastal Map to gauge their similarities and differences. Means of access to foreign sources under the reign of King Narai in the 1680s are also listed to determine whether the information on the Coastal Map fits with coeval knowledge.

One obvious observation from the map is the lack of Chinese sources, suggesting the Chinese diaspora had little influence over the court of Ayutthaya in the early 17th century. This might be attributed to the sea ban put in place during the dynastic change from Ming to Qing until 1684. The last part of this chapter gives a brief summary of the relations between Ayutthaya Siam and Qing China, when both tribute and private trade were stable. The Siamese junks were then manned mostly by crews with Chinese ancestry, and their hierarchy and duties are reviewed here. This mode of operation, as a legacy of the Ayutthaya maritime system, was carried into the Thonburi and early Bangkok eras.

Literature Review

As mentioned in Chapter 2, few scholars have written on the *Samutphap Traiphum*. Wright (2005) is the only one who has attempted to identify the toponyms on the Coastal map, yet his approach was largely based on phonetic similarities and lacks analysis of the trading network.

Given the unique representation of the Coastal Map, no other Asian maps of cognate style are known except the *Navigation Map of Siam*, which was drawn on the basis of the Coastal Map.¹⁶⁷ The *Selden Map of China* (ca. the 1620s)¹⁶⁸, showing navigational routes from Japan to Indonesia and drawn in the Chinese style, is perhaps the only other Asian map of some degree of relevance. Other Western maps comparable in term of toponyms include the *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt Und Terra Nova)* [Atlas with Portolan Charts (Old World and New World)], commissioned by the Portuguese Crown and drawn by Fernao Vaz Dourado shortly before his death in 1580 in Goa; a chart showing the region from Japan to Indonesia printed in Linschoten's *Itinerario* (1596)¹⁶⁹; the monumental book dubbed the "Key to the East" for the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC); the *Klencke Atlas* (1660)¹⁷⁰ presented to King Charles II of England by Dutch merchants; and the French map *Le Royaume de Siam* [The Kingdom of Siam] (1708)¹⁷¹. These maps show part of the toponyms found on the Coastal Map.

The earliest descriptions of Southeast Asia in the West can be found in Ptolemy's *Geography* (150)¹⁷², and Gerini (1909) utilized sources from different languages to help identify the toponyms.¹⁷³ Derived from *Geography* is the *Book of Curiosities* (c. 1020–1050), written in Arabic, in which descriptions were expanded and refined.¹⁷⁴ Tibbetts (1979) summarized the texts of Arab geographers and travelers in the 15th to the 16th centuries and illustrated how toponyms were passed down in *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*.

On the maritime trading system of Ayutthaya, the book *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia*, edited by Breazeale (1999), gave a comprehensive overview from the hierarchy of its maritime ministry to its trading network in Asia. A few Thai theses have also touched on the subject. One of the earliest is the MA thesis by Phòngphan Suphattharaphan (1968), which explored the system of royal monopolies in Siam. It first explained the set-up of the royally-controlled trade in Ayutthaya and then illustrated the actions

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 2.

¹⁶⁸ Item no: Bodleian Library MS.Selden supra 105, 100 x 160 cm, ink and color on paper. Online at digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/58b9518f-d5ea-4cb3-aa15-f42640c50ef3/.

¹⁶⁹ Item no: National Library of Australia, MAP RM 4945, 40.6 x 52.9 cm, hand colored. Online at nla.gov.au/nla.obj-489649015/view.

¹⁷⁰ *Klencke Atlas* (1660) contains 41 copperplate wall maps made during the Golden Age of Dutch mapmaking. It was presented by a consortium of Dutch sugar merchants, represented by Professor Johannes Klencke, to the King Charles II of England in 1660 to mark the occasion of his Restoration to the throne in the hope to gain favorable trade agreements. A singular work with no other copies, the atlas measures 231x176 cm when opened. Online at www.bl.uk/collection-items/klencke-atlas#.

¹⁷¹ Jaillot (1708): 57 x 79 cm, ink on paper. Online at www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/f5kiqx.

¹⁷² See Berggren and Jones (2020): *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*.

¹⁷³ Gerini (1909): *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo-Malay Archipelago)*.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 2.

foreign traders had taken to secure more concessions until the reign of King Mongkut.¹⁷⁵ Another MA thesis, by Adison Muakphimai (1988), briefly introduced the trading system established in Ayutthaya before focusing on the function of harbor department in the early Bangkok era.¹⁷⁶ In a PhD thesis, Warangkana Nibhatsukit (2005) examined the economic changes of four proto-entrepreneurial groups in Ayutthaya – private merchants and tax farmers, trading officials and court merchants, traders and peddlers, and local officials – who rose in the social ladder as a result of the court’s avid commercial activities.¹⁷⁷

The restructuring of the Krom Phra Khlang was not mentioned in the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya but the contributions of two Persian brothers were described in *Cotmai het prathom wong sakun bunnak จดหมายเหตุประถมวงสกุลขุนนาค* [Records of the Beginnings of the Bunnag Lineage] (1939).¹⁷⁸ Ayutthaya Siam had a close relationship with Safavid Iran, which reached its peak when the Persian envoy arrived in Siam in 1685. The whole occasion was recorded in detail in *Saftnah-yi Sulaymani*, and the Persian text was translated into English as *The Ship of Sulaiman* by John O’Kane in 1972, based on a manuscript kept in the British Museum (Item no: BM Or. 6942). For a close examination of the Persian community in Siam, the book *From Isfahan to Ayutthaya: Contacts Between Iran and Siam in the 17th Century*, by Marcinkowski (2005), covers all the key issues.

Being the first Western power to have arrived in Southeast Asia, the Portuguese left valuable records of the region. Travelogues such as *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (1515) and *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (1614) provided precious information about the trading situation of the era. The expansion of Portuguese influence was chronologized with clarity in Disney’s (2009) *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, from Beginnings to 1807*. Focusing on the contacts between the Portuguese territories with Siam, Lourido (1996)¹⁷⁹ delineated the trade between Macao and Siam while Sena (2001)¹⁸⁰ further included Malacca in the discussion.

¹⁷⁵ Phòngphan Suphattharaphan (1968): *A Historical Study of the System of Royal Monopolies in Siam* การศึกษาทางประวัติศาสตร์เกี่ยวกับเรื่องพระคลังสินค้า, MA Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.

¹⁷⁶ Adison Muakphimai (1988): *Krom tha kap rabop sethakit thai: wikhro khongsang lae kanplianplaeng tangtae samai thonburi thüing kantham sonthi sanya baoring BE 2310–2398* กรมท่ากับระบบเศรษฐกิจไทย: วิเคราะห์โครงสร้างและการเปลี่ยนแปลงตั้งแต่ สมัยธนบุรีกับการทำสนธิสัญญาเบาว์ริง พ.ศ. 2310–2398 [Harbor Department and Thai Economic System: Analysis of its Structure and Changes from Thonburi to Bowring Treaty, 1767–1855], MA Thesis, Thammasat University, Thailand.

¹⁷⁷ Warangkana Nibhatsukit (2005): *Trade-related Groups in Ayutthaya Society, 1629–1767* กลุ่มคนที่สัมพันธ์กับการค้าในสังคมอยุธยา พ.ศ. 2172–2310, PhD Dissertation, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.

¹⁷⁸ Thiphakorawong Maha Kosa Thibodi Chao Phraya (1939): “Cotmai het prathom wong sakun Bunnak จดหมายเหตุประถมวงสกุลขุนนาค [Records of the Beginnings of the Bunnag Lineage]” in *Cotmai het prathom wong sakun bunnak lae rüang ratchathut sayam pai krung farangset* จดหมายเหตุประถมวงสกุลขุนนาค และ เรื่องราชทูตสยามไปกรุงฝรั่งเศส [Records of the Beginnings of the Bunnag Lineage and Regarding Siam’s Embassy to France].

¹⁷⁹ Lourido (1996): “European Trade Between Macao and Siam, From Its Beginning to 1663” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 84, 75–101.

¹⁸⁰ Sena (2001): “Connections Between Malacca, Macau, and Siam: An Approach Towards a Comparative Study” in *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol 9, 84–114.

The Dutch soon became formidable competitors as soon as the VOC activities gained traction in tropical waters. Its archive¹⁸¹, inscribed as *Memory of the World* by UNESCO in 2003, has proven to be a rich trove of information that allows scholars to explore a variety of topics. For instance, Parthesius (2010) recreated the VOC shipping network from 1595 to 1660 with shipping logs to understand the intricate circuits of intra-Asian trade.¹⁸² The cultural exchanges fostered by the Dutch across the region were addressed in the book *Large and Broad: The Dutch Impact on Early Modern Asia. Essays in Honor of Leonard Blussé*, edited by Nagazumi (2012). Some letters sent from Ayutthaya to VOC headquarters in Batavia are kept in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia under the Harta Karun collection. These documents have been translated into Indonesian and English and have a short introduction for easy comprehension.¹⁸³

On trade development in Siam, Van der Cruysse's (2002) *Siam & The West 1500–1700* offered a concise outline of the trading arrangements between the court of Ayutthaya and various Western traders. Meanwhile, studies dedicated to individual foreign trade groups in Ayutthaya abound. George Vinal Smith's (1977) *The Dutch in 17th-century Thailand* gave a detailed account of the VOC activities in Siam, while Stefan Halikowski Smith (2011) analysed several aspects of the life of the Portuguese in Siam in *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640–1720*. For traders from the East, Dhiravat na Pombejra (1998) showed how the Chinese community rose to power within the court of Ayutthaya in the article "Princes, Pretenders, and the Chinese Phrakhleng: An Analysis of the Dutch Evidence Concerning Siamese Court Politics,"¹⁸⁴ while Polenghi (2009) traced the life of Yamada Nagamasa, the leader of the Japanese community in Ayutthaya, in a short biography.¹⁸⁵

In Japan, the earliest records pertaining to trade with Siam can be found in *Rekidai hoan* 歴代宝案 [Precious Documents of Successive Generations], a collection of diplomatic documents of the Ryukyu Kingdom from 1424 to 1867. It noted the different missions sent from Ryukyu, including critical information such as dates, purposes, routes, names and ranks of personnel, inventories of cargoes and list of gifts.¹⁸⁶ An annotated translation in English was published by Kobata and Matsuda (1969).¹⁸⁷ Another significant collection is the *Tosen fusetsu gaki* 唐船風

¹⁸¹ For more details, see www.tanap.net/.

¹⁸² Parthesius (2010): *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia 1595–1660*.

¹⁸³ For more details, see sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarun/.

¹⁸⁴ Dhiravat na Pombejra (1998): "Princes, Pretenders, and the Chinese Phrakhleng: An Analysis of the Dutch Evidence Concerning Siamese Court Politics" in *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian History*, 107–127.

¹⁸⁵ Polenghi (2009): *Samurai of Ayutthaya: Yamada Nagamasa, Japanese warrior and merchant in early seventeenth-century Siam*.

¹⁸⁶ Sakamaki (1963): "The Rekidai Hōan" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol 83:1, 107.

¹⁸⁷ Kobata and Matsuda (1969): *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries: An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*.

説書 [Deposition Records of Chinese Junk Captains] in the collections of *Kai hentai* 華夷變態 [Barbarian Transformation], which documented reports by a junk captains on the size of his crew, their itinerary and hearsay along the voyage upon entering Nagasaki. Ishii (1998) offered an English translation of junk records related to Southeast Asia in the book *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: Translation from the Tosen Fusetsu-Gaki, 1674–1723*. The official relations between Ayutthaya and the Tokugawa Shogunate were examined in an article by Yoshiteru and Bytheway (2011)¹⁸⁸ while the Siamese products on demand in Japan were listed in Shimada (2010).¹⁸⁹ How trade was conducted between Nagasaki, China and Southeast Asia was explained in Gunn's (2018) book *World Trade Systems of the East and West: Nagasaki and the Asian Bullion Trade Networks*. The role played by Korea within the network was elaborated by Cho's article (2000) entitled "The Trade between China, Japan, Korea and Southeast Asia in the 14th Century through the 17th Century Period."¹⁹⁰

The Sino-Siamese trade and tribute relationship has been the subject of numerous studies. Early influential works include the dissertation "Sino-Siamese Tributary Relations 1282–1853" by Suebsaeng Promboon (1971) and the book *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853* by Sarasin Viraphol (2014). The disrupted order of tribute after the fall of Ayutthaya was analyzed by Masuda (2007).¹⁹¹ The discourse of the relationship from the Yuan dynasty to the 20th century was laid out clearly by Chinese scholars Yu and Chen (2009) in the book *Zhong-tai guanxi shi* 中泰關係史 [History of The Sino-Thai Relations], followed by a more recent publication by Wang (2018) which focused on Sino-Siamese relations during the Qing Dynasty. The tributary mechanism of Southeast Asian countries was compared in Li's book *The Tributary System in Ancient China* 萬邦來朝朝貢制度史論 (2005).

In addition to the Chinese chronicles and memorials which are widely utilized, two particular documents are referenced in this research to shed light on the maritime trading system of Ayutthaya during the Ming dynasty in China. The first is the *Xianlaoguan yiyu* 暹羅館譯語 [Sino-Thai dictionary] (c. 1570s), the official textbook for teaching court translators in Beijing. One manuscript is now kept in the Berlin State Library.¹⁹² A brief introduction to which was first written in English by Hirth (1887),¹⁹³ who counted a total of 599 words in 18 categories such as weather, geography, time, numbers, color, gems and personnel, many of which were

¹⁸⁸ Yoshiteru and Bytheway (2011): "Japan's official relations with Shamuro (Siam), 1599–1745: As revealed in the diplomatic records of the Tokugawa Shogunate" in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 99, 81–104.

¹⁸⁹ Shimada (2010): "Siamese Products in the Japanese Market during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in *Large and Broad: The Dutch Impact on Early Modern Asia*, 147–165.

¹⁹⁰ Cho (2000): "The Trade between China, Japan, Korea and Southeast Asia in the 14th Century through the 17th Century Period" in *International Area Review*, Vol 3:2, 67–107.

¹⁹¹ Masuda (2007): "The Fall of Ayutthaya and Siam's Disrupted Order of Tribute to China (1767–1782)" in *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol 4 (2), 75–128.

¹⁹² Item no: Libri sin. Hirth Ms. 1. Online at digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN334615730X.

¹⁹³ Hirth (1887): "The Chinese Oriental College" in *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 22, 203–223.

related to the tribute trade. Another document is a memorial submitted in 1617 by Guangdong Regional Inspector 廣東巡按¹⁹⁴ Tian Shengjin 田生金 about a tribute ship from Siam. He recounted the tribute missions sent by Siam from 1591 to 1613, and then reported on the issues encountered by the latest mission.¹⁹⁵ The full text of the memorial, with analysis, can be found in Tang and Tian's (2007) "One Important Chinese Document about Sino-Siamese Relation in Ming Dynasty 萬曆四十五年田生金《報暹羅國進貢疏》研究——明代中暹關係史上的一份重要的中文文獻."¹⁹⁶ These two texts, rarely included in discussion of Sino-Siamese maritime trade, provided insights into the hierarchy of envoy and crew members aboard royally-commissioned Chinese junks.

Hints on Coastal Map

Of the 129 toponyms on the map (Figure 3.1), four islands are tagged with *farang* ฟารัง [Westerner]; six with *farang dam* ฟารังดำ [black Westerner]; two with *kin khon* กินคน [eat man]; one with *khon plüai* คนเปลือย [naked people]; one with *wilanda* วิลันดา [Netherlands]; four islands and one city with *yipun* ยิปุ่น [Japan]; two cities with *rom nòi* โรมน้อย [small Rome]; and one nameless island and one nameless city.

As discussed in Chapter 2, an archetype of the coastal map served as the base map for King Taksin's Navigation Map of Siam in 1771. Yet it is hard to pinpoint the exact time of creation as the treatise was passed down via copying. Changes may or may not have been made during the transmission, so the information on the map is not coeval with one single period of time. There are, however, two toponyms that could help set a rough timeframe for our investigation. On the extremity of the land mass on the left is a city named Kò Ria Yipun เกาะเรีย ยิปุ่น [Korea Japan], facing which is the island Kò Ngam Wilanda เกาะงามวิลันดา [beautiful island Netherlands]. The Thai word *ngam* is a translation of the Portuguese word *formosa*, which means "beautiful." This term became the name for Taiwan on Western maps in the 16th to the 18th centuries. After a failed attempt to capture the Portuguese-controlled Macau, the Dutch retreated to the Peng-hu islands, or Pescadores, and later built Fort Zeelandia in southern Taiwan as their base of operation in 1624. The occupation ended in 1661 when Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, also known as Koxinga, banished the Dutch and took over the fort to fight

¹⁹⁴ The Regional Inspector went on a one-year assignment to tour all localities in his defined jurisdiction, observing all governmental activities, checking files, auditing accounts, interrogating officials, accepting complaints from the people – in particular inspecting all prisons and trial records – regularly participating in policy deliberations of provincial-level authorities, submitting memorials directly to the emperor denouncing unfit officials, and criticizing inappropriate policies and proposing new policies. Hucker (1985): 253.

¹⁹⁵ Tian (1982): "Bao xianluoguo jingong shu 報暹羅國進貢疏 [Memorial on Tribute from Siam]" in *Anyue shugao* 按粵疏稿 [Verification of Draft Reports of Guangdong]. We know very little about Tian except that he was the Guangdong Regional Inspector between 1615 and 1619. The reason why the memorials he wrote during his time in Guangdong were compiled and published also remains unclear. Nevertheless, there is only one memorial from Tian that was related to Siam.

¹⁹⁶ Tang and Tian (2007): "One Important Chinese Document about Sino-Siamese Relation in Ming Dynasty 萬曆四十五年田生金《報暹羅國進貢疏》研究——明代中暹關係史上的一份重要的中文文獻" in *Journal of Jinan University*, Vol 129:4, 123–134.

against the Qing army.¹⁹⁷ It can then be assumed that the Coastal Map was made, or at least last updated, in 1624. By that time, Japan's unsuccessful invasion of Korea had been well over for almost three decades, which goes to show that the Coastal Map comprises sources of different eras.

Led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), Japan invaded Joseon Korea (1392–1897) in 1592 with plans to further advance to China. Concerned, the Ming court was motivated to assist Korea's defense. The Siamese tributary envoy, recorded in *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming], offered to “dispatch a naval force sailing directly to attack Japan, thereby entangling [its military force] in the rear.”¹⁹⁸ While the idea was initially explored, the Viceroy of Liangguang, Xiao Yan 蕭彥, rejected the proposal as he doubted the efficacy of such convoluted tactics. Japan eventually succumbed to the joint resistance from China and Korea upon the death of Toyotomi in 1598. Although Siam did not participate in the war, its initiative was also noted in Korean's *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 [Veritable Records of Seonjo (r. 1567–1608)]. The *Phraratcha phongsawadan krung si Ayutthaya* พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา [Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya], however, made no mention of such an incident as the proposal did not come to fruition. The rejection was believed to have upset the daring King Naresuan (r. 1590–1605), who was confident of his navy. Siam subsequently did not send any envoys to China until 1604.¹⁹⁹ The toponym Kò Ria Yipun [Korea Japan] on the Coastal Map might be a subtle testimony to this unusual diplomatic interaction, speculated to have been prompted by Siam's determination to strengthen her bilateral relations with China and protect its trade interests in the region.²⁰⁰

The reign of King Naresuan was storied by a series of successful military campaigns. As crown prince, he liberated Siam from its vassal status to Taungoo Burma (1510–1752) in 1585.²⁰¹ After his accession as king in 1590, he repulsed further Burmese invasions, subjugated Lan Xang in Laos and Longvek in Cambodia, and, most significantly, reconquered Tenasserim and Tavoy from the hands of a weakened Burma, securing access to the Indian ocean. Although the revered king died an untimely death during a military campaign in 1605, he had laid a solid foundation for Siam's maritime trade expansion in the coming century.

¹⁹⁷ Chang (1969): *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, 124–128.

¹⁹⁸ *Ming shi*: 「二十年，日本破朝鮮，暹羅請潛師直搗日本，牽其後。中樞石星議從之，兩廣督臣蕭彥持不可，乃已。其後，奉貢不替。」 *Juan* 324, 8401. Quoted in Cho (2017): “The 1592 Japanese Invasion of Korea and Diplomacies of Siam and China” in *Journal of Asian History*, Vol 51:1, 90–92.

¹⁹⁹ Suebsaeng Promboon (1971): 194–196.

²⁰⁰ For more discussion, see Grimm (1967): “Thailand in the Light of Official Chinese Historiography: A Chapter in the ‘History of the Ming Dynasty’” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 49:1, 1–20; and Wolters (1968): “Ayudhyā and the Rearward Part of the World” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol 3:4, 166–178.

²⁰¹ Siam became a vassal of the Taungoo Burma in 1569.

Soon after the first Siamese embassy to Europe in 1608 – more precisely to Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the Hague, Netherlands²⁰² – the Krom Phra Khlang was reorganized into the Harbor Department of the Left and the Right during the reign of King Songtham (r. 1610–1628), with the help of two rich merchant brothers, attributed nowadays to be natives of Qom in Safavid Iran.²⁰³ The younger brother eventually returned to India but the elder, Sheikh Ahmad, stayed and became the head of the Harbor Department of the Right. He was the primogenitor of the still prominent Bunnag family in Thailand.²⁰⁴

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Harbor Department of the Left oversaw trade to the east of Ayutthaya while the Harbor Department of the Right covered the west, as reflected on the orientation of the Coastal Map. The ministry was also responsible for foreigners in Siam. The court could have gained access to a variety of intelligences via different merchants.

The Trading Network on the Coastal Map

All toponyms on the Coastal Map are numbered as shown in Figure 3.1 and listed in Table 3.1 for ease of discussion.

• Siam and Her Neighbors

Laos and Cambodia

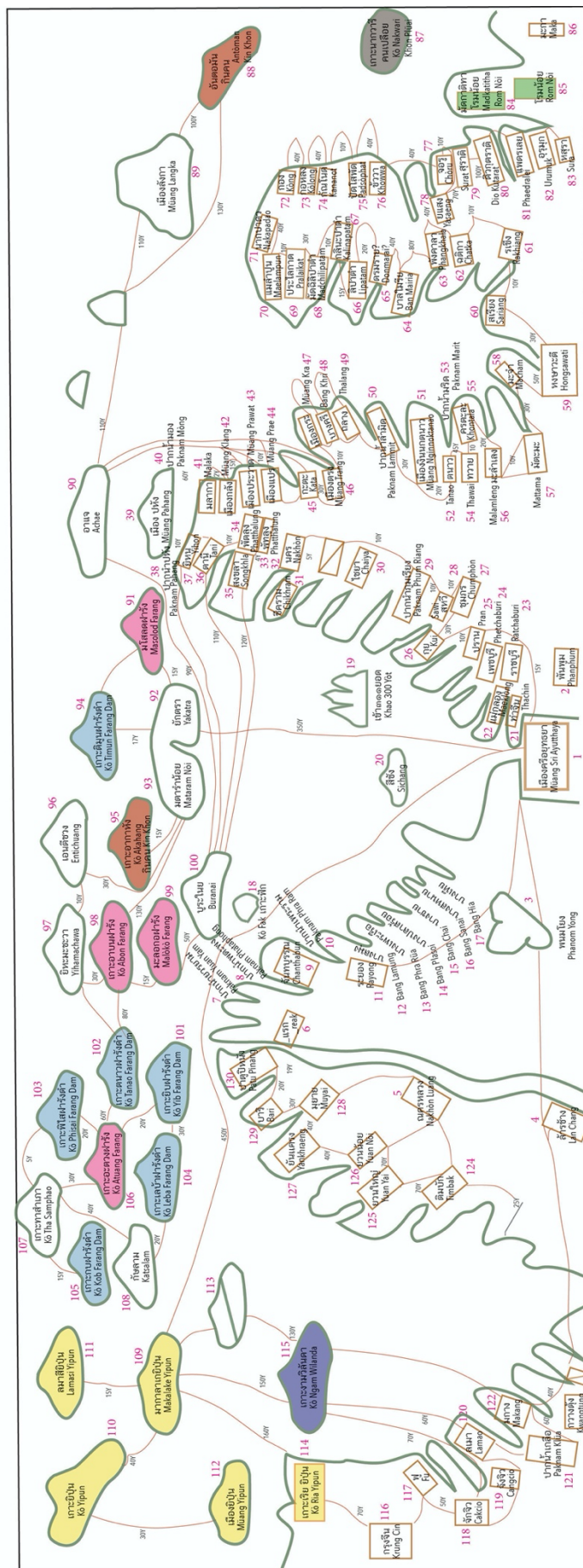
The Indochina Peninsula is split by the Mekong River, along which sit Lan Chang ลานช้าง (4), Nakhòn Luang นครหลวง (5) and _reak _แมก (6), legacies from the Tamnan Map²⁰⁵ representing the Kingdom of Lan Xang (1353–1707) in Laos, the Angkor Empire (802–1431) in Cambodia and its subsequent capital Longvek. In 1618, the Cambodia capital was moved again to Oudong until 1866, but the change was not reflected on the Coastal Map.

²⁰² For details, see the report *Ambassades du Roy de Siam envoyé à l'excellence du Prince Maurice, arrivé à la Haye le 10. Septemb. 1608* [Embassy of the King of Siam sent to his Excellence Prince Maurice, 10 September 1608] (1608); and Pelliot (1936): “Les Relations Du Siam Et De La Hollande En 1608 [Relations Between Siam And Holland In 1608]” in *T'oung Pao*, Vol 32:1, 223–229.

²⁰³ Thiphakorawong Maha Kosa Thibodi Chao Phraya (1939) noted Sheikh Ahmad to be “from Arab lands.” Later his name also appeared as Shaikh Ahmad-e Qomi, which means from Qom, as seen on the commemoration tablet erected at his tomb in Ayutthaya in 1990s. Yet Marcinkowski (2002b) found no historical evidence to verify such a claim: “The Iranian-Siamese Connection: An Iranian Community in the Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol 35:1/3, 33–38.

²⁰⁴ Thiphakorawong Maha Kosa Thibodi Chao Phraya (1939): 2–3. Also see Bunnag Lineage Club’s website at www.bunnag.in.th/main.php.

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 2.



5	Yipun ยิปุ่น [Japan]	6	Farang Dam ฟ้างดำ [black westerners]	2	Kin khon กินคน [eat men]	1	Khon plüai คนเปลือย [naked people]
1	Wilanda วิลันดา [Netherlands]	4	Farang ฟ้าง [westerners];	2	Rom nòi โรมนอย [small Rome]	2	No name

Figure 3.1 Number of toponyms with extra texts on the Coastal Map. Source: Author's illustration.

No	Coastal Map	Current Location	No	Coastal Map	Current Location	No	Coastal Map	Current Location
1	เมืองศรีอยุธยา Müang Sri Ayutthaya	Ayutthaya	11	ระยอง Rayong	Rayong	21	ท่าจีน Thachin	Thachin
2	พันพุม Phanphum	Suphanburi	12	บางมุง Bang Lamung	Bang Lamung	22	แม่กลอง Maeklông	Maeklông
3	พนมโยง Phanom Yong	Phanom Yong	13	บางพระเรือ Bang Phra Rúa	Bang Phra	23	ราชบุรี Ratchaburi	Ratchaburi
4	ลำช้าง Lan Chang	Lan Xang Kingdom	14	บางปลาสร้อย Bang Plasoï	Bang Plasoï	24	เพชรบุรี Phetchaburi	Phetchaburi
5	นครหลวง Nakhôn Luang	Angkor	15	บางชาย Bang Chai	(in Chonburi)	25	ปราณ Pran	Pranburi
6	_แรก _reak	Longvek	16	บางสนาย Bang Sanai	(in Chonburi)	26	กุย Kui	Kuiburi
7	ปากน้ำวรยาม Paknam Yuan Yam	(near Mekong)	17	บางเหี้ย Bang Hia	(in Samut Prakan)	27	ชุมพร Chumphôn	Chumphon
8	ปากน้ำพตะพง Paknam Phataphong	Battambang	18	เกาะพิก Kò Fak	Con Dao Islands	28	สทวิ Sawi	Sawi
9	จันทบูรณ Chanthabun	Chanthaburi	19	เขาคด๑๑ยอด Khao 300 Yòt	Khao Sam Ròi Yòt	29	ปากน้ำกุ่มเรียง Paknam Phum Riang	Phum Riang
10	ปากน้ำพระราม Paknam Phra Ram	(between Chanthaburi and Rayong)	20	สีช้าง Sichang	Kò Sichang	30	ไชยา Chaiya	Chaiya

31	ชिकรัม Chikhram	(in Surat Thani)	41	มลากา Malaka	Melacca	51	เมืองจันนทนาว Müang Nginnoktanao	(in Tanintharyi)
32	นคร Nakhôn	Nakhon Sri Thammarat	42	เมืองกลัง Müang Klang	Kelang	52	ตนาว Tanao	Tanintharyi (Tenasserim)
33	พัทลุง Phatthalung	Phatthalung	43	เมืองประวาด Müang Prawat	(In Perak and Penang)	53	ปากน้ำมริด Paknam Marit	Myeik (Mergui)
34	พัทลุง Phatthalung	Phatthalung	44	เมืองแปร Müang Prae	(In Perak and Penang)	54	ทวาย Thawai	Dawei (Tavoy)
35	สงขลา Songkhla	Songkhla	45	กะตะ Kata	Kedah	55	ครตะละ Khontala	(between Dawei and Mawlamyine)
36	ตานี Tani	Pattani	46	เมืองตรัง Müang Trang	Trang	56	มะล้าเลง Malamleng	Mawlamyine (Moulmein)
37	ยิหน Yihon	Johor	47	เมืองกระ Müang Kra	Kraburi	57	มัตตะมะ Mattama	Moke Ta Ma (Martaban)
38	ปากน้ำ ปหัง Paknam Pahang	Pahang River	48	บางศรี Bang Khri	Bangkhli	58	มะจำ Macham	(between Martaban and Bago)
39	เมือง ปหัง Pahang	Pahang	49	ถลาง Thalang	Phuket	59	หงษาอะตี Hongkawati	Bago/Pegu
40	ปากน้ำมอ Paknam Mông	Muar River	50	ปากน้ำลำมิต Paknam Lammit	(in Tanintharyi)	60	สริยง Sariang	Thanlyin (Syriam)

61	รขิง Rakhiang	Rakhine	71	นากปาดว Nakapadao	Nagapattinam	81	แพดราเลย์ Phaedralei	(in the Middle East)
62	จติกา Chatika	Chittagong	72	กอง Kòng	(in Malabar)	82	อูรัมุก Urumuk	(in the Middle East)
63	พังกาลา Phangkhala	Bengal Region	73	กอลหลง Kòlong	Kollam	83	หสุรา Sura	(in the Middle East)
64	บาลไมเรีย Banmairia	(in Odisha)	74	กันโนต Kananot	Kannur	84	มัตกาติทา โรมน้อย Madkatitha Rom Nòi	(in Turkey)
65	ดรมราย(?) Donmarai(?)	(in Odisha)	75	ปัดโสพัท Padsophat	(in Malabar)	85	โรมน้อย Rom Nòi	Turkey
66	ลิปาดำ Lipatam	(in Odisha)	76	ขัววา Khowwa	Goa	86	มะกา Maka	Mecca
67	กลินะปาดำ Kalinapatam	Kalingapatnam	77	จอรู Chòru	Chaul	87	เกาะนากวาริคน เปลือย Kò Nakwari Khon Plüai	Nicobar
68	มัตถิลิปาดำ Madchilipatam	Machilipatnam	78	ยแสง Yasaeng	Vasai (Bassein)	88	อันตอมันกินคน Antòman Kin Khon	Andaman
69	ประไลกาด Pralaikat	Pulicat	79	สุราติ Surat	Surat	89	เมืองลังกา Müang Langka	Sri Lanka
70	แมลัมปุน Maclampun	Mylapore	80	ดิวกูตราติ Dio Kutarat	Diu Island, Gujarat	90	อาแจ Achae	Aceh

91	มโสลดฝรั่ง Masolot Farang	Solor	101	เกาะยิปฝรั่งดำ Kò Yip Farang Dam	(in the Philippines)	111	ลามาสียิปุน Lamasi Yipun	(in Japan)
92	ยักตรา Yaktra	Jakarta	102	เกาะตนาฟฝรั่งดำ Kò Tanao Farang Dam	(in the Philippines)	112	เมื่องยิปุน Müang Yipun	(in Japan)
93	มตารำน้อย Mataram Nòi	Sultanate of Mataram	103	เกาะพิไสฝรั่งดำ Kò Phisai Farang Dam	(in the Philippines)	113	(no name)	Ryukyu
94	เกาะติมูนฝรั่งดำ Kò Timun Farang Dam	Timor	104	เกาะเลปาฝรั่งดำ Kò Lepa Farang Dam	(in the Philippines)	114	เกาะเรีย ยิปุน Kò Ria Yipun	Korea
95	เกาะอากาหัง กินคน Kò Akahang Kin Khon	(in Lesser Sunda Islands)	105	เกาะกบฝรั่งดำ Kò Kop Farang Dam	(in the Philippines)	115	เกาะงาม วิลันดา Kò Ngam Wilanda	Taiwan
96	เอนตีชวง Entichuang	(in Lesser Sunda Islands)	106	เกาะอะตวงฝรั่ง Kò Atuang Farang	Oton	116	กรุงจีน Krung Cin	Beijing
97	ยิหะมะชะวา Yihamachawa	(in Lesser Sunda Islands)	107	เกาะทาสำภา Kò Tha Samphao	Cebu	117	ฟู Fu	(in China)
98	เกาะอาบนฝรั่ง Kò Abon Farang	Ambon	108	กัซลาม Katsalam	Luzon	118	จักจิว Cakcio	Quanzhou
99	มะลอกอฝรั่ง Malòkò Farang	Maluku	109	มากาลาเกยิปุน Makalake Yipun	Nagasaki	119	จั้งจิว Cangcio	Zhangzhou
100	บูระไนย Buranai	Brunei	110	เกาะยิปุน Kò Yipun	Hirado	120	ลามา Lamao	Nan Ao

121	ปากน้ำเกลือ Paknam Klüa	Chaozhou	125	ชานใหญ่ Yuan Yai	Trinh	129	บาริ Bari	Phan Ri
122	มกาง Makang	Macao	126	ชานน้อย Yuan Nòi	Nguyen	130	ปาตูปินัง Patu Pinang	(in Champa)
123	กวางตุ้ง Kwangtung	Guangzhou	127	ยั้นแครง Yankhraeng	(in Cochinchina)	Table 3.1 Toponyms on Coastal Map and their current location.		
124	ติมปัก Timbak	(in Trinh)	128	มูยาย Muyai	(in Champa)			

East of the Gulf of Thailand

Most of the toponyms in Thailand are identical with their present names. The two places Phanphum พันพุม (2) – which Wright (2005) identified as Suphanburi – and Phanom Yong พนมโยง (3), flanking Ayutthaya (1), are also carried over from the Tamnan Map as they have no obvious connections to maritime trade. The mountain Phanom Yong is the only inland toponym feature on the Coastal Map. It was noted in *Phraratchaphongsawadan chabap phraratchahathalekha* พระราชพงศาวดารฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขา [Royal Chronicles, Royal Autograph Edition] that King Suriyenthathibodi (r. 1703–1709) went there to pay tribute to a chedi on the top of the mountain.²⁰⁶ This implies that the mountain, now still called Phanom Yong but written as พนมยงค์, in Saraburi Province, had a royal connection strong enough to warrant a place on the Tamnan and Coastal maps.



Figure 3.2 Excerpts of the east coast of the Gulf of Thailand on *Carte de l'Indo-Chine* (1895) and the Coastal Map. Source: Library of Congress²⁰⁷; and author's illustration.

On the east of the Gulf of Thailand, Paknam Yuan Yam ปากน้ำชวราม (7) probably represents one of the tributaries of the Mekong. Paknam Phataphong ปากน้ำตะพง (8), below Chanthaburi (9), might be the former Phra Tabong Province พระตะบอง in Siam, now known as Battambang and located in Cambodia. The Khmer area had been under Siamese control from 1794 until it was ceded to French Indochina in 1907. Paknam Phra Ram ปากน้ำพระราม (10) is a river between Chanthaburi (9) and Rayong (11) that is not easy to pinpoint. A series of villages on the bank

²⁰⁶ Damrong Rajanubhab (1952): "...เสด็จยกพลนิยกายบูชายหน้าไปโดยปรพทิศและเสด็จประพาสไปถึงเขาพนมโยง จึงเสด็จขึ้นนมัสการพระเจดีย์ฐานบนยอดเขานั้น และเสด็จประทับอยู่ที่นั่นอีกสามวัน จึงเสด็จยกพลแสนยกรร็อนแรมประพาสไปในวนาประเทศทั้งปวงสิ้นสองสามวัน..." *lem 2, tôn 1*, 298. Online at digital.library.tu.ac.th/tu_dc/frontend/Info/item/dc:47573.

²⁰⁷ Item no: 2008621654, 70 x 89 cm. Online at www.loc.gov/item/2008621654/.

Ayutthaya.²¹⁰ Likewise, Songkhla, also a trading center, had a difficult time with Ayutthaya during the reign of King Prasat Thong, although relations stabilized under King Narai's cordial policy towards Muslim rulers in the south. From the 1670s to the 1710s, there were records of Nakhon Si Thammarat, Pattani and Songkhla sending individual junks to trade in Nagasaki, Japan.²¹¹

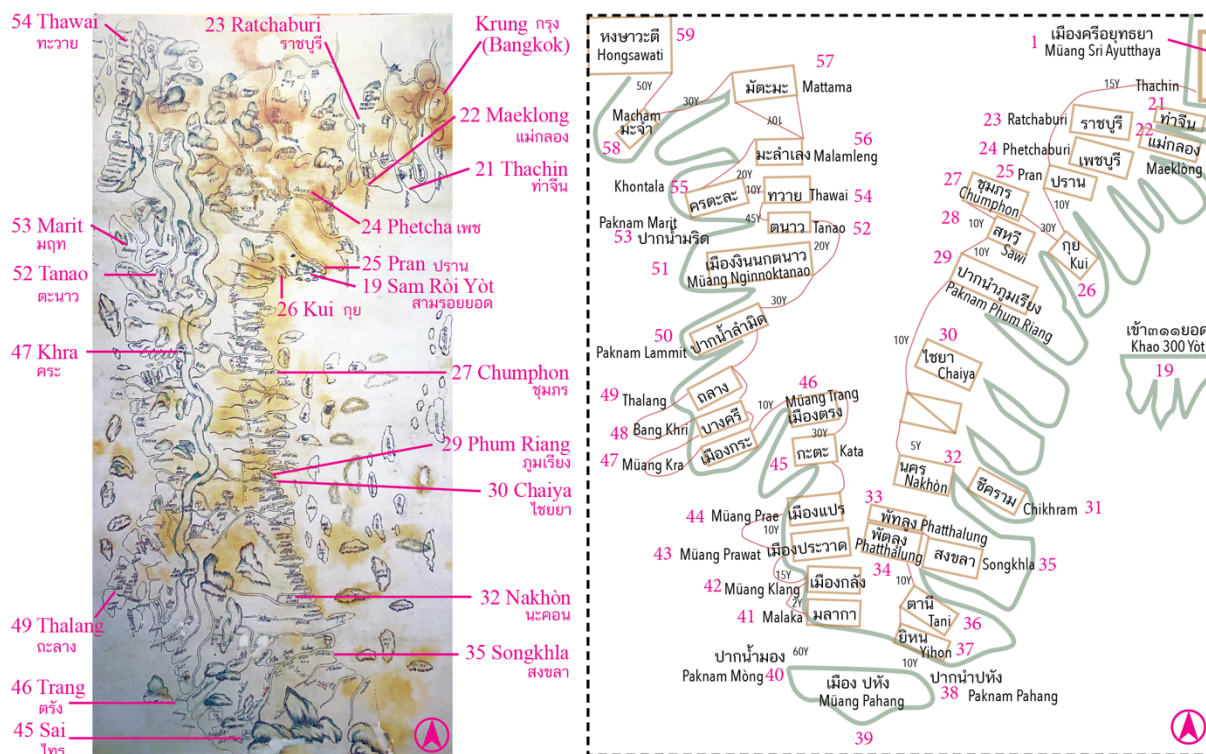


Figure 3.3 Excerpts of the west and east coast of the Malay Peninsula on the map of Müang Nakhon Si Thammarat and the Coastal Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and author's illustration.

The depiction of the coast of Malaysia is peculiar: Johor (37) and Malacca (41) mark the end of the peninsular on the Coastal Map, followed by Pahang (39), drawn as an island truncated by the Pahang River (38) on the east and Muar River (40) on the west. This was a feature typical in 16th century Western maps until the 1620s. Wheatley (1961) observed that the first map that showed a trans-peninsular river cutting off the tip of the peninsular was made by French cartographer Nicolas Desliens in 1541. Soon, the waterway was named “Mua” on the portolan made in 1558 by Portuguese cartographer Diogo Homem – possibly a commission by Queen Mary I of England (r. 1553–1558) as a gift for King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598).²¹² The isolated land on *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt und Terra Nova)* (1580) was marked “Padam” and the misinformation was also transmitted to the chart printed in Linschoten's *Itinerario*

²¹⁰ Andaya and Andaya (2017): *A History of Malaysia*, Kindle locations 2052–2061.

²¹¹ Ishii (1998): 1–12, 144.

²¹² Homem (1558): *The Queen Mary Atlas*, 116 x 80 cm, hand drawing on parchment, London, British Library, item no Add MS 5415 A. Online at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_5415_A.

(1596). One plausible explanation for this representation lies in a track that connected the Muar and Pahang rivers, recorded by Malay-Portuguese writer and cartographer Manuel Godinho de Eredia, born and raised in Malacca. On the *Nova Tavoia Geographica da Tera do Sertam de Malaca* [New Geographic Plot of Land in the Hinterland of Malacca] (1602), he marked the spot where boats or merchandise were transported overland from one river to another via “Panarican,” the Portuguese transcription of the Malay word *penyarekan*, meaning dragway or portage (Figure 3.4). Going through the track was no easy task. Yet one commodity was certainly worth the labor: gold. Pahang, a former kingdom turned sultanate, was known for its gold production, which was then transported to the port of Malacca for sale. Along with the gold that arrived in Europe were exaggerated geographic details about the peninsular; hence the consistent inaccuracy on Western maps.²¹³



Figure 3.4 (From left) The waterway truncating the tip of the Malay Peninsular on excerpts of Nicolas Desliens’ *World Map* (1541); *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt und Terra Nova)* (1580); a chart printed in Linschoten’s *Itinerario* (1596); and the portage between Muar and Pahang rivers shown in *Nova Tavoia Geographica da Tera do Sertam de Malaca* (1602). Source: Dresden, Saxon State Library – State and University Library Dresden (SLUB)/ Deutsche Fotothek²¹⁴; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek²¹⁵; National Library of Australia; and Biblioteca Nacional (Brasil)²¹⁶.

Although the mistake was corrected by the 1620s, the Siamese still absorbed this piece of misinformation from Europeans on the Coastal Map. In the early half of the 16th century, Pahang was still paying tribute to Siam, although their relationship was not close as Pahang assisted Queen Raja Ungu of Pattani to revolt against Siam in 1634.²¹⁷ This reflects that while the southern states feebly recognized Siam’s suzerainty, the capital had little sway over them, let alone demanding to share the highly-valued geographical information of their territories.

²¹³ Wheatley (1961): *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500, 163–172*. Online at archive.org/details/goldenkhersonese0000unse.

²¹⁴ Item no: df_dk_0005150, 111 x 62 cm, hand drawing on parchment. Online at www.deutschefotothek.de/documents/obj/70401907.

²¹⁵ Item no: BSB Cod.icon. 137, 47 x 33.5 cm, illustration on parchment. Online at daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0000/bsb00003364/images/.

²¹⁶ Item no: CAM.01,007 F.502-B – Cartografia, 39.5 x 30 cm, ink on paper. Online at objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart990109/cart990109.html.

²¹⁷ Linehan (1936): “A History of Pahang” in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 14:2(125), 20–21, 37. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/41585562.

Therefore, the Siamese resorted to relying on Western sources for the depiction on the Coastal Map.

Prior to the arrival of European powers, Malacca (41) was an independent Malay sultanate in the 15th century, formally recognized by the Chinese court, and was often at war with Siam. When it fell into the hands of the Portuguese in 1511, Luso-Siamese relations were regulated from there. Pires (1515) reported that up to 30 junks from Siam came to trade per year, and described the trading scene:

From Siam comes lac, benzoin, brazil, lead, tin, silver, gold, ivory, cassia fistula; they bring vessels of cast copper and gold, ruby and diamond rings; they bring a large quantity of cheap, coarse Siamese cloth for the poor people.

They say that the chief merchandise they take from Malacca to Siam are the male and female slaves, which they take in quantities, white sandalwood, pepper, quicksilver, vermilion, opium, *azernefe*, cloves, mace, nutmeg, wide and narrow muslins, and Kling cloths in the fashion of Siam, camlets, rosewater, carpets, brocades from Cambay, white cowries, wax, Borneo camphor, pachak which are roots like dry rampion, gall-nuts (gualhas), and the merchandise they bring from China every year is also of value there.²¹⁸

Although in 1641 the Dutch took over Malacca, there is no indication of foreign occupation on the Coastal Map. In fact, even in the *Navigation Map of Siam*, submitted by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong in 1771, the city continued to be considered Malay territory, followed by Kelang (42).

The etymology of the next two toponyms – Müang Prawat เมืองปราสาท (43) and Müang Prae เมืองแปะ (44) – is obscure but they should be located in the region of Perak and Penang judging from the distances marked on the Coastal Map. In the 16th century, Perak rose to become a major center for the tin trade which Siam was eager to get involved in but lost out to the Dutch. It remained an Acehnese vassal for much of the 17th century.²¹⁹

The sultanate state of Kedah (45) was a loose vassal of Siam. During the reign of Prasat Thong, its ruler repeatedly rejected summons to appear at Ayutthaya by feigning illness. The Siamese King then sent a letter in 1645 with the image of his own face engraved in gold, containing instructions that the entire court should pay it reverence for three days.²²⁰

Entering the Siamese territories on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, the southernmost toponym was Trang (46), followed by Müang Kra เมืองกระ (47), Bang Khri บางศรี (48) and Thalang ถลาง (49) going northward. This cluster of toponyms are probably aligned in reverse

²¹⁸ Pires and Rodrigues (1944): *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Vol 1, 107–108.

²¹⁹ Andaya and Andaya (2017): Kindle locations 1864–1906.

²²⁰ Ibid: Kindle locations 2072–2081.

order. The island of Phuket, known as Ujong Salang in Malay, which became Jonsalam, or Junk Ceylon, for Europeans²²¹ and Thalang in Thai, were heavily involved in the tin trade together with the nearby town Bangkhli on the west coast of today's Phang-nga Province (Figure 3.5). After capturing Malacca, the VOC wanted to establish a monopoly of tin in the whole southwest coast of Malaya. Dutch factories were established in Phuket and Bangkhli and a license monopoly on its tin was obtained from Ayutthaya. Yet fierce competition from local and Muslim traders frustrated the Dutch ambition and they had to abandon Phuket in 1675. Ten years later, the French attempted to pick up where the Dutch had left off but faced the same difficulties.²²² The actual location of Müang Kra should in fact be the last Siamese town closest to Burmese territories. Therefore, it mostly likely refers to Kraburi, the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula which now serves as the border between Thailand and Myanmar.



Figure 3.5 (From left) The town Bangkhli (Bangary) and island Phuket (Junsalaon) shown on *Le Royaume de Siam* [The Kingdom of Siam] (1708) as compared to their reversed locations on the Coastal Map. Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection; and author's illustration.

Along the coast of today's Tanintharyi Region of Myanmar are a series of seaports that connect the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea with portage routes, scoring high in commercial and strategic significance. Siam and Burma consistently wrestled for control over the region. From 1440 to 1490, Ayutthaya acquired Tanintharyi (52), Myeik (53) and Dawei (54), prompting a portage route feasible from Myeik to Kuiburi (26) as a valuable alternative to the Straits of Malacca. Meanwhile, the Burmese capital of Hanthawaddy Kingdom (1287–1552) at Pegu, or Bago (59), took Martaban (57) as a counterweight. Siam lost control over the region in 1569 when it became a vassal of the Taungoo Burma, until King Naresuan regained control again in 1595 as far up as Mawlamyine (56). In the early 17th century, the Burmese took control of Martaban in 1613 and captured Dawei in 1622. This division of control – southwards from Tanintharyi under Ayutthaya and northwards from Dawei under Burma – lasted until the mid-18th century.²²³ The arrangement was also shown on the *Navigation Map of Siam* (1771). However, four toponyms – Paknam Lammit ปากน้ำลำมิต (50) and Müang Nginnoktanao เมืองจินนคตนาอ (51) on the coast of Tanintharyi, Khontala ครตะละ (55) located between Dawei

²²¹ Yule and Burnell (1886): *Hobson-Jobson: Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, 472.

²²² Dhiravat na Pombejra (2002): "Towards a History of Seventeenth-Century Phuket" in *Recalling Local Pasts: Autonomous History in Southeast Asia*, 92–123.

²²³ Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit (2017): *A History of Ayutthaya*, 86–88, 114–116.

and Mawlamyine, and Macham မးခံာ (58), leading to Bago – on the Coastal Map remain hard to identify.

Rakhine (61), also known as Arakan, was an independent kingdom ruled by Mrauk-U from 1429 to 1785. It rose to be an influential maritime state in the Muslim trading network with the assistance of the Portuguese in Chittagong. In 1599, it launched a campaign against Bago and occupied Thanlyin (60) until the Burmese took the city back in 1613. During that time, the younger brother of King Naresuan was captured amid a battle on the Sittang River, and a ransom of 3,000 cannon and bronze images were said to have been sent to Rakhine the next year.²²⁴

• The Middle East

Managed by the Harbor Department of the Right, trade in this region was conducted mainly by the Muslims. The holy city of Islam, Mecca (86), hence marks the edge of the Coastal Map. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the three major Islamic empires were the Safavids in Persia, the Ottomans in Southeastern Europe, Western Asia and Northern Africa, and the Mughals on the Indian subcontinent. Persia, held as “the heart of the Islamic culture,” enjoyed great prestige over other Islamic polities. Its merchants were therefore welcomed to trade across the whole region.²²⁵ In Thai, those of Middle Eastern or Indian ethnic origin – be it Arab, Turk, Iranian or Indian – were all called *khaek* เขาค. Yet term is not present on the Coastal Map.

Although Ayutthaya was not an Islamic country, its hospitable environment – such as freedom to worship at mosques – had long attracted Persian traders to enter into the service of the kings. Iranian-Siamese relations peaked during the reign of King Narai, who actively pursued foreign trade connections for economic and cultural advancement. A Siamese embassy was sent to Safavid in 1682 and, in response, a Persian embassy arrived in Siam three years later. A travel account was penned by secretary Ebn Moḥammad Ebrahim under the title *Safine-ye Solaymani*, or *The Ship of Sulaiman*.²²⁶ It first recounted the voyage from Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf to Siam via India and Tenasserim, offered observations on the Siamese King, local customs and the Iranian community in Siam, and ended with a brief description of hearsay on countries in the Far East such as China, Japan and the Philippines.

Upon arriving in a town that was a day away by boat from the capital of Ayutthaya, the embassy was greeted by the governor, called Celebi.²²⁷ “He was from among the people of Rum, had

²²⁴ Charney (1998): “Rise of a Mainland Trading State: Rahaing Under the Early Mrauk-U Kings, c. 1430–1603” in *Journal of Burma Studies*, Vol 3, 9–18, 23–24.

²²⁵ Andaya (1999): “Ayutthaya and the Persian and Indian Muslim Connection” in *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya’s Maritime Relations with Asia*, 121–125.

²²⁶ For a brief summary, see Marcinkowski (2002a): “Safine-ye Solaymani” on *Encyclopaedia Iranica* at iranicaonline.org/articles/safine-ye-solaymani.

²²⁷ The exact location is uncertain. Reid (1993) identified the town to be today’s Bangkok in *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Vol 2: Expansion and Crisis*, 191.

settled in this country and enjoyed the honor of lately converting to Shi'ism.”²²⁸ The Persian term “Rum,” derived from Rome,²²⁹ referred to territory under Ottoman at that time, and Celebi was therefore an Anatolian Turk.²³⁰ This echoes the toponym Rom Nòi โรมน้อย (85) on the Coastal Map, meaning “little Rome.” The toponym probably denotes the Ottoman Empire while Madkatitha Rom Nòi มัดกาดิทาโรมน้อย (84) was a place within the empire.

For the rest of the toponyms in the Middle East, Phaendonlei แพดดรเดย (81), Urumuk อูรัมุก (82) and Sura สุรา (83), *The Ship of Sulaiman* offers little help. It is noteworthy that these places are the only cluster not connected by red lines, implying the cartographer might not have managed to obtain clear information as to their locations.

• Andaman and Nicobar

The only prominent island that is not connected by a red line is Kò Nakwari เกาะนากวารี (87), the island of naked people. It appeared as the last island – next to Sri Lanka (89) – on the Tamnan Map, and is the only island depicted with two people sitting under a tree (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6 (From left) Kò Nakwari on the Tamnan Map in Ayutthaya 6, Ayutthaya 8, Berlin II650 and Thonburi 10k. Source: Department of Fine Arts (1999a:97, 203); © Berlin State Museums, Museum of Asian Art, Photo: SBB-PK Hagen Immel; and Department of Fine Arts (1999b): 226.

One of the earliest mentions of naked people near Sri Lanka can be found in *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Tang Dynasty Monks in the Western Regions], written by the Chinese Buddhist monk and translator Yijing 義淨 in 691 after his visits to Srivijaya and India. He noted that when ships arrived at *Luo-ren Guo* 裸人國 [country of naked people], locals came out in small boats to barter coconuts, hardy bananas and woven artifacts for iron. The men were completely naked while the women sparingly covered their body with leaves. When traders teasingly offered clothes, they waved their hands

²²⁸ O’Kane (1972): *The Ship of Sulaiman*, 50.

²²⁹ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (2005) noted: “The term in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish designating Byzantium (the empire of the Rhomaioi); it also referred to ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. After the Seljuk’s conquest of Asia Minor in the late 11th century, the conquered territory became the sultanate of Rum. The Ottomans Rum included the districts of Amasya (Amaseia) and Sivas (Sebasteia).” Online at DOI:10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001.

²³⁰ Marcinkowski (2005): 24.

in refusal.²³¹ Later, in *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 [The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores] (1451), Ma Huan²³² added an explanation:

There is a legend current among them that, if they were to wear the smallest scrap of clothing, their bodies would break out into sores and ulcers, owing to their ancestors having been cursed by Sakyamuni, for having stolen and hidden his clothes while he was bathing, at the time when he crossed over and stopped at these islands.²³³

Ma noted, under Luo-xing Guo 裸形國 [Country of the naked], that the islands were known as Cui-lan shan 翠藍山 (Nicobar) on the way from Sumatra, Indonesia, to Sri Lanka, adding that the largest of them all had a foreign name – An-du-man shan 按篤蠻山 [Andaman Mountain]. This suggests that the Country of Naked People in Chinese records referred to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands collectively. This would coincide with the Thanjavur inscription (1050) that the Cholas called the islands Nakkavaram [Tamil: Land of the Naked], which became Necuveran in *The Travels of Marco Polo* in the 13th century, and later to modern day Nicobar.²³⁴

It is, however, hard to believe that the Buddha had set foot on the islands as the eye-witness accounts reported the inhabitants to be beast-like. Gerini (1909) believed that Buddhist writers, from a very early period, had mixed up Nakkavaram with the district of Nāgadīpa (Pali: snake continent) in north western Sri Lanka, mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, the great chronicle of Sri Lanka written in Pali in the fifth century.²³⁵ This text stated that the Buddha went to Nāgadīpa to settle a dispute between two nāga kings, and he left them a rajayatana-tree (*buchanania latifolia*) to pay homage to.²³⁶ Gerini further suggested that Kò Nakwari in Thai was derived from *nakkavari*, the Tamil word for “natives of the Nicobar.” This might explain the unique depiction of Kò Nakwari on the Tamnan Map as the rajayatana-tree was recognized as a *pāribhogika* (Pali: objects possessed or used by the Buddha) in *Mahāvamsa*. It might also be the reason why the island was said to have a sacred spot guarded by a giant snake that no one

²³¹ Yijing (691):

「彼見舶至，爭乘小艇，有盈百數，皆將椰子、芭蕉及藤竹器來求市易。其所愛者，但唯鐵焉，大如兩指，得椰子或五或十。丈夫悉皆露體，婦女以片葉遮形。商人戲授其衣，即便搖手不用。」
2016 edition by Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association. Online at:
cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2066_002.

²³² Interpreter for the fourth, sixth and seventh voyage of Admiral Zheng He's expedition between 1405 to 1433. His original manuscript did not survive, but the texts were preserved in later copies.

²³³ Ma (1451):

「人傳云：若有寸布在身，即生爛瘡。昔釋迦佛過海，於此處登岸，脫衣入水洗浴，彼人盜藏其衣，被釋迦咒訖，以此至今人不能穿衣。」 Online at: ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=105804. Translation by Phillips (1885): “The seaports of India and Ceylon: Described by Chinese Voyagers of the Fifteenth Century, Together with an Account of Chinese Navigation” in *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 20, 211. Also Quoted in Gerini (1909): 385–386.

²³⁴ *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Local Gazetteer* (1908): 56–57. Online at archive.org/details/andamanandnicob00unkngoog/page/n1/mode/2up.

²³⁵ Gerini (1909): 380–383.

²³⁶ Guruge (1989): *Mahāvamsa, The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka*, 494–495, 724–725.

could approach. There, the body of a deceased person was preserved for generations and prevented from rotting.²³⁷ Other myths about the island include a well that could turn metal into gold and the belief that the simple but lethal weapons used by the natives possessed evil powers.²³⁸ The surrounding sea, called Nakwarin Sin Samut นาควารินสินธุ์สมุทร in the legend of Phra Malai,²³⁹ was described as full of mercury and magnetite and occupied by a group of snakes that had fled their enemy Garuda. It was deemed a dangerous place not habitable for humans.²⁴⁰

In sum, Kò Nakwari on the Coastal Map refers to the Nicobar Islands, which were known, alongside the Andaman Islands, as the “Land of the Naked” in Tamil and, similarly, as “Country of Naked People” in Chinese. In earlier times, the toponym might have been confused with the district of Nāgadīpa in Sri Lanka, where the Buddha was said to have left a holy tree as a memorial, hence the depiction of Kò Nakwari on the Tamnan Map. Other myths also fueled the imagination of the island in Buddhist literature such as the likes of the legend of Phra Malai.

In Arab records, however, it is clear that Nicobar and Andaman are two separate places with their own distinct differences. In the 11th century Book of Curiosities,²⁴¹ both islands are recorded as follows:

The Island of Al-Dasbi (Andaman)

Its inhabitants are of the Zanj race²⁴², with pepper-like hair. When a foreigner falls in their hands, they eat him alive. They devour human flesh like dogs. They share their women. They have long faces, long legs, and a deformed appearance.

The Island of Langabalus (Nicobar)

Its inhabitants are fair-skinned. The men and the women go around naked save for a leaf or a piece of bark to cover their private parts, and they let their hair grow. Ambergris is abundant in their lands. They come out to the [merchant] ships in their light boats, and trade the ambergris for plates of metal.²⁴³

²³⁷ Zhao (1225): *Zhu fan zhi*.

「上有聖跡渾金床，承一死人，經代不朽，常有巨蛇衛護。蛇身毛長二尺，人不敢近。」 Online at ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=520299.

²³⁸ Ibid; and O’Kane (1972): 181–186.

²³⁹ A Buddhist monk of the Theravada tradition who gained Arhatship and travelled through hells and heavens. The story, of unclear authorship, was a popular subject in 19th century Thailand, with various versions.

²⁴⁰ Phra Malai: “ฝ่ายปู่เจ้าหาเวรเอษอหน้า นั่งหลับตาเชื่อมซิมคิมอาหนี แล้วว่ากูปู่เจ้าเขาคิริ ทะเลนี้มีไข่เควันแดนมนุษย์ ปรอทแร่ แม่เหล็กก็มีมาก ชื่อว่านาควารินสินธุ์สมุทร ฟุ้งนาคมาอาศัยด้วยไกลครุฑ ถ้ายิ่งหยุดอยู่ที่นี้จะมิภัย”

Online at vajirayana.org/พระอภัยมณี/ตอนที่-๑๑-นางสุวรรณมาลีไปเที่ยวทะเล.

²⁴¹ See Chapter 2.

²⁴² Zanj was the name given by Muslim geographers to Southeast Africa and its Bantu inhabitants.

²⁴³ Savage-Smith and Rapoport (2014): 482.

Here we see that Andaman was associated with cannibalism and Nicobar with naked natives. This narrative was picked up by Zhao Rukuo 趙汝适 (1225) when he held office as Maritime Trade Supervisor²⁴⁴ in Quanzhou, Fujian, and included in his book *Zhu fan zhi* 諸蕃志 [Annals of Foreign Countries]. He noted that when sailing from Banda Aceh on Sumatra, if the wind was not favorable, ships might be driven to a place called Yan-tuo-man 晏陀蠻, a group of two islands in the middle of the ocean. The small one was uninhabited, while the large one was inhabited by cannibalistic natives of a color resembling black. Sailors dared not anchor on this coast.²⁴⁵

By the 17th century, the alleged existence of cannibals on Andaman and naked natives on Nicobar would have become common knowledge among all seafarers, and it also reached the ears of the Siamese court. In *The Ship of Sulaiman* (1685), the author said that he had heard from the councilors of the king of *Shahr-i Naw* (Persian: New City, i.e. Ayutthaya) that quite some time previously, a ship from the Siamese King's administration was caught in a storm and blown off course. Running out of fresh water, the captain, of English origin, made the difficult decision to gear up and go ashore. They were ambushed on the way back and some crew members were captured and eaten. The captain, heavily wounded, managed to escape and sail away. The author then added that Nakbari – derived from the Thai pronunciation of Nakwari – was very close to the island of Andaman. There, the natives were all very very poor but easy to do business with. They had a treaty with Andaman that as soon as someone died in Nakbari, the body would be sent to the cannibals as tribute and in return the cannibals promised to do no harm to anyone who was living.²⁴⁶

It is, therefore, surprising to see no red line connecting Kò Nakwari and Antòman อันตอมัน (88) on the Coastal Map as the two places were known in most sources to be close to each other. In the book *Rüang praditsatan prasong sayam wong nai langka thawip* เรื่องประดิษฐานพระสงฆ์สยามวงศ์ในลังกาทวีป [Regarding Establishment of Monks of Siamese sect in Langka Continent] – written by Prince Damrong in 1916 on the Siamese mission sent in 1755 to revive ordination

²⁴⁴ A Maritime Trade Supervisor 市舶司 oversaw the Maritime Trade Supervisorate 市舶提舉司, a category of agencies subordinate to the Ministry of Revenue since the Sung dynasty, established along the southeast and south seacoasts to regulate overseas commerce, collecting customs duties and preventing smuggling. Three remained in operation in the Ming dynasty: Ningpo in Zhejiang, Quanzhou in Fujian, and Guangzhou in Guangdong, until 1522, when Guangzhou was designated as the only port for foreign trade. Hucker (1985): 428.

²⁴⁵ Zhao (1225):
「晏陀蠻國，自藍無里去細藍國，如風不順，飄至一所，地名晏陀蠻；海中有一大嶼，內有兩山，一大、一小。其小山全無人煙；其大山周圍七十里，山中之人身如黑漆，能生食人，船人不敢艤岸。」 Online at ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=520299.

²⁴⁶ O'Kane (1972): 181–186.

in Sri Lanka – it is mentioned that it took one day and one night to go from Andaman to Nicobar by junk, and that naked natives could be seen there.²⁴⁷

It is clear that the Thais' perception of Kò Nakwari was built on the hearsay of sailors and intertwined with religious connotations derived from Buddhist literature that said the place was not habitable for humans. Hence its far-flung location at the edge of the Coastal Map, away from Andaman and Sri Lanka.

• The Indian Subcontinent

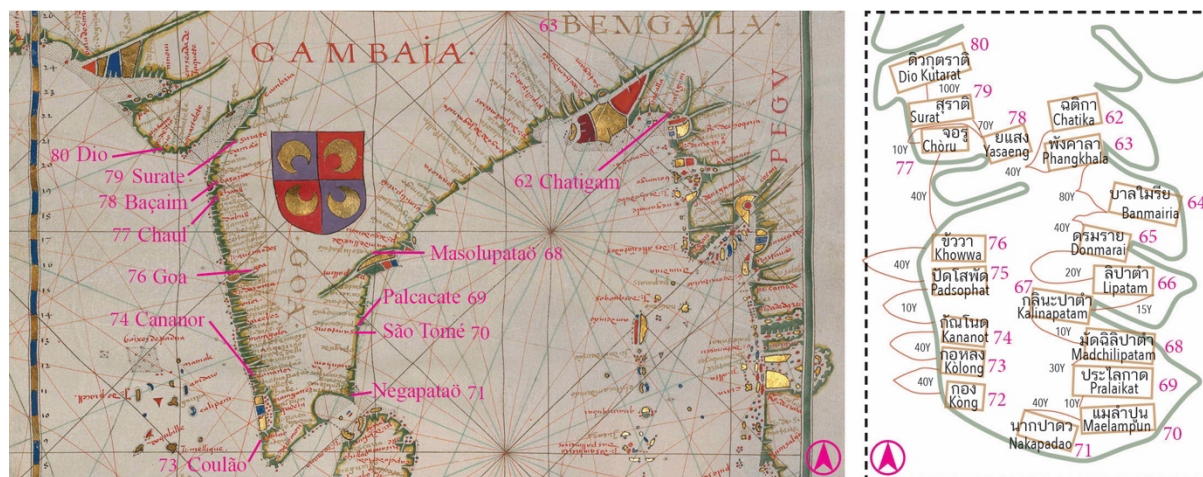


Figure 3.7 (From left) Toponyms on excerpt of the *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt und Terra Nova)* (1580) and the Coastal Map. Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; and author's illustration.

The India Subcontinent on the Coastal Map begins with Chittagong (62) and ends with Diu Island, Gujarat (80), and has a total of 19 toponyms. Of the ones identifiable, they largely coincide with *Estado Da India*, the Portuguese crown's possessions in maritime Asia and East Africa (Figure 3.7).

The Portuguese first encountered the Indian subcontinent in 1498, when Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, which immediately sparked the interest of King Manuel I of Portugal. In 1500, a factory was established in Calicut, much to the anger of Middle Eastern Muslim merchants, causing the Portuguese to shift their commercial operations to Cochin, Kannur (74) and Kollam (73).²⁴⁸ Soon, in 1510, Goa (76) was taken, followed by the prominent entrepot of Malacca the next year and Hurmuz in 1515. These cities became strategic bases for Portuguese operations in the region. They then moved north to take Chaul (77) in 1521, Bassein (Vasai) (78) in 1534

²⁴⁷ Damrong Rajanubhab (1916): “ครั้นถึงตรงปากถ้ำมะริดแล้วพายหน้าลำเขาไปข้างตะวันออก แล่นหลักเกาะอันหมั้นไป วัน ๑ กับคืน ๑ ถึงเกาะนาควารี...ในเกาะนั้นมีคนอยู่เป็นอันมาก แต่ว่าหามีข้าวกิน หามีผ้าถุงห่มไม่ ผู้หญิงนั้นนุ่งปลอกไม้แต่พอปิดที่อายหน่อยหนึ่ง ผู้ชายนั้นเอาเชือกคาดเอวแล้วเอาผ้าเตี่ยวเท่าฝ่ามือห่อที่ความอายุไว้...” 194.

²⁴⁸ Disney (2009): Kindle Location 1896.

and Diu Island (80) in 1535 in order to control the cotton textile trade of Gujarat (80).²⁴⁹ Surat (79) was fortified in 1539 and soon emerged as a leading seaport.²⁵⁰

On the eastern side of India, where the formal *Estado Da India* had a weaker presence, Portuguese privateers took the advantage to set up a series of unofficial trading settlements in the course of the 16th century. Pulicat (69) was one of the earliest settlements on the Tamil Nadu-Andhra Pradesh coast, followed by others at Sao Tome de Meliapore (Mylapore) (70), Nagapattinam (71) and Machilipatnam (68). In the Bengal (63) region, a settlement appeared at Hughli (Chinsurah), while another developed at Chittagong in Bangladesh.²⁵¹

The Portuguese first made contact with Siam in 1511 after the capture of Malacca in the hope of establishing trade relations with the neighboring countries. A few embassies were exchanged until a formal treaty was signed with King Ramathibodi II (r. 1491–1529) in 1518. Under the arrangement, the Portuguese were allowed to live and trade in Ayutthaya as well as other ports – Myeik, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Pattani – while the Siamese were allowed to reside and trade at Malacca.²⁵² The information on the Indian Subcontinent on the Coastal Map came largely from the Portuguese, as reflected particularly in the toponym Nakapadao นากาปาตาว (71), which is obviously rendered from the Portuguese pronunciation of Negapatao instead of the local name Nagapatnam.

Along the northeastern coast, where no Portuguese *feitoria* or factory was set up, the toponyms became hard to understand, except Kalingapatnam (67). The following three toponyms – Banmairia บาลไมเรีย (64), Donmarai ดอนมาราย (65) and Lipatam ลิปาตัม (66) – seem to be corrupted. It is currently not possible to determine their source of origin without further investigation on the relations between Siam and Odisha, the state formerly known as Orissa.

However, one important clue that we can draw from this part of the Coastal Map is that although the cities were occupied by the Portuguese, none of them were marked with the text *farang* ฟารัง. A loan word, *farang* ฟรัง is now defined as a noun meaning “a person of white skin คนชาติผิวขาว” in the 2011 Royal Institute Dictionary.²⁵³ The word was said to have been introduced to Siam by Persian merchants amid the trade conflict between the Arab Muslims and the Portuguese, who were called *farang* فرنگ or Franks in Persian. The word then entered Thai with the connotations of Europeaness, but the Portuguese were the only Europeans in Southeast Asia at the time. As a result, the fruit guava, first brought by the Portuguese, is still

²⁴⁹ Pearson (1987): *The Portuguese in India: 1 (The New Cambridge History of India)*, Kindle Locations 531–533.

²⁵⁰ Subrahmanyam (2000): *A Note on the Rise of Surat in the 16th Century*, 25.

²⁵¹ Disney (2009): Kindle Locations 2635–2636.

²⁵² Charney (2011): “From merchants to musketeers in Ayutthaya: the culture of warfare, and the changing relationship between the Portuguese and the Thais in the 16th century” in *Five Hundred Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations: A Festschrift*, 72–74.

²⁵³ Online at dictionary.apps.royin.go.th/.

called *ton farang* ต้นฝรั่ง [Frankish tree] in Thai.²⁵⁴ The Persian word *farang* was incorporated into various Asian languages, such as *firangi* फ़िरंगी in Hindi, *barang* បារាំង in Khmer, *ferenggi* in Malay and *folangji* 佛郎機 in Chinese. Similar to guava in Thai, the breech-loading swivel gun, first introduced by the Portuguese, was called *folangji pao* 佛朗機炮 [Frankish cannon] in Chinese. Yet in the case of the Coastal Map, *farang* does not seem to be referring to the Portuguese.

• Brunei and Indonesia

The toponyms easiest to recognize in this area are Aceh (90), Jakarta (92), Timor (94), Ambon (98), Maluku (99) and Brunei (100). With these, both Kò Abon เกาะอาบน (98) and Malòkò มะลอกอ (99) are marked with the text *farang*.

After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese explored the region for its trading potential. A small fortress was later built on the island of Ternate in Maluku, in 1522, to control the spice trade, and another on Ambon in 1568. Yet the Portuguese presence there was not problem free. Conflicts with the local Ternatans and Ambonese extended beyond the exclusive clove cultivation and trade to religious clashes between Islam and Christianity when the Portuguese started to convert the local population. Two years later, in 1570, an uprising on Ternate forced them to relocate their Maluku base to Tidore.²⁵⁵

Upon the establishment of the VOC in 1602, the Dutch took an offensive stance to wrestle control of the spice trade from the Portuguese. Equipped with more superior weaponry, the Dutch first targeted the Indonesian Archipelago. In 1605, admiral Steven van der Haghen seized the Portuguese fortress in Ambon without a fight. Then, the Dutch joined forces with the Sultanate of Ternate to expel the Portuguese in Tidore. The next year, the Spaniards, supported by Tidore, took over Ternate and the Dutch returned to negotiate the rights to establish forts alongside those of the Spaniards. The Dutch-Ternatan alliance continued to push back until the Spaniards completely abandoned their Maluku garrisons in 1662. From then on, the VOC was the only European force left in Maluku, which they called Molucca, basically referring to Ternate or Tidore.²⁵⁶

When Taiwan was occupied in 1624, the Dutch were already in full control of Ambon – despite bloody conflicts with the local rulers continuing well into the 1650s – and well established in Maluku. It is thus reasonable to assume that the *farang* on the Coastal Map refers to the Dutch, who might have acted as the source provider. The Dutch first set foot in Pattani, then a vessel state of Siam, in 1603 and began contact with the court of Ayutthaya. When King Ekathotsarot (r. 1605–1610) learned how the Dutch had fought off the Portuguese in Indonesia, he

²⁵⁴ Marcinkowski (2005): 5.

²⁵⁵ Disney (2009): Kindle Locations 2035, 2679–2681.

²⁵⁶ Widjojo (2009): *The Revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-cultural Alliance-making in Maluku, c.1780–1810*, 9–23.

authorized them to open a factory in Ayutthaya in February 1608 to counter Portuguese control over the Bengal region.²⁵⁷

In 1619, the VOC founded Batavia after razing Jayakarta (92) to the ground and expelling its population. It became the center of the VOC's trading network in Asia, under which the Ayutthaya factory was placed. The size and importance of the Ayutthaya factory varied over time – from a low of two permanent employees with no policymaking authority at the end of the 1620s, to an average of 30 to 40 permanent employees throughout most of the century after 1633, headed by an *opperhoofd* (Dutch: director) of *opperkoopman* (Dutch: chief merchant) rank who could handle administrative problems independently.²⁵⁸ Although the Ayutthaya factory contributed to only a small part of the entire VOC operation in Asia, the Dutch maintained their presence in Ayutthaya until the kingdom's destruction in 1767.

A letter from the Phra Khlung on behalf of King Prasatthong to the Supreme Government in Batavia, dated 2 March 1641, revealed some interesting details of the junks that commuted between Siam and Batavia. A Siamese junk of length of 18¼ and a breadth of 3¼ fathoms went missing, and King Prasatthong requested help to locate its whereabouts.

On this His Majesty has appointed as skipper Srj Set Ja, a Moorish Malay as first person, and as second person the skipper Pecca, a Chinese, and as third person or first merchant Cousy Sombat with two assistants, named Moncherbitit and Ney Rachuyt; as first mate a Chinese of Moorish religion named Heeuqua, and further as head boatswain or saranghy Equo, a Chinese, with 11 Siamese, 26 Chinese and 22 both Moorish and Malay sailors, altogether 61 men.

The junk is armed with four brass cannon, which each can fire a ball of two fingers, and a cannon that shoots a ball of 1½ fingers diameter; further four muskets and 15 Japanese firelocks. The aforementioned junk was laden with approximately 200 lasten of rice and other foodstuffs; also with 6 bahar of lead, for the account of the King. It left here 16 months ago in order to go to Batavia with the merchandise listed, but through the ignorance of the helmsman it did not arrive there but landed in Patani. On the return to Siam the Chinese mate Heeuqua killed the skipper with all the Siamese and Malays and has very villainously fled with the junk and the cargo.²⁵⁹

This quotation shows that the junk was manned with mostly Chinese, Moorish and Malay crew members while the core commodities were rice and lead. It also offers a rare description of how the junk was armed. In the same letter King Prasatthong also requested a model ship for

²⁵⁷ Van der Cruysse (2002): *Siam & The West 1500–1700*, 43–44.

²⁵⁸ Smith (1977): 4–5.

²⁵⁹ Niemeijer (2016): “Letter from the Phrakhlung on behalf of King Prasatthong (r. 1629- 1656) to the Supreme Government in Batavia, 2 March 1641” In *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 21, 7–8. Online at sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarun/item/21/translation_en.

his son to play with, suggesting Ayutthaya maintained an amicable relationship with the VOC headquarters in Batavia.

In the *Klencke Atlas* (1660) (Figure 3.8), presented to King Charles II of England by a consortium of Dutch sugar merchants, Batavia is clearly marked on Java Island alongside Mataran, which mirrors the Coastal Map. The Siamese did not use the Dutch name for Jakarta but instead retained its old name of Yakatra ยักตรา (92) [Thai pronunciation: Jakkatra], possibly because they knew the toponym through the Javanese sultanates prior to the arrival of Western traders. Likewise, Mataram Noi มตารำน้อย (93) [small Mataram] refers to the Sultanate of Mataram, with its capital at Yogyakarta in Central Java. The word *nòì* is added to distinguish from its predecessor Kingdom of Mataram, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom that flourished between the 8th and 11th centuries. The power of the Sultanate of Mataram peaked during the reign of Sultan Agung (r. 1613–1645), posing a serious threat to the VOC. Yet, after Malacca had fallen to the Dutch in 1641, Mataram lost control over the Straits and gradually fell under the VOC's influence by the end of the century.²⁶⁰



Figure 3.8 Some toponyms on Coastal Map shown on the *Klencke Atlas* (1660).

Source: British Library Board.²⁶¹

The three islands extending from Mataram Nòì – Kò Akahang *kin khon* เกาะอาคาหัง กินคน (95), Entichuang เอนตีชวง (96) and Yihamachawa ยีหะมะชะวา (97) – do not seem to have originated from Western sources. Kò Akahang is the other island besides Antòman, marked “eat man.” However, its identity is not as clear. No island of cannibals in the region was mentioned in the early influential Western travelogues such as *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, from 1515, and *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, from 1596. The Chinese record *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考 [Surveys of the Eastern and Western Sea], published in 1617, noted: “The barbarians in Lan-bang favor cannibalism; therefore, no junks anchor there.”²⁶² Lan-bang referred to today’s Lampung Province in Indonesia, which does not coincide with the location of Kò Akahang on the Coastal Map. Yet, the intention of noting such

²⁶⁰ Pluvier (1995): *Historical Atlas of South-East Asia*, 27.

²⁶¹ See footnote 170170.

²⁶² Zhang (1618): 「覽邦夷人好食人，故船無維纜者。」 Vol 9.

an island is alike: to warn sailors of danger. Upon closer inspection, one can see the red line linking Mataram Nòi with Entichuang deliberately sways away from Kò Akahang, indicating that it was a perilous island on the route and thus worthy of special caution. The route seems to suggest that Entichuang and Yihamachawa are located within the Lesser Sunda Islands, although their exact locations are yet to be identified.

The islands Yakatra, Kò Timun Farang Ddam เกาะติมูนฝรั่งดำ (94) and Masolot Farang มโสดดฝรั่ง (91) form an obvious circuit on the Coastal Map. This circuit resembles VOC sailing routes within the region. From Jakarta, ships were sent during the monsoon to Banda, Ambon and Molucca to collect spices, and also separately to the islands of Timor (94) and Solor (91) for sandalwood.²⁶³ This explains why these toponyms are grouped in two clusters, with inaccurate locations on the map.

Early in the 1500s, the Portuguese had used Solor as the wintering harbor to access Timor as it provided better shelter. Following the traders were Dominican priests, who built a stone fort in 1566 to protect themselves against local raiders. The fort fell to a Dutch attack in 1613.²⁶⁴ In short, the Portuguese traders then mainly dispersed to nearby Larantuka on Flores Island while the priests went to Timor. These Portuguese communities had long begun mingling with the locals, resulting in mixed-blood offspring, known as *mestiço*, whom the Dutch called *swarte Portugeezen* [black Portuguese]. They might have looked Asian, but they all spoke Portuguese, pledged allegiance to the Portuguese Crown and adhered to Catholicism. In fact, the group also consisted of native Christians, the *Mardijkers*, who were Christianized freed slaves of mainly Indian origin, and the *Pampangans* from the Philippines, who served under the Spaniards as mercenaries. This diverse community was viewed as a single entity by the native Portuguese and the Dutch. Since the number of Portuguese was small and there were few reinforcements, the local “black” Portuguese soon outnumbered their “white” counterparts.²⁶⁵

Although the Dutch founded a fortress in Kupang in West Timor in 1653, they never managed to dominate the island and trade as they had wished. Stiff resistance came from a group of black Portuguese, known as *Topasses*, led by two prominent families – the Hornay and the da Costa – who remain influential political figures in East Timor to date.²⁶⁶

The Thai denotation *farang dam* ฝรั่งดำ [black westerner] on the Coastal Map seems to mirror the Dutch term *swarte Portugeezen* [black Portuguese]. As aforementioned, *farang* originally referred to the Portuguese. This unusual term in Thai might have entered the map alongside the trade information obtained from Dutch sources. It did not appear in the Royal Chronicles

²⁶³ Parthesius (2010): 53–54.

²⁶⁴ Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008): *The Solor-Timor Mission of the Dominicans, 1562–1800*, 74–76.

²⁶⁵ Andaya (2010): “The ‘Informal Portuguese Empire’ and the Topasses in the Solor Archipelago and Timor in the 17th and 18th Centuries” in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol 41:3, 396–397, 406.

²⁶⁶ For detail, see the pioneering research done by Boxer (1947): *The Topasses of Timor*.

of Ayutthaya, and nor in official trade records of the early Bangkok era, suggesting it was a borrowed word specific to the Coastal Map. It is unclear which group of people *farang dam* refers to as the islands marked with *farang dam* were governed by different political powers. It could be a general term to indicate a notable presence of mixed-blood descendants there.

• The Philippines

From eight islands in the Philippines, five – Kò Yip เกาะยิบ (101), Kò Tanao เกาะตนาว (102), Kò Phisai เกาะพีส (103), Kò Lepa เกาะเลปา (104) and Kò Kop เกาะกบ (105) – are marked with *farang dam*, while Kò Atuang เกาะอะตวง (106) is marked only with *farang*. The other two islands are Kò Tha Samphao เกาะทาสำภาว (107) and Katsalam กัษลาม (108). None of the toponyms sound familiar enough to recall immediate recognition.

In 1521, the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, in the service of the Castilian Crown, led the first group of Spaniards to land in Visayas, the central region of today's Philippines. Soon they set their eyes on the Maluku Islands, prompting disputes with the Portuguese over its suzerainty. In 1529, the Treaty of Zaragoza was finally concluded, extending the imaginary line of the Treaty of Tordesillas,²⁶⁷ signed in 1494, to the east of the Maluku Islands. The Spanish Crown abandoned her claims on the islands in exchange for the right to colonize the Philippines. A base was first established in Cebu, later moved to Manila on Luzon. While the colonial capital successfully grew into a cosmopolitan city, the rest of the country mostly remained outside of the Spanish sphere of influence.²⁶⁸

In Manila, the sizable Chinese population known as Sangleys soon settled for trade.²⁶⁹ For ease of administration of inhabitants of different races, the Spaniards replicated the class system imposed in colonial Spanish America on the Philippines, with Spaniards born in Europe at the top of the hierarchy, followed by those of pure Spanish descent born in the Philippines. Mixed race offspring of Austronesian ancestry were known as *mestizo*.

The toponym Kò Tha Samphao in Thai means “island of harbor for junks.” In the dance-epic song in archaic Cebuano *Aginid, Bayok sa Atong Tawarik*²⁷⁰, and recorded and translated into English by local antiquarian Jovito Abellana as *Glide On, Ode of our History* in 1952 – it is

²⁶⁷ Concluded on 7 July 1494 between Portugal and Spain and ratified by Isabel of Castille on 2 August and John II of Portugal on 5 September of the same year, it rigidly divided the two empires by means of a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands off the west coast of Africa. The lands to the east would belong to Portugal and those to the west to Castile.

²⁶⁸ Tremml-Werner (2015): “The Foundations of a Global Stage” in *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571–1644*, 94–100.

²⁶⁹ For detail, see Tremml-Werner (2020): “The Global and the Local in Early Modern Manila's Communication Spaces” in *Philippine Confluence: Iberian, Chinese and Islamic Currents, C. 1500–1800*, 191–216.

²⁷⁰ Kintanar-Alburo (2014): ‘Introducing Two Cebuano Texts in Translation: “Aginid” and “Sugilakbit”’ in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol 42: 3/4, 179–188. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/44512019. The author said an annotated translation is under process. The ode was passed down through oral tradition, recounting the story of pre-colonial Cebu. It is one of the few narrative texts on local history.

mentioned that the name Cebu was coined from the old word *sibu* (archaic Cebuano: barter). When Magellan arrived during the reign of Sri Humabon, the Rajah of Cebu (then known as Sugbo), foreign trade was bustling.²⁷¹ Archeological evidence supports this claim, as glazed ceramics from China, Thailand and Vietnam, dated as early as the mid-14th century, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, have been found in the Cebu settlement site.²⁷² The word *sibu* was perhaps loaned from the Chinese term *shibo* 市舶, with *shi* meaning city and *bo* meaning ocean-going vessel, referring to the maritime trade which originated in the form of barter and conducted with foreigners. The Thai toponym Kò Tha Samphao implies a place for junk trade, suggesting a certain similarity with the etymology of Cebu.

Should Kò Tha Samphao indeed be Cebu, then Katsalam could be Luzon as these were the two core places that the Spaniards exercised direct control for trading purposes. For the rest of the territory, they relied on the collaboration of native elites to tax the rest of the population.²⁷³ Hence the other islands were marked with *farang* and *farang dam* on the Coastal Map.

In Tagalog – the local language spoken in Manila, later standardized as the official language of the country – Spaniards are called *Kastila* after the Crown of Castile. This may have been phonetically related to the toponym Katsalam to refer to Luzon. In *Ming shi*, Castile was transcribed as Ganxila 干系臘²⁷⁴, but the island of Luzon has always been recorded as Lu-song 呂宋 or Xiao-lu-song 小呂宋 [small Luzon], to be paired with Da-lu-song 大呂宋 [big Luzon], the alias for Spain.²⁷⁵ Since the toponyms in this cluster do not coincide with place names mentioned in Spanish or Chinese sources, the possibility arises that the Siamese might have obtained the information from a local *mestizo*, despite the fact that the Spaniards had concluded the first trade treaty with Siam through a mission from Manila as early as 1598.²⁷⁶ The toponyms might have been derived from the local tongue²⁷⁷ and the influence of *farang dam* in the trading network of the Philippines is therefore highlighted.

While it is clear that the *farang dam* on Timor referred to the Topasses, who controlled the island, there was no evidence suggesting that their influence extended beyond the immediate islands. The term “black Portuguese” was applied not only to Portuguese *mestiço*, but also

²⁷¹ Quoted in Montebon (2000): *Retracing Our Roots: A Journey into Cebu's Precolonial and Colonial Past*, 15–19. Also see translation of some archaic Cebuano vocabularies in Ouano-Savellon (2014): “‘Aginid Bayok Sa Atong Tawarik’: Archaic Cebuano and Historicity in a Folk Narrative” in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol 42: 3/4, 216. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/44512020.

²⁷² Orillaneda (2016): “Maritime Trade in the Philippines During the 15th Century CE” in *Moussons*, Vol 27, 83–100. Online at doi.org/10.4000/moussons.3529. Also see Brown (2009): *The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia: Towards a Chronology of Thai Trade Ware*.

²⁷³ Tremml-Werner (2015): 101–104.

²⁷⁴ *Ming shi*: Juan 325, 8434.

²⁷⁵ *Qingshi gao*: Juan 159, 4657–4660.

²⁷⁶ For detail, see Rodao (2007): “The Castilians Discover Siam: Changing Visions and Self-discovery” in *Journal of Siam Society*, Vol 95, 1–24.

²⁷⁷ The eight major tongues include Cebuano, Tagalog, Hiligaynon, Waray, Ilocono, Pangasinan, Bicolano and Kapampangan.

the corresponding class of Eurasians and native Christians in South and Southeast Asia, such as the *mestizo* from the Philippines.²⁷⁸ In the Thai interpretation, the term *farang dam* might also include local leaders who had succumbed to the Spaniards. A clearer connotation of the term can only be understood if the five toponyms of *farang dam* are identified and the dynamics of the internal trade network are explored, an endeavor which is beyond the scope of this study.

Drawing evidence from Maluku on the Coastal Map, *farang* probably indicates territories controlled by the Dutch. The earliest Dutch attack on the Spanish Philippines dated back to 1600, during the circumnavigation by the merchant captain Olivier van Noort, who fought the Spaniards off the Batangas coast. Following the establishment of the VOC, various expeditions were launched to chase the Spaniards out in order to control the lucrative trade with China.²⁷⁹ In 1616, the Dutch put together 10 ships in an attempt to lay siege to Manila. The fleet first attacked Oton in Iloilo, an important Spanish supply base, but were repulsed in four assaults. The next year, in a battle outside the Manila Bay and lured by the Spaniards, two Dutch ships were burned and one sunk while the rest fled.²⁸⁰ The bilateral conflicts continued until a truce came in 1648 with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. Yet the Dutch never officially occupied any islands in the Philippines. Based on the phonetic similarity, Kò Atuang (106) on the Coastal Map might be Oton, which was called Outon in Dutch.

This section of the Coastal Map remains hard to decrypt with certainty until more research on Filipino-Siam relations in the 1600s is conducted.

• Japan

There are five toponyms that ended with *Yipun* ยิปุ่น which means Japan. As aforementioned, Kò Ria Yipun เกาะริช ยิปุ่น (114) is in fact Korea, not Japan. Among the four remaining islands, Makalake Yipun มากาลาเกยิปุ่น (109) is the only one with connecting red lines to other polities, including Ayutthaya. Therefore, the only possible candidate is Nagasaki. The Thai consonant characters ม (m) and น (n) as well as ล (l) and ส (s) are easily prone to scribal error, especially when the name was entirely foreign. The intended spelling might have been Nakasake Yipun นากาซากะยิปุ่น, a phonetically closer transcription of the Japanese pronunciation.

The first Europeans to set foot in Japan were three Portuguese travelers who boarded a Chinese ship that drifted ashore on Tanegashima in 1543. The junk carried over 100 Southeast Asians, so the Portuguese took on the name *nanban-jin* 南蛮人 [southern barbarians], a term that was initially used in the Japanese context to signify the region of modern Thailand and Cambodia.

²⁷⁸ Boxer (1947): 1.

²⁷⁹ Van den Muijzenberg (2003): “A Short History of Social Connections between the Philippines and the Netherlands” in *Philippine Studies*, Vol 51:3, 339–340. Online at: www.jstor.org/stable/42633660.

²⁸⁰ Chang (1966): “The Spanish-Dutch Naval Battle of 1617 Outside Manila Bay” in *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol 7:1, 116–121. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/20172838. Also see Comyn (1821): *State of the Philippine Islands: Being an Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive Account of that Interesting Portion of the Indian Archipelago*, xl–xli.

Yet they clearly stood out from the rest due to their distinct European culture and superior military technology in terms of their firearms. Since Arquebus was highly sought after, missionary activities were soon allowed to facilitate trade with the Portuguese, especially via Macao.²⁸¹

Before Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) unified Japan in 1600, the country was in a state of civil war known as *Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代 [the Warring States Period]. The daimyo (Japanese: feudal lord) of Kyushu were particularly active in the *nanban* (Japanese: Southeast Asia) trade with Siam and Cambodia. For instance, in 1577 a Chinese named Guo Liuguan 郭六官 acted as the envoy of the King of Ayutthaya and entered the port of Hirado in northwestern Kyushu of the daimyo Matura 松浦, followed by the ship of Wu Lao 吳老 a year later. The Matura then sought out trade connections with the Kingdom of Ayutthaya.²⁸² In fact, one of the most intact drawings of a Siam ship found nowadays is housed in the Matura Historical Museum. The images (Figure 3.9) form part of a set of 12 illustrations collectively known as the *Tosen no zu* 唐船之図 [Drawings of Chinese Junks], completed around 1720, which recorded the configuration of trading ships coming from 12 places, including Siam and Guangzhou. Key dimensions of a Siamese junk were noted to be about 42m long, 8m wide, and with a main mast 36m high.²⁸³ A distinct feature of the Siamese junk was the *tou-ji* 頭楫 [water-sail or bowsprit-sail], a protruding mast and sail at the head of the junk, which might have been an influence from the west.²⁸⁴

Kò Yipun เกาะยี่ปุ่น (110) is probably the island of Hirado. This island first emerged as an important base for Chinese and Portuguese merchants in Japan in the 1550s under the Matura family's dedicated policies on maritime trade. In the Matura domanical chronicle *Fukae-ki* 深江記 – an unpublished manuscript held by Matura Historical Museum and written around 1670 – it was recorded that:

Merchants ships came from *To* [China]. After this, Portuguese black ships entered the harbor of Hirado. Chinese and Nanban [Portuguese] rare objects overflowed each year. As a result,

²⁸¹ Oka (2018): “The Nanban and Shuinsen Trade in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Japan” in *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches: Europe, Asia and the Americas in a World Network System*, 163–165. Online at doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-4053-5_8.

²⁸² Kage (2015): *Ajia no Naka no Sengoku Daimyo* アジアの中の戦国大名 [Sengoku Daimyo in Asia], 164–167. Quoted in Oka (2018): 166. Also see the Letter to Siam (1577) written by the 26th head of the Matura family, Matura Shigenobu (Hoin), to ask for permission to trade, in the collection of Matura Historical Museum.

²⁸³ Oba (2011): *Tangchuantu Kaozheng* 唐船圖考証 [Research on Illustrations of Chinese Commercial Ships], 26–28.

²⁸⁴ Oba (2011): 36–37; Needham (1971): *Science and Civilization in China: Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology, Part 3, Civil Engineering and Nautics*, 405.

merchants from Kyoto, Sakai, and other parts gathered [in Hirado], which was called the western capital.²⁸⁵

In 1609, Tokugawa Ieyasu gave permission for the VOC to set up an outpost on the island of Hirado, which operated for 32 years until the Dutch were forced to relocate to Nagasaki in 1641. The English East India Company also opened a factory there in 1613, but soon closed it down after a decade of irregular returns.²⁸⁶ Albeit only in operation for almost a century, the island had been a thriving foreign trading hub before Japan restricted all foreign trade to Nagasaki.

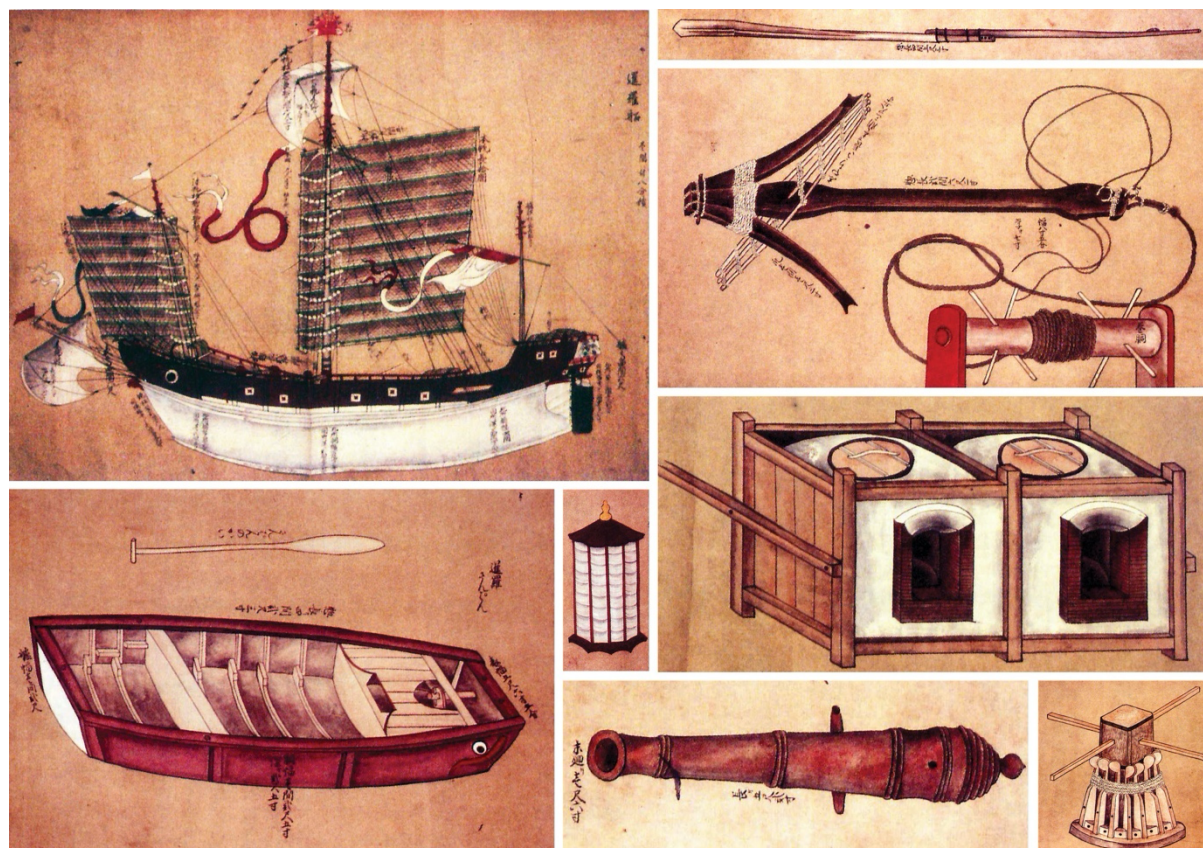


Figure 3.9 Illustrations of Siam ship with dinghy, wooden anchor and windlass, lantern, stove, cannon and capstan. Source: Matsura Historical Museum.²⁸⁷

The other two toponyms – Lamasi Yipun ลามาศียิปูน (111) and Mūang Yipun เมืองยิปูน (112) – are hard to identify. Lamasi Yipun is located only 15 *yot* away from Nagasaki, yet no town or polity of a similar sounding name is known. The word *mūang* means “city” or “town” in Thai, while it could be used to denote the capital, which was Edo (Tokyo). However, there is not enough information to help locate the toponym. One possible hint might be its proximity to Korea, although no red line connects the two. Since the end of the Warring State period, the

²⁸⁵ Translated and quoted in Clulow (2010): “From Global Entrepôt to Early Modern Domain: Hirado, 1609–1641” in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol 65(1), 5.

²⁸⁶ Ibid: 1–7.

²⁸⁷ Printed in Oba (2011): 59–72. Permission to reprint granted by Matsura Historical Museum.

So family that reigned over Tsushima island had been made the sole liaison between Japan and the Joseon Korea, in charge of both diplomatic relations and trade. The island carried out these duties under the Sakoku Edicts throughout the whole Edo period.²⁸⁸

When Ayutthaya first made contact with Japan remains a matter of speculation. The earliest record, peculiarly, was not noted in Japanese or Thai records, but in the dynastic history of Korea *Koryosa* 高麗史 [History of Koryo]. It stated that a Siamese embassy, a total of eight people led by Nai-gong 奈工, left Ayutthaya in the summer of 1388 and stayed in Japan for about a year before arriving in Korea in 1391, the third year of the reign of King Kongyang (r. 1389–1392).²⁸⁹ However this should not necessarily imply direct trading relations had been established at the time.

Ryukyu

Prior to the direct communication between the courts of Ayutthaya and Japan, their trade had already begun through the intermediary of Ryukyu merchants. Leveraging its strategic location between Southeast and Northeast Asia, Ryukyu logically became an entrepot as it did not have much in the way of natural resources for export, except sulfur and horses. Their merchants purchased specialties in Southeast Asia and subsequently sold them in markets like China, Japan and Korea.²⁹⁰

The earliest record of relations between Siam and Ryukyu can be found in *Rekidai Hoan*. A document dated Hung-hsi 1 (1425), which stated: “... from our royal great-grandfather’s time through the times of our grandfather and father down to this day, we have frequently dispatched our envoys...” This suggests that communication could have begun in the late 1380s, during the reigns of King Satto 察度 (r. 1350–1395) in Ryukyu and King Borommarachathirat I (r. 1370–1388) in Siam.²⁹¹ The Ming court was made aware of such bilateral relations when a Ryukyu-bound Siamese ship accidentally arrived Fujian in 1404. Delighted with such friendly relations among the vassal states, Emperor Yongle 永樂 (r. 1402–1424) ordered the provincial government to have the ship repaired, provided them with required food provision, and gave them directions to their desired destination, be it Siam or Ryukyu.²⁹²

By the 15th century, Japan was known in Siam as a producer of refined paper fans and swords, regalia highly sought after by the Siamese royalty. In exchange, Siamese sappanwood and

²⁸⁸ History Textbook Research Association (Korea) and History Education Research Association (Japan) (2014): *A History of Korean-Japanese Interaction. From Prehistory to Modern Times*, 181–184.

²⁸⁹ Chong (1451): *Koryosa* 高麗史 [History of Koryo], *kwon* 46, King Kongyang, Vol 1, 688–689.

「戊子暹羅斛國遣奈工等八人來獻土物致書曰，暹羅斛國王今差奈工等爲使管押舡隻裝載出產土物進奉高麗國王。無姓名封識但有小圓印亦不可考驗國家疑其僞議曰，不可以信亦不可以不信且來者不拒待之以厚以禮遠人不受其書以示不惑可也。王引見勞之對曰，戊辰年受命發船至日本留一年今日至貴國得見殿下頓忘行役之勞。」 Online at dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/991068.

²⁹⁰ Cho (2000): 81–82.

²⁹¹ Kobata and Matsuda (1969): 53–54.

²⁹² Wade (trans): *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*. Online at epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/yong-le/year-2-month-9-day-4-0, accessed 20 November 2020.

pepper were brought to China by Ryukyu merchants as tribute.²⁹³ With some 62 ships going to Siam on 48 voyages between 1425 and 1564 in official documentation,²⁹⁴ Siam was Ryukyu's most important trading destination in Southeast Asia. The total number of ships that journeyed to Siam between 1385 and 1570 is estimated at about 150. Afterwards, Ryukyu merchants limited themselves to trade only between China and Japan due to the weak financial power of the Ming dynasty, competition from merchants from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, burgeoning pirate activity, and the rise of the Portuguese in the southern regions.²⁹⁵ On the side of Siam, the kingdom had been under Burmese attack since 1563 and was finally conquered in 1569, when it became a vassal state of Burma for the next 15 years.

Yet Ryukyu and Siam maintained constant communication for almost 200 years before it was terminated. It is therefore not hard to imagine that the island with no name (113) on the Coastal Map, situated correctly between Nagasaki (109) and Taiwan (115), was intended as Ryukyu.

Vermillion Seal Trade

Driven by his desire for matchlock and saltpeter, Tokugawa Ieyasu began to seek trade relations with Southeast Asian countries in the late 16th century. At that time, Japan could manufacture matchlocks, but no significant natural deposits of saltpeter could be found while the process of its synthesis was poorly understood. Vermillion seal licenses were issued for foreign trade, and Japanese merchants soon ventured into major hubs like Manila and Melaka. These *shuinsen* 朱印船, or vermilion-seal junks, roamed the seas of Asia until the *Sakoku* 鎖国 [Closed Country] edicts forbade all nationals from going abroad in the 1630s.

The sultanate of Patani, a vassal state of Siam, was the first to establish direct contact with Japan through an envoy in 1599. While the two were initially on friendly terms – resulting in five voyages to Pattani between 1604 and 1605 – diplomatic exchanges quickly turned sour when Tokugawa Ieyasu received a royal letter in 1606 reporting the conflicts and troubles of Japanese merchants in Pattani. Displeased, he ceased all such interaction with Pattani and began correspondence with Siam. From 1604 to 1615, *Tsuko ichiran* 通航一覽 [List of Navigations] – a collection of official diplomatic records of the Tokugawa shogunate compiled in 1853 – recorded that 45 licenses were issued to Japanese or Dutch traders based in seaports like Sakai in Honshu, Nagasaki and Hirado in Western Kyushu, and Hakata in Northern Kyushu, to the Kingdom of Shamuro 暹羅 (Siam), which encompassed four polities: Mishiya (Ayutthaya); Shinichu, or Singora (Songkhla), Pattani, and, curiously, Kachan, or Ca chiam

²⁹³ Ishii (1996): “Siam and Japan in Pre-Modern Times: A Note on Mutual Images” in *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, 153.

²⁹⁴ Ishii (1990) counted 61 ships on 46 voyages from 1419 to 1564. “The Ryukyu in Southeast Asian Trade in the 15th and 16th Centuries” in *Asian Panorama: Essays in Asian History, Past and Present*, 356–357, 362–364.

²⁹⁵ Sakamaki (1964): “Ryukyu and Southeast Asia” in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 23:3, 386, 388–389.

(Hoi-an), the premier port of Cochinchina. Meanwhile, two Siamese ships were reported to have arrived Nagasaki in 1613,²⁹⁶ followed by a royal junk in 1616.²⁹⁷

By the 1580s, a group of Japanese had already settled in Ayutthaya and gone into service under the young warrior-prince Naresuan to help defend against repeated Burmese invasions until the early 1590s.²⁹⁸ The community was comprised of traders, Christian converts fleeing persecution and unemployed former samurai. The most influential figure among them was Yamada Nagamasa 山田長政 (1590–1630), the head of the Japanese community and trusted military ally of King Songtham.

Upon the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1616 and King Songtham in 1628, Yamada Nagamasa became the pivotal link of Siam-Japanese communications. He penned letters to introduce the Siamese envoys to the shogunate prior to their arrival in 1621, and again 1629, in which he reported the death of King Songtham and gave thanks for the vermilion seal granted to him for trade. He was obviously a capable merchant. In 1623, the VOC reported that its agents could only procure 8,000 deer hides as Yamada had blocked them out by contracting with Thai hunters and middlemen to purchase 160,000 deer hides to be sent to Japan via three Siamese vessels.²⁹⁹ However, Yamada soon lost his footing in the succession dispute. He was ordered to leave Ayutthaya to be governor of Nakhon Si Thammarat, and was assassinated shortly after by poison in 1630.³⁰⁰ The new King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656) then expelled the entire Japanese community from Ayutthaya, which antagonized the shogunate in Japan.³⁰¹ Direct trading arrangements were never resumed.

Nagasaki

The first Portuguese to arrive at Nagasaki was Luis de Almeida, a merchant-turned-Jesuit, in 1557. Not long after, in 1570, the Portuguese were permitted to trade there by the Omura daimyo in Kyushu. Both merchants and Jesuits then made Nagasaki their main base of operations. Carracks – known by the Japanese as black ships, the motif of the Nanban art (Figure 3.10) – arrived from Macao annually ferrying silk bought from the Canton trade fair in Guangzhou, China. The Portuguese were considered to dominate trade in this commodity as the Ming court had forbidden trading with Japan following a resurgence of Japanese pirates who were raiding the Chinese coast.³⁰² This lucrative route, allowing the Portuguese to reap literally tons of silver every year, can also be found on the Coastal Map, linking Nagasaki (109)

²⁹⁶ Yoshiteru and Bytheway (2011): 83–88, 102–104.

²⁹⁷ Gunn (2018): 148.

²⁹⁸ Breazeale (1999): 27–28.

²⁹⁹ Sprey and Hall (2020): “Ayutthaya’s Seventeenth-Century Deerskin Trade in the Extended Eastern Indian Ocean and South China Sea” in *Animal Trade Histories in the Indian Ocean World*, 228.

³⁰⁰ Yoshiteru (2007): “Yamada Nagamasa and His Relations with Siam” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 95, 76–80.

³⁰¹ Polenghi (2009): 61–64.

³⁰² Loureiro (2011): “The Macau-Nagasaki Route (1570–1640): Portuguese Ships and their Cargoes” in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350–1850*, 192–197.

with Macao (122). It is not certain if Ryukyu (113) and Taiwan (115) were regularly called at for trade or provision en route, but the two were mentioned in the voyage to Japan by the carrack *Santa Cruz*, which departed Macao on 6 July 1564:

...That night we slept between the islands which are near Amacao (Macao) and we took five days to sail from there to Chincheo (Fujian) or about as far as that. Coasting along the island Formosa (Taiwan) and the little Liquio (Ryukyu), a storm blew up...³⁰³



Figure 3.10 One of a pair of six-panel folding screens titled *Arrival of the Southern Barbarians* 南蛮図屏風 (c. 1600) showing a Portuguese carrack and its Southeast Asian crew unloading cargo at Nagasaki. Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund.³⁰⁴

The effort of the Jesuits and other Catholic orders like the Dominicans and Franciscans from Spanish Manila also bore enormous fruit. By 1581, the number of Christians in Kyushu had risen to 100,000, abetted by the conversion of daimyos spearheaded by the Omura clan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi then confiscated Nagasaki in 1588 and expelled Christianity, gaining control of foreign trade there. Nagasaki thus became one of the five towns – alongside Kyoto, Osaka, Sakai and later Edo (Tokyo) – in Japan that were placed under direct Shogunal control.³⁰⁵ In 1621, Tokugawa Ieyasu severed all ties with the Spaniards after two priests were caught being smuggled onboard a Japanese ship returning from Manila, a glaring violation of

³⁰³ Evora (1598): “Carta que hum Portugues homem honrado, escreveu de Japão ao Padre Francisco Perez a China de cousas de Japão, e da viagem dos padres que naquella nao forão pera Japão, e feita no anno de 1664” in *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos reynos de Japao & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa, des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580* [Letters Written by Priests And Brothers of the Society of Jesus In Japan & China to their peers in India & Europe, from 1549 to 1580], Vol I, 150–151. Translated and quoted in Boxer (1960): *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao an the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640*, 309.

³⁰⁴ Item no: 1960.193.2, 337.2x146.7 cm, ink, color and gold on paper. Online at www.clevelandart.org/art/1960.193.2.

³⁰⁵ Gunn (2018): 53–54, 63.

the 1611 ban on missionaries. The priests and the Japanese shipowner, a baptized Christian, were burned at the stake in Nagasaki.³⁰⁶

Wind of the Portuguese success had reached the Dutch and the English, who then rushed to knock at Japan's door. As aforementioned, both set up bases in Hirado. The English soon exited the scene due to financial difficulties while the Dutch fortuitously escaped the same fate by occupying Taiwan by accident in 1624 after an ill-planned attack on Macao. To keep them at arm's length, the Ming court allowed the Dutch to set up a fort there to trade with Chinese merchants. This gave the VOC access to large quantities of silk for the Japanese market from merchants like Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍, a powerful mercantile merchant based in Fujian province, and the father of the Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 or Koxinga, the Ming loyalist who eventually expelled the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662.³⁰⁷ The Zheng family then established the Kingdom of Tungning. This connection is also visible on the Coastal Map, which shows a route from Cakcio 檳榔嶼 (118) to Taiwan (115) and then on to Nagasaki (109).

In order to consolidate power – a process which had begun in the Hideyoshi era – Tokugawa Ieyasu finally issued a series of *Sakoku* edicts from 1635. There were three main clauses. Firstly, no Japanese nationals were allowed to go in or out of the country on pain of death. This effectively ended the vermilion seal trade run by powerful daimyos and merchants, many of whom were located in Kyushu and had fought against the Tokugawa in Sekigahara in 1600, a decisive battle that had led to the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. Secondly, Christianity was to be eradicated in the country. All Christians, also mostly located in Kyushu, were to renounce their faith or accept martyrdom. Thirdly, foreign commerce was strictly regulated in all aspects, from the arrival of ships and the movement of foreigners to sales mechanisms.³⁰⁸

Anti-Christian sentiment peaked following the Shimabara rebellion (1637–1638), when Christian peasants were involved in the uprising against the daimyo in Shimabara, a domain to the east of Nagasaki. This five-month rebellion was suppressed at great cost, resulting in up to 37,000 men, women and children being decapitated. In the spring of 1639, the shogunate decided to expel all Portuguese, including their children of mixed racial parentage, to curb all underground Christian activities.³⁰⁹ No Portuguese ships were then allowed into Japan thereafter, bringing to an abrupt end the Nagasaki-Macao route.

With the Portuguese gone and the Ming maritime ban in effect, the Dutch found themselves in an unprecedented advantageous position in Japan. But they were soon to be restrained as well.

³⁰⁶ Laver (2011): *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, Student Edition, Kindle Locations 524–533.

³⁰⁷ Hang (2016): “The Shogun's Chinese Partners: The Alliance between Tokugawa Japan and the Zheng Family in Seventeenth-Century Maritime East Asia” in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 116–117.

³⁰⁸ Laver (2011): Kindle Locations 752–764, 1211–1262, 1795–1807.

³⁰⁹ Gunn (2018): 122–138.

In 1641, the VOC factory was relocated to the small fan-shaped artificial island called Dejima 出島 in Nagasaki and placed under direct shogunal surveillance, instead of the Matsura daimyo in Hirado.³¹⁰ There the Dutch would remain in quarantined quarters, except for an annual journey to meet with the Shogun in Edo, until 1854, when Japan was forced to open up to foreign trade by the Americans.

With the exceptions of Tsushima, dedicated to trade with Korea, Satsuma with Ryukyu and Matsumae with the Ainu people in Hokkaido, Nagasaki was the sole authorized port for international trade, opening its harbor to only Dutch and Chinese vessels. Despite the maritime ban imposed by the Ming court, Chinese junks were still visiting Nagasaki, and their numbers quickly bounced back right after the ban was lifted by the Qing court in 1684. Like their Dutch counterparts, Chinese traders were confined to the Tojinyashiki 唐人屋敷, a walled settlement by the seaside on the southeast of Dejima (Figure 3.11). The unique harbor scene was a favored subject of many Japanese and Dutch artists.

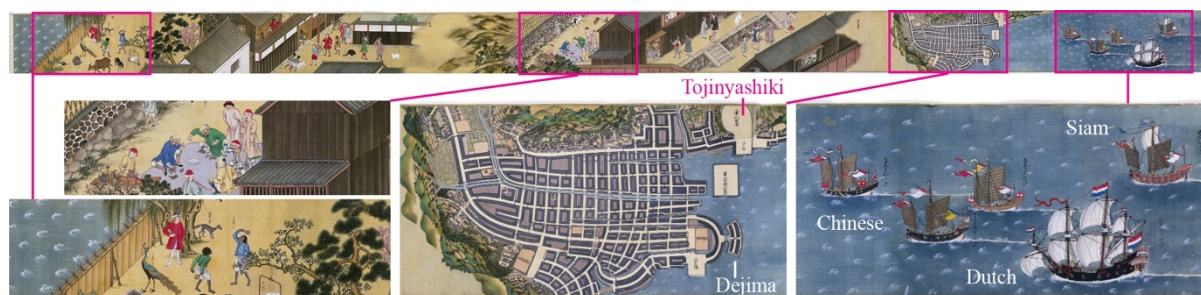


Figure 3.11 The Trading Post at Dejima (c. 1840), by an anonymous artist. The silk scroll shows five vessels – one Dutch, one Siamese and three Chinese – approaching Nagasaki. The Chinese were then confined to the Tojinyashiki, where they were shown gambling in their free time, while the Dutch, in Dejima, playing badminton. Source: Rijksmuseum.³¹¹

Relations with Siam

Since Nagasaki had granted exclusive right of entry to Dutch and Chinese vessels, the two by default became the dedicated agents for trade between Siam and Japan. The court of Ayutthaya did try to rekindle cordial relations with Japan, with previously ended on a bad note upon the death of Yamada Nagamasa in 1630. Siam sent a vessel bearing letters and presents to Nagasaki in 1656. Yet the request to reestablish commercial intercourse was rejected by the shogun. The attempt was repeated in 1687 through a letter written by a high-ranking Siamese official, delivered via a Dutch ship, requesting similar commercial arrangements as the Dutch. It was again declined.³¹² Therefore, Chinese junks, crewed and captained by Chinese, were commissioned to go from Siam to Nagasaki, occasionally calling at ports in China en route,

³¹⁰ Laver (2011): Kindle Locations 2176–2260.

³¹¹ Item no NG-1977-4, 640x34 cm, brush and ink on silk. Online at www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-1977-4.

³¹² Tsuko Ichiran, Vol 7, 15, 111–21. Translated and quoted in Yoshiteru and Bytheway (2011): 94–95.

while the VOC procured Siamese products along its intro-Asian trade routes for the Japanese market.

The Japanese authorities were keen on keeping abreast of international happenings, and vessel captains were deemed excellent sources of intelligence. Chinese captains were interviewed upon arrival. These reports were compiled as *Tosen fusetsu gaki* in the collections of *Kai hentai*. Junks from Siam – referring to Ayutthaya – were categorized under *okubune*, or long-distance vessels, a designation for junks from all Southeast Asian ports like Ligor, Songkhla and Patani, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Champa, Cambodia, Malacca, Bantam and Batavia. Although the records could be traced back to 1644, it was not until 1674 that a systematic numbering was finalized.³¹³

The *Kai hentai* shows that Siam junks rarely missed a trading season from 1679 to 1723. In fact, more than one junk was sent in most years, bringing the total number of arrivals to 63, with one lost to shipwreck in 1692.³¹⁴ The year 1683, in particular, saw the arrival of six junks from Siam, of which five were royally commissioned. The last one was originally bound for Taiwan after loading rice from Siam but was forced to change course to Nagasaki due to military tension between the Qing court and the Zheng family in Taiwan. Among the five junks under royal order, one stopped over at Guangzhou to sell a consignment, purchase silk and load passengers, before sailing to Nagasaki.³¹⁵

There was also record of a trading junk called Dong-ben 東本 – made and owned by Wuping Marquis Liu Guoxuan, a military officer of the Kingdom of Tungning – leaving Taiwan in August 1683 for Japan. It then went to Siam half a year later in February 1684, where it stayed from April to July until it received orders to surrender to Xiamen, Fujian Province, following the collapse of the Zheng regime. When it arrived in Xiamen in August, its trading activities were investigated in detail. Unfortunately, the memorial was damaged so we do not know what happened to the junk. Still, we are left with a precious record of regional trade. From Taiwan, the junk was loaded with 2,050 piculs of white sugar and 150 piculs of crystal sugar. These were sold for 13,520 silver taels in Japan, from which the 83 crew members were paid 3,518.5 taels. The remaining 10,001.5 taels were used to buy copper, gold, tea ware, alcohol, soy sauce, fruit, pickled food and seafood. In Siam, except the 160 piculs of copper, the rest was sold for 8,312.775 taels. After paying the crew 1,529.255 taels, the remaining 6,783.52 taels were used to purchase 264.8 piculs of lead, 1,200 piculs of sappan wood, 400 piculs of tin, at least 4.5 piculs of benzoin,³¹⁶ 13 piculs of pepper, 0.5 picul of cardamom, at least 3.68 piculs of ivory,

³¹³ Ishii (1998): 6–9.

³¹⁴ Gunn (2018): 152.

³¹⁵ Ishii (1998): 29–36.

³¹⁶ The memorial was damaged, causing some words to be missing. Hence the final weight of some products cannot be calculated.

3.67 piculs of bird's nest and 157 bolts of fabrics, leaving 2.59 taels.³¹⁷ This record shows the trade volume and profit of a typical trading junk.

Following the Qing court's triumph over the Zheng family and the recapture of Taiwan, the maritime ban was finally lifted in 1684, causing an influx of Chinese junks in Nagasaki, reaching a staggering 192 vessels in 1688. The Japanese authorities then had to limit the annual number of Chinese junks to 70, of which 10 were allocated for those from Southeast Asia. Two junks from Batavia, and one each from Cambodia and Pattani, were permitted in summer while two from Siam, one from Tonkin and three from Cochinchina were allowed in autumn in order to ensure a desirable mix of imports.³¹⁸

Parallel to the Chinese junk trade was the VOC trading triangle between India, Siam and Japan. Siamese products were sold in Japan for silver, gold and copper in order to buy cotton textiles in India for the Siamese market.³¹⁹ The commodities brought from Siam included sappanwood, hides of deer, cow and buffalo for garments and military equipment, rayskins for the production of hilts of Japanese swords, black lac, tin, elephant tusk and buffalo horn. Although these products were also exported by Chinese traders, the VOC had a particular edge in the trade of hides.³²⁰ In total, products for Japan accounted for 39 percent of the total value of VOC exports from Siam from 1633 to 1663 and rose to around 50 percent from 1664 to 1694.³²¹

The drainage of precious metal had become a serious problem for Japan by the turn of the 18th century, prompting a reform act in 1715 named *Shotoku shinrei* 正徳新例, limiting the number, tonnage, and trading value of Chinese and Dutch vessels. Only 30 Chinese junks were allowed each year, with one allotted for Siam and none for Pattani, Sonkhla and Ligor.³²² Dutch ships were limited to two per year. These restrictions caused a drastic change in the pattern of trade. From 1716 to 1780, Shimada (2013) counted only 32 Siamese junks calling in at Nagasaki, many of which were believed to be individual Chinese traders based in the Yangtze delta who were not involved in the crown trade. The VOC also had to abandon the Ayutthaya-Nagasaki route. Instead, Siamese products – mainly sappan wood, as demand of animal hides had decreased – were brought via Batavia to Japan.³²³

³¹⁷ *Ming Qing Shiliao Jibian* 明清史料己編 [*Collection of Ming-Qing Historical Materials, Vol 6*] (1987): 298–299. The memorial titled “bingbu can tiben 兵部殘題本 [Incomplete Report of the Ministry of War]” also gave a list of products bought by the crew members, but the list was cut off towards the end. It included 250 piculs of sappan wood, 95 piculs of tin, 25 piculs of corn, 15 piculs of dried shrimp, 10 piculs of rose wood, 15 piculs of sandal wood, 4 bolts of fabrics, 15 piculs of copper, Pahang rattan and peacock's tail.

³¹⁸ Innes (1980): *The Door Ajar: Japan's Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, 322.

³¹⁹ Shimada (2013): “Economic Links with Ayutthaya: Changes in Networks between Japan, China, and Siam in the Early Modern Period” in *Itinerario*, Vol 37:3, 94.

³²⁰ Shimada (2010): 149.

³²¹ Smith (1977): 89.

³²² Sarasin Viraphol (2014): 64–65.

³²³ Shimada (2013): 97–98.

Regional Trade Networks on the Coastal Map

To summarize, Siam's links with Japan began with Ryukyu (113), dating as far back as the 1380s. Regular trade, carried out by Ryukyu junks, lasted almost 200 years until 1570. Yet the island was left with no name on the Coastal Map, as the toponym might have been faded out in court communications due to a lack of recent contact. Direct trade between Siam and mainland Japan commenced at the beginning of the 1600s under the framework of the thriving vermillion seal trade. Prominent seaports included Hirado (110), where the Dutch and English were based, and Nagasaki (109), controlled by the Portuguese. The lucrative Macao-Nagasaki route was in operation from 1557 to 1640, from the time the Portuguese settled in Macao until they were barred from Japan.

From 1641 onwards, Nagasaki became the only authorized port for foreign trade, with right of entry granted exclusively to the Chinese and Dutch. The Ayutthaya-Nagasaki route was included in the Siam-China-Japan trade triangle of Chinese junks, and the India-Siam-Japan trade triangle of Dutch ships, until Siam was replaced by Batavia due to tightened trade restrictions imposed by Japan in 1715.

However, Nagasaki had never engaged in direct trade with Korea (114), as opposed to the red connecting line on the Coastal Map. Such trade was conducted solely on Tsushima island throughout the whole Edo period.

The Taiwan-Nagasaki route was first operated by the Dutch, who collected Chinese goods from traders from southern China like Cakcio จั๊กจิว (118) and Lamao ลามาว (120). The routes were then succeeded by the Zheng family, who drove out the Dutch and seized Taiwan in 1662, and later by private Chinese traders when the Qing court finally lifted the maritime ban in 1684, upon Zheng's surrender.

It is worth pointing out that the Coastal Map presents time-conflicting information. For instance, the Portuguese Macao-Nagasaki route was coeval with the Dutch Taiwan-Hirado route, but it was terminated when the Dutch Taiwan-Nagasaki route began in 1641. Such a discrepancy again speaks to the non-linear nature of the map (see Chapter 2). In general, this section of the Coastal Map complies with the transition of maritime network in the first half of the 17th century.

Yet the toponyms in Japan are generally obscure – among which Lamasi Yipun (111) remains unidentifiable – and do not appear to have originated from Japanese sources. It is rather surprising to see that no accumulated knowledge had been transmitted by the Japanese community in Ayutthaya, given that it was involved in the junk trade and prominent enough to gain access to the court until 1630. Most of the routes shown were mainly operated by Westerners, with little reference to the Chinese junk network in this region.

- **China**

There are eight cities on the coast of China on the Coastal Map: Krung Cin กรุงจีน (116), Fu ฝู (117), Cakcio จักจิว (118), Cangcio จังจิว (119), Lamao ลมา (120), Paknam Klüa ปากน้ำเกลือ (121), Makang มกาง (122) and Kwangtung กวางตุ้ง (123). The latter four Nan Ao (120), Chaozhou (121), Macao (122) and Guangzhou (123) are all located in today's Guangdong Province.

Although lacking particular pictorial emphasis, Krung Cin refers to Beijing (116). In Thai, *krung* means “big city,” or “metropolis,” and is often used to describe a capital. For instance, Ayutthaya is known as Krung Kao กรุงเก่า [old city] while Bangkok Krung Thep กรุงเทพฯ [City of Angels]. Siam had long been in contact with China, it officially became a tributary country when a seal was bestowed on the King of Siam in 1377.³²⁴ The envoys were to sail to Guangzhou and proceed to Beijing overland for an audience with the emperor to present the tribute. Their images were often featured in tributary documentative artworks like *Zhigong tu* 職貢圖 [Portraits of Periodical Offering] and *Wanguo laichao tu* 萬國來朝圖 [Pilgrim from Ten Thousand Foreign Countries]. The former recorded the physical appearance of the envoy in their own costumes, accompanied by short descriptions of their country; the latter depicted the envoys waiting in line to present tribute in Beijing's Forbidden City. The Siamese envoys, easily recognizable by their signature pointy headdress, were often shown carrying elephant tusks (Figure 3.12). The genre was particularly popular during the reign of Emperor Qianlong.



Figure 3.12 (From left) Portrait of a Siamese official and his wife shown in *Zhigong tu*; and excerpts of Siamese envoy in the Forbidden City shown in three versions of *Wanguo laichao tu*, all done during the reign of Qianlong (r. 1735–1796). Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France³²⁵; and © The Palace Museum³²⁶.

The next city, Fu ฝู (117), is most likely a corrupted toponym. It was written as Lu ฝู on Ayutthaya 8 and Phu ฝู on Thonburi 10A, making it hard to identify.

³²⁴ *Ming shi*: 「十年，昭祿羣鷹承其父命來朝。帝喜，命禮部員外郎王恒等齎詔及印賜之，文曰暹羅國王之印，并賜世子衣幣及道里費。自是，其國遵朝命，始稱暹羅；比年一貢，或一年兩貢。至正統後，或數年一貢云。」 *Juan* 324, 8397.

³²⁵ Item no: ark:/12148/btv1b55010288n, 38.8 x 34 cm (each painting), ink on silk.
Online at: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55010288n/f1.item.zoom#.

³²⁶ All ink and color on silk by anonymous artists. (From left)
322 x 216 cm, online at minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/paint/appreciate?id=e5bc0d3c68d44672ae4c714d6e341ab3;
365 x 219.5 cm, online at minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/paint/appreciate?id=ee62ad834347462388908f166f4cb11f;
and 299 x 207 cm, online at minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/paint/appreciate?id=afbefa0c18f444fdafd3af8509cfdedf.

Fujian Province

The two cities Cakcio (118) and Cangcio (119) are located in today's Fujian Province. Given its link with Taiwan (115), Cakcio should be Quanzhou 泉州, the seaport dominating foreign trade from the 11th to the 14th centuries, visited by well-known travelers like Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta. Entering the Ming dynasty, the court soon pursued a *haijin* [sea prohibition] policy, barring its population from engaging in seafaring activities for almost 200 years, from 1394 to 1567, in order to curb the attacks from rebels and Japanese pirates in coastal areas. Yet illegal trade went on, and Quanzhou was the base for influential private traders like the Zheng family. The city went by many different names. It was once known as Zayton in Arabic³²⁷ and perhaps Chincheo in Portuguese³²⁸, but it is unclear from which name the Thai transcription is derived. The city was marked as the starting point on the Selden Map of China (ca. 1620s) with a route passing through Changzhou, Chaozhou and Guangzhou to Siam (Figure 3.13), testifying to its importance in maritime trade.



Figure 3.13 Route on the Selden Map of China from Quanzhou, passing Changzhou, Chaozhou and Guangzhou, to Ayutthaya. Source: Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The toponym Cangcio จังจิว (119), or Zhangzhou 漳州 in Chinese, was one of the few that were mentioned in the *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*. It noted that, sometime between 1564 and 1569, a Chinese junk from Cangcio จังจิว, unaware of the fact that the Hongsawadi army had laid siege to the capital, entered the mouth of the [Chao Phraya] river. The King of Phrae was ordered to capture it with his naval force, but the junk escaped successfully, causing the

³²⁷ The Arabic name Zayton was derived from *citong* 刺桐, the Chinese name of the *erythrina variegata* trees with red flowers planted around the haven entrance of the city. Wang (2020): “Zayton as a Crucial Harbor and World Emporium in Maritime Trade” in *Legendary Port of the Maritime Silk Routes: Zayton (Quanzhou)*, 2–3.

³²⁸ It is suggested that the toponym first referred to Quanzhou and later Changzhou following the course of trade expansion of the Portuguese in the Fujian area prior to settlement in Macao. Liao and Hui (2013): “16–18 Shijichu Ouzhou Ditu zhong de Chincheo Gang 16—18世紀初歐洲地圖中的Chincheo港 [Chincheo on European Maps in the 16th–18th Century]” in *Journal of Chinese Historical Studies* 中國史研究, 1, 160–172.

King of Phrae to be punished.³²⁹ This episode shows that traders from Zhangzhou had been visiting Siam since the 16th century despite the maritime ban. The connection was also reflected in *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* 西洋朝貢典錄 [Records of Tributes from the Western Ocean Countries] (1520), in which a brief sailing instruction from Zhangzhou to Siam was recorded.³³⁰ Later, in *Tianxia jinguo libing shu* 天下郡國利病書 [Merits and Drawbacks of All the Countries in the World], under the year Jiajing 26 (1547), Yuegang 月港 in Zhangzhou was noted to be particularly renowned for its manufacture of ocean-crossing vessels which conducted trade in countries like Siam and those under Portuguese control.³³¹ In 1567, Yuegang became the only port dedicated to foreign trade, limited to Southeast Asian countries with time-honored tributary relations like the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia and Siam.³³² From then on until the end of Ming in 1644, Siam sent only 12 tribute missions in 78 years, a stark contrast to the 19 missions sent in the 28 years from 1368 to 1398, when the maritime ban against private trade was at its strictest.³³³ Although the decrease was influenced by a series of factors, there was no denying that the proliferation of private trade had contributed to the cause. The close relationship between Zhangzhou and Siam suggests that the toponym was made known to the Siamese through direct contact.

Guangdong Province

The next toponym, Nan Ao (120), marks the border of today's Guangdong Province. Owing to its geographical advantages – being close to both Guangdong and Fujian Provinces – it was an important landmark for junks sailing from Fujian to Southeast Asia and from Guangdong to Japan. The Ming court had twice evacuated all the inhabitants on Nan Ao, in 1387 and 1409, in order to control pirate activities. Yet the policy had backfired as the empty island became a hotbed for illegal trade, and even tributary junks from Southeast Asia would first stopover at Nan Ao to sell products. Beside the Japanese, the Portuguese also frequented the island,³³⁴ and the island can be found on Portuguese maps as early as the 1550s.³³⁵

³²⁹ Department of Fine Arts (1994): *Rüang phra ratcha phongsawadan krung Siam cak ton chabap khòng British Museum krung London* เรื่อง พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงสยามจากต้นฉบับของบริติชมิวเซียม กรุงลอนดอน [Royal Chronicle of Kingdom of Siam from Original Manuscripts of the British Museum, London], 62; and Wyatt (2000): *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya: A Synoptic Translation by Richard D. Cushman*, 64.

³³⁰ Huang (1520): *Juan* 2, “Siam.” 「由漳州而往，鍼位：見南澳，取東董之山，山之狀如唐冠…」 Online at: lib.nus.edu.sg/sea_chinese/doc_bg/xi_yang_chao_gong_dian_lu/cover_page1.htm.

³³¹ Gu (1662): *Juan* 26:38, 15. 「漳州月港家造過洋大船往來暹羅、佛郎機諸國通易貨物。」 Online at ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=80460&page=15.

³³² Zhang (1618): *Juan* 7, 2, “Xiangshui kao 餉稅考。” 「其明年隆慶改元，福建巡撫都御史塗澤民請開海禁，準販東西二洋：蓋東洋若呂宋、蘇祿諸國，西洋若交址、占城、暹羅諸國，皆我羈縻外臣，無侵叛，而特嚴禁販倭奴者，比於通番接濟之例。」 Online at archive.org/details/06046705.cn/page/n94/mode/2up.

³³³ Li (2005): *The Tributary System in Ancient China* 萬邦來朝朝貢制度史論, Kindle Locations 1560–1565.

³³⁴ Hu, Shuai, and Ptak (2014): “Ming Yongle Zhi Longqing Nan Ao Di Haishang Huodong 明永樂至隆慶南澳的海上活動 [Maritime Activities in Nan Ao from Ming Yongle to Longqing]” in *Maritime History Studies* 海交史研究, 1, 77.

³³⁵ Ptak (2015): “Some Notes on Nan'ao Island in Portuguese Sources of the Sixteenth Century” in *Hong Kong Maritime Museum International Symposium Proceedings*, 283–287.

When the Portuguese arrived in Guangzhou in 1517, with Tome Pires as ambassador, the Ming court was initially amicable towards the new trading partner. But relations soon deteriorated two years later when the Portuguese tried to build a fort in Tunmen, a custom point in today's Hong Kong, without permission, insulted officials and trafficked children. When Emperor Zhengde (r. 1505–1521) passed away in 1521, all foreigners were ordered to leave the country at once. Yet the Portuguese refused as they were still in the middle of the trading season. The Ming court then attacked them as well as some junks from Siam and Pattani that had Portuguese aboard.³³⁶ From 1522, the Portuguese were unwelcome in Chinese waters, so they resorted to visiting illegal trading centers like Zhangzhou and Nan Ao.

In *Peregrinação* [Travels] (1614), the magnum opus written sometime between the years 1569 and 1578 by Fernão Mendes Pinto, the Portuguese explorer and writer, details his visit to Nan Ao, spelling it Lamau. When he first arrived with captain Antonio de Faria, the locals were shocked to see foreigners onboard a junk and inquired as to their intentions. “The answer they got was that we were merchants, natives of the kingdom of Siam, and that we had come there to trade with them, if they were willing.” Later, also near Nan Ao, they met a Patani junk returning from the Ryukyu islands and operated by a Chinese pirate by the name of Quiay Panjao who had 30 Portuguese soldiers under his command. He then decided to follow Antonio de Faria to Ningbo, another haven for illegal trade.³³⁷ These descriptions showed that the Portuguese often affiliated themselves with junks from Siam to mask their identity – underlining Siam's privileged relationship with China – and Nan Ao was one of the landmark islands to stop at. Although *Peregrinação* has been criticized for historical inaccuracy, it still gives us a first-hand impression of how the Portuguese operated at that time.

While some were busy edging their way into illegal trading circles, a group of Portuguese had set up base on the islet of Shangchuan 上川 and later Langbajiao 浪白 – Sancian and Lampacau or Lampakau in Portuguese – off the Guangdong coast in 1552, in order to gain access to Guangzhou. Although the sea ban was still in place, the Ming court reopened the taxed trade in Guangzhou for foreign visitors, except the Portuguese. Given the resentment against them, they bribed the chief official³³⁸ to let them stay in Macao and dry their cargos there. The “bribe” later became a yearly rent, allowing merchants and missionaries to settle down around 1557.³³⁹ Although the Qing court still felt antagonistic about the Portuguese occupation of Malacca, it eventually accepted such an arrangement out of economic and military concerns.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Wills (2011): *China and Maritime Europe, 1500–1800: Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions*, 28–31.

³³⁷ Pinto and Catz (1989): *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, 123–124, 149–151.

³³⁸ The vice-commissioner for the maritime defense circuit 海道副使 Wang Bo 汪柏 was said to have taken bribes from a private Portuguese merchant named Leonel de Sousa.

³³⁹ Hao (2011): *Macau History and Society*, 16–17.

³⁴⁰ *Ming shi: juan* 325, 8432.

In *Ming shi*, Macao was named Haojing Ao 濠鏡澳, or Xiangshan Ao 香山澳. When the Portuguese first set foot on Macao, they asked what the place was called. The locals thought they were asking for the name of the prominent temple built in 1488 next to the harbor, so they replied “Ma Kok 媽閣” which means “the pavilion for the sea goddess Mazu 媽祖 (or A Ma 阿媽 in Fujianese).” Subsequently, the place appeared in Portuguese records most commonly as Macau, or Amacauo, with variations like Amaquo, Amachao, Amaquao, Amaqum and Maquao.³⁴¹ Therefore the toponym Makang (122) on the Coastal Map was derived from Portuguese sources.

Naturally the toponym Paknam Klüa (121) between Nan Ao (120) and Macao (122) can also be found in Portuguese sources. The name literally means “Mouth of the Salted River” in Thai and the equivalent “R: do Sal” in Portuguese can be found on the *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt und Terra Nova)* (1580). The toponym was later transmitted onto Linschoten’s *Itinerario* (1596) (Figure 3.14) but soon disappeared from most maps in the 17th century.³⁴² The river was shown to be very close to Nan Ao, in the area of today’s Chaozhou 潮州. Van Vliet, the acting director of VOC in Siam, mentioned the Chinese from “Chiuscheeuw” appeared every year in two to three junks with various cargoes in the 1630s.³⁴³ The location was important enough to be included on the Coastal Map, yet interestingly the toponym chosen was a translation of its Portuguese alias instead of its original Chinese name.



Figure 3.14 (From left) Coast of Guangdong on excerpts of *Portulanatlas (Alte Welt und Terra Nova)* (1580); and a chart printed in Linschoten’s *Itinerario* (1596). Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; and National Library of Australia.

The last toponym, Guangdong (123), like Beijing (116) and Zhangzhou (119), retained its Chinese name, suggesting the Siamese were familiar with the place. Guangdong was the name of the prefecture, now province, but it was used in the context to refer to Guangzhou in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The city, meanwhile, was consistently known as Canton in Western records (see Chapter 5).

³⁴¹ Tang (1995): “Aomen zhuming qianyi 澳門諸名淺議 [Brief Discussion on Various Names of Macao]” in *Review of Culture RC 文化雜誌*, Vol 23, 29–38. Online at www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/10023/376.

³⁴² It resurfaced in English cartographer and historian John Speed’s *The Kingdome of China* in 1626.

³⁴³ Van Vliet (2005): *Van Vliet's Siam*, 167.

Since the commencement of the Sino-Siamese tributary relations in 1377, Guangzhou had been the only authorized point of entry. According to *Ming shi*, Siam sent 76 missions throughout the entire Ming dynasty,³⁴⁴ while more were noted in *Ming shilu*. Although the Ming court mandated that Siam should send tribute once every three years, the regulation was not strictly enforced. In 1577, four Siamese officials – Wo Men-la 握悶辣, Wo Wen-tie 握文鐵, Wo Wen-tie 握文貼 and Wo Wen-yuan 握文源³⁴⁵ – were invited by the Ming court to train Siamese translators in Beijing. The next year, the Siamese subdivision was opened within the Siyiguan 四夷館 [Translators Institute]³⁴⁶, starting with 10 students. It was in full operation by 1611 when the office was ordered to translate a royal letter from King Ekathotsarot (r. 1605–1611),³⁴⁷ and it continued in service until at least 1845³⁴⁸. In *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 [Sino-Barbarian Dictionary], the institute’s textbook for teaching, 599 words were recorded under *Xianlaoguan yiyu* 暹羅館譯語 [Sino-Thai dictionary]³⁴⁹, and the “Guangdong buzhengsi 廣東布政司 [Provincial Administration Commissioner of Guangdong] กางคั้ง ปู่จิงสี่” was the only entry pertaining to an official in the Chinese bureaucratic system. It shows that Guangzhou and its related officials were often mentioned in court communications.

However, the red line on the Coastal Map did not connect Ayutthaya with Guangzhou (123), but with Macao (122) instead. Due to the Ming maritime ban, Chinese officials in Guangzhou and the Portuguese in Macao had developed a symbiotic relation in the silk-for-silver trade in Japan. Ships from Goa would stop at Malacca and Ayutthaya before voyaging from Macao to Nagasaki. This offered an opportunity for the Siamese to ride along to do private trade in addition to the standard tribute trade. The Siam-Macao leg was largely controlled by the established Portuguese in Macao.³⁵⁰ Competition from Fujianese traders set in after the relaxation of Chinese trade prohibitions in 1567, but the Siamese trade with Macao remained stable, as Spanish Franciscan Marcelo de Ribadeneira noted in 1601, of Ayutthaya:

... very rich and abundant in all merchandise, for many ships of Chinese and Portuguese from Macao and Malacca and Muslims of Pattani and Brunei and other parts carry it there. From that Kingdom they take cotton thread, brazil wood, much silver and lead ... benzoin and deer skins ...

³⁴⁴ Li (2005): Kindle Locations 1560–1565.

³⁴⁵ The word 握, intended to be pronounced in Cantonese as *uk1*, is a transcription of the Thai title *Òk* ออณ.

³⁴⁶ The other nine subdivisions were dedicated to Mongolian, Jurchen, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Arabo-Persian, Uyghur, Burmese, and the two Tai languages spoken by the Shan tribes on the Yunnan frontier and the Thai Yuan ໄທຍານ people in Northern Thailand.

³⁴⁷ *Ming shilu*: Wanli 6/11/10, *juan* 81, 1728; Wanli 10/6/22, *juan* 125, 2336; Wanli 39/12/23, *juan* 490, 9224; Wade (trans): epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wan-li/year-39-month-12-day-23, accessed 2 January 2021; and Liang (1839): 424.

³⁴⁸ Memorial reporting on the translated content of the Siamese golden letter can be found in the National Palace Museum Open Data Collection, one of the latest was dated Daoguang 25 (1845) during the Opium War, item no *zengxian* 000079.

³⁴⁹ One manuscript is now kept in the Berlin State Library, Item no: Libri sin. Hirth Ms. 1. Online at digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN334615730X.

For a brief introduction on its content, see Hirth (1887).

³⁵⁰ Smith (2011): 70.

tigers, ounces, rhinoceroses and other animals and sell the hides to merchants ... Because there are so many elephants, there is a great abundance of ivory with which the merchants load their ships...³⁵¹

The Fujianese posed no great harm because one of the prime export products of Siam, sappan wood, never received much attention in Macau.³⁵² However, when the VOC entered the picture at the beginning of the 1600s, Portuguese trade routes were frequently intercepted. The Portuguese insulted the Dutch as “pirates,” and the latter retaliated with the pejorative term “crusaders.” Although the VOC failed to capture Macao, it still attempted to isolate the city. The interference was so severe that in 1637 the Macao Senate deliberated using war ships to convoy trade vessels, but in the end did not have enough funds to build any.³⁵³ Smaller and quicker vessels were employed instead.

Yet detrimental damages came one after another in the 1640s when the Portuguese were banished from Japan, followed by the collapse of the Iberian Union, causing Macao to loosen ties with its two most important destinations: Nagasaki and Manila. Meanwhile, its trade with mainland China was also disrupted by the social turmoil caused by the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasties. The fall of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641 also entailed the severing of communication with Goa. Left on their own, Portuguese merchants in Macao turned their eyes Southeastwards. It was reported that a good profits could be made from the trade with Cochinchina, Cambodia and Siam, and in 1651 four vessels from Cochinchina, three from Cambodia and two from Siam arrived at Macao and made significant profit from trade in silver and other merchandise (albeit not as good as in the previous year).³⁵⁴ The city’s amicable relations with Siam were reflected in a generous loan of 120,000 taels, in the form of silver and various Siamese products, granted by King Narai in 1667 to the Macanese for defraying the costs of an expensive Portuguese embassy to China. The debt was still outstanding in 1687,

³⁵¹ Ribadeneira (1601): *Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y...* [History of the Islands of the Archipelago and Kingdoms of Greater China, Tartary, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodia and ...], 171. Online at bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?control=RAH20100002391. Translated and quoted in Lourido (1996): 80.

³⁵² Ptak (2006): “Trade between Macau and Southeast Asia in Ming Times: A Survey” in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol 54, 477. Online at www.jstor.org/stable/40727555.

³⁵³ Teixeira (1960): “Os missionarios portugueses no Vietnao [Portuguese Missionaries in Vietnam]” in *Boletim Eclesiastico da Diocese de Macau*, Vol 58, 938–939. Quoted in Lourido (1996): 82.

³⁵⁴ Official correspondence from the king of Cochinchina to the clergy (Padre Vizitador) and secular authorities of Macao (Captain-major Joao de Sousa Pereira) in Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuitas na Asia, item no. 49-IV-61, from the year 1651, respectively fols. 29–30, and 30–30v; and letter from Joao de Sousa Pereira, Captain-Major of Macao, to the Count of Obidos and Viceroy of Inde, Macao, 2 December 1651, in *Livros das Moncoes*, n° 22-A, doc. 84, f. 184. Quoted in Lourido (1996): 83.

prompting the Macao Senate to reserve one percent of the city profits for repayment.³⁵⁵ It was finally paid off in 1722.³⁵⁶

When the Qing court took power in 1645, it kept the sea ban to cut off supplies for the Taiwan-based Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong. An evacuation order was issued in 1661 for all residents in the southern coast in places like Guangdong and Fujian to move inland. Macao was part of the campaign. Through heavy lobbying, the city avoided the fate of relocation, but its residents were forced to keep all commercial activities with China and other countries to a minimum, and thus sustained a heavy economic blow.³⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the Portuguese control of the Indian Ocean rapidly declined as the VOC took Ceylon in 1658 and the Malabar coast of India in 1663. In Siam, the English opened their factory in Ayutthaya in 1661, followed by the arrival of the French a year later. The latter would become influential in the court of Ayutthaya through the support of King Narai's Greek advisor Constantine Phaulkon. The Dutch remained competitive with an exclusive right to export hides in 1664 while the Portuguese faded into the background.

In 1679, Emperor Kangxi officially permitted Portuguese trading ships to anchor in Guangzhou, and Macao continued to play a role in the Canton System (discussed further in Chapter 5).

- **Vietnam and Champa**

The coast of Vietnam is the most peculiar section of the Coastal Map as none of its seven toponyms conform with those conventionally noted in Vietnamese, Chinese and Western records. The pair of cities – Yuan Yai ยวนใหญ่ (125) and Yuan Nòi ยวนน้อย (126), which means “big Yuan” and “small Yuan,” and Yuan being the Thai term for Vietnam – seems to indicate the political powers that spilted the country.

At the close of the 16th century, Dai Viet, under the Later Le dynasty (1428–1789), was divided into three areas of jurisdiction: the Mac in the peripheral far north near the Chinese border; the Trinh, who controlled the nominal Le rulers in the capital Thang Long (Hanoi); and the Nguyen in the south, whose territory had later expanded to incorporate areas occupied by the Cham.³⁵⁸ According to the locations on the Coastal Map, Yuan Yai (125) could be referring to the entire territory of Trinh while Yuan Nòi (126) Nguyen.

However, the connecting red lines in the region also pose another possible, yet perhaps less convincing, interpretation. In 1618, King Chei Chettha II (r. 1619–1627) moved the Cambodian capital to Oudong and renounced his vassal status to Ayutthaya. To counter Siam's

³⁵⁵ Montalto de Jesus (1902): *Historic Macao*, 105. Online at archive.org/details/historicmacao00jesugoog; and Smith (2011): 80.

³⁵⁶ Sena (2001): 112.

³⁵⁷ Zhao (2013): *Kindle Locations 1636–1652, 2008–2017*.

³⁵⁸ Andaya and Andaya (2015): 178.

influence, he pledged alliance to the Nguyen lord by asking for the hand of one of his daughters on the condition of providing a steady supply of elephants and sappan wood. His bargain paid off when he won a battle against Ayutthaya with the support of the Cochinese in 1622.³⁵⁹ The alliance might be signified by the circle of red lines connecting Timbak ติมบัก (124), Yuan Yai (125) and Yuan Nòi (126), with Angkor (5) on the Coastal Map. The city of Timbak was noted to be 25 *yot* away from a black line, a unique feature on the map. This might be an indication of the two great defensive walls built by the Nguyen in Dong Hoi, which split the country into *Dang Ngoai* and *Dang Trong* [inner and outer region], also known as Tonkin and Cochinchina. The first of the two walls began construction in 1631 and was recorded in *Dai nam thuc luc tien bien* 大南寔錄前編 [Veritable records of Dai Nam, Prequel Records] to have a cannon placed every four meters along the 12,000-meter wall, with a large battery at every 12 to 20 meters and ammunition abundantly piled up like mountains. The artillery most likely came from the Portuguese in Macao as Japanese merchants were forbidden to export firearms while Chinese traders had little access to guns.³⁶⁰ In this case, Yuan Yai (125) might be referring to Nyuyen's political center Phu Xuan (Hue) and Yuan Nòi (126), the nearby economic center Hoi An, while Timbak (124) lies within today's Quang Tri Province. It is noteworthy that the distance given between the Yuan Yai and Yuan Nòi was 70 *yot* although the duo is depicted as close to each other. This might reflect the mountainous terrain in central Vietnam, which boxed its inhabitants in the alluvial plains near river mouths. Land travelers along the roads paralleling the coastline faced steep obstacles, so the main mode of transport between cities was boat.³⁶¹

The next toponym, Yankhraeng ยันแครง (127), seems to belong to the Cochinchina group of names while the rest of the three toponyms might signify the Cham territory, with a red line connecting Muyai มุยาฮ (128) with Angkor (5), as Cham volunteers could be found in the service of the king of Cambodia. In the 17th century, the Cham centers remained active in maritime trade – a royal monopoly – especially in the Malay-Islam regional network. Vessels from Malay were perpetually present in the political center of Panduranga, or Panrang (Phan Rang), and other ports like Kam Ran (Cam Ranh), Parik (Phan Ri) and Malithit (Phan Thiet) while Cham vessels were often spotted in Malacca, Pattani, Ayutthaya and Johor. Its core exports included gold to Malacca, an aromatic wood called Calambac to India, and sandalwood, ivory,

³⁵⁹ Ibid: 225.

³⁶⁰ *Dai nam thuc luc tien bien* 大南寔錄前編 [Veritable Records of Dai Nam, Prequel Records] (1844): Vol 2, 20. National Library of Vietnam, item no R.765 • NLVNPF-0143-01.

「……壘高一丈五尺，外豎鐵木，內寔土為階，五級象馬可行；依山傍澗，延袤三千餘丈，丈設過山礮，一三丈或五丈間立一，礮臺置巨門礮一藥彈山。」 Online at lib.nomfoundation.org/collection/1/volume/179/page/80. Translated and Quoted in Li (1998): *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 44.

³⁶¹ Wheeler (2001): *Cross-Cultural Trade and Trans-Regional Networks in the Port of Hoi An: Maritime Vietnam in the Early Modern Era*, 42.

rhino horn and animal hides to China, the Arab world and the West.³⁶² While Bari ภารี (129) is phonetically close to Parik, the other toponyms – Muyai มุยาย (128) and Patu Pinang ปาตูปินัง (130) – remain hard to identify. Although Muslim communities could be found in Champa as early as the 10th century, few details on the ports of Champa could be found in Arab travel writings, except that the kingdom was known as Sanf صنّف, with its main port of Shanba شنبا.³⁶³

Sources for the Coastal Map

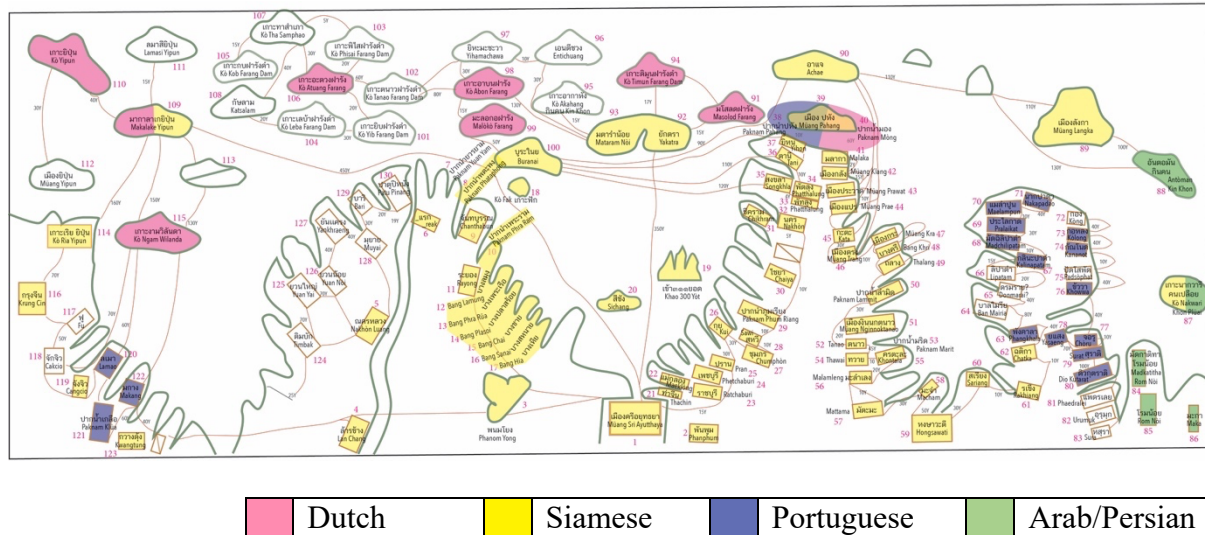


Figure 3.15 Some foreign sources shown on the Coastal Map in addition to Siamese local knowledge. Source: Author’s illustration.

• **Foreign Intelligence**

Figure 3.15 shows some foreign sources used on the map that can be confirmed, including: Arab/Persian sources referenced in the region of Ottoman Turkey, Andaman and the Nicobar Islands; Portuguese sources in *Estado Da India*, or Portuguese India, as well as the coast of today’s Guangdong Province; and Dutch sources in the Maluku Islands and some parts of the East China Sea from Taiwan to Japan. The word *farang* entails Dutch territories while *farang dam*, on Timor, derived from *swarte Portugeezen* [Dutch: black Portuguese], points to the Topasses, Portuguese *mestiço*. Misinformation on Portuguese and Dutch maps contributed to the depiction of Pahang being cut off at the tip of the peninsula, severed by Pahang and Muar rivers. Yet the list is far from exhaustive.

It is known that the capital of Ayutthaya hosted a diverse community of foreigners. The city map (see Figure 3.16) drawn by French diplomat La Loubere in his book *Du Royaume de Siam* in 1691 (translated into English as *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam* in 1693) recorded settlements of Cochin Chinese, Chinese, Peguans (Burmese Mon), Malay, Makassar and Japanese outside the city, alongside the Portuguese, Dutch and French. Although not

³⁶² Lafont (2014): *The Kingdom of Champa: Geography, Population, History*, 121–122.
³⁶³ Tibbetts (1979): 159–160, 243.

shown on the map, Persian and other Muslim merchants were also active in the capital. Therefore, it is likely that these residents shared information on toponyms in the Middle East, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam that are yet to be identified in this chapter.

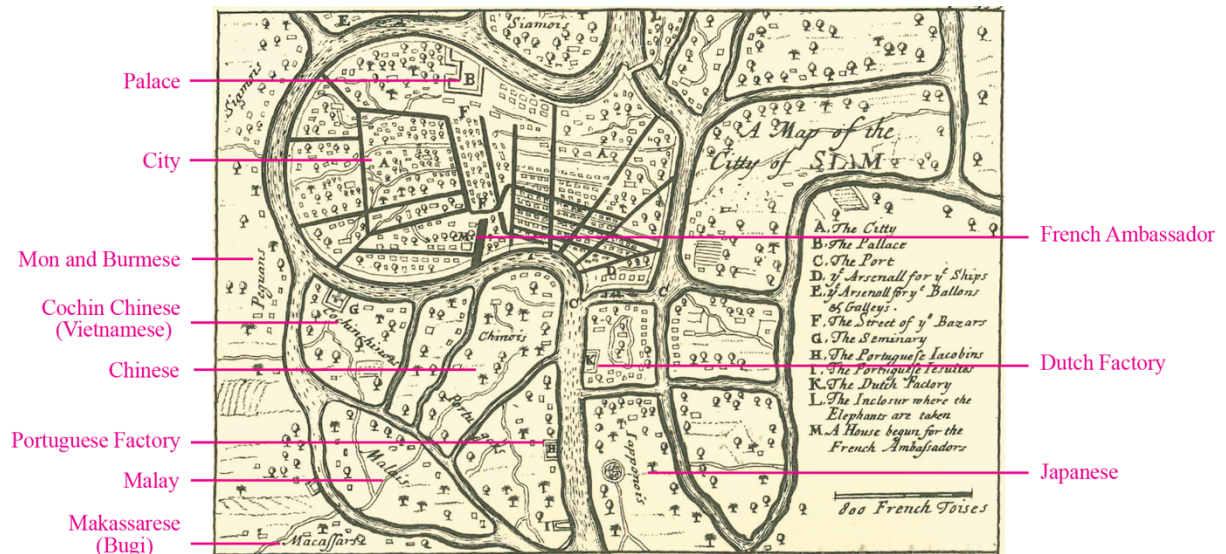


Figure 3.16 Foreign communities in Ayutthaya on *A Map of the City of Siam* (1693).

Source: La Loubere (1693:7).

While Portuguese and Dutch trade networks were heavily referenced, there is no sign of Spanish sources being used, especially in the Philippines. The *farang dam* in the Philippines, however, were not the same as Topasses, whose influence did not exceed Timor and Solor. The informants of this region seem to be Eurasians, who translated the toponyms in their local tongue for the Siamese. This implies a rarely known aspect of the Filipino-Thai relationships that is yet to be researched.

Also absent from the map, perplexingly, is any Chinese reference to toponyms despite the fact that a Chinese junk is seen heading out from Ayutthaya on the Coastal Map, acknowledging their prevalence in the eastern sphere of the maritime trade. The Coastal Map reflects the trade network among Siam, China and Japan in the first half of the 17th century. During such time, Chinese seafarers had established a wealth of nautical knowledge with standardized toponyms and navigation instructions from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Thailand, as demonstrated by the textual descriptions in *Dongxiyang kao* (1617) and the series of navigation charts of *Zheng He's Navigation Map* (1628). It is therefore odd to see no Chinese reference at all along the eastern side of the Coastal Map given Ayutthaya had been sending tribute to China via junks manned by Chinese crews since 1377.

Besides the Chinese, we know for a fact that the Japanese in Ayutthaya were actively engaged in trade until the community was expelled in 1630. Many fled to Cambodia and only 75 to 80 families, approximately 300 to 400 individuals, of the original group returned in 1633.³⁶⁴ Yet

³⁶⁴ Sprey and Hall (2020): 236.

the ambiguity of toponyms in Japan gives the impression that Japanese traders were not consulted for the Coastal Map.

• Indigenous Knowledge

The yellow areas in Figure 3.15 represent toponyms derived from indigenous knowledge. These were places with which Siam had been in direct contact prior to the arrival of Westerners, such as her immediate neighbors Lan Xang, Cambodia, Burma and the Malay states. The Buddhist network allowed the Siamese to gain geographic knowledge in Sri Lanka and Indonesia, as well as the Nicobar Island, whose impression was based on early description from Middle Eastern seafarers and further mystified by Buddhist legends. Through trade and tribute connections, toponyms like Guangzhou, Zhangzhou, Beijing and Korea also entered the Siamese vocabulary.

Few extant documents shed light on the scope of geographic literacy of the court of Ayutthaya in the 17th century. Two texts were found, perhaps the earliest available, that touch on the subject. The first one is the written instruction carried by the Siamese envoy to Lisbon in 1684, while the other is a poetic travelogue called *Ton thang farangset* ต้นทางฝรั่งเศส [Poetic Travelogue to France] – commonly known as *Nirat France* – that recorded the mission to Paris in 1685 to 1686. Both missions – 1684 to Lisbon and 1685 to Paris – were sent by King Narai.

The first text, interestingly, is in neither Thai nor Portuguese, but in French. It was an incomplete translation of the Thai original done by the French missionaries who had access to the court of Ayutthaya, doubling as spies. The French manuscript is located in the archives of the Missions Etrangères in Paris.³⁶⁵ It was first studied by Alain Forest (1998), who placed its date of creation at the end of 1684 and believed it had “inspired some accounts written subsequent to the Franco-Siamese embassies [of 1685 to 1688], notably that of La Loubere.” An English translation, with commentary, was done by Dhiravat na Pombejra and Smithies in 2002, which was slightly revised and published again with minor revisions in 2010.³⁶⁶

The text recorded the official answers given to questions on the information of the country. Straight answers were allowed for facts like the weather and calendar in Siam, those concerning the King and the royal family were evasive while details of the military were vague or downright false. It also included answers for the size of the country, the tributary kingdom of Siam and adjacent kingdoms, which were realistic, but discursive, in order to overwhelm the listener. A partial summary of the toponyms mentioned can be found in Table 3.2, which lists

³⁶⁵ Item no: AME 854, ff. 721–727.

³⁶⁶ Forest (1998): *Les Missionnaires Français au Tonkin et au Siam XVIIIE-XVIIIIE Siècles: Analyse comparee d'un relatif succes et d'un total echec* [French Missionaries in Tonkin and Siam XVI-XVII Centuries: Comparative Analysis of a Relative Success and a Total Failure], Vol 1, 429-436; Dhiravat na Pombejra and Smithies (2002): “Instructions Given to the Siamese Envoys Sent to Portugal, 1684” in *Journal of Siam Society*, Vol 90, 125–135; and *ibid* (2010) in *Five Hundred Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations: A Festschrift*, 197–213.

the names of the province in the lower, or seabound, part of the country with the *müang* [Thai: city] it governs, as well as the places around Siam. The spelling of toponyms follows that of Dhiravat na Pombejra and Smithies (2010).

Tributary polities of Siam	
Province	<i>Müang</i>
Yohorre (37 Johor)	Pahang (39), Inttaquiri, Bangcali, Sia, Trang Kaanu, Coungonne, Dili
Taani (36 Pattani)	Klannetanne, Saae, Pinkra, Plessout, Meong, Krevann, Tteppao, Sacomme Si Ttarema
Naccora Si Ttaremaraacha (32 Nakhon Sri Thammarat)	Chaiaa (30 Chaiya), Chaacram (31 somewhere in Surat Thani), Sangcalaat (35 Songkhla), Trang (46), Bangcali (48 Bangkhli), Ttelang (49 Phuket); Ttamttong, Ppouneppin, Klaae, Ppichienne, Ppenang, Kouré, Proome, Texoua, Ppoungaa, Ttaasong, Chaiamontri, Ttaebouri, Maieng
Trenaouseri (52 Tanintharyi)	Merit (53 Myeik), Socoorabouri, Meenam, Thing, Langceretüi, Plo, Pelaa, Kantooc, Tvac, Pee, Pela, Kouttee
Chantabun (9 Chanthaburi)	Reyong (11 Rayong), Bang Lemong (12 Bang Lamung), Bang Pra (13 Bang Phra), Clong, Kleeng, Traat, Uenne
Ppatlong (33, 34 Phatthalung)	Chaerat, Sannetang, Vangseung, Pequeut, Pleuenanne, Ppetong, Pleuongsaa, Ratappoumi
Chaevonne	Satonne, Thiangou
Independent Towns	
Ppet Pradeeng (24 Phetchaburi), Prannebouri (25 Pranburi), Kouiabouri (26 Kuiburi), Chommeppoonne (27 Chumphon), Nonnettabouri, Ttonbouri, Sakhonburi, Chonebouri, Nacooraquirii, Ppenom	
Places adjacent to Siam	
North	Racang (61 Rakhine), Requeung (62 Chittagong), Bengal (63), Chiengmae, Quemeraacha, Meenne Naaou, Ttaatang, Hang, Chiang Hong, Naae, Yonghou, Kangtaa, Vatenaboura Angwa, Keechee
South	Predolla
West	Malakaa (41 Melacca), Clang (42 Kelang), Ttevae (54 Dawei), Lacleung (56 Mawlamyine), Motema (57 Moke Ta Ma), Ttongssaa (59 Bago), Siring (60 Thanlyin), Prè, Cherae, Toong Ou, Pronne, Settouai, Het
East	Louanne Chang (4 Lan Xang), Cheinrong, Meenam Quiaou, Tonquin, Seri Sattanaac, China, Cocinchine, Ciampa, Camppucheattibodi, Paacnam

Table 3.2 Summary of some toponyms mentioned in the instruction for Siamese envoys sent to Portugal in 1684 with those found on the Coastal Map marked out by its corresponding number on Figure 3.1 and current location in brackets. Source: Dhiravat na Pombejra and Smithies (2010: 205–207).

The 1684 ill-fated envoy never reached Lisbon but was shipwrecked off Cape Agulhas in 1686. The party had to trek overland to the Cape of Good Hope, and en route the chief ambassador had to be abandoned and several others died. Tachard (1689) recounted the surviving tale of Ok-Khun Chamnan, one of the six mandarins accompanying the three Siamese ambassadors,

in his book *Second Voyage du Pere Tachard et des Jésuites Envoyés par le Roy au Royaume de Siam* [Second Voyage of Father Tachard and the Jesuits sent by the King to the Kingdom of Siam]. A full account of the embassy can be found in the book *A Siamese Embassy Lost in Africa, 1686: The Odyssey of Ok-khun Chamnan* (1999).

The French manuscript offers a rare chance for us to directly examine the geographic knowledge in the minds of the Siamese in the latter half of the 17th century. It does not necessarily represent the entire body of knowledge, but it at least highlights the prominent cities – although many remain unidentified – considered worthy of mention to impress a foreign king. Among the 118 toponyms in the lower part and the surrounding places of Siam, 32 can be found on the Coastal Map, including six out of seven provinces, 11 out of 63 *müangs*, four out of 10 independent towns, and 11 out of 38 places adjacent to Siam. In short, the toponyms mentioned in the instructions do not really overlap with those on the Coastal Map. It is a detailed list with a clear hierarchy of governance being emphasized. Meanwhile, all cities on the Coastal Map are drawn in similar fashion, except Ayutthaya (1) and Bago (59), being slightly bigger, without any indication as to their interrelationships.

The instructions also specified that there were many foreigners in Siam, including Portuguese, Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, Moors and Malays. Some were in the king's service while others were merchants on their own account who conducted trade in all principal cities in the Indies. At the same time, foreigners who came to trade included:

... the Moors from Surat, the English too who are accustomed to the trade, the Persians, the Moors from Bengal and Masulipatam bring fabric, textiles, drugs, carpets and other things from their countries. The Chinese bring gold, silk fabrics and brocade, silk, porcelain, tea... (unreadable), and several other items. The Cochin-Chinese bring copper, calambac, silk fabrics and raw silk. The Japanese bring gold, silver, copper, and porcelain. Those from Macao bring silks, porcelain and tutenag. Those from Manila bring silver filigree work, precious stones, ... (unreadable). The Malays bring pepper, rattan, cayans, eagle-wood, ... (unreadable), sappan wood ... (unreadable).

In exchange, they purchased from Siam calin, lead, iron, saltpere, sandalwood, wax, gum benzoin, gamboge, bird's nests, cheran, loquat fruits, pepper, elephant tusks, dried areca, coconut oil, deer and buffalo skins, rice and salt, many of which came from outside of Siam.³⁶⁷ Part of this network, such as the major ports in India and connections with Macao, are reflected on the Coastal Map, but it shows no connection between Siam and Cochin-china or Manila.

The other text, *Nirat France*, survives in a single manuscript in the National Library of France in Paris³⁶⁸ – prompting doubts on its authenticity – and was not scholarly recognized until 2004.

³⁶⁷ Dhiravat na Pombejra and Smithies (2010): 211–212.

³⁶⁸ Item no: Indochinois 317, white pencil on blackened khoi paper. Online at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100882265.

The handwriting does correspond significantly with the conventional style used in other coeval manuscripts.³⁶⁹ It describes a voyage onboard the vessel L'Oiseau, departing Ayutthaya on 22 December 1686, calling at Banten on Java Island and the Cape of Good Hope, and finally arriving at Brest in France on 18 June 1687 (although this was not the final destination). It is, therefore, speculated that the text is incomplete. The party, led by Kosa Pan, continued to travel on land and entered Paris on 12 August 1687.³⁷⁰ The poet was either one of the ambassadors or one of their deputies.³⁷¹

Upon cruising out from the River Chao Phraya, the first toponyms mentioned in the poem is Kò Sichang (20), followed by various islands like Kò Changkham เกาะช้างข้าม (Kò Chang) and Kò Man เกาะมัน (Hon Khoai)³⁷² in the Gulf of Thailand. The ship continued south, passing several islands, reached Kò Pangka เกาะปังกา (Bangka Island) on the right side of Kò Sumatra เกาะสุมาตรา (Sumatra), and docked at the river mouth of Müang Palembang เมืองปเลมัง (Palembang). The ship then again sailed pass a series of islands to arrive for food provision at Müang Bantan เมืองบันตัน (Banten), a Javanese polity that had fallen into Dutch hands. It then went through the Sunda Strait and headed towards South Africa.³⁷³ Although only a handful of places in the Gulf of Thailand and Indonesia were noted in the poem – most of the islands being unidentifiable – it is enough to show that the toponyms of important ports are way closer to their modern names than those shown on the Coastal Map.

The two texts give us a glimpse of the geographic literacy of the Siamese during the reign of King Narai. Both recorded the prominent seaports and countries in their names that are familiar today. None of the historical toponyms used on the Coastal Map were mentioned, suggesting they were faded out. The extent of influence of Siam was not explicit on the Coastal Map but asserted clearly in the instructions for the envoy to Lisbon to showcase how powerful the kingdom was. This points to a heightened territorial awareness not visible on the Coastal Map.

We know from German physician Engelbert Kaempfer that the court of Ayutthaya, in 1690, at the latest, had access to Western maps, as he saw “pictures of the royal family of France, and European maps” hanging in the hall of Kosa Pan’s house, with “the rest of the furniture being nothing but dust and cobwebs.”³⁷⁴ The Siamese ambassador, described as “quick of

³⁶⁹ Peera Panarut (2019): 134.

³⁷⁰ Smithies (1989): “The Travels in France of the Siamese Ambassadors 1686–7” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 77:2, 68. Online at www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/1981/JSS_077_2g_Smithies_TravelsInFranceOfSiameseAmbassadors1686.pdf.

³⁷¹ Pridi Phitphumwathi (2001): *Yòn ròì kosapan nai “ton thang farangset” nirat siam tang daeng lem raek* ชื่อนรอยโกษาปานใน “เส้นทางฝรั่งเศส” นิราศสยามต่างแดนเล่มแรก [Tracing Kosa Pan in “Ton Thang Farangset” The First Foreign Travel Poem], 19.

³⁷² The two islands are noted on the China Map, see Chapter 4.

³⁷³ Pridi Phitphumwathi (2001): 37–43; and Department of Fine Arts (2014): *Prachum nirat tang prathet* ประชุมนิราศต่างประเทศ [Knowing Foreign Travel Poems], lem 1, 9–10, 17–21.

³⁷⁴ Kaempfer (1906): *The History of Japan: Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690–1692*, Vol 1, 38. Online at archive.org/details/historyjapantog04kaemgoog.

understanding and lively action,” had shown a keen interest in maps during his mission to France in 1686. He was reported to have been admiring a large map at the Royal Observatory in Paris. The longitude of Siam on the map had just been updated according to the lunar eclipse recorded by Jesuits Jean de Fontaney and Guy Tachard in 1685. Although he could not read French, Kosa Pan immediately picked out Siam and retraced his voyage on the map. He also recognized other places like America,³⁷⁵ showing that he was accustomed to reading European maps.

We also know that King Narai may have had access to Chinese maps if he so wished. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, hang two scrolls, of the earth and of the heavens, donated in 1684 by George White, elder brother of Samuel “Siamese” White, both merchants to Siam.³⁷⁶ After detaching himself from the East India Company, where Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulkon acted as his assistant, George White became an established trader and entered the service of King Narai. His brother Samuel later joined him in strengthening the Siamese trade network in the Indian Ocean while Phaulkon became the king’s most favored advisor.³⁷⁷ The maps, *Huang yuditu kao* 皇輿地圖考 [Imperial World Map Verified] and *Tonghua jingwei tu kao* 通華經緯圖考 [Verified Complete Chinese “Warp-Weft” Diagrams], show territorially the provinces of Ming China with surrounding countries, and celestially the pattern of astronomical bodies (Figure 3.17).³⁷⁸ This entails that Chinese maps were procurable through the network of English merchants in Siam in the 1680s.

This goes to show that the court of Ayutthaya in the 1680s, during the reign of King Narai, identified foreign cities and polities like Tonkin and Cochinchina in Vietnam, and Palembang and Banten in Indonesia by their contemporary names instead of the names given on the Coastal Map. Envoys were sent to France, England and Portugal, while Westerners like Phaulkon occupied high-ranking positions at the court, reflecting the king’s open embrace of Western

³⁷⁵ Donneau de Vise (1686): “Voyage Des Ambassadeurs de Siam En France [Travels of Siamese Ambassadors to France]” in *Mercure Galant*, November, 50–55.

³⁷⁶ The donation was discussed in Batchelor (2014): *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689*, 210–214; and Poole (2015): “The Letters of Shen Fuzong to Thomas Hyde, 1687–88” in *Electronic British Library Journal*, online at www.bl.uk/ebj/2015articles/article9.html. Batchelor attributed the maps as presents to Charles II of England, along with Japanese lacquerware, sent by Phaulkon and the White brothers during the 1684 Siamese embassy to England, and from there to France. Poole, however, found no evidence of formal association with the embassy as the donation was made to Bodleian by George White alone, according to the library’s donations register. The physical conditions and conservation of the maps can be found in Stiglitz and Bearman (2016): “Of Earth and Sky: A Pair of Ming Hanging Scrolls, from Past Repairs to Present Conservation” in *Restaurator. International Journal for the Preservation of Library and Archival Material*, 37:3–4, 309–327, online at doi.org/10.1515/res-2016-0011.

³⁷⁷ Rankin (2009): “White, Samuel [called Siamese White] (c. 1650–1689), official in the Siamese service and pirate.” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online at: www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53891.

³⁷⁸ Item no: Bodleian Library Sinica 123. Terrestrial map 39.7 x 151.2 cm, celestial map 41.1 x 153.8 cm, both trimmed at the top and bottom, printed in black ink on one sheet of Chinese paper using three finely detailed woodblocks. Online at digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/5ff37293-f7a1-4cef-a373-9ea5461cd117/.

culture. Such enthusiasm trickled down to afford Siamese officials like Kosa Pan a chance to familiarize himself with Western cartographic principals, and he went on to become a map collector as Western and Chinese maps could also be acquired through Siam's trade network.

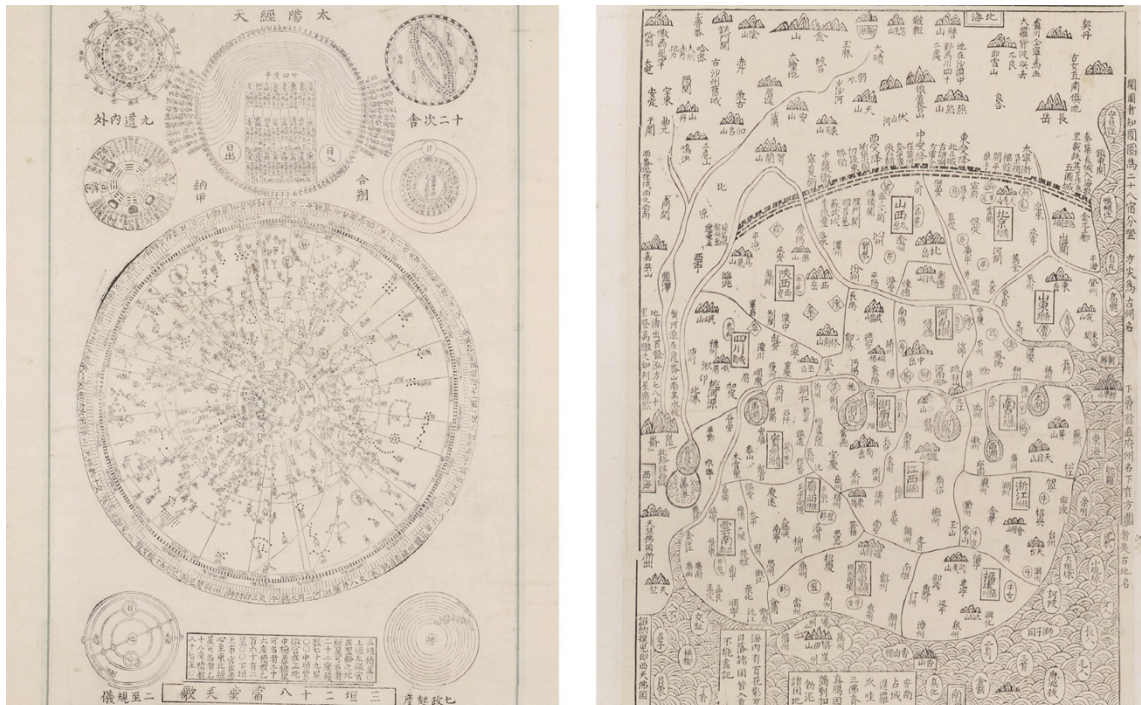


Figure 3.17 Excerpts of a pair of hanging scrolls depicting celestial bodies (left) and countries around of Ming China donated to the Bodleian Library by George White, merchant to Siam, in 1684.

Source: Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Coastal Map was passed down through copying and might have been updated during the process. On the Berlin II 650 manuscript, it is certain that the trade network reflected the situation as late as 1641, when Nagasaki was made the sole port for foreign trade. For the Eastern sphere, it relied on information from the Portuguese and the Dutch, instead of the local Chinese or Japanese. This infers that Asian traders had little influence at the court of Ayutthaya at that time, probably due to the dynastic transition with the sea ban in China and the closed country policy in Japan. Such a context does not seem to fit the state of affairs in the 1680s under King Narai's reign, when there was access to a diverse range of Western and Asian sources. It is hard to imagine that these highly appreciated resources were not utilized at all should the Coastal Map have been created or updated during this era.

Ayutthaya Siam and Qing China

From the establishment of the Qing dynasty in 1644 to the demise of the Ayutthaya Kingdom in 1767, the two countries remained on good terms. Siam had sent several envoys to request a

resumption of the tributary relation since 1652³⁷⁹ but the status was only formally confirmed in 1665³⁸⁰. The protocol was largely unchanged, with the tribute requested to be sent every three years via the dedicated entry point of Guangzhou. In 1684, Kangxi revised the tribute trade system to separate tribute from trade. Existing tributary trade was retained with a grant of tax exemption for all goods exchanged, while private trade was finally opened to any foreign parties as long as customs fees were duly paid. Unlike the tribute missions, there were no restrictions on the trade volume, price and frequency for private trade, allowing market principles to shape the trade. These two categories were in official use as late as 1818.³⁸¹ Such a distinction was stated clearly in the *Nirat Kwangtung*:³⁸²

บรรณาการพร้อมสิ้นทุกสิ่งสรรพ	Each and every item on the list of tribute is at the ready,
ทั้งของแถมแนมความนุ่งงามครั้น	all the products are loaded up nicely,
เป็นกำนันถวายนอกบรรณาการ	together with those to be presented in addition to tribute.
แล้วทรงสั่งสิ่งของเป็นสองเหล่า	The goods are to be delivered in two batches,
อย่าควมเข้าแบ่งพร้อมเป็นสองถาน	not to be mixed up, [they shall be] recognized as two categories.
ฝ่ายทูตนั้นให้ว่าบรรณาการ	Those on the side of the envoy is known as tribute;
โดยฉบับโบราณรดมา	according to the ancient protocol that [we have been] following;
อนึ่งนอกจิมก้องเป็นของถวาย	on top of <i>cim-kòng</i> ³⁸³ are additional tribute offerings.

On this occasion, the Siamese prepared “additional tribute” for the emperor to be shipped with the ballast cargo for private trade. Among these “additional tribute,” only the elephant and rhino horns were accepted by the Qing court as they were desirable items. The rest was allowed to be sold with tax exemption in Guangzhou. This shows that the Siamese were fully aware of the system and ready to make the best use of it (see Chapter 5).

The favorable trading environment had encouraged private Chinese junks to venture out. Sarasin Viraphol (2014) claimed that *Kai hentai* noted at least 51 junks voyaged to Siam from 1689 to 1702.³⁸⁴ During this time, a Chinese official steadily rose up the ladder amid the troubled late reign of King Phetracha (r. 1688–1703) in Ayutthaya. Mentioned in French and Dutch sources but not in Chinese or Siamese chronicles, this official, who worked as a subordinate to Phaulkon, was appointed *sombatthiban*, one of the royal treasurers, and served as acting *Phra Khlang* minister. He was later executed amid the succession dispute and replaced by “another Chinese.” In fact, the position was occupied without dispute by Chinese

³⁷⁹ *Qing shilu*: 「暹羅國，請換給敕印勘合，以便入貢，下部速議。」 Shunzhi 9/12/20, *juan* 70, 555.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*: 「暹羅國王，遣陪臣航海具表進貢。」 Kangxi 4/2/15, *juan* 14, 212–213.

³⁸¹ Zhao (2013): *Kindle Locations* 2497–2617.

³⁸² Appendix II: 45–52.

³⁸³ *Cim-kòng* จิมก้อง is derived from the Chinese term *jin-gong* 進貢 which means submitting tribute.

³⁸⁴ Sarasin Viraphol (2014): 53–54.

throughout the subsequent reigns of King Sua (r. 1703–1709) and King Thaisa (r. 1709–1733).³⁸⁵

The growing Chinese influence in officialdom was testified by a French missionary who observed in 1714:

Even though the Siamese, Malays, and Moors are dissatisfied that Siam had been made to lean towards the Chinese in such fashion, they dare not raise their voices to object, knowing that the king listens to the Chinese with the Phraya Praklang acting as the go-between.³⁸⁶

Another VOC employee Imel Christiaen Cok, in charge of its Ligor office, remarked in 1716:

... the Chinese have, in order to obtain positions, done their utmost to further their policy with a liberal hand, and insinuated themselves into this kingdom so that at present [they] have in their control the best and most prominent positions at the court as well as in the provinces. This began in the year 1700 when Pra Trhong Tan (King Phetracha), the grandfather of the present king, installed for the first time a Chinese as Phrakhleng.³⁸⁷

In 1716, the Emperor Kangxi reinstated a ban against Chinese trade with Southeast Asia out of several concerns. First, it was reported that rice had been exported in bulk, causing domestic shortages. Secondly, he viewed Westerners, armed with advanced science and technology, as a growing threat. Thirdly, he was worried about the anti-Manchu powers hidden within the Chinese diaspora, plotting against the Qing court under the disguise of maritime trade. The ban was stringent. It mandated that those who sailed to Southeast Asia to trade were to be sent into exile in a frontier area; those found to have sold a junk abroad were to be beheaded; and those found to have sold rice abroad were to be strangled.³⁸⁸ In 1722, Siam sent a tribute mission with a request to bring back to the two junks detained in Guangzhou due to the ban. The junks, as well as Siamese personnels, were eventually released, but all Chinese crew members were not allowed to leave and forced to be sent home instead.³⁸⁹

During the dynastic transition, there was indeed an influx of Chinese seeking safe haven in Southeast Asian countries. For instance, Ming loyalists were welcomed by the Nguyen lords in Dang Trong to stay and act as the principal agents in administering overseas trade, and soon emerged as a bureaucratic class.³⁹⁰ These diasporas could be easily distinguished from their counterpart in China by their hairstyle. During the Ming dynasty, men and women wound their

³⁸⁵ Dhiravat na Pombejra (1998): 111–121.

³⁸⁶ Sarasin Viraphol (2014): 47.

³⁸⁷ Dhiravat na Pombejra (1998): 116–117.

³⁸⁸ Zhao (2013): Kindle Locations 3398–3591.

³⁸⁹ Liang (1968): 「暹羅國奏稱：彼國有二紅皮船，前因禁洋被留。令廣東督、撫查明，交貢使帶回。其在廣駕船水手人等，系內地者，各撥原籍安插；系暹羅夷人，令隨船回國。」 *Yuedao gongguo shuo* 粵道貢國說 [Report on the Tribute Countries in Guangdong], *juan* 1, 32–33. Online at www.bnasic.eu/BN/Books?ID=430.

³⁹⁰ Wheeler (2001): 150.

hair into a bun, known as a topknot, following a Confucian belief that no body parts, including hair, ought to be defiled out of filial duty to parents. The Qing dynasty, however, issued an edict to order all *Han* men to shave their foreheads and braid the rest of their hair into a queue identical to those worn by the Manchus as a sign of submission, on pain of death.³⁹¹ The two hairstyles were concurrently featured in the II650 and Ayutthaya 6 manuscripts (Figure 3.18), suggesting it might have been commonplace to see Chinese engaging in maritime trade in both hairstyles. During his stay in Hoi An in 1694, abbot Dashan also noted that the Fujianese people there, the core of Hoi An's merchant community, “were still dressed in the fashion of the previous (Ming) dynasty” to conduct trade with the incoming junks.³⁹² This was precisely the kind of connection that Emperor Kangxi wished to deter.



Figure 3.18 Excerpts of Chinese man in Ming hairstyle on the junk on the Coastal Map and Qing hairstyle on another page in Berlin II650 (two on left) and Ayutthaya 6. Source: © Berlin State Museums, Museum of Asian Art, Photo: SBB-PK Hagen Immel; and Department of Fine Arts (1999a: 61, 95).

Yet the problem of rice shortages had yet to be resolved, prompting the emperor to encourage rice from Siam to be transported to Guangzhou, Amoy and Ningpo, without tax, in 1722, the last year of his reign.³⁹³ The first shipment arrived in Guangzhou two years later, to the delight of Emperor Yongzheng (r. 1722–1735), who granted tax exemption to all goods onboard. The junk was manned by 96 crew members from Guangdong, Fujian and Jiangxi provinces, who requested to be exempted from the trade ban as they had been settled in Siam for generations. To show mercy, the emperor granted them permission to continue living there.³⁹⁴ This showed that the Chinese had assimilated into the Siamese community, and many were associated with trade with China.

Although the ban was lifted in 1729 and trade continued to thrive, King Borommakot (r. 1733–1758) still decided to replace the Chinese Phra Khleng – who supported his nephew during the

³⁹¹ Gerth (2003): 74–77.

³⁹² Da Shan (1699): 「閩人仍先朝服。」 *Haiwai jishi* 海外紀事 [Records of Overseas Events], Vol 3, 9.

³⁹³ *Qing shilu*: Kangxi 61/6/9, *juan* 298, 884.

³⁹⁴ *Qing shilu*: 「暹羅國王入貢稻種果樹等物，應令進獻，并運米來廣貨賣。其來船擄目九十六人，本係漢人，今皆求免回籍，并為奏明。得旨，暹羅國王不憚險遠，進獻稻種果樹等物，最為恭順，殊屬可嘉，應加獎賚，其運來米石，令地方官照粵省見在時價，速行發賣，不許行戶任意低昂，如賤買貴賣，甚非朕體恤小國之意，嗣後且令暫停，俟有需米之處，候旨遵行。其壓船隨帶貨物，一概免徵稅銀。來船擄目徐寬等九十六名，雖係廣東、福建、江西等省民人，然住居該國，歷經數代，各有親屬，實難勒令遷歸，著照所請，免令回籍，仍在該國居住，以示寬大之典。」
Yongzheng 2/10/29, *juan* 25, 397.

succession dispute – with Chaophraya Chamnan Borirak, who came from a family of Indian brahmins. Disgruntle built up, leading to a group of Chinese occupying the Royal Palace in 1734 in an attempt to put on the throne a new king. The rebellion was severely cracked down on and many lost their lives, became slaves, or went into exile. Yet the influence of Chinese elites did not diminish as the succeeding Phra Khlang, called Chim, was still of Chinese descent and was related to Chaophraya Chamnan Borirak by marriage.³⁹⁵ Here it is seen again that Chinese descendants, often of mixed-race, had already gained a substantial footing in the maritime trade.

Right at end of King Borommakot's reign, in 1757, Emperor Qianlong issued an edict prohibiting foreign merchants from entering any port other than Guangzhou, marking the beginning of what is now called the Canton System.³⁹⁶ Although such a policy had a significant impact on the operations of Western traders, for the Siamese it was business as usual. Rice continued to be sent alongside the usual tribute missions, the last of which was led in 1766 by Piya Song-tong-ya-pei (mentioned in Chapter 2), who returned home the following year to find the Kingdom of Ayutthaya had collapsed.

Operations on Junks

Vessels were royally commissioned to conduct trade on behalf of the court of Ayutthaya. The personnel on a junk from Siam to China were first recorded in *Xianlaoguan yiyu* [Sino-Thai dictionary], estimated to have been completed around the late 1570s when the Siamese subdivision of the Siyiguan [Translators Institute] opened its doors.³⁹⁷ The list was complemented by a detailed memorial in 1617 submitted by Guangdong Regional Inspector Tian Shengjin on the circumstance of a tribute ship from Siam, which carried more than 140 envoy and crew members.³⁹⁸ The duties of each title were, unfortunately, not recorded so the responsibility of some crew members were unclear.

Since the Ming court pursued a policy of tribute trade over private trade, tax-free additional tribute from individual envoy and crew members was allowed to be submitted alongside royal tribute in exchange for monetary return. In a case from 1617, three Siamese ambassadors, three interpreters and top-tier crew members all submitted highly priced items like sappan wood 蘇木 and black wood 烏木. The *Da ming huidian* 大明會典 [Collected Statutes of the Great Ming], edited by Li (1587), stipulated that sappan wood and black wood were each valued at 500 *wen* 文 per catty but those from Siam would be rewarded five and 40 *guan* 貫 per catty respectively. To put the numbers in perspective, silver was worth 15 *guan* per tael 兩 and iron

³⁹⁵ Pimpraphai Bisalputra (2017): *Ceramic Trade Between Early Qing China and Late Ayutthaya, 1644–1767*, 16–17.

³⁹⁶ See Chapter 5.

³⁹⁷ Han and Li (2019): “A New Textual Study on Xian-luo-guan Yi-yu 《暹羅館譯語》新考” in *Journal of Social Science, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences*, 155–157.

³⁹⁸ Tang and Tian (2007): 126.

300 *wen* per catty.³⁹⁹ The titles of the envoy and crew, their names, tribute presented and its estimated value are summarized in Table 3.3. This case gives a sense of the hierarchy of the envoy and crew members on tribute missions in 1617, just before the harbor department was established.

The three ambassadors and the chief *tong-shi* (interpreter) each submitted 13,000 *guan* worth of goods. The memorial reported that the four would proceed to Beijing for an audience with the emperor together with *ban-si*, 16 family members, and four *cong-ren* (workmen). There, they would be granted a variety of silk garments as reward for the journey. Among the crew remaining in Guangzhou, who would also be rewarded with a set of silk garments and one roll of silk fabric,⁴⁰⁰ *chuan-zhu* (supercargo) was obviously of the highest ranking with a submission allowance of 20,000 *guan* of goods. The next in line were the chief *zong-guan* (general manager), *ke-zhang* (navigator) and the three *la-ta* (accountant), with an allowance of 9,000 *guan* each. Most of these positions were occupied by persons prefixed with the Thai title *Òk*.⁴⁰¹ The rest of the crew got 500 *guan* each. Among these, *cai-fu* (involved with money handling) seemed to be the most important position as the names of the two officials were still prefixed with *Òk*, while the others were respectfully prefixed with *Nai* นาย and *Ai* อ้าย, equivalent to “mister” in English.

Only four full Chinese names were noted on the list, for the positions of interpreter and navigator. Many of the names in the second-tier crew, like those of *duo-gong* (helmsmen) and workmen appeared to be of Chinese origin but no surname was given. It is possible that they were mixed-race descendants and hence their Chinese surname was no longer in use.

Entering the 18th century, the titles of the envoy and crew members inevitably underwent change. More positions were noted and their duties refined, while *ji-cha*, *zhi-ku* and *qian-fu* disappeared from the list. The labor of division on Chinese junks can be found in *Taihai shicha lu* 臺海使槎錄 [Record of Missions to Taiwan and Adjacent Waters] (1722) in Chinese⁴⁰², and

³⁹⁹ Li (1587): 「足色銀、每兩十五貫。……鐵、每斤三百文。……蘇木、每斤五百文（琉球十貫；暹羅五貫）。烏木、每斤五百文（暹羅滿刺加俱四十貫）。」
Da Ming Huidian 大明會典 [Collected Statutes of the Great Ming], *juan* 113.
Online at [iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:428230450\\$9i](http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:428230450$9i).

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*: *juan* 111. Online at [iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:428230428\\$63i](http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:428230428$63i).

⁴⁰¹ See footnote 345.

⁴⁰² Huang (1722):

「每船載杉板船一只，以便登岸。出入悉於舟側，名水仙門。碇凡三：正碇、副碇、三碇（正碇一名將軍碇，不輕下），入水數十丈。棕藤草三繩，約值五十金。寄碇先用鉛錘試水深淺；繩六、七十丈，繩盡猶不止底，則不敢寄。鉛錘之末，塗以牛油；沾起沙泥，舵師輒能辨至某處。有占風望向者，緣篷桅繩而上，登眺盤旋，了無怖畏；名曰亞班。南北通商，每船出海一名（即船主）、舵工一名、亞班一名、大繚一名、頭碇一名、司杉板船一名、總鋪一名、水手二十餘名或十餘名。通販外國，船主一名；財副一名，司貨物錢財；總捍一名，分理事務；火長一正、一副，掌船中更漏及駛船鍼路；亞班、舵工各一正、一副；大繚、二繚各一，管船中繚索；一碇、二碇各一，司碇；一遷、二遷、三遷各一，司桅索；杉板船一正、一副，司杉板及頭繚；押工一名，修理船中器物；擇庫一名，清理船艙；香公一名，朝夕焚香楮祀神；總鋪一名，司火食；水手數十餘名。」 *Juan* 1, 17–18. Online at id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990074125010203941/catalog.

Zoho kai tsushoko 增補華夷通商考 [Studies on the Intercourse and Trade with the Chinese and Foreigners, Revised and Expanded Edition] (1708)⁴⁰³ and *Nagasaki miyage* 長崎土産 [Souvenirs of Nagasaki] (1847)⁴⁰⁴ in Japanese. The titles recorded are more or less the same across the three sources, with *Taihai shicha lu* being the most comprehensive.

Sino-Thai Dictionary (ca 1570s)		1617 Memorial on Tribute from Siam				Da Ming huidian		
Envoy and Crew Titles		Number of persons, names and tribute in catty		Sappan wood	Black wood	Value in guan		
Ratcha Thut	ราชทูต	Zheng-shi	正使	1	Fu-na-shen-shi-ti-la-mai-di-li 浮哪申實替喇邁低釐	200	300	13,000
Öbpa Thut	อับปทูต	Fu-shi	副使	1	Men-la-shen-li-ha 悶喇申哩哈	200	300	13,000
Tri Thut	ตรีทูต	San-shi	三使	1	Zhao-ti-ta-ti-la 昭提他提喇	200	300	13,000
Tong-si Yai	ทองสี่ไช	Da tong-shi	大通事	1	Xu Sheng 許勝	200	300	13,000
Tong-si Nòi	ทองสี่น้อย	Xiao tong-shi	小通事	1	Luo Qiao 羅翹	100	–	500
Ban-si	ปานสี่	Ban-shi	辦事	1	Wo-liang-xi-la 握良西喇	100	100	4,500
Cao Saphao	เจ้าสพหา	Chuan-zhu	船主	1	Wo-liang-xi-su-la 握良西蘇喇	–	500	20,000
Cong-kwa Yai	จงกว่าไช	Dai Zong-guan	大總管	1	Wo-zhong-quan 握中權	200	200	9,000
Hu cong-kwa	หูจงกว่า	Er Zong-guan	二總管	2	Wo-xi-mo 握西末, Wo-zhong-jiu 握忠九	200	–	1,000
Ton-hon Yai	ตันหนไช	Da Ke-zhang	大賴長	1	Su Mutang 蘇慕堂	200	200	9,000
Ton-hon Nòi	ตันหนน้อย	Xiao Ke-zhang	小賴長	1	Wu Gantang 伍干塘	100	–	500
La-ta Yai	ลาตาไช	Dai La-da	大刺達	1	Wo-kun-pi-xue 握坤皮雪	200	200	9,000
–		Er La-da	二刺達	2	Wo-liang-suan 握良酸, Wo-men-yu-bo-ba 握悶玉撥叭	400	400	18,000
Cha-ho	ชโห	Cai-fu	財副	2	Wo-liang-chen 握良陳, Wo-tang-shu 握唐束	200	–	1,000
Kan-si	กานสี่	Gan-shi	幹事	1	Xi-la 西腊	100	–	500
Ki-chat	กี้ฉัด	Ji-cha	機察	2	Nai-gun 乃棍, Nai-hou 乃吼	200	–	1,000
–		Zhi-ku	執庫	4	Ai-xi-la 隘西喇, Ai-zhang 隘長, Yan-tang 燕唐, La-jiu 腊九	400	–	2,000
Cap-kòng	จับกอง	Ya-jiang	押江	6	La-bi-ye 喇必耶, Nai-bie 乃別, Zhen-tang 鎮唐, Zhong-quan 中 權, Tang-shu 唐束, Ai-sun 隘孫	600	–	3,000
Chian-ho	เฉียนห	Qian-fu	千富	6	Gan-tang 干唐, Zhen-tang 真堂, Ai-kun 隘昆, Ai-tian 隘添, Ai-lun 隘論, Ai-tang 隘唐	600	–	3,000
–		Duo-gong	舵工	4	Hou-le 厚樂, Sui-ming 遂明, Wei-xin 惟信, Jing-bin 敬濱	400	–	2,000
Khon-chai	คนไช	Cong-ren	從人	4	Yong-gui 永貴, Ya-wang 亞旺, You-xin 友信, Zhong-jing 中敬	–	–	–

Table 3.3 Envoy and crew titles in Sino-Thai Dictionary; the corresponding names, number of persons and tribute presented recorded in the 1617 Memorial on Tribute from Siam; and the estimated value of tribute from *Da Ming Huidian*. Source: Sino-Thai Dictionary⁴⁰⁵; Tang and Tian (2007:126); and *Da Ming huidian* (1587: *juan* 113).

⁴⁰³ Nishikawa (1708): “Tosen yakusha 唐船役者 [Crew on Chinese Junks],” *kan* 2, 16. Online at dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/991284.

⁴⁰⁴ Isono (1847): “Tokan 唐館,” 23. Online dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2536303.

⁴⁰⁵ See footnote 349.

In Siam, officials involved in the maritime trade were recorded in the *Phra aiyakan tamnaeng na phonlariian* พระไอยการตำแหน่งนาพลเรือน [The Legal Act of Civil Hierarchy] in *Kotmai tra sam duang* กฎหมายตราสามดวง, or the Three Seals Law. The legal texts were edited and compiled in 1805 on the order of King Rama I, but many had in fact been promulgated since early Ayutthaya. Most positions came with a brief description of his duties and were listed in descending order of *sakdina* สักดินา, or simply *na*, the quantitative measure of official status. The unit may translate as “power over fields” but no evidence suggests that actual land was granted.⁴⁰⁶ For instance, Phra Khlang, shown in his official title *Ok phaya si thamma ratcha decha chat ammatayanuchit phiphit rattana ratcha kosa thibodo aphai phiriya bara kromma phahu* ออกพญาศรีธรรมราชเดชะชาติอำมาตยานุชิตพิพิธรัตนราชโกษาธิบดีอะภัยพิริยบรากรมภาณุ, was assigned 10,000 *na*, while the two heads of the Krom Tha [Harbor Department] got 1,400 *na* each.⁴⁰⁷

In Krom Tha Sai, many of the positions were appropriated from the labor of division on Chinese junks. An English translation with annotations of the legal act related to the Ministry of External Relations and Maritime Trading Affairs can be found in the appendix of “Thai Maritime Trade and the Ministry Responsible,” by Breazeale (1999).⁴⁰⁸ A summary of the positions and their duties is listed in Table 3.4

A Chinese equivalent can be traced for most of the Thai crew titles listed in Three Seals Law, except for *Sin-teng-thao*, *hu-tiaw* and *chin-teng*. The three titles were clearly derived from Chinese, but no record of such posts can be found in Chinese sources. It seems that the two posts of *la-ta* (chief bookkeeper) and *cai-fu* might have had similar responsibilities and were hence merged into one called the former on Siamese junks and the latter on Chinese junks.

Similar to the hierarchy shown in Table 3.3, *cun-cu* (supercargo) remained the highest-ranking position on board, followed by *ton-hon* (navigator) and *la-ta* (chief bookkeeper). Yet the significance of *cong-kwa* (general manager) seems to have dropped to one level below *tai-kong* (helmsmen). The overall hierarchy in the Krom Tha Sai was way more elaborate, with 32 posts, compared with the seven listed under the Krom Tha Khwa. The reason behind this stark contrast might be a policy of Qing China forbidding Chinese to work on foreign vessels. Although exemptions had been granted for those working on Siamese junks since 1724 to foster rice trade, the court of Ayutthaya might have decided to protect its crew by bestowing official titles, down to the lowest ranking deckhands, to justify their right of adobe in Siam, preventing them from being sent home in China. From *Kai hentai*, we know that on the junks from Siam to Nagasaki between 1687 and 1725, the number of Chinese crew ranged from 44 to 119, depending on the junk size, but the Siamese on board were no more than nine.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit (2017): 73.

⁴⁰⁷ *Kotmai tra sam duang chabap ratchabandittayasathan* กฎหมายตราสามดวง ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน [Three Seals Law Royal Institute Edition] (2007): 262–264. Online at mydatabase.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0000003gissv.

⁴⁰⁸ Breazeale (1999): 48–51.

⁴⁰⁹ Ishii (1998): 42–101.

Chinese Title	Three Seals Law	Description	Na
–	Luang Chodük Ratcha Setthi หลวงโชติภราชเศรษฐี	Department Head	1400
–	Luang Thep Phakdi หลวงเทพภักดี	Harbor master, in charge of the Dutch	600
Tong-zhi 通事	Khun Thòng Sü ขุนทองสี	Chinese interpreter _____ and area officer	600
–	Khun Thòng Samut ขุนทองสมุทร		
–	Khun Wora Wathi ขุนวรวาที	French interpreter	300
–	Khun Ratcha Wadi ขุนราชวาดี	Captain's interpreters	300
–	Khun Rasa Samut ขุนรัชสาสมุทร		
–	Khun Wisut Sakhòn ขุนวิสุทสาคร	Interpreter for junk captain at Paknam	400
–	Nai Rüa นายเรือ	Captain of – vessels of 4 wa or more – Chinese, South Asian, <i>farang</i> and English large vessels	400
–	–	– Vessels more than 3 wa in width	200
Chuan-zhu 船主	Cun-cu ขุนจู้	Supercargo, in charge of the trade in the destination	400
Ke-zhang 艙長	Ton-hon ตันหน	Navigator	200
Cai-fu 財副	La-ta ล่าต้า	Chief bookkeeper	
Ban-zhu 板主	Pan-cu ปั้นจู	Owner of junk, in charge of repair of the junk	80 each
Duo-gong 舵工	Tai-kong ไต้ก๋ง	Helmsmen	
?	Sin-teng-thao ซินเตงเตา	Middle-ranking bookkeepers	50
Ya-ban 亞班	A-pan อาปั่น	In charge of the main mast	
Zong-guan 總管	Cong-kwa จงกว่า	In charge of all crew	
?	Tek-khò เต็กซ้อ	In charge of guarding the cargos	
Ya-gong 押工	A-küing อากิ่ง	Carpenter	
Xiang-gong 香公	Iaw-kong เอียวก้ง	In charge of performing worship	30
Da-liao 大僚	Tua-liao ตั่วเลี้ยว	In charge of riggings and the mizzen mast	
Shan-ban 杉板	Sam-pan สำปั่น	In charge of the dinghy and riggings of the foremast	
Zong-pu 總鋪	Chom-phu ชมพู่	Chef	
Tou-ding 頭碇	Thao-teng เต้าเต็ง	In charge of the anchors	
?	Hu-tiao ฮู่เตี่ยว	In charge of sounding the water's depth	25
Yi-qian 一遷	Id-sian อิดเซียร์	In charge of the fore-, main- and mizzen-sail	
Er-qian 二遷	Yi-sian ยี่เซียร์		
San-qian 三遷	Sam-sian สามเซียร์		
Ze-ku 擇庫	Cap-ka-thao จับกะเถา	Cleaner	
Mai-ban 買辦	Boei-pan เบี้ยปั่น	In charge of buying provisions	25
?	Chin-teng ชินเต็ง	18 retainers for Cun-cu, La-ta and Pan-cu	
–	Nai Ròng นายรอง	7 people get 16 (piculs) of cargo allowance each	25

Table 3.4 Positions in the Krom Tha Sai and their duties compiled from the Three Seals Law, *Taihai shicha lu*, *Zoho kai tsushoko* and *Nagasaki miyage*. Source: Kotmai (2007: 263–264); Breazeale (1999: 48–51); Huang (1722:17–18); Nishikawa (1708: kan 2, 16); and Isono (1847:23).

Legacy of the Ayutthaya System

The maritime trading system developed in Ayutthaya was largely inherited by the Thonburi Kingdom and continued in use until the early Bangkok period. The Chinese and their mixed-race descendants continued to dominate trade with China. Private trade was conducted in parallel to the regular tribute. The *commenda* system, in which a supercargo was responsible for an investor, became the norm in the 19th century. In fact, Martin (1847) noted that:

The sailors are divided into two classes; one has charge of sails, anchors, etc., the other performs the heavy work, hauling ropes, heaving anchor, etc.: every one, except the menials (Hoke⁴¹⁰), is a shareholder, and has something for trade at any port they may touch at.⁴¹¹

The last tribute mission was sent from Siam in 1852, bringing an end to the almost 500-year-old tributary relationship.

During the dynastic transition from Ayutthaya to Thonburi, tributary relations were put on hold until the Qing court recognized Taksin as King of Siam in 1777, following repeated appeals. The first, and only, formal tribute sent by King Taksin was in 1781, and *Nirat Kwangtung* gives us a detailed account of the occasion. This poetic travelogue stated that tribute missions had been suspended for 24 years, which is at odds with the official Chinese record noting the last mission from Ayutthaya as 1766, making the gap 15 years only. Nonetheless, the royal ceremony prior to the departure of the envoy was described in vivid detail.⁴¹²

แล้วเสด็จขึ้นลี้ก้อาศน์ออกสนาม	[The King] enters the court and proceeds to the throne;
แย้มพระโอษฐ์ประดิดพิศแล้วตรัสความ	smiling with affection, [His Majesty] makes a speech;
อำมาตย์หม่อมมีนามประนมพืง	[while] those officials with noble titles all put their palms together and listen.
ไต่ยืนพร้อมยอมอวยแล้วอภิวาด	Given heed, [they] accord and pay obeisance;
กราบบาทด้วยค่านับแล้วรับสั่ง	[by] laying on the floor at the King's feet to pay respect and receive the royal decree;
ทูลโดยลำดับมาเป็นตราตรัง	and report to [the King] in the order [mandated by] the protocol;
ที่หยุดแล้วจะยังยืนควร	afterwards [they] remain standing.
จึงพระบาททรงราชนิพนธ์สาร	Then the venerated King composes the royal letter;
เปนตะพานนพคุณควรสงวน	[which] is a golden bridge of the purist quality [for friendship] that deserves to be preserved.
ให้เขียนสารลงลานทองทวน	The text is engraved on [a sheet of] gold leaf (Figure 3.19);
จัดส่วนบรรณาการกลานตา	the list of tribute prepared is overwhelming;
อนึ่งนอกจิมก้องเปนของถวาย	on top of <i>cim-kòng</i> (tribute) are additional tribute;

⁴¹⁰ Derived from *huo-ji* 伙計 pronounced in Cantonese.

⁴¹¹ Martin (1847): *China: Political, Commercial, and Social; in an Official Report to Her Majesty's Government*, Vol 2, 138.

⁴¹² Appendix II: 29–44.

ก็โปรยปรายประทานไปหนักหนา	the products cover a broad spectrum.
ทั้งนายห้างขุนนางในนครา	All the important merchants and nobilities in the city
ให้มีตราบัวแก้วสำคัญกัน	are given the Seal of Crystal Lotus [of Krom Phra Khlang] (Figure 3.20).
แล้วจัดทูตทุกคำให้จำสาร	Then the envoys are appointed and messages are relayed to be kept in mind.

According to *Mai lek ekkasan r. 3/2 rüang ekkasan ratchakan thi 3* หมายเลขเอกสาร ร.3/2 เรื่องเอกสารรัชกาลที่ 3 [Numbered Document r. 3/2 About Royal Document no. 3]⁴¹³, the royal letter was composed on the 6th of the waxing moon of the 7th month, CS 1143 (28 May 1781) in the presence of the core ministers, envoys and crew members. The document detailed the complete ceremony from chiseling the letter to sending the envoys and tribute to the junks. The exact golden letter from King Taksin did not survive as these documents were usually melted to be reused. One rare example, submitted by Rama II to Emperor Daoguang, possibly in 1822, now rests in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei (Figure 3.19).



Figure 3.19 An example of the gold-leaf tributary document. This was submitted by Rama II to Emperor Daoguang possibly in 1822. These documents were usually melted to be repurpose. Extant copies are therefore rare. Source: National Palace Museum⁴¹⁴.

⁴¹³ The manuscript is no longer listed on the catalogue of the National Library of Thailand. Hsu (1951) translated the content into Chinese for the article “Zheng Zhao rugong qingting zhi xianzi biaowen 鄭昭入貢清廷之暹字表文 [The Siamese Letter Submitted Along the Tribute to the Qing Court]” in *Nanyang Monthly* 南洋月報, Vol 2(11), 16–19. The Department of Fine Arts (1978) printed the Thai original in the book *Samphanthaphap rawang thai-cin* สัมพันธภาพระหว่างไทย-จีน [Thai-Chinese Relationship], 11–16.

⁴¹⁴ National Palace Museum: *Guge* no. 000064, 28.5 x 16.3 cm.

Online at theme.npm.edu.tw/selection/Article.aspx?sNo=04001055&lang=2#inline_content_intro.

Meanwhile, the content differences in King Taksin's letters written in Thai and Chinese have been the subject of various discussions, such as Masuda (2007) and Wang (2018), which speculated as to the king's true intentions. The political tensions between King Taksin and his fellow Siamesese officials, as well as the Qing court, lie beyond the scope of this dissertation and are therefore not addressed here.

From the description in the *Nirat Kwangutng*, we learn that King Taksin was very much delighted with the resumption of the tributary relationship and attached great weight to the occasion by engaging all the merchants and nobilities in the city to the ride on the trading opportunity. The Seal of the Crystal Lotus⁴¹⁵ (Figure 3.20) can be seen in the memorial submitted by King Taksin on Qianlong 4/7/43 (25 August 1778).⁴¹⁶ From here, we follow the course of the poetic travelogue to get a first-hand impression of the treacherous voyage from Thonburi to Guangzhou in the next chapter.

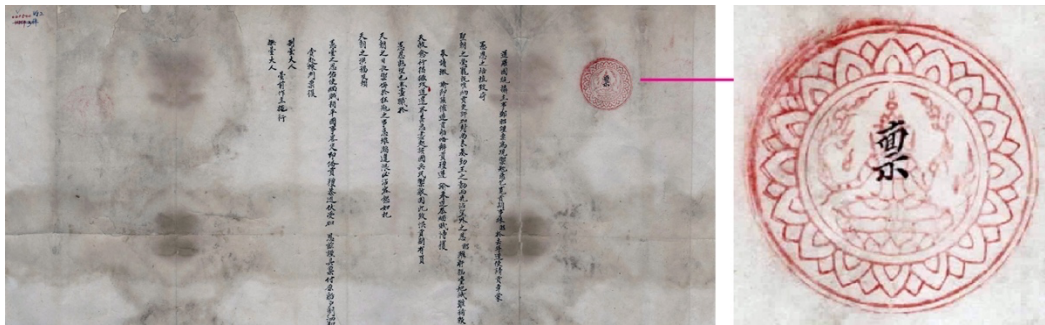


Figure 3.20 Memorial submitted by King Taksin in 1778 chopped with the seal of the crystal lotus.

Source: National Palace Museum (*Guji* no 040802).

⁴¹⁵ The seal of the Crystal Lotus was first hold by Phra Khlang, and now used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Thailand. See Phraya Anumanratchathon (1950): *Phraratcha lanchakon lae tra pracham tua pracham tamnaeng* พระราชลัญจกรและตราประจำตัวประจำตำแหน่ง [On Royal Seals of the Monarch and Seals of Ministers and Ministries], 38. Online at www.finearts.go.th/nakhonsithammaratlibrary/view/21235-เรื่องพระราชลัญจกรและตราประจำตัวประจำตำแหน่ง.

⁴¹⁶ Masuda (2007): 106–107.

Chapter 4 Sailing from Siam to China

In this chapter, we begin with the voyage from Chao Phraya River, Siam, to Guangdong Province, China. Using the China Map (Map 2, 417 x 172 cm) as a base, we follow the Chinese sailing instructions and supplement the scenery seen along the route with the descriptions given in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. The customs and beliefs of the sailors are then explored.

Originally anonymous, the Thai manuscript China Map, estimated to have been created in the early 1800s, was given the name because it showed the coastlines from the Gulf of Thailand to Korea, with a particular focus on China. The principal purpose of the map appears to be trade as clear sea routes between Siam and China are shown. Unfortunately, the toponyms and routes are hardly self-explanatory as the texts do not make much sense in Thai. This study therefore strives to decipher its content with cross-disciplinary sources to expand on Thailand's maritime history regarding the geographical cognition in the minds of Thai-Chinese seafarers.



Figure 4.1 Research area on the China Map which stretches from Chao Phraya River, Thailand, to Nan'ao Island, the end of today's Guangdong Province in China. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

Following the scope of the research (Figure 4.1), this chapter only investigates the map area between the Gulf of Thailand and Guangdong Province, China. First, the main sources are introduced. Individual sections of the map are then analyzed following the sailing routes from Bangkok to Guangzhou noted in Chinese rutters, and then the routes from Hue in Vietnam to Bangkok documented in an official record during the reign of Rama III, supplemented by first-hand observations found in Thai and Western travel literatures. The remaining parts of the map are also briefly explored before a general discussion is made on toponyms and distances, religious rituals and historical significance. This chapter aims to reveal the transmission of

nautical knowledge within the region and elaborate Thailand's maritime connections with the Eastern sphere from its own perspective.

Main Sources

Secondary literature on sailing routes is scarce in Chinese and none at all has been found in Thai. A compilation of Chinese rutters in the Ming and Qing dynasties can be found in *A Collection of Maritime Routes and Rutters of Imperial China* 中國歷代海路針經, by Chen and Zhu (2016), in which identification of some ancient toponyms are given. Yet little attention has been paid to the routes between Siam and China. This chapter, therefore, relies heavily on first-hand materials to analyze the China Map. To reconstruct the sailing routes, the map can be read in conjunction with:

– ***Zhinan zhengfa*** 指南正法: An anonymous rutter found in Oxford's Bodleian Library⁴²⁴, it is believed to have been composed during the late reign of Qing's Emperor Kangxi and covers routes from Southeast Asia to Japan. It can be deemed an updated copy of the 1639 rutter *Shunfeng xiangsong* 順風相送,⁴²⁵ which is kept in the same library under the title *The Laud Rutter*.⁴²⁶ The two sole manuscripts are regarded as the most complete manuals of compass directions since late Chinese scholar Xiang Da edited and published both in the book *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing* 兩種海道針經 [Two Maritime Itineraries] in 1961.

– **CMH. R.3 #10 (1834)**: In the record *Rayathang rüang rüa bai pai müang yuan* ระยะทางเรือไปไปเมืองญวน [Sailing Distance to the City of Vietnam], in the National Library of Thailand, sailing routes between Bangkok, Saigon and Hue, ordered by government trade officials and provided by Chinese and Vietnamese helmsmen, were documented for defense purposes. It can also be found in Part 1, Volume 20 of the *Cotmai het kiawkap kamen lae yuan in rachakan thi 3* จดหมายเหตุเกี่ยวกับเขมรและญวนในรัชกาลที่ ๓ [Records about Khmer and Vietnam in the Reign of Rama III].⁴²⁷ An English translation of the document can be found in Appendix III.

– *Oo the Xiem-La-Quoc Lo-Trinh Tap-Luc* 暹羅國路程集錄 [Collected Records of Itineraries to Siam] (**Collected Records**): Originally a memorial to the Emperor Gia-long upon the return of the Vietnamese envoys to Siam in 1810, the Collected Records was translated into Chinese and published by the late scholar Chen Ching-ho in 1966. It covered six land and sea routes encompassing territories in southern Vietnam, northern Cambodia, the Gulf of Thailand, and the western coast of the Malay peninsula, including Penang and Phuket. The map attached to the memorial was already lost by the time Chen discovered it. To date, unfortunately, the

⁴²⁴ Bodleian Library: Backhouse 578 or Arch.O.d.41.

⁴²⁵ Rutters were made by copying old ones. While new routes could be added, existing routes were seldom revised.

⁴²⁶ Bodleian Library: MS. Laud Or. 145 or Arch.O.d.46.

⁴²⁷ *Prachum phonsawadan chabap kancanaphsek lem 12* ประชุมพงศาวดาร ฉบับกาญจนาภิเษก เล่ม ๑๒ [Golden Jubilee Collection of Historical Archives, Volume 12] (2006): 663–665.

memorial itself also seems to be beyond recovery in Hue University.⁴²⁸ An English translation of one sea route – from the lower Mekong Delta to Terengganu – based on Chen’s book by Geoff Wade (2004), is attached in the Appendix A of *Water frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region 1750 – 1880*.⁴²⁹

– **United States (US) Sailing Manual:** An openly-accessible manual of sailing directions, including the South China Sea and The Gulf of Thailand, prepared by the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency of the US Government, last updated in 2020. It gives detailed textual descriptions on harbors, coasts, and waters to provide information that cannot be shown graphically on nautical charts.⁴³⁰

To help identify the toponyms, two set of maps, both dated in the 1800s, are also consulted:

– **Yale Maps:** An anonymous set of maps (24 x 25cm) showing the waypoints and ports between the Gulf of Thailand and Japan in 122 pages. Confiscated from a Chinese trading junk in 1841 by HMS Herald of the UK’s Royal Navy, the maps were later discovered and studied by Taiwanese scholar Li Hongqi at Yale’s Sterling Memorial Library in 1974.⁴³¹ It has now been moved to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, with all images available online under the give name *Zhongguo guhanghai tu* 中國古航海圖 [Ancient Chinese Sailing Charts].⁴³² A monograph called *Yale University’s Old Chinese Maritime Maps, A Study* 明清東亞舟師祕本：耶魯航海圖研究, published by Zheng Yongchang in 2018, gives a brief explanation on each page, but the identification of locations is debatable.

– **Carte de l’Indo-Chine Orientale** [Map of Indochina in the East]: A map (94 x 61 cm) showing the Indochina Peninsula created by French geographer Jules Léon Dutreuil de Rhins in 1881. It was chosen because some locations had their local names written next to their Western aliases. It lies in the collection of the Geography and Map Division in the Library of Congress in the US.⁴³³

For additional descriptions of certain locations, as well as the customs of seafarers, the scenic circumstantial descriptions in the poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung* are extracted for discussion. Another travelogue that can be used for comparison is:

– **Gützlaff’s Journal:** Written by the German Lutheran missionary Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851) – anglicized as Charles Gützlaff – the *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833: With Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo*

⁴²⁸ Chen (1966): 1–22.

⁴²⁹ Wade (2004): “A ‘Coastal Route’ from the Lower Mekong Delta to Terengganu” in *Water frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750–1880*, 175–189.

⁴³⁰ Online at msi.nga.mil/api/publications/download?key=16694491/SFH00000/Pub161bk.pdf.

⁴³¹ Zheng (2018): 14–16.

⁴³² Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library: Covers 56[cea] +1840. Online at brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/4553702?image_id=16563285.

⁴³³ Library of Congress: G8005 1881.R4. Online at: hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g8005.ct002396.

Islands, recorded his voyage on board a Chinese ship departing from Bangkok on 3 June 1831 and reaching on the island of Nan'ao in Guangdong Province 44 days later, on 17 July.⁴³⁴ He penned down snippets of information he learned about different ports of call, his observations of the crews as well as their reactions to foreigners and to Christianity. It offers another first-hand perspective of the voyage between Bangkok and Guangzhou.

Sailing Instructions

As discussed in Chapter 2, the cartographer put his hometown Chaozhou in the center of the China Map and adorned it with local landmarks. Further evidence suggesting the cartographer might be of Chaozhou origin comes from the sailing directions written along the sea routes. In Figure 4.2, the first four legs of the sailing route departing from the Chao Phraya River to the Gulf of Thailand are shown. Above the red line are the distances in the traditional anthropic Thai unit *yot* โยชน์⁴³⁵ and below the Chinese compass bearings.

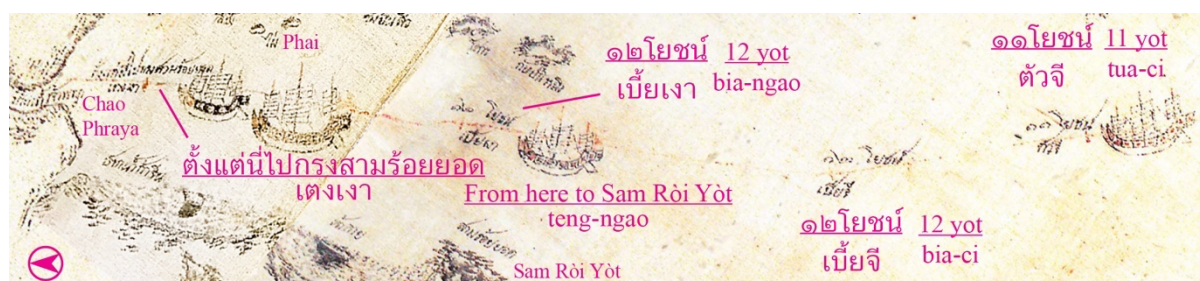


Figure 4.2 First four legs of the sailing route starting from Chao Phraya River. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The typical format for Chinese sailing routes reads: “From Place A steer X°; after Y *geng* to Place B.” *Geng* 更 was a unit for measuring time, calculated by the burning of an incense-stick. The compass was made of a needle floating in water, contained in a circular box with points on the rim. On it, 24 named points were marked to divide a 360° circle into 24 parts of 15° each (see Figure 4.3). By combining the names of two contiguous points, the circle was further divided into 48 parts of 7.5° each.⁴³⁶ For instance, *gen*, by itself, denotes 45° while *gen-chou* and *gen-yin* 37.5° and 52.5°, respectively.

The pronunciation of selected compass points in different dialects is listed in Table 4.1 for ease of comparison.⁴³⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the dialects in southern China might sound distinctively different from the standard Mandarin used in Beijing. Take the point *wu* 午,

⁴³⁴ Gützlaff (1834). See digital version at: library.umac.mo/ebooks/b21478144.pdf.

⁴³⁵ See footnote 25.

⁴³⁶ Mills (1970): pXV.

⁴³⁷ Mandarin is romanised under the pinyin system; Cantonese under the Cantonese pinyin system recognised by the Education and Manpower Bureau of Hong Kong in 1971; Teochew under the Chaozhou pinyin system developed by the Department of Education of Guangdong Province in 1960; and Hokkien under the orthographic system for the Minnan language developed by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 2006. The numerals behind the pinyin for Cantonese and Teochew indicate the tone.

representing 180°, as an example. While it is pronounced *wǔ* in Mandarin, the same word is read *ng5* in Cantonese, *ngou2* in Teochew and *gōo* in Hokkien, all of which are distintively different. Therefore, we can tell that the Thai transcription of the compass points largely accords with the Teochew dialect spoken in Chaozhou.⁴³⁸ The first four legs hence indicate “from here [Chao Phraya River mouth] to Sam Ròi Yòt, steer 187.5° for 12 *yot*; then 172.5° for 12 *yot*; then 157.5° for 11 *yot* and then turn to 150°...”

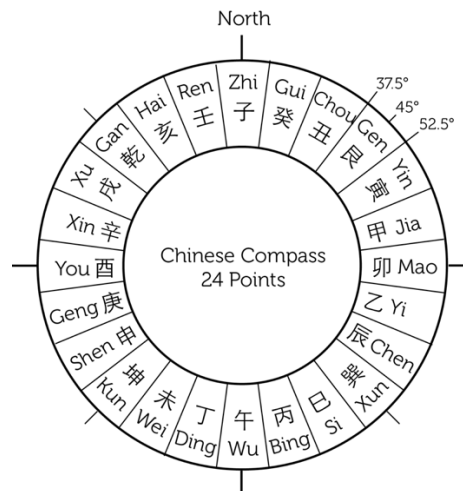


Figure 4.3 Chinese compass points. Source: Author’s illustration.

Points	Thai	Mandarin	Cantonese	Teochew	Hokkien		
195°	丁	丁	teng	dīng	ding1	dēng1	ting
180°	午	午	ngao	wǔ	ng5	ngou2	gōo
165°	丙	丙	bia	bǐng	bing2	bian2	piánn
150°	巳	巳	ci	sì	zi6	zi6	tsī

Table 4.1 Pronunciation of selected compass points in different dialects.

Sailing From Bangkok to Guangzhou

In this section, the ports of call between the Chao Phraya River and Nan’ao Island at the eastern edge of Guangdong Province are addressed following the sailing courses noted from *Zhinan zhengfa*. The two selected routes are Siam to Fujian in China, and Siam to Nagasaki in Japan.⁴³⁹ The former was a copy from *Shunfeng xiangsong*; the latter was a new entry found only in *Zhinan zhengfa* in the form of a diary, logging distances travelled by date. All major stops can be located on the China Map.

• The Gulf of Thailand

The red route on the map, as aforementioned, began from the Chao Phraya River with a clear instruction to go to Sam Ròi Yòt. The mountain in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province was known

⁴³⁸ Listen to pronunciation in Mandarin at www.zdic.net; in Cantonese at humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/lexican/; in Teochew at www.czyzd.com; and in Hokkien at twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html.

⁴³⁹ Xiang (2012): ZZ 171–172, 181–182.

in Chinese as Mount Bi-jia, and said to have long, narrow peaks.⁴⁴⁰ In the late 16th century, the Bishop of Melaka, Dom Joao Ribeiro Gaio, said the high peaks resembled organs and called them Peynes [Spanish: combs].⁴⁴¹ This unique mountain serves as an important landmark for navigation until today. The US Sailing Manual describes Sam Ròi Yòt as “a remarkable range of mountains with the appearance of a serrated tableland at a distance, and is unlike any other land in the Gulf of Thailand.”⁴⁴² The poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung* added that upon seeing the mountain, sacrifice was offered.⁴⁴³

After passing the middle of the Gulf of Thailand, junks would head for Kò Khwang เกาะขวาง, a pair of islands consisting of Khwang Yai ขวางใหญ่ and Khwang Nòi ขวางน้อย. Known in Chinese as Da Heng 大橫 and Xiao Heng 小橫,⁴⁴⁴ the islands have been identified as Tho Chu, in Vietnam, and Wai, in Cambodia. The 1881 map *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* further confirms Kò Khwang Nòi to be Wai (Figure 4.4).

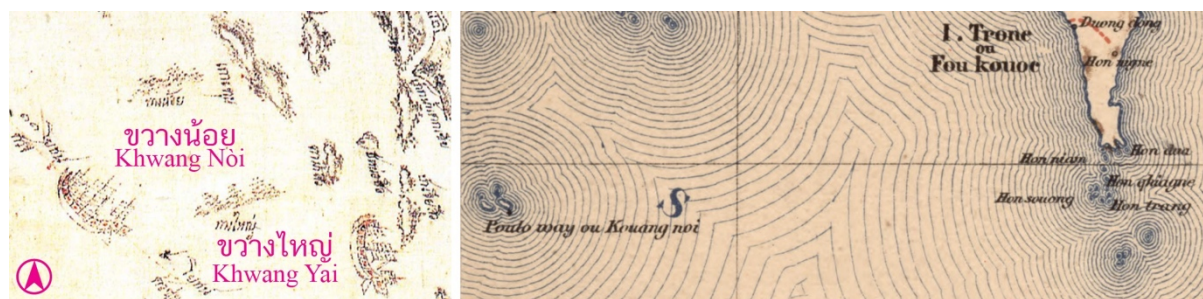


Figure 4.4 (From left) The islands Khwang Yai and Nòi on China Map; and Khwang Nòi marked as Wai on *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* (1881). Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Library of Congress (G8005 1881.R4).

• The Southern Coast of Vietnam

The red route then makes a sharp turn at Kò Man เกาะมัน. The island first appeared as Zhen 真, meaning “true,” on Mao Kun Maps (1628),⁴⁴⁵ the earliest Chinese map to have an adequate representation from Southeast Asia to East Africa, published in 1628. The island signifies the southern end of the Indochina Peninsula. Upon arrival, ships should recalibrate direction. Later, on the map *Dongyang nanyang haidao tu*,⁴⁴⁶ the island is marked Zhen-shu, with the word “potato” added. Thereafter, it appears as Zhen-shu on Chinese maps. Today, the island is called Hon Khoai in Vietnamese. The origin aside, the consistency of the name – *man*, *shu* and *khoai*,

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid: ZZ 121.

⁴⁴¹ Souza and Turley (2015): *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, History and Ethnography of the Pacific, South-east and East Asia*, 493.

⁴⁴² National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 211.

⁴⁴³ Appendix II: 120–123.

⁴⁴⁴ Same as *yai* and *nòi* in Thai, *da* and *xiao* means “big” and “small” in Chinese.

⁴⁴⁵ Mao (1628): online at: www.loc.gov/item/2004633695/.

⁴⁴⁶ First Historical Archives of China (2000): *Aomen lishi ditu jingxuan* 澳門歷史地圖精選 [Selected Historical Maps of Macau], 34.

all of which mean potato – indicates a clear exchange of information between Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese sailors (Figure 4.5). A particular detail – a reef called Sam-pan-ta ลำปันตา, painted in red – is seen on the China Map, coinciding with the Yale Maps’ call for extra caution to be paid to a reef written as San-ban-jiao 三板礁, located on the southeast extremity of the island. The name of this reef does not appear in earlier rutters.



Figure 4.5 (From left) Kò Man and the pair of islands Khun-nun on the China Map; and the equivalent Mount Zhen-shu and Mount Kun-lun on *Waterways from Guangdong to Siam* (1769).

Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and National Palace Museum.

Close to Kò Man, situated amid an intertwining web of routes, is another pair of islands – Khun-nun ขุนนุ่น and Khun-nun-kia ขุนนุ่นเกีย. The two are described in the *Nirat Kwangtung* as follows:⁴⁴⁷

ถึงเกาะมันคิดว่ามันยังมี	[We] reach Kò Man, [whose name makes one] think [that there are] lots of potatoes.
ได้ถามที่ว่าบูรณประมาณา	[This question has] probably [been] asked many times before [in the olden days].
แล้วไปสองวันแล้วก็เขาขุน	After sailing for two days, [we reached] Mount Jackfruit;
บ้างเรียกเกาะกุ้นตื้นภูผา	some call [it] the Kun-tun cliff islands.
เป็นสองเกาะน้อยใหญ่แต่ไกลตา	It's [in fact] two islands, a big and a small one, that are out of each other's sight;
กับขอบฝั่งนั้นสักห้าโยชปลาย	distance from shore to shore measures up to slightly short of six <i>yot</i> .
ก็ใช้ใบไปกลางที่หว่างนั้น	When sailing towards the middle of that interspace;
ถึงสลุบก่าปั่นไปค้าขาย	[we] meet sloops and junks [that] go to trade.

The Chinese called the pair of islands Kun-lun 崑崙, again with the prefix *da* and *xiao*, which refers to today's Con Dao Islands and Hon Trung Lon. The duo had been critical rest stops for ships entering and leaving the Gulf of Thailand. Their names can easily be found across Chinese and Western nautical materials. Yet, the poetic travelogue provided a glimpse of the thriving sea-trade back then with a scene of vessels gathered to trade in-between, a detail that did not appear in other sources.

⁴⁴⁷ Appendix II: 138–145.

From Con Dao Islands, the Chinese ships would head directly to He-ding 鶴頂 and Chi-kan 赤坎. Their Thai equivalents, Hò-teng เหาะเตง and Khia-kham เขียวข้าม, are shown close to each other on the map, flanking a reef that appears to be called Hò-nüng เหาะหนึ่ง (Figure 4.6).

It was noted in *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考 [Surveys of the Eastern and Western Sea] (1618) that He-ding was the reference point to veer for Cambodia – referring to Prey Nokor before the city fell to Vietnamese rule at the end of the 17th century and gradually became known as Saigon. The town could be reached via Ke-ren 柯任, also known as Wai-ren 外任.⁴⁴⁸ Modern Chinese scholars put He-ding in Vung Tau in Dong Nai Province,⁴⁴⁹ an identification backed up by other scholars like Wade.⁴⁵⁰ Chen and Zhu (2016) placed He-ding at Nui Hu Linh in the area between Vung Tau and Ke Ga.⁴⁵¹



Figure 4.6 Location of Hò-teng on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

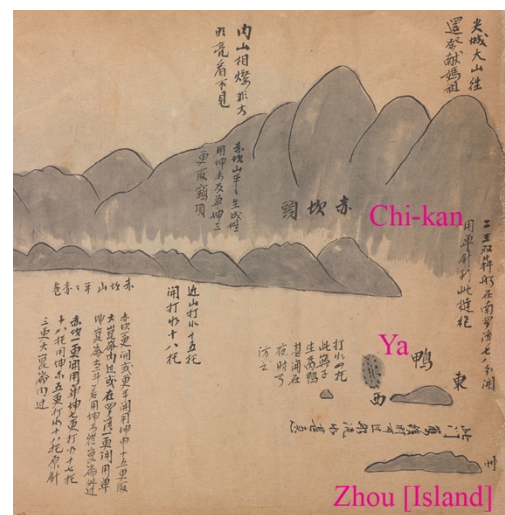


Figure 4.7 Ya Island in front of Chi-kan on the Yale Maps. Source: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The China Map clearly shows that Wua-yim ว้ายิม is situated at the mouth of the river leading to Saigon, next to one leading to My Tho. There is little doubt that Wua-yim or Wai-ren points to Vung Tau while He-ding is located somewhere closer to Chi-kan at Ke Ga.

The story of Khia-kham, written Chang-kham 漳ข้าม, was retold in the *Nirat Kwangtung*:⁴⁵²

ว่าเขานี้คือกาลวาย It is said that the mountain was caught on fire during a storm;
เมื่อไฟฟ้าผ่าฟาดลงภูผา when lightning struck the mountain;

⁴⁴⁸ Zhang (1618): Ch 9, 5.

⁴⁴⁹ Chen, Xie and Lu (1986): *Gudai Nanhai Diming Huishi* 古代南海地名匯釋 [Assembled Explanations of Ancient Place-names of the Southern Sea], 851.

⁴⁵⁰ Wade (2015): “Some Southeast Asian place names in the Mao Kun maps, *Shunfeng ziangsong* and the Yale University Library Chinese navigational map book” in *Hong Kong Maritime Museum International Symposium Proceedings*, 484–485.

⁴⁵¹ Chen and Zhu (2016): 1174.

⁴⁵² Appendix II: 164–167.

แล้วถูกไฟไหม้ไล่เสียลามสินลา then wildfire engulfed the mountain;
 พดกษาจึงไม่ลั้ดระบับไบบ from then on floras do not bud.

The place Chi-kan was said to be flat with reddish sands,⁴⁵³ hence the Chinese name, which literally means “reddish pit,” resonating with the place having been burnt in the poetic travelogue. A more complete picture of the landscape can be found in the US Sailing Manual: “Mui Ke Ga is the extremity of a low tongue of land and the prolongation of a spur of Nui Ta Kou. The latter mountain, 694m high, rising nine miles northwest of Mui Ke Ga, is the most conspicuous of the mountains, and stands detached from any other high land.”⁴⁵⁴ It is then clear that the mountain noted in the poetic travelogue is Nui Ta Kou, whose solitude resembles being struck by lightning; Chang-kham refers to Mui Ke Ga.

The manual goes on to state that “The coast between Mui Ke Ga and Mui Ba Kiem, 31 miles west-southwest, is low, and the coastal bank, with depths of less 11m, extends up to six miles offshore in places.” This echoes the shoal Hò-nüing on the China Map and the reef He-mao 鶴卯 on the Yale Maps.⁴⁵⁵ While a reef near He-ding was noted in earlier rutters, no name was previously given, suggesting the toponym was possibly a new entry in the 19th century.

Close to Mui Ba Kiem is the mountain Nui Ho Linh, 162m high, followed by “a chain of yellowish-white sand hills.”⁴⁵⁶ Such terrain – yellowish-white sand hills against a low tongue of land in reddish color – might have inspired the Chinese name He-ding which means a crane’s crown. It is therefore fairly certain that He-ding is indeed Nui Ho Linh.

At Chi-kan, Chinese rutters repeatedly called for caution for dangerous islands nearby – Dai-mao-zhou 玳瑁州 and Dai-mao Ya 玳瑁鴨 – as illustrated on the Yale Maps (Figure 4.7). Likewise, outlying islands are drawn on China Map, but unfortunately, their names are illegible.

• The Eastern Coast of Vietnam

Moving eastward from Khia-kham, the red route on the China Map pauses at Nam Lo-uan นำโลอวน, Bak Lo-uan บากโลอวน, Kia-nam-mao เกียมำเมา and In-tang อินตั้ง before reaching the river mouth of Phawian ปากน้ำกเวียน in today’s Phu Yen (Figure 4.8). A similar representation of Luo-wan 羅灣 can be seen on Yale Maps, with *nan* 南 and *bei* 北 – which means south and north – designated. It was said the mountains on the southern extremity had a roundish profile whereas those on the northern end looked like they had a long nose that dragged on for some distance. The bay was known as “the port of Champa” in *Dongxiyang kao* (1618).⁴⁵⁷ It can be easily

⁴⁵³ Ibid: 610.

⁴⁵⁴ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 170.

⁴⁵⁵ Chen and Zhu (2016): 611.

⁴⁵⁶ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 170.

⁴⁵⁷ Zhang (1618): Ch 9, 5.

identified as the bay of Phan Rang, bounded by the high and steep Mui Dinh, or Cape Padaran, in the south, and the low peninsula of Hon Do in the north.⁴⁵⁸



Figure 4.8 (From left) The area of Phu Yen on the China Map, showing north and south Lo-uan, compared to the equivalent north and South Luo-wan on the Yale Maps. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The next cape on the China Map is marked Kia-nam-mao เกียม่าเมา, corresponding with Jia-nan-mao 假喃貌 in Chinese rutters. An islet with an illegible name is shown in front of the bay, lined with houses to imply a sizable population resided there. The area can only be Nha Trang, a major seaport at that time, faced by the island Hon Tre on its approach.⁴⁵⁹



Figure 4.9 Scene of Rama chasing a deer in a Thai poetry manuscript. Source: Bavarian State Library of Munich.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 169.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid: 165.

⁴⁶⁰ Bavarian State Library of Munich: BSB-Hss Cod.siam.98. Online at www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/collections/manuscripts/languages-regions/south-east-asian-manuscripts/.

The exact toponym In-tang⁴⁶¹ was written in the *Nirat Kwangtung*: a lofty mountain on which one rock stood out distinctly from the other peaks. The rock was said to be an arrow used by Nārāyaṇa, an avatar of Vishnu, to kill an evil being which had transformed itself into a deer (Figure 4.9). The deity then cursed the arrow to be fixated on top of the mountain. Sailors and traders who passed by all got off to offer sacrifices in the shape of lovable miniature ships.⁴⁶²

แต่แปลกอย่างออกที่ทำสำเภาน้อย	[The] odd [practice involves the sailors] going out to make small ships;
กระจ็อยร่อยกอพิ้งเสน่หา	small enough [for one] to find it adorable.
เอาเชือกเสาเพลลาใบใส่เพตรา	Ropes, masts and sails are fitted onto the [small] ships;
แล้วเขยผ้าถุงเสบียงเรียงราย	[which is] well furnished with bags of provisions;
บันคามีเงินทองของแอมโอช	all loaded with gold, silver and delicious food;
สรรพโภชนาใส่ลงบันจงถวาย	[and] offerings are carefully put in the sack on [the small ships].
เอากระดาษวาดรูปทุกตัวนาย	Papers are used to draw a sketch of every person;
ทั้งนายท้ายต้นหนทุกคนไป	everyone from the helmsman to the navigator.
แล้วยกสำเภาน้อยลงลอยน้ำ	Then the miniature ships are offered to set sail into the sea;
เหมือนไถ่ดำที่ร้ายให้คลายได้	as if releasing such ships can ward off evil.
เผากระดาษฟาดเคราะห์สะเดาะไป	Papers are burnt [as sacrifice at a ceremony] to dispel misfortune;
ตามวิไสสันจรแต่ก่อนมา	following the ancient custom of voyage.

The ceremony was also vividly described by French Jesuit Louis le Comte with great despise on his way from Ayutthaya to Beijing onboard a Chinese ship in the late 17th century:⁴⁶³

Once passing near a hill on which one of their temples is built, their superstition then out-did itself; for besides the usual ceremonies consisting in meat offerings, burning of candles and perfumes, throwing little baubles of gilt paper into the sea, and infinitive such fopperies, all hands were at work for five or six hours together, in making a little vessel in the likeness of ours, of about four feet in length. It was very artificially wrought, wanting neither masts, tackling, sails or flags, it had its compass, rudder and shalop, its arms, kitchen-stuff, victuals, cargo and book of accompts. Besides, they had daubed as many small pieces of paper as we were men in the ship, which were disposed of in the same places we were in.... At length the mysterious toy was committed to the waves, and eyed as far as sight could reach, accompanied with the bonze's acclamations, who roared with all his might.

In *Dongxiyang kao* (1618), it was noted that “on the top of Mount Ling sat a rock that looked like the head of the Buddha. Ships docked there to worship, light lanterns and send ornamental ships to ward off evil,”⁴⁶⁴ which resonates with the description in the *Nirat Kwangtung* and the

⁴⁶¹ Possibly derived from Ling-ding 靈頂 in Chinese, which means the summit of Mount Ling. *Ling* means “spirit.”

⁴⁶² Appendix II: 172–187; 192–203.

⁴⁶³ Le Comte (1697): *Memoirs and observations topographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical. Made in a late journey through the Empire of China, and published in several letters*, 8. See digital version at archive.org/details/memoirsobservati00leco/page/n6.

⁴⁶⁴ Zhang (1618): Ch 9, 5.

le Comte. The ceremony was still noted on the Yale Maps, suggesting it carried on at least until the mid-1800s. The Yale Maps (Figure 4.10) further show that next to Mount Ling is a tall peak called Yan-tong, which means chimney, because it is always surrounded by fog. This feature can still be observed today in the US Sailing Manual: “Nui Da Bia, 706m high, the summit of Cap Varella, has a rock resembling a pagoda. The summit is visible for 50 miles in clear weather, but is often hidden by clouds.”⁴⁶⁵

From the context, we can safely assume that In-tang refers to Cap Varella, sometimes known as Yan-tong. The ceremony of sending off miniature ships was performed under the vista of Cap Varella. Most Chinese rutters did not leave behind much description of the ceremony other than the three words “send colorful ships.” A rare elaboration can be found in the book *Taiyang jianwen lu* 臺陽見聞錄 (1891): “First, craft a small boat from woods and bamboo weaves; and use a variety of colored papers to make the sail. Offer animal sacrifice, light candles and scatter paper money. Then, put the offerings on the boats to be set sailed. When the boats disappear into the horizon quickly, it means safety is bestowed.”⁴⁶⁶ Together with the descriptions in the *Nirat Kwangtung* and le Comte’s memoir, we can now piece together an all-rounded picture of the religious practices of seafarers at this location.



Figure 4.10 (From left) Yan-tong in the Yale Maps; as compared to the summit of Cap Varella.

Source: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library; and Hong Kong Maritime Museum International Symposium Proceedings (2015: 489).

Right next to the river mouth of Phawian on the China Map is the river mouth of Sin-cio ปากน้ำสินจิ๋ว (Figure 4.11), the biggest bay along the coast of Vietnam frequented by ships. In Chinese records, Xin-zhou 新州 was first described as the port of Champa, with a stone tower marking the entrance to the bay, as seen on Mao Kun Maps (1628). After Champa retreated from the region in the 15th century, Xin-zhou, in the area of today’s Qui Nhon, remained a landing place for Chinese rutters. A tower, one-of-a-kind on the entire China Map, also sits at the entrance to the bay, indicating the cartographer was well aware of this navigational aspect.

⁴⁶⁵ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2018): 129.

⁴⁶⁶ Chen and Zhu (2016): 671–672.

The Yale Maps highlight the islets Jiao-bei 校柁 as reference point for going towards Xin-zhou. The China Map also clearly shows Kò Puai เกาะปวย outside the bay, coinciding with Cu Lao Coni, a small group of islets on the east of today’s Ban Dao Phuoc Mai.

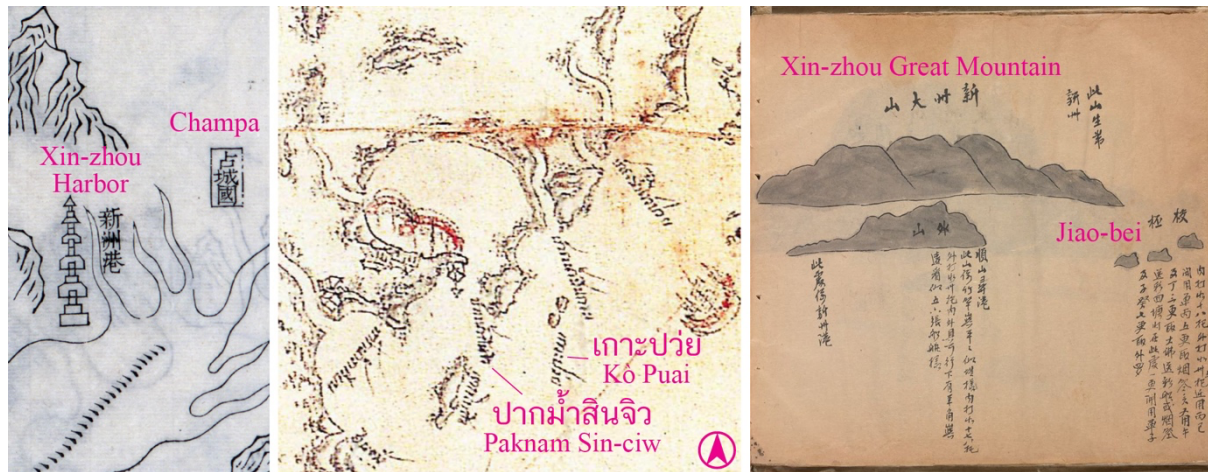


Figure 4.11 (From left) Xin-zhou or Qui Nhon on the Mao Kun Maps; equivalent to Paknam Sin-cio on the China Map with the islets Kò Puai noted at the entrance to its bay. The same depiction with the islets Jiao-bei marking the entrance to Xin-zhou can be found on the Yale Maps. Source: Library of Congress⁴⁶⁷; Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

From Xin-zhou, Chinese ships would have headed to Wai-luo 外羅, or Cu Lao Re, on Quang Ngai. The island Wa-lo 瓦洛 was noted as the last stop on the coast of Vietnam in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. However, the area is illegible on the China Map.

Current Location	1700s		1781	1800s	1834	1841	
	<i>Zhinan Zhengfa</i>		<i>Nirat Kwangtung</i>	China Map	CMH.R.3#10	Yale Maps	
	Siam to Fujian	Siam to Nagasaki			Outer Route		
Sam Ròi Yòt	筆架 Bi-jia	筆架 Bi-jia	สามร้อยยอด Sam Ròi Yòt	สามร้อยยอด Sam Ròi Yòt	สามร้อยยอด Sam Ròi Yòt	筆架 Bi-jia	
Wai	35G	21G	4D	23Y	4D or 5D	25G	
		小橫 Xiao Heng	2D	เกาะขวาง Kò Khwang	ขวางน้อย Khwang Nòi	ขวางน้อย Khwang Nòi	小橫 Xiao Heng
Tho Chu	大橫 Da Heng	10G		N/A	ขวางใหญ่ Khwang Yai	ขวางใหญ่ Khwang Yai	大橫 Da Heng
	10G			10Y	½D	10G	
Hon Khoai	真糍 Zhen Ci	真糍 Zhen Ci	1D	เกาะมัน Kò Man	เกาะมัน Kò Man	เกาะมัน Kò Man	真蔡 Zhen Xu
Hon Trung Lon	11G	4G	N/A	5Y	2D	8G	
		小崑崙 Xiao Kun-lun	1D	เกาะน้อย Kò Nòi		ขุนนุ่นเกีย Khun-nun Kia	崑崙仔 Kun-lun-zi
N/A		5Y	5Y	3G			
Con Dao	崑崙 Kun-lun	崑崙 Kun-lun	2D	เกาะกุ่มตื้น Kò Kun-tun	ขุนนุ่น Khun-nun	2D	大崑崙 Da Kun-lun
	15G	6.5G		N/A	N/A		N/A

⁴⁶⁷ Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/item/2004633695/.

Soc Trang				ปาสัก Pasak	บาศัก Basak			
				2.5D	N/A			
Ho Chi Minh				ญวนใหญ่ Yuan Yai	กุกนอย Kuknòi	15 Y	ไซ่งอน Saigon	
Vung Tau				3D	ว้ายิม Wua-yim		เว่ยเริน Wai-ren	
					N/A			4G
Nui Ho Linh		鶴頂 He-ding	2D		เหาะเตง Hò-teng			鶴頂 He-ding
		N/A		N/A			3G	
Mui Ke Ga	赤坎 Chi-kan	赤坎 Chi-kan		ช้างข้าม Chang-kham	เขี้ยวข้าม Chia-kham	2D	赤坎 Chi-kan	
	5G	N/A			5Y		N/A	
Mui Dinh	羅灣頭 Luo-wan Tou	羅灣頭 Luo-wan Tou	1D	N/A	มาโลอวน Nam Lo-uan		南羅灣 Nan Luo-wan	
					3Y		N/A	
					บากโลอวน Bak Lo-uan		北羅灣 Bei Luo-wan	
	5G	N/A			6Y	5G		
Nha Trang	伽藍貌 Jia-nan-mao	伽藍貌 Jia-nan-mao			เกียมมาเมา Kia-nam-mao	อยาตริง Yatrang	假喃貌 Jia-nan-mao	
	3G		1D		3Y		3G	
Cap Varella	靈山大佛 Ling-shan Da-Fu	N/A		อินตั้ง In-tang	อินตั้ง In-tang	1D	大佛 Da-Fu	
		烟筒 Yan-tong					烟筒 Yan-tong	
Phu Yen	5G			2D	ภเวียน Phawian	14 Y	ภเวียน Phuian	
		N/A			N/A		1D	
Quy Nhon	新州 Xin-zhou		1D	(เข่า) (Khao)	สินจิว Sin-cio	กุยเยิน Kui-yoen	新州 Xin-zhou	
	7G	馬陵橋 Ma-ling-qiao		2D	N/A	2D	7G	
		5G						
Cu Lao Re	外羅 Wai-luo	外羅 Wai-luo	1D	วาไหล Wa-lo	(Illegible)	เกาะว้าวโล Kò Wua-lo	外羅 Wai-luo	

Table 4.2 Comparison of sailing routes between Sam Ròi Yòt and Cu Lao Re in Thai and Chinese sources. The units used for distances are *geng* (G), days (D) and *yot* (Y).

A comparison of sailing routes between Thai and Chinese sources is given in Table 4.2. Since the ships in the inner Gulf of Thailand would have docked at different islands like Sichang and Phai to wait for favorable wind, the comparison thus begins at the common starting point – Sam Ròi Yòt – and ends at Cu Lao Re, from which the Siamese and Chinese might have parted ways. The toponyms and distances marked on the China Map are compared against the two routes from the Chinese rutter *Zhinan zhengfa* in the 1700s; the route from *Nirat Kwangtung* in 1781; the outer route from CMH.R.3#10 in 1834; and directions on the Yale Maps in 1841. The measuring units for distance are *geng* (G) and days (D) in Chinese, and *yot* (Y) and days in Thai.

The toponyms on the China Map related to the port of calls en route to China largely accord with those noted in Chinese rutters. In this particular nautical context, the distances noted in *geng* in the Chinese rutters and *yot* in Thai sources seems to be analogous. Thai-Chinese sailors might have substituted *geng* for *yot* for a more familiar representation of distance. New information that can only be found on the Yale Maps, such as the reef He-mao and San-ban-jiao, can also be located on the China Map, suggesting the two were coetaneous.

- **The Coast of China (Hainan Island)**

At Hainan Island, the red route first pauses at Sam-a ซำอา before reaching the outlying island of Thao-cio เทาจิ๋ว (Figure 4.12). The island, an established ancient seaport, is known as Da-zhou 大州 today. It has gone by several names in the past, including Du-zhu 獨瀦 and Da-zhou-tou 大州頭, from which Tou-zhou in Chinese, or Thao-cio in Thai, was derived. From there, Chinese ships would sail northeastward along the coastline to reach the easternmost extremity of the island, marked by a roundish mountain called Tong-gu 銅鼓 and a group of islets Qi-zhou 七州. Both important navigational landmarks, the same representations can be found on the China Map although only Chit-cio ฉีกจิ๋ว is named. The Yale Maps provides clear instructions on ways to find the right course following the shapes of the islets illustrated from different perspectives. The islets are known as Qizhou Leidao today.

The fortress on the China Map represents Qiongzhou 琼州, the main administrative office on Hainan Island, but it is not named. Instead, locations like Hai-khao ไห่เข้า, Leng-sui เลงสูย and Sam-a – today’s Haikou 海口 Lingshui 陵水 and Sanya 三亞 – are noted. This reflects that the tax and custom checkpoints were of higher importance than the administrative town, implying Qiongzhou might not have been a popular destination for Thai-Chinese traders.



Figure 4.12 (From left) Hainan Island on the China Map showing Chit-cio on the east; which is the same as Qi-zhou on the Yale Maps. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The treacherous waters between Cu Lao Re and Hainan Island were known in Chinese as Qi-zhou Sea, a particularly dangerous area that warranted a special warning: “Beware of Qi-zhou on the way out and Kun-lun (Con Dao Islands) on the way back. A confused compass and broken wheel doom the ship and those on board.”⁴⁶⁸ Such a journey was nothing short of dramatic in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. First, the ship encountered a storm so fierce that the deck was flooded by the pounding waves. Some tied themselves to the masts while others grabbed onto barrels. Yet the situation took a turn for the worse. As they prayed, five crew members looked each other in the eyes and prepared to meet their end. Finally, their prayers were answered. At night, the storm had gradually abated and the junk started sailing again. Overwhelmed by such a harrowing experience, they sought crumbs of comfort in the moonlight. When dawn broke the next morning, they saw swarms and swarms of fish, including some dangerous ones, surrounding the ship. As if the sheer number and varieties of fish were not startling enough, a 35-*wa*⁴⁶⁹ long whale – with a bulging tail like a prawn – surfaced on the right side of the junk to spout as high as the top of a palm tree. The crew scampered through the deck to light up incenses and offer meat sacrifices to the sea, following the tradition, and sailed away from the area.⁴⁷⁰

The underlying danger in that area comes mostly from strong currents that push ships towards the Paracel Islands, a zone scattered with hidden rocks and shallow banks where ships could be easily wrecked. In addition, the area around Hainan Island was also frequented by whales. Hargett’s article on *Whales in Ancient China* (2010) recounted a peculiar phenomenon recorded in *Lingbiao luyi* 嶺表錄異 [Accounts of Strange Things in Lingbiao] in the 10th century. With such a background in mind, it is easy to understand why the crew panicked when a whale surfaced.

Whales are in fact the mightiest in the ocean...As for tales about them swallowing boats, these are certainly not preposterous. Each year copper boats are routinely dispatched from Guangzhou to Annan (Vietnam) to engage in trade... In places [where the ocean is] deep and expansive, sometimes one sees more than 10 mountains, some emerging and some submerging. These are the back of whale...The boatmen remarked: ‘When these whales blow air, water disperse into the sky and the wind blows just like in a rainstorm.’ When they get close to a whale, the mariners will bang on the boat and make a lot of noise. A short time later the whale will then submerge. Most men returning [to China] from Jiaozhi (Vietnam) abandon their boats and return home by following [the land route along the] coast of Leizhou. They do not fear

⁴⁶⁸ Zhang (1618): 12.

⁴⁶⁹ *Wa* (𠂔) is a traditional anthropic Thai unit, which measures two outstretched arms from finger tip to finger tip. The exact length, however, could vary from region to region. It is now standardized to be two meters under the modern metric system.

⁴⁷⁰ Appendix II: 216–267.

meeting with hardship, and this is probably because they have avoided the kind of disaster caused by encounters with whales.⁴⁷¹

- **Paracel Islands**

From Con Dao Islands, there is an outer route ทางนอก leading directly to the coast of Guangdong, passing a shoal named Chang-sa ชังซา and a group of islets, including Haeng-thao แห่งเทา, Haeng-kong แห่งกง and Haeng-buai แห่งบาย, scattered in the sea between Qui Nhon and Hainan Island (Figure 4.13), in the area of today's Paracel Islands.



Figure 4.13 (From left) The area of Haeng on the China Map; which coincide with Ying-wei on the Yale Maps. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The three islets denote the head, middle and end⁴⁷² of an area called Haeng on the China Map,⁴⁷³ which could be the shoal Ying 硬 drawn on the Yale Maps under Hainan Island. The toponyms appeared only once in *Zhinan zhengfa*, said to be situated “eight geng away from Wai-lo (Cu Lao Re) in the course of 82.5°; 12 geng away from Jian-bi-luo (Cu Lao Cham) in 90°; 12 geng from Da-zhou in 180° for Ying-wei 硬尾 [end of Ying] or 172.5° for Ying-zhong 硬中 [middle of Ying].”⁴⁷⁴ Particular instructions are given on the Yale Maps on how to navigate out of the area from the cartographer’s experience: “...The actual distance from Ying-wei to Gong-xie (entrance to Guangzhou) will not exceed 21 or 22 geng. But at this moment, our junk is brought to a halt at Ying-wei, and we also sail off course, therefore it is recorded to

⁴⁷¹ Hargett (2010): “Whales in Ancient China” in *Marine Animals in Traditional China: Studies in Cultural History*, 111.

⁴⁷² Tou 頭 [head], zhong 中 [middle] and wei 尾 [end] are pronounced tao5, dong1 and bhuê2 in Teochew.

⁴⁷³ The word root for Haeng แห่ง is unclear. The Teochew pronunciation of ying 硬 [rigid] is ngên6, which is distinctively different from the Thai pronunciation. However, it is noteworthy that the Thai word for rigid is *khaeng* แข็ง, similar to *haeng* แห่ง.

⁴⁷⁴ Xiang (2010): ZZ 131-132.

be 26 *geng* here.” It goes to show that the difficult terrain in the area prompted sailors to proceed with great care.



Figure 4.14 Area of Paracel Islands on (from left) Selden Map in 1620s; *Le Royaume de Siam* in 1708; *Dongyang nanyang haidao tu* in 1710s; and *A New General Map of The East Indies* in 1794.

Source: Digital Bodleian; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection; First Historical Archives of China (2000:34); and Library of Congress.

The shoal Chang-sa is most likely Wan-li Chang-sha 萬里長沙 in Chinese rutters, literally means “a thousand miles of sand.” The Chinese name delineated the whole entity of Paracel Islands which was said to be shaped like “a sail” in the descriptions of tidal cycles in both *Shunfeng xiangsong* and *Zhinan zhengfa*.⁴⁷⁵ The Portuguese maps in the 1520s, similarly, named the Paracels *yas del atabalero*, which means “islands of the kettle drummer.” It was said that an *atabalero* plays the *atabaque*, a tall, slightly conical-shaped, wooden, Afro-Brazilian hand drum, which reflected the shape of the Paracels.⁴⁷⁶ Nonetheless, such a depiction became the standard representation of the area in the 17th and 18th centuries (Figure 4.14), which can be seen on Chinese and Western maps, including the Selden Map from the the 1620s,⁴⁷⁷ *Le Royaume de Siam*, published in the 1708 edition of *Atlas Nouveau*,⁴⁷⁸ *Dongyang nanyang haidao tu*, submitted to Emperor Kangxi in the 1710s,⁴⁷⁹ and *A New General Map of the East Indies*, published in 1794.⁴⁸⁰ However, the depiction on the China Map bears no resemblance. Its crescent shape even echoes the contemporary name of the west island cluster known as the Crescent Group. This suggests that the cartographer may have created the map out of his own genuine maritime knowledge instead of simply copying another map. He also spared no effort in enriching the map with practical details: for example, swallows

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid: SX 27-28; ZZ 107-108.

⁴⁷⁶ Ruano (2021): “The Paracel Islands: Tracing their presence on Western maps in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries” in *Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society Journal*, Vol 164, 20.

⁴⁷⁷ Digital Bodleian: digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/866462cc-d658-41da-a33d-5a8c375b1ac0. See Nie (2014) for more information.

⁴⁷⁸ David Rumsey Historical Map Collection: www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/f5kiqix.

⁴⁷⁹ First Historical Archives of China (2000): 34.

⁴⁸⁰ Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/resource/g8000.ct003483/.

are drawn along the sailing route. The rutter *Zhinan zhengfa* stated that from Hainan Island to Cu Lao Re: “When [your ship is] deviated east [from the proper course], water turns dark green. [You can] see flocks of birds with a duck-like head, but only birds with an arrow-like tail lead to the right course.”⁴⁸¹ The migratory birds served as a crucial indicator for navigation.

- **The Coast of China (Guangdong Province)**

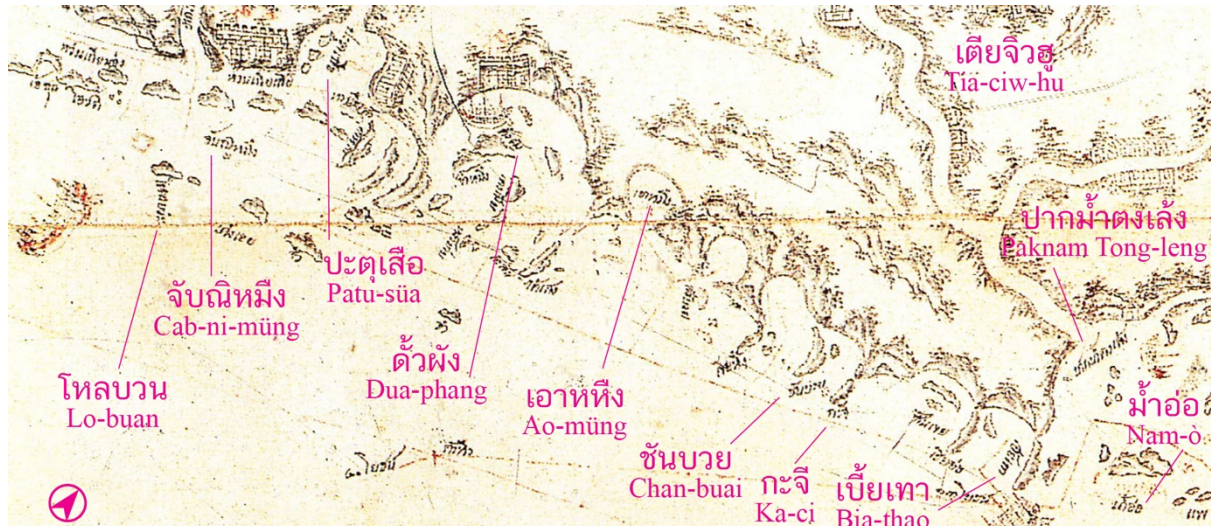


Figure 4.15 Coastline of Guangdong Province on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The coast of today’s Guangdong Province on the China Map is drawn in great detail (Figure 4.15). The legible toponyms all conform to their Chinese names and can be found on Chinese coastal maps, such as *Haijiang yangjie xingshi tu* 海疆洋界形勢圖 [Coastal map of China], created between 1787 and 1801 (Figure 4.16).⁴⁸²

On the left edge of Figure 4.15, a ship is shown heading towards Lo-buan โหลบลวน, an island that had left its name in the *Nirat Kwangtung*:⁴⁸³

อันโหลบลวนนี้ทวารแต่ชั้นนอก	This Lo-ban is a door on the outskirts,
ที่เข้าออกกว้างดั่งกรุงศรี	for getting in and out of the splendid city of Kwangtung.
จำเกาะทางเข้าหว่างคีรีมี	There is a specific way to enter the mountain,
ครันลมดีก็ได้แห่นเข้าโหลบลวน	when the wind becomes favourable, Lo-ban can be reached.

Located south of Macau and Hong Kong, Lo-buan, or Lao-wan in Chinese, refers to a group of over 100 small islands now known as the Wanshan Archipelago. It has long been the point of reference marking the entrance to Guangzhou via the heavily guarded Humen, which literally means “tiger door,” translated directly as *patu-süa* ปะตุเสื่อ on the China Map and

⁴⁸¹ Xiang (2012): ZZ 107–108.

⁴⁸² Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/item/gm71005063/.

⁴⁸³ Appendix II: 280–283.

poetically as *thawan-payakki* ทวารพชคณี in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. At Lao-wan, foreign ships would hire, or even kidnap, local pilots to help steer the ships to Guangzhou as the narrow strait was notoriously dangerous.⁴⁸⁴ Slightly above Lo-buan on the China Map, the name Cab-ni-müng จับนินมึง is marked in front of a nameless fortress. It refers to the intersection Shi-zi-men 十字門, between four islets in front of Macau, an ancient seaport that had been controlled by the Portuguese since the 16th century under a different administrative system.⁴⁸⁵ The intersection disappeared amid the reclamation project for Cotai in the 1990s.

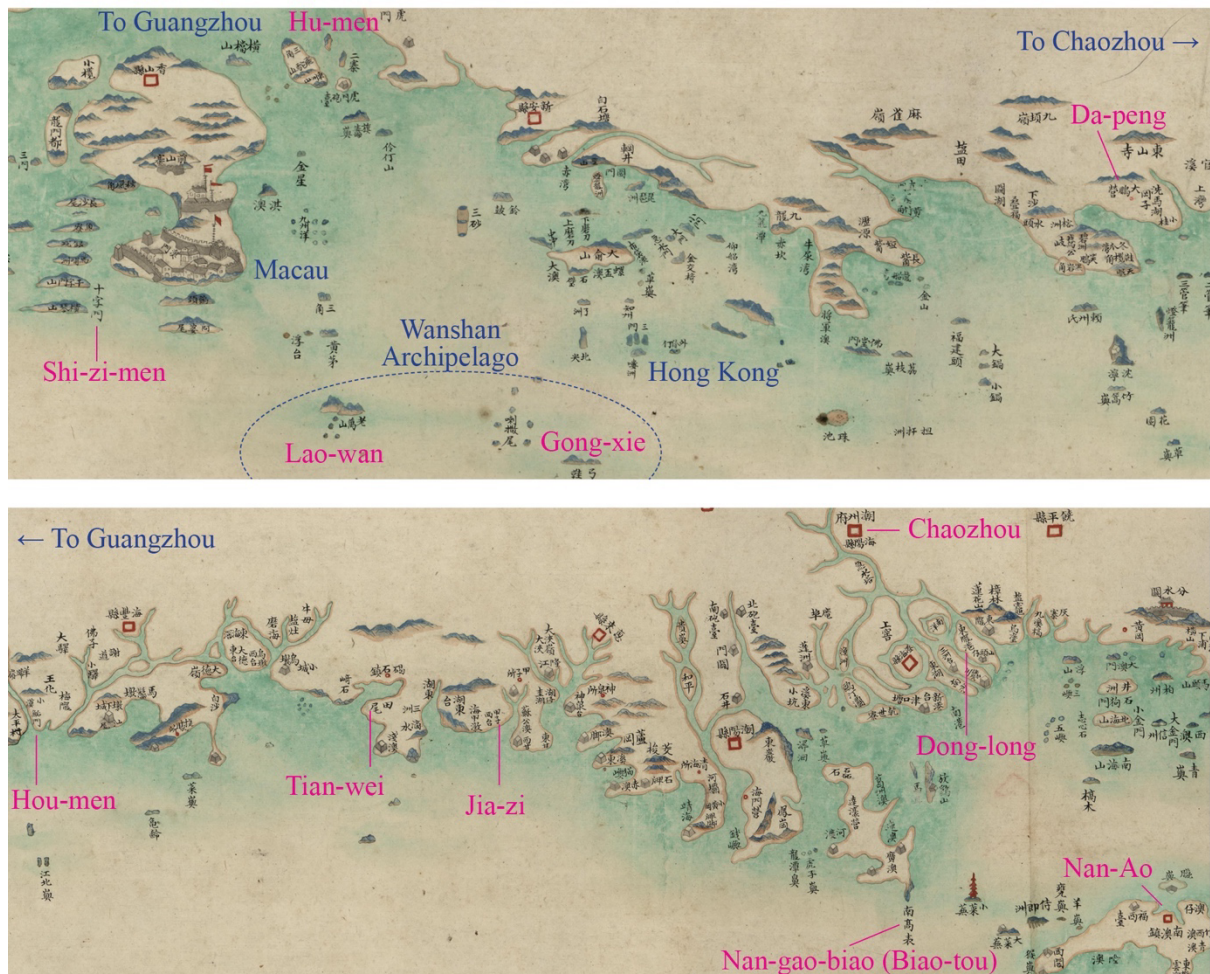


Figure 4.16 Coastline of Guangdong Province in *Haijiang yanghai jiangyu tu*. Source: Library of Congress.

The next bay, Dua-phang ดัวผั่ง, was a military stronghold against pirates in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Today, the fortress Dapeng Suocheng 大鵬所城, in Shenzhen, has been recognized as a national historical and cultural site since 2001.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Van Dyke (2005): *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*, 35-49.

⁴⁸⁵ The city only officially became a Portuguese colony in 1887 after the signing of Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking.

⁴⁸⁶ Item number 373 on the list of the fifth batch of Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level. See www.gov.cn/guoqing/2014-07/21/content_2721168.htm

From there, a series of smaller bays are noted before you arrive at the island Nam-ò 媽嶼. The first one, Ao-müng เอาหมิง, refers to Houmen 鮑門, which was listed as an inspection station in *Yue haiguan zhi*.⁴⁸⁷ The next three – Chan-buai ชันบาย, Ka-ci กะจี and Bia-thao เบี้ยเทา – are recorded on the Yale Maps as Tian-wei 田尾, Jia-zi 甲子 and Biao-tou 表頭. They are today’s Tianweijiao 田尾角, in Jieshi Bay, Jiazi Islet 甲子嶼, in Jiazi Harbor, and Biao Corner 表角, in Shantou Harbor, which serve as reference points to reach Nan’ao 南澳. Located at the border between Guangdong and Fujian Provinces, Nan’ao had long been a strategic place for both trade and military, also frequented by pirates.⁴⁸⁸ Gützlaff described the island as: “Mostly barren rock, consisting of two mountains connected by a narrow isthmus. It is a military station; it has a fort; and is a place of considerable trade, which is carried on between the people of Fuhkeen (Fujian) and Canton. The harbor is spacious and deep, but the entrance is difficult and dangerous.”⁴⁸⁹

The city of Chaozhou can be reached via Paknam Tong-leng ปากน้ำตงเล็ง, which refers to the harbor of Dong-long 東隴, with a customs collection station, a destination mentioned in CMH. R.2 #15 (1813), called at by three royally commissioned ships that year.

• Pratas Islands

Further south from Nan’ao lies a dangerous area known as Nan-ao-qi 南澳氣, depicted in great details on the Yale Maps. Similarly, Nam-ò-kui 媽嶼窟 is drawn close to Nam-ò on the China Map (Figure 4.17). Said to look like Wan-li Chang-sha (the Paracels islands) from afar in *Zhinan zhengfa*, the area was noted to be seven *geng* away from Nam’ao.⁴⁹⁰ Again, birds were crucial indicators of the right course to sail pass this area, which is today’s Pratas Islands.

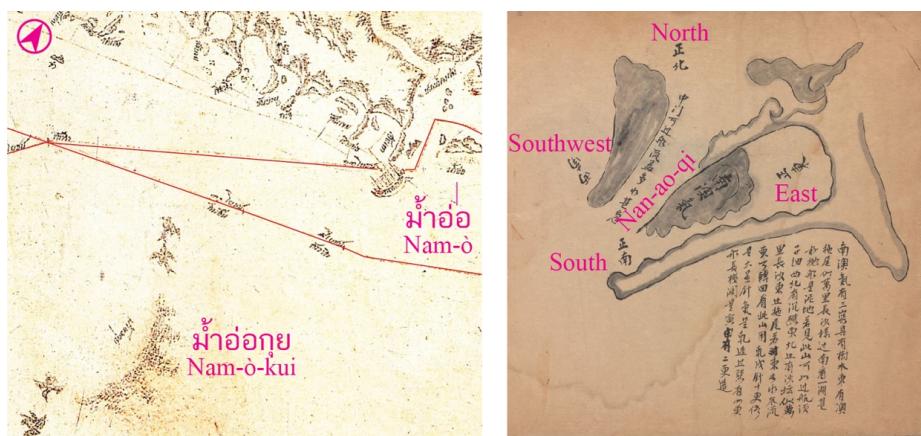


Figure 4.17 Nam-ò-kui on the China Map; and the equivalent Nan-ao-qi on the Yale Maps. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

⁴⁸⁷ Liang (1839): 82.

⁴⁸⁸ Ptak (2015): 264–288.

⁴⁸⁹ Gützlaff (1834): 87.

⁴⁹⁰ Xiang (2012): ZZ 121–123.

Sailing from Hue to Bangkok

Although the Chinese rutters provided substantial information to help understand most of the China Map, some areas are undiscussed, such as the tip of the Indochina Peninsula, which was rarely approached by Chinese ships. Here, CMH.R.3 #10 (1834), on sailing directions from Hue to the Chao Phraya River, was employed to fill the void. The route first hugs the coast of Vietnam from Hue to Saigon, before splitting into two. The inner route keeps on following the coast of Vietnam and then the east coast of the Gulf of Thailand, before reaching Bangkok; the outer, used by bigger ships, turns into the Gulf of Thailand via Kò Man and heads for the duo Khwang Yai and Khwang Nòi, like most Chinese ships.

• From Hue to Saigon

Current Location	1618	1800s		1834		1840s
	<i>Dongxiyang kao</i>	China Map		CMH.R.3, #10		Yale Maps
Hue	順化 Shun-hua	ซุ่นห่วย Sun-huai		เมืองเว Müang We		N/A
				1D		
(Ban Dao Tien Sa?)	N/A	N/A		เขาหันสอ Khao Han-sò		漢山 Han-shan
Hoi An		หุหย่าน Hu-yan		เมืองหุ้ยอาน Müang Hui-an		N/A
		N/A				
Cu Lao Cham	占筆羅 Zhan-bi-luo	(Illegible)		1D	½D เกาะเจียมปิดลล Kò Ciam-pit-lò	尖筆羅 Jian-bi-luo
Cu Lao Re	外羅 Wai-luo			เกาะวัวโล Kò Wua-lo	N/A	外羅 Wai-luo
Quang Ngai	7G	N/A	14Y	เมืองกวางงาย Müang Kwang-ngai		7G
				2D		
Quy Nhon	新州 Xin-zhou	สินจิว Sin-cio		เมืองกุยเถิน Müang Kui-yoen		新州 Xin-zhou
		N/A		1D		
Phu Yen	11G	ภเวียน Phawian		เมืองภุเอียน Müang Phu-ian		11G
		3Y		1D		
Nha Trang	伽南貌 Jia-nan-mao	เกียมันมา Kia-nam-mao		เมืองอชาติรัง Müang Ya-trang		假喃貌 Jia-nan-mao
	18G	16Y		2D		15G
Vung Tau	柯任 Ke-ren	ววยิม Wua-yim		ววยิม Wua-yim		外任 Wai-ren
Ho Chi Minh	柬埔寨 Cambodia	N/A		เมืองไซงอน Müang Sai-ngòn		柬埔寨 Cambodia

Table 4.3 Comparison of ports between Hue and Saigon in CMH.R.3 #10 (1834) with Thai and Chinese sources.

In CMH.R.3 #10 (1834), it is reported that sailing from Hue to Saigon during the season of the east wind could be done in as little as nine to 10 days. The ports of call listed for fetching water

and collecting firewood are compared with the toponyms on the China Map, the Yale Maps and the rutter *Dongxiyang kao* (1618) in Table 4.3.

Since most Chinese ships would head towards Hainan Island from Cu Lao Re, or occasionally Jian-bi-luo (Cu Lao Cham), the sailing directions for the ports in the Gulf of Tonkin were scarce. From Jian-bi-luo, the Yale Maps said that the mountain Han-shan 漢山 could be visible on its north on a bright day. It could be the same mountain as Khao Han-sò เขาหันสอ in CMH.R.3 #10 (1834), possibly the mountain peninsular Tien Ba, near today's Hoi An. But information is lacking to support any conclusive identification.

The toponyms on the China Map mostly conform with those on Chinese rutters instead of CMH.R.3 #10 (1834). Yet the map updates the area of Phu Yen with the addition of Phawian. The distances between port of calls noted across all sources seem to be reasonably comparable, except the leg between Nha Trang and Vung Tau. In the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834), the voyage took only two days, the China Map puts the distance at 16 *yot* while Chinese rutters note 15 to 18 *geng*. This is because the former recorded the days needed for a direct journey while the latter two noted three to four more ports to call in-between.

- **From Saigon to Kò Man**



Figure 4.18 Area of Saigon on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The fort of Saigon is not named on the map, but its river mouth is marked Paknam Kuknòi ปากน้ำกุกนอย (Figure 4.18), of which Gützlaff mentioned:

On July 4th, we reached Pualo Condore, called by the Chinese Kwun-lun (Con Dao Islands). This island is inhabited by Cochinchinese fishermen. The low coast of Cambodia presents nothing to attract attention; but the country seems well adapted for the cultivation of rice. When we passed this place, the Cochinchinese squadron, fearful of a descent of the Siamese on Luknoui, were ready to repel any attack. Of eight junks loaded with betel-nut this year at

Luknoui, and destined to Teen-tsin (Tianjin), only four reached that harbor; and of these, one was wrecked on her return voyage.⁴⁹¹

Gützlaff was speaking of the Vietnamese-Siamese rivalry in Cambodia, which was under strong Vietnamese influence after 1812. In 1831, during Gützlaff's visit, Siam invaded the country and briefly drove the Cambodian King Ang Chan out of the capital.⁴⁹² The city of Saigon, or Kuknòi, was obviously a strategic military location amid this rivalry as it is the biggest fort outside China on the map.

The route in the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834) carries on from Saigon to Kò Man, passing a series of river mouths that are all half a day apart. It includes the river mouth of Müang Sa-mi-thò เมืองสมิถ้อ, Müang Long-ho เมืองล่องโฮ้ and Müang Ba-sak เมืองปากคี. From there, ships would normally have sailed to Kò Man, but if the wind was particularly strong, an option to go to Kò Uiloe เกาะอุยเลย instead opened up. It would take one day to sail pass the entire Kò Uiloe. At the end of it, the river mouth of Müang Khema เมืองเขมา could be seen.

It is certain that Paknam Mi-thò ปากน้ำมีถ้อ on the China Map – corresponding with Sa-mi-thò – refers to the river mouth of Song Tien Giang, while Paknam Ba-sak ปากน้ำปากคี marks the river mouth of Song Hau Giang, the two principal arms of the Mekong River. In-between lay Paknam Tian-ang ปากน้ำเทียนบ้าง, the other mouth of Song Hau Giang, known as Cua Dinh An today.

The river mouth of Tham-haw ปากน้ำท่าฮาว probably means Cua Ganh Hao, said to be obstructed by a bar which dries at very low tides in the US Sailing Manual, explaining the red patch on the map. It further notes that ships ascending Song Ganh Hao can go as far as Quan Long (Ca Mau), and can reach the Gulf of Thailand through inland waterways during the southwest monsoon.⁴⁹³ This description suggests that Kò Uiloe is not an outlying island, but rather the tip of the peninsular cut off from the mainland by small rivers.

It is clear that the toponyms in this area largely retained their local Vietnamese names with no Chinese influences, implying a limited trade connection with China. As Gützlaff put it: “The Cochinchinese, pursuing a very narrow policy, shut the door against improvement, and hinder, as far as they can, the trade of the Chinese. They think it their highest policy to keep the Cambojans in utter poverty, that they may remain their slaves forever.”⁴⁹⁴

• From Kò Man to Chao Phraya

Right after turning northward into the Gulf of Thailand, there was an island whose name can barely be made out as Ke-cüo เกจิว in front of the Paknam Kha-mao ปากน้ำกะหม่า (Figure 4.19).

⁴⁹¹ Gützlaff (1834): 79.

⁴⁹² Pluvier (1995): 41.

⁴⁹³ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 129.

⁴⁹⁴ Gützlaff (1834): 78.

Today, the river that leads to the town Ca Mau is entered via Mui Ba Quan. Close to it is the well-documented island Hon Chuoi, known as Jia-shu 假薯, meaning “false potato” in Chinese and similarly as “False Obi” in English. Its name reminded sailors that only Hon Khoai, Zhen-shu [Chinese: true potato] or Obi, was the right or true course to go in and out of the gulf.



Figure 4.19 Area of Phuhamas, or today’s Ha Tien, on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The biggest town in this area on the map Phuhamas ฟูไหมมาศ was spelled Phutthaimas ฟูทไธมาศ in the *Nirat Kwangtung* and Phutthaimas ฟูทไธมาศ in the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834). It was said to be a day away from Müang Tek-sia เมืองเตกเซีย and half a day from Müang Kampòt เมืองกำปอด. The map *Burmah, Siam, Cochin China*, published by John Arrowsmith in London in 1838, provides some definite answers (Figure 4.20): Phuhamas refers to Ha Tien while Tek-sia is Rach Gia, the entrance of a channel which provides access to a canal network extending to the Mekong River.⁴⁹⁵

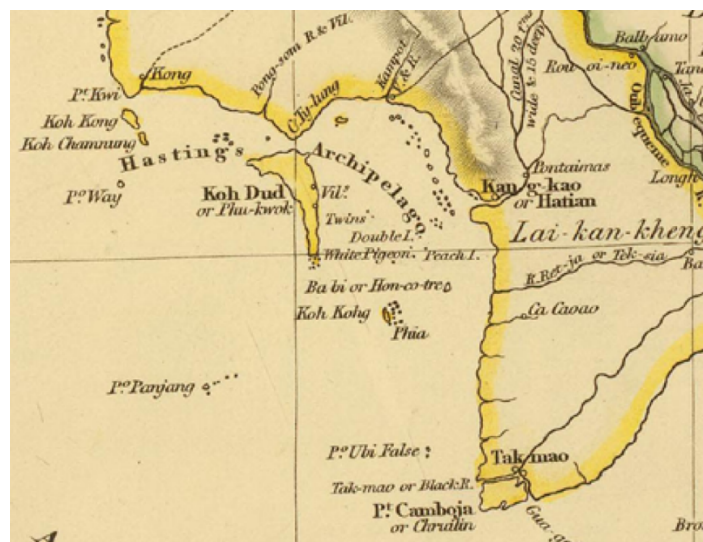


Figure 4.20 Area of Ha Tien on *Burmah, Siam, Cochin China* (1838). Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁵ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 186.

⁴⁹⁶ David Rumsey Historical Map Collection: www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/afh42y.

First established by Mac Cuu, a Chinese from Guangdong Province under Cambodian royal permission in the 1700s, Ha Tien soon attained steady economic success that attracted interest from both Siam and Vietnam. Despite Siam's repeated efforts to seize the town, originally a de facto independent principality, Ha Tien officially fell into the hands of the Nguyen dynasty in 1832.⁴⁹⁷ The landscape of the town was recorded in great detail in Collected Records:⁴⁹⁸

There are many houses and markets, and all sorts of people congregate here, [including] Chinese trading ships...On the east bank of the lake, across from the town, are great twisting peaks covered with dense forests. The bank of the river is forested and marshy. This place is popularly called To Chau. Here Chinese and Jawa people have their house and markets, and it is also where Hoa-Nuong live. Water can be obtained from three or four wells. Behind the town to the southwest the coastline consists of twisting mountain ranges and dense forests.

However, the names of the three islands – Ta-ma-süo ตาไม้สัว, Pi-mò-süo ปี่หม้อสัว and Ba-cia-süo บ้าเจียสัว,⁴⁹⁹ obviously Chinese transcriptions – at the entrance of Phuhaimas on the China Map cannot be matched with any Sino-Vietnamese names noted in the vicinity in Collected Records. The first two do coincide with the islands of Da-ma 打嗎 and Bing-lang 檳榔, near the town of He-xian 河仙, in Map of Southeast Asia (1769),⁵⁰⁰ submitted to Emperor Qianlong after the Burmese invasion of Ayutthaya Kingdom (Figure 4.21). A small yellow note on the side notes: “From He-xian go straight to Siam harbor (Chao Phraya) via Da-ma.” The group of islets Poulo Dama, as shown on the *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale*, is now known as Quan Dao Nam Du. The other two islands – Pi-mò-süo and Ba-cia-süo⁵⁰¹ – are likely Hon Rai and Hon Tre, which often appeared in coeval Western maps as landfalls.



Figure 4.21 (From left) The area near Ha Tien in Map of Southeast Asia (1769); and *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* (1881). Source: National Palace Museum; and Library of Congress.

⁴⁹⁷ Pluvier (1995): 36–37.

⁴⁹⁸ Wade (2004): 178–179; Chen (1966): 39–40.

⁴⁹⁹ Possibly Ba-jiao 芭蕉, which means “hardy banana.”

⁵⁰⁰ See Chapter 2.

⁵⁰¹ Unfortunately, the names cannot be found in any other Chinese rutters. Vietnamese records written in Chinese or Sino-Vietnamese characters, such as the gazetteer *Gia dinh thanh thong chi* 嘉定城通志 (1820), and the map *Yuenan quanjing yutu* 越南全境輿圖 (www.loc.gov/resource/g8020.ct001182/), were also looked up but in vain.

The next big island – Kò Tun เกาะตุน – was noted in CMH. R.3 #10 (1834) to have a channel Chong Dangmüng ทองตงมึง for getting firewood. It refers clearly to today’s Phu Quoc and its main port Duong Dong from the geographical descriptions.



Figure 4.22 East coast of Gulf of Thailand on China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

North of Kò Kong เกาะกง was another large island – Chang-cham ช้างชำม – abreast Paknam Tung Yai ปากม้ตู่ใหญ่ (Figure 4.22). It can also be easily identified as Kò Chang, outside Ao Trat, as seen on the *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* (Figure 4.23). The river mouth of Canthabun ปากม้จันตะบุณ, today’s Chanthaburi, next to the bay of Rayòng อาระของ, was highlighted by an entering ship on the China Map, perhaps for trading reasons as Gützlaff noted: “We approached Chantibun, a place of considerable trade, and inhabited by Siamese, Chinese and Cochinese. Pepper, rice and betel-nut, are found here in great abundance; and several junks, principally from Canton, are annually loaded with these articles. Ships proceeding to China might occasionally touch here and trade to advantage.”⁵⁰²



Figure 4.23 East coast of the Gulf of Thailand on *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* (1881). Source: Library of Congress.

The islands Tang-kua ตังกัว and Loei-süo เลี้ยสือ seem to be transcriptions of the islands Chen-gong 陳公 and Li-tou 犁頭 in Chinese ruttars. On the China Map they sat near Kò Chang,

⁵⁰² Gützlaff (1834): 76.

suggesting they could be Kò Kut and Kò Mak. In Chinese records, however, the pair were always noted after Sam Ròi Yòt became visible, pointing to the area of Laem Samae San.

The passage between Kò Samae San and the mainland was noted as Chòng Samae-san ช่องสามสาร in the inner route of the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834), said to be a day from Sichang สีซัง. For the outer route, Kò Chòng Kampan เกาะช่องกำปัน was called at instead, and was said to be one day away from Phai ฝៃ. The island Kò Samae San cannot be found on the China Map. It is likely that it falls under one of the illegible islands. The equivalent of Kò Chòng Kampan, on the other hand, can be found as Kanpan-müng กันปันทูมึง on the map. The word müng is a transcription of the Chinese word *men* 門, meaning door, an indication of a passage in a similar fashion to *chòng* in Thai. Although information on the island is insufficient to support any precise identification, it should be located close to Kò Samae San.

It should be pointed out that the locations of Sichang and Phai on the China Map are inaccurate. In a map dated 1947 showing the area of Rayong in the National Archives of Thailand (Figure 4.24), it is clearly shown that Sichang laid abreast of Bang Phra บางพระ – the settlement north of Khao Chalak in today's Tambon Bang Phra⁵⁰³ – instead of being between Ang Hin อองหิน and Bang Paksòì บางปากส้อย – as shown on the China Map. Ang Hin could be found on the *Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale* in the area of today's Tambon Ang Sila while Bang Paksòì in Tambon Bang Pla Sòi (Figure 4.23). Since the names of the following two islands are illegible, it is hard to gauge if Chen-gong and Li-tou were associated with this chain of islands with deviated locations.

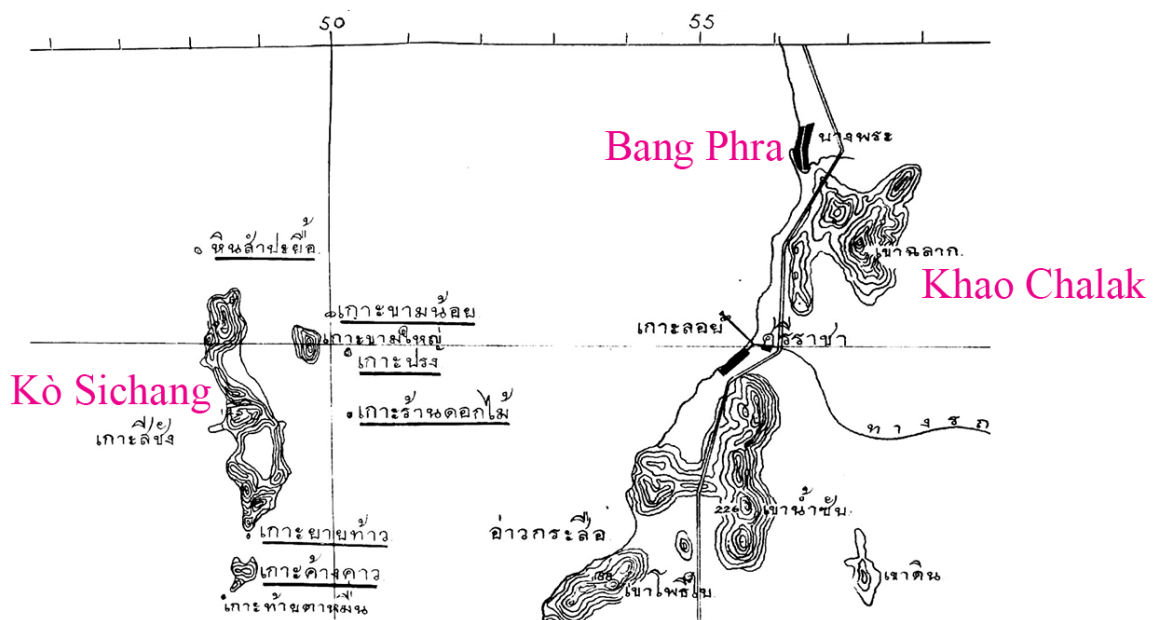


Figure 4.24 Location of Kò Sichang abreast Bang Phra. Source: National Archives of Thailand.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ *Tambon* ตำบล can be understood as a subdistrict, below district (*amphoe* อำเภอ) and province (*cangwat* จังหวัด).

⁵⁰⁴ Item no. ผจมท 0201/66.

Current Location	1800s	1834	
	China Map	CMH.R.3, #10	
		Inner Route	Outer Route
Hon Khoai	เกาะมัน Kò Man		เกาะมัน Kò Man
Rach Gia	ปากน้ำเตกเซีย Paknam Tek-sia	เมืองเตกเซีย Müang Tek-sia	½D
		1D	
Ha Tien	ปากน้ำพุไทมาศ Paknam Phuhaimas	เมืองพุทไทมาศ Müang Phutthaimas	
		½D	Kampot
	N/A	เมืองกำปอด Müang Kampòt	
Tho Chu	ขวางใหญ่ Khwang Yai	½D	ขวางใหญ่ Khwang Yai
Phu Quoc	เกาะตุน Kò Tun	เกาะตุน Kò Tun	1D
Duong Dong	N/A	ฉองตงมิ่ง Chong Dangmüng	
Wai	ขวางน้อย Khwang Nòi	½D	ขวางน้อย Khwang Nòi
Kampong Som	N/A	เมืองกระพงโสม Müang Kraphongsom	3-4D
		½D	
Kò Kong	เกาะกง Kò Kong	เกาะกง Kò Kong	
		1D	
Kò Kut	N/A	เกาะกูด Kò Kut	
Kò Chang	ช้างข้าม Chang-cham	เกาะช้าง Kò Chang	
		1D	
Chanthaburi	ปากน้ำจันทบูร Paknam Canthabun	เมืองจันทบุรี Müang Canthaburi	
		1D	Kò Samet
	N/A	เกาะเสม็ด Kò Samet	
(?)	กันปันหมิง Kanpan-müng	½D	เกาะช่องกำปัน Kò Chòng Kampan
Rayòng	อาระของ Aw Rayòng	เมืองระยอง Müang Rayòng	1D
		½D	
Samae San Channel	N/A	ช่องเสมสาร Chòng Samaesan	เกาะไผ่ Kò Phai
Kò Phai	ไผ่ Phai	1D	
Kò Sichang	ลิซัง Sichang	เกาะศรีซัง Kò Sichang	1D
		1D	
Chao Phraya	ปากน้ำเจ้าพระยา Paknam Phraya	เจ้าพระยา Chao Phraya	เต้า Tao (Sandbar of Chao Phraya)

Table 4.4 Comparison of toponyms on China Map with ports of call inside Gulf of Thailand in CMH. R.3 #10 (1834).

In Collected Records, it was mentioned that people in Bang Hien (Tambon Ang Sila) fish for their living. After taking a bearing of 330° along a forested, marshy coast for one *geng*, came the river mouth of Bang Pla Soi, whose residents practiced fishing and engaged in commerce for a living.⁵⁰⁵ When Gützlaff passed by Bang Pla Sòi, he noted: “Proceeding eastward, we anchored near the promontory and city of Bamplasoi, which is principally inhabited by Chinese, and is celebrated for its fisheries and salt works. Here the Siamese have some salt inspectors, and keep the country in complete subjection.”⁵⁰⁶

In Table 4.4 shows the toponyms noted in CMH. R.3 #10 (1834) against those on the China Map. Of the 20 names, 14 can easily be located on the map so far. The route complemented the map with information on the sailing distances not marked on the map.

Other Areas

• The Gulf of Thailand – Chao Phraya to Songkhla

On the western coast of the Gulf of Thailand, the toponyms between the river mouths of Songkhla ปากน้ำสงขลา and Thacin ปากน้ำท่าจีน largely coincide with the route from Jakarta to Siam in *Zhinan zhengfa*, which noted:⁵⁰⁷

Outside the harbor of Sun-gu-na 孫姑那 (Songkhla) are two islands – Jiao-nu 角奴 and Jiao-mao 角貓. Adopt a course of 352.5° for 10 *geng* to pass the island Dai-mao 玳瑁 from the outer side, beware of a shoal. A bearing of 0° for 15 *geng* brings the ship to the big and small islands Su-mei 蘇梅. One can pass via all three passages. Then steer 352.5° for 10 *geng*, the ship makes Bei-chou 亭丑; another 10 *geng* with 345° makes Gui-shan 龜山; and another five *geng* with the same 345° makes Bi-jia 筆架.

On Figure 4.25, ships are drawn anchored at the two islands of Miaw-cüo เหมียวคิว and Ngiang-cüo เงียงคิว. The pair, today’s Kò Maew and Kò Nu, are still important landfalls marking the entrance to Songkhla.

The next river mouth – Lakhòng ปากน้ำละดอง – refers to Nakhon Si Thammarat, which can be easily recognized by cape Laem Talumphuk, a narrow-curved spit of coarse sand also portrayed on the China Map. The island Tai-buai ใต้ปวย, or Dai-mao, was marked between the cape and Songkhla. The only island in that area is Kò Kra.⁵⁰⁸

The large island of So Puai โขปวย is no doubt Kò Samui, in Surat Thani Province, noted in Chinese as the big Su-mei island 大蘇梅 while the small one is Kò Pha Ngan.

⁵⁰⁵ Wade (2004): 183; Chen (1966): 48.

⁵⁰⁶ Gützlaff (1834): 75.

⁵⁰⁷ Xiang (2012): ZZ 174.

⁵⁰⁸ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 216.

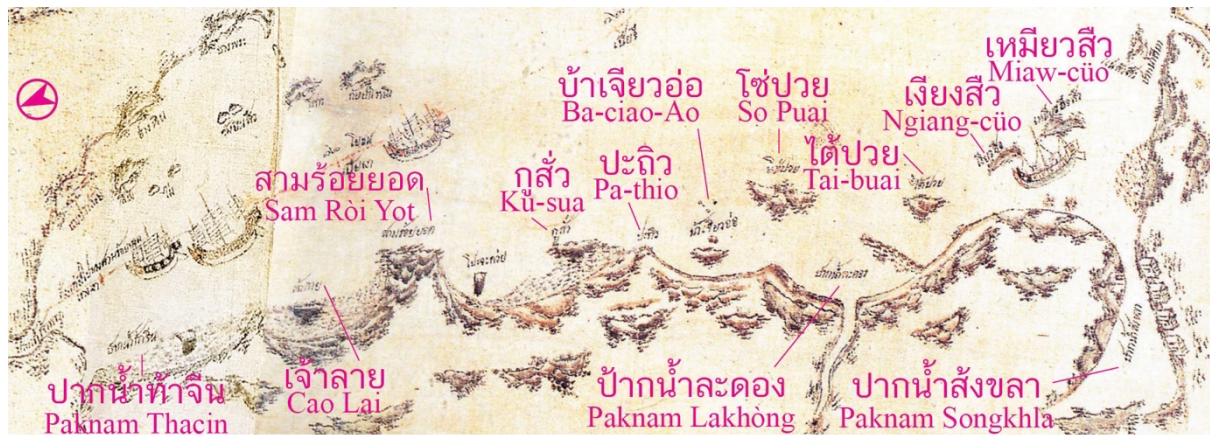


Figure 4.25 West coast of the Gulf of Thailand on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn

The name Ba-ciao-ao บ้าเจียวอ๋อ did not leave any trace in Chinese rutters. It does, however, sound like a transcription of Ba-jiao-ao 芭蕉澳 in Chinese, which means “bay of hardy banana.” From its location on the map, it should be Ao Chumphon, which harbors a cluster of lush islets that form the Mu Ko Chumphon National Park today.

The Chinese toponym Bei-chou 李丑 was a transcription of the Thai Pathiw ปะถิว, a small river close to cape Laem Chong Phra and facing Kò Wiang. It was noted in Collected Records to be fringed by forest and swamps on both sides of its estuary, with residents engaging in agriculture and guarded by Siamese officials.⁵⁰⁹

Described as shaped like a rhino’s horn on the Yale Maps, the mountain Gui-shan 龜山, or Kusua, กุสัว corresponds with the promontory of Prachuap Khiri Khan. The coast is indented by two bays, Ao Prachuap Khiri Khan and Ao Manao, and “the promontory separating the bays rises to a conspicuous horn-shaped hill of 207m high,” writes the US Sailing Manual.⁵¹⁰ Furthermore, Ao Prachuap Khiri Khan is rimmed by a drying coastal bank, which explains the depiction of an extensive shoal on the China Map.

Immediately after passing Sam Ròi Yòt, or Bi-jia, was an island called Cao Lai เจ้าลาย. In fact, it points to the summit of the conspicuous 372m-high mountain Khao Chao Lai, which lies three miles inland from the coast, in today’s Phetchaburi Province.⁵¹¹

• The Gulf of Thailand – Songkhla to Pahang

On the western edge of the China Map (Figure 4.26) shows the major cities between Songkhla สงขลา in Southern Thailand and Pahang ปะหัง, in Malaysia. Close to Pahang is the island Di-pua ดิปัว, today’s Tiomen Island. Known as Di-pan 地盤 in Chinese rutters, the island was the point of departure to return to China by heading towards the Con Dao Islands off the southeast coast

⁵⁰⁹ Wade (2004): 185; Chen (1966): 51.

⁵¹⁰ National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (2020): 212.

⁵¹¹ Ibid: 211.

of Vietnam, at a course of 7.5° for 40 *geng*,⁵¹² hence the red line on the map. Another route from the Con Dao Islands – at a bearing of 225° and 247.5° for 30 *geng* – allowed the ship to make the port of Kelentan กะลันตัน.⁵¹³

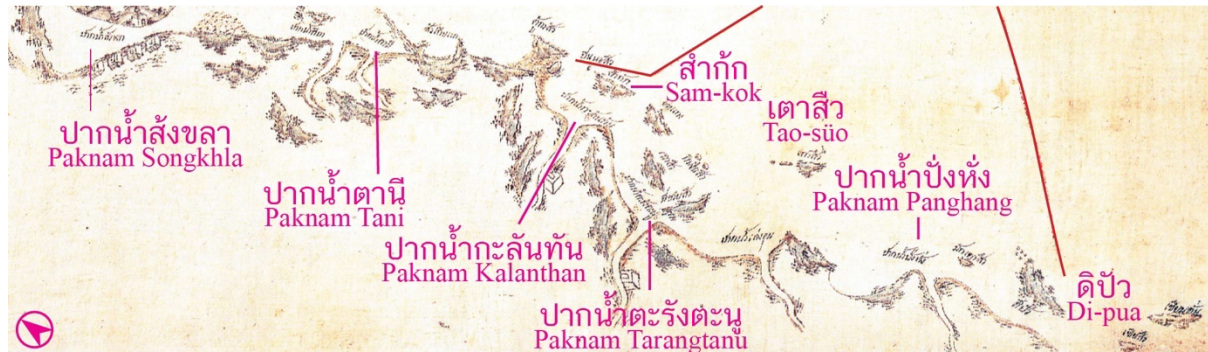


Figure 4.26 Southern Thailand and Malaysia on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

Going north from Pahang, *Zhinan zhengfa* noted that the ship should pass the islands Dou-yu 斗嶼 and San-jiao 三角 to reach Ji-lan-dan 吉蘭丹. The island Tao-süo เตาสิว is present-day Pulau Perhentian, close to Terengganu ตะรังตะหนู, while the island of Sam-kok สำกัก is Pulau Tengkul,⁵¹⁴ at the entrance to Kelentan. Next comes the port of Patani ตานี, known as Da-nian 大年 in Chinese rutters, before Songkhla.

- **The Gulf of Tonkin**



Figure 4.27 Gulf of Tonkin on the China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The texts on this part of the China Map (Figure 4.27) are hard to make out. Relevant maps that can be used for comparison include the *Dong khanh dia du chi* 同慶地輿志 [The Descriptive

⁵¹² Xiang (2012): ZZ 195.

⁵¹³ Ibid: ZZ 190-191.

⁵¹⁴ Chen and Zhu (2016): 1167.

Geography of the Emperor Dong Khanh], a set of maps compiled during the late 1800s during the Nguyen dynasty. It showed the land and sea features of various provinces in Vietnam, with toponyms written in Chinese or Sino-Vietnamese characters.⁵¹⁵

The key reference on the China Map is Paknam Tangkia ปากน้ำตั้งเกีย, the river mouth leading to Hanoi, known as Dong-jing 東京 in Chinese. The next river mouth to its south is Kangnam ปากน้ำก้งนำ, today's Nghe An, which used to be called Guang-nan 廣南 in older Chinese rutters like *Dongxiyang kao* (1618).⁵¹⁶ The following river mouths – Sunhuai ปากน้ำซุนหวาย and Huyan ปากน้ำห้วยฮ่าน, which are Shun-hua 順化 and Hui-an 會安 in Chinese – denote Hue and Hoi An.

The first town across the border in China is Lui-cio ลุยจิ่ว, or Leizhou 雷州, on the peninsula facing Hainan Island. The toponyms on northern Hainan Island are incomprehensible except Ngai-cio ง่ายจิ่ว, today's Yazhou 崖州 District. However, it appears to be too westward compared to its actual location on the southern part of the island.

In general, this part of the map seems to be drawn with less accuracy and fewer details. While one route from Fujian to Hanoi was recorded in *Zhinan zhengfa*,⁵¹⁷ no route was shown on the Yale Maps, suggesting that going through the Gulf of Tonkin might not have been a common practice for traders commuting between Siam and China.

Discussion

• Toponyms and Distance

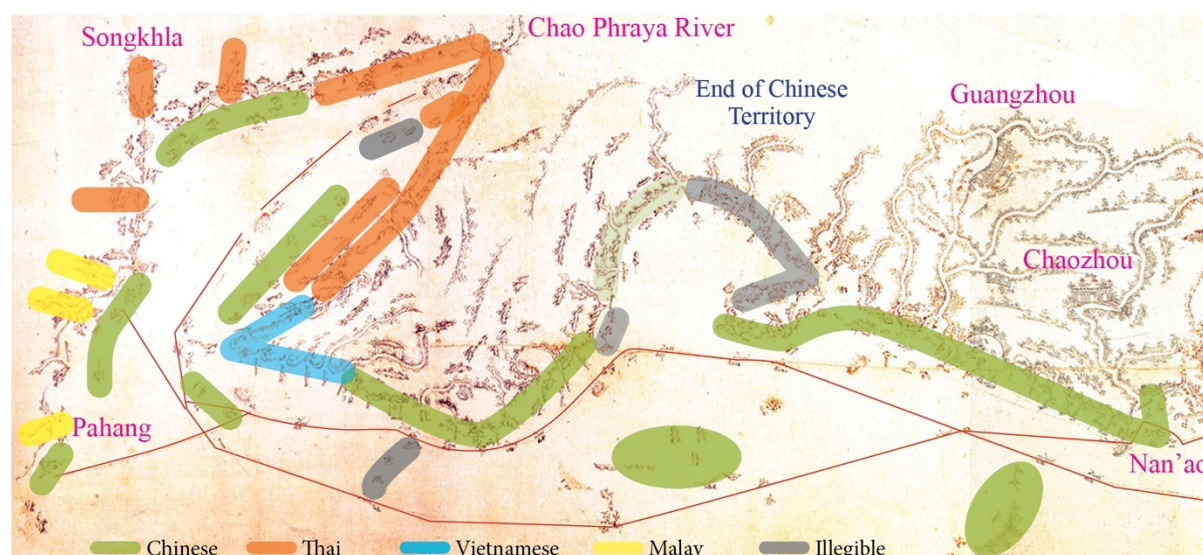


Figure 4.28 Linguistic influence on toponyms between the Gulf of Thailand and the Guangdong Province on China Map. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

⁵¹⁵ Ngo, Nguyen and Papin (2003): *Dong khanh dia du chi* [The Descriptive Geography of the Emperor Dong Khanh].

⁵¹⁶ Zhang (1618): Ch 9, 4.

⁵¹⁷ Xiang (2012): 167.

Figure 4.28 shows that most of the toponyms following the red routes were derived from Chinese names, suggesting the cartographer used information from Chinese rutters as the backbone to create the map. Many sailors in the region were of Chinese ancestry and in regular contact with Chinese trading ships, which helped percolate the same wealth of nautical knowledge across languages among Thai and Chinese sailors. Most of the toponyms could be found in *Zhinan zhengfa* (1700s). The red routes between the Chao Phraya River to Nan'ao, in Guangdong Province, also show new toponyms appearing only on the Yale Maps (1840s), suggesting those areas were the most up to date. In contrast, the toponyms on the western coast of Tonkin seem to accord with those found on older rutters like *Dongxiyang kao* (1618). Although toponyms in China are mostly recognizable, there is not enough periodic information to pin down a date for the creation of the map.

Since the Chinese ships preferred the outer route – from Mui Ke Ga, passing Con Dao and Hon Khoai to Tho Chu – there was little information on the southern tip of Indochina Peninsula and east coast of the Gulf of Thailand in Chinese rutters. For instance, today's Ho Chi Minh City was still marked as a Cambodian town on the Yale Maps. The China Map and the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834) provided an apt update to facilitate the study of maritime history in the region. With a distinct division between islands with Chinese alias and those with local names, the map helps narrow down the possibilities for disputed islands in Chinese rutters, such as Chen-gong and Li-tou in the Gulf of Thailand. This also shows clearly which islands Chinese ships preferred to anchor at. Most of them lay further away from the eastern coast.

Emphasis was put on Ha Tien on the China Map, which shows that the place was of high trading benefit to Thai-Chinese traders. Since the town was established by Cantonese settlers, the names of some landfalls sound like transcriptions of Chinese names. But the same cannot be located in official Vietnamese records written in Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese characters. This means that although the Vietnamese adopted the same system for writing down sailing directions – using Chinese compass points and *geng* as in Collected Records – they might not have transposed the Chinese alias for toponyms.

On the western coast of the Gulf of Thailand, the major seaports retained their names in Thai or Malay, but Chinese aliases were assigned to most of the landfall islands leading to the ports. It is obvious that the coastline was compressed, as Songkhla should be located beneath the tip of the Indochina Peninsula. It cannot be determined whether the distortion came from the space limitation on the fabric or a corruption of compass bearings. Perhaps further study on the sea network between Indochina Peninsula, Southern Thailand and Malaysia may shed some light on the matter.

As shown in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3, the toponyms and distances noted in Thai and Chinese sources are mostly comparable. The distances noted in days in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, when available, were almost identical with that of Siam to Nagasaki in the *Zhinan zhengfa* and the

outer route in the CMH. R.3 #10 (1834). This indicates that the poet stayed close to the facts amid his creative endeavor, qualifying it as a viable source for studying historical topography of the late 18th century.

• Religious Rituals

Unlike the Chinese rutters, which highlighted the places that demanded sacrifices be made, the China Map showed no particular markings on this front. Yet we can still get a general glimpse of the rituals from Gützlaff's journal and the *Nirat Kwangtung*.

Shortly after departure, Gützlaff noted:

We espied Ko-Kram, formerly the resort of pirates; it is an island with a temple on its summit, in which a representation of Buddha in a sleeping posture. On arriving at this place, the Chinese generally make an offering to this indolent idol. Those on board the richly-laden junks make an offering of a pig; poor people are satisfied with a fowl or duck; both which offerings are duly consumed by the sailors after having been exposed a short time to the air. Concerning this practice, so repugnant to common sense, I made some satirical remarks, which met with the approbation of the sailors, who, however, were not very anxious to part with the offerings.⁵¹⁸

His observation shows that the crew was deeply religious. In fact, among the essential crew members on each Chinese ship was a *xiang-gong* 香工 (incense-keeper), who was in charge of all religious acts, including daily worship at dawn and dusk.⁵¹⁹ The scene was described in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, which obviously irritated the poet.⁵²⁰

เย็นเช้าไหวเจ้าด้วยม้าพ่อ	Every morning and evening, they worship with gongs;
พระหมาจอฟิ่งอิงคณิ่งเนื่อง	even the Goddess Mazu would be deafened if she heard it.
ครั้นค่ำแขวนโคมเคียงเรียงเรียง	At night, beaming lanterns are hung up one by one;
ตระหลอดเบื้องหน้าท้ายที่รายไป	always from the direction of bow to stern.

The Sea Goddess Mazu 媽祖 is the patron saint of Chinese sailors and fishermen. A small shrine, together with a colorful lantern and flag marked with her title “Empress of Heaven 天后娘娘”, could be found on board Guangdong junks.⁵²¹ Lanterns were an important feature for ship identification, especially at night. It was one of the key items, alongside the anchor and cannon, recorded in *Tosen no zu* 唐船之図 [Drawings of Chinese Junks], a set of Japanese illustrations on foreign ships, including Siam and Guangdong, made for the feudal lord in around 1720 (Figure 3.9).

⁵¹⁸ Gützlaff (1834): 75–76.

⁵¹⁹ Mills (1984): 306–309. Also see Chapter 3.

⁵²⁰ Appendix II: 268–271.

⁵²¹ Oba (2011): *Tangchuantu kaozheng* 唐船圖考証 [Research on Illustrations of Chinese Commercial Ships], 57.

The incense-keeper would perform specific rituals at certain places along the voyage. The one performed in the middle of the Gulf of Thailand mentioned in the poetic travelogue was the most typical.⁵²²

จ้่งบูชาตรงหน้าพุทไธมาด	Then [the sailors] worship in front of Phutthaimas;
เส้นสาดลงท้องทะเลใหญ่	streamers are scattered the into the belly of the ocean;
กระดาษเผาธินแล้วล้อยไป	papers are burned and alcohol is poured before sailing off;
เขาวัวไห้วศึ่น้ำในท่ากลาง	it is said to be offerings for the ghosts of the water in the midst [of the sea].

For rituals of the highest level, animal sacrifices were usually required, such as the one made by the crew after seeing the whale in the South China Sea.⁵²³

แล้วเขาทำปลดไก่ไห้วเทเวษ	Then a chicken and a duck are used to pay tribute to the deities (of the sea);
ตามเพทที่ทะเลแล้วเทถวาย	and [alcohol] is poured following the customs of the sea.

This description conforms with the remark in Chinese rutters instructing the sacrifice in the Qizhou Sea to be done with three kinds of animals and alcohol. The third kind, in addition to the chicken and duck, was probably fish, which might have been too common for the poet to note down.

In Chinese rutters, spiritual places that demanded worship include the South China Sea, Cap Varlla, and the Con Dao Islands. Gützlaff's journal and the *Nirat Kwangtung* recorded three more – Kò Kram, Sam Ròi Yòt and the middle of the Gulf of Thailand near Ha Tien – showing sailors who frequented Siam did have their own unique traditions within the Gulf of Thailand.

• Historical Significance

To examine the China Map, the first step is to delineate its nature. And the answer is clear: the map was intended to be used like a nautical chart, supported by the fact that only coastal cities and landfalls were included, with few interior features noted. It is, however, a map that is one-of-its-kind as no other sea maps in Chinese or Vietnamese sources covered such a vast area in the region in such detail.

The map, stretching from the Gulf of Thailand to the entire coast of China, represented more of the world than any single person could have been expected to be able to observe and measure on their own. Multiple sources were therefore consulted, including Chinese rutters and insights from Thai and Vietnamese locals, for the creation of the map. It is therefore an innately social product, as well as a precious tangible record of the collective memory of sailors in the region in the 1800s.

⁵²² Appendix II: 128–131.

⁵²³ Ibid: 264–265.

The cartographer carefully noted details down to individual reefs that demanded caution at each stop on the map, but did not use much color or add any sea monsters to the empty spaces as adornments. This suggests that the map was to be consumed for its practical navigational purpose over its aesthetic appeal. The choice of drawing the map on cotton – although it complies with the Thai cartographic tradition, as all the other maps found in the Royal Palace were made of cotton – seems to imply it was not meant to be carried on board, but rather to be kept and used on land. The map can be read in different layers. For mariners familiar with toponyms used in Chinese rutters, spoke the Teochow dialect, and could read Thai script – which points to the Chaozhou community in Thailand that was predominantly involved in the sea trade – the map complemented the extent textual sailing directions to help facilitate a safe voyage. For administrators who could spare the nautical references, the map served as a visual representation of the regional trade network, emphasizing the locations of tax and customs offices in China.

Today, the map stands as an invaluable piece of maritime cultural heritage to us all. Not only does it reflect the circulation of nautical knowledge in the region, but it also paints a comprehensive picture of the sea trade between Siam, Cambodia, Vietnam and China. Most importantly, it gives a voice to the Thai-Chinese traders to add their story to the maritime history of the region, a narration that is rarely heard in the current field of study.

Summary

The scope of study on the China Map is set between the Chao Phraya River in Thailand and Nan'ao Island in Guangdong Province, China. The methodology employed – comparing the map with Chinese nautical navigation records – has yielded fruitful results. Supplementary information on specific locations was also extracted from Thai and Western travel literatures to reconstruct a meaningful narration of the voyages.

The map was highly likely created by a bilingual cartographer of Chaozhou origin as the town was the only one on the map adorned with local landmarks. Basing the map on nautical knowledge written in Chinese rutters, the cartographer adopted the map with his local knowledge instead of simply copying existing Western charts. The toponyms and sailing directions noted generally echo those found on the *Zhinan zhengfa* (1700s). New toponyms that only appeared on the Yale Maps (1840s) can also be located, placing the map in the early Bangkok era. Yet no periodic hint can be found to support any precise dating so far, unless further research on the rest of the Chinese cities on the map is conducted.

For areas not covered in Chinese rutters, local geographical data is used to fill the void. The administrative record CMH. R.3 #10 (1834) and the poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung* provided additional information to facilitate the interpretation of the map. It was shown that the toponyms, geographic descriptions and distances mentioned in the historical Thai and

Chinese sources share great similarities, even coinciding with modern sailing directions. In this particular nautical context, the distances noted in *geng* in the Chinese rutters and *yot* in Thai sources seem to be corresponding to each other. Since both units bore arbitrary values before being standardized under the modern metric system, Thai-Chinese sailors might have substituted *geng* for *yot* for a more familiar representation of distance. The circumstantial facts noted in the *Nirat Kwangtung* have also been validated, qualifying it as a viable source for studying the historical topography of the late 18th century.

Toponyms of Vietnamese origin are only found on the tip of the Indochina Peninsula, where Chinese ships rarely approached. Perhaps more can be located in the illegible part of the Gulf of Tonkin. For now, the evidence inclines to the fact that Thai-Chinese and Vietnamese sailors did not share the same pool of toponyms although the latter had adopted the Chinese system for recording nautical navigation.

Chapter 5 The Siamese and the Canton System

Discovered alongside the China Map was the Kwangtung Map (Map 3, 191 x 188 cm), which shows Zhujiang, or the Pearl River. It covers the main strait that leads to Guangzhou and its western tributary Xijiang, or the West River, which flows towards the west of Macau into the South China Sea.

In this chapter, the Kwangtung Map is analyzed together with the poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung* to explore the activities of the Siamese delegates in Guangzhou. The city was known to the Siamese as Kwangtung⁵²⁴ and to Westerners as Canton. The map and the poetic travelogue are both rare Siamese sources on the Southern Chinese city dedicated to foreign trade. With one source visual and the other textual, the extent to which they overlap is limited. To fully interpret both sources, supplementary sources are needed. In this case, the historical export paintings of Guangzhou serve as excellent references. Through details seen on the paintings, the pictorial representations on the Kwangtung Map and the abstract descriptions in the *Nirat Kwangtung* can be elucidated.

The analysis follows the usual protocol for foreign vessels to enter and leave Guangzhou. First the vessels entered the Pearl River, passing through strict custom inspections. At times, they would leave via the West River after their business in the city had been concluded. The locations on the Kwangtung Map are numbered in such a sequence in Figure 5.5.

Then, the Siamese trade done within the Canton System (1757–1842) is surveyed. No record of the trade can be found in Chinese sources, but a few Thai records survive. Fortunately, there is sufficient information to reconstruct the trade done during King Taksin's mission of 1781, the only instance that the trading aspect of a Siamese tribute mission can be reviewed. Several other administrative records also show us glimpses of how the trade evolved during the early Bangkok period until 1844, two years after the Treaty of Nanjing was signed, effectively ending the Canton System.

The Canton System

The policy – known as *yikou tongshang* 一口通商 [single port commercial system] – officially began in 1757 under an edict issued by Emperor Qianlong to mandate Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong, as the only city dedicated for foreign trade so as to better control the infiltration of Westerners.⁵²⁵

Trade was then conducted solely through licensed merchants under the supervision of *Yue haiguan* 粵海關 [Guangdong Maritime Customs], whose superintendent was most commonly

⁵²⁴ It complies with the Siamese convention of calling a province according to the name of its capital and vice versa. For instance, Ayutthaya stands both for the kingdom and the capital.

⁵²⁵ *Qing shilu*: Qianlong 22/11/10 (10 December 1757), *juan* 550, 1023–1024.

known as Hoppo – derived from Hubu 戶部 – in Western records. The appointment was made by the emperor himself. The trading houses – termed “factories” in English and *hong* 行 in Cantonese⁵²⁶ – were collectively known as the Thirteen Hong 十三行, or Thirteen Factories, although the number varied over time and might exceed 13 in total. All of the buildings were situated along the harbor outside the city wall for easy supervision. The Canton System ended upon the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 after the First Opium War (1839–1842), in which the British forced the Qing court to open up four additional treaty ports – Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai – to nullify the monopoly of the factories in Guangzhou.

Though short-lived, the system made Guangzhou a prosperous city and gave rise to some of the wealthiest traders in China and the world. For instance, *hong* merchant Pan Zhencheng, or the third Puan Kehqua, amassed some 20 million Spanish dollars in the early 19th century and, slightly later, by 1834, Wu Bingjian, or Howqua, was estimated to have made a fortune of 25 million Spanish dollars.⁵²⁷

It is worth pointing out that there was a huge demographic imbalance between China and Siam. The general population in the province of Guangdong had also risen from 16 to 28 million from 1787 to 1850, or from 5.48 to 6.56 percent of the entire Chinese population, which counted 292.4 million in 1787 and 429.9 million in 1850.⁵²⁸ In comparison, the first national-wide census of Siam, held in 1909–1910, counted a population of a mere 8.1 million and later 9.2 million in 1919.⁵²⁹ It is beyond doubt that the entire population of Siam only compared to a fraction of that of Guangdong Province, despite the former having a territory three times larger. This background prompted the Siamese to place great weight on trade with China.

The Siamese came to Guangzhou for two purposes – tribute and trade. The former was overseen by the *Liangguang zongdu* 兩廣總督 [Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces] and the *Guangdong xunfu* 廣東巡撫 [Governor of Guangdong], two of the highest-ranking officials in the province. In Thai, the duo was known as *cong-tok* จงตอก, an obvious transcription of *zongdu*, and *mu-i* มุอิ, which was derived from the Teochew pronunciation of *fuyuan* 撫院, another name for *xunfu*. They co-managed affairs in Guangdong Province as a means for the emperor in Beijing to keep a power balance. Therefore, the duo always appeared together in Thai records as *cong-tok mu-i*. Many interpret the title simply as the viceroy, but in fact it refers to two officials – the viceroy and the governor. The word *hong* also entered Thai

⁵²⁶ The Chinese word 行 is pronounced *hang* in Mandarin.

⁵²⁷ McDermott (2022): “The ‘Way of the Merchant’ in Late Imperial China” in *Merchant Cultures: A Global Approach to Spaces, Representations and Worlds of Trade, 1500–1800*, 207.

⁵²⁸ It was estimated that the population in China in 1787 and 1850 was 292,429,018 and 429,931,034 while in Guangdong Province 16,014,000 and 28,182,000. Ho (2000): *Mingchu yijiang renkou jiqi xiangguan wenti, 1368–1953* 明初以降人口及相關問題, 1368–1953 [Studies on the Population of China since Early Ming Dynasty, 1368–1953], 329–331.

⁵²⁹ Grabowsky (1996): “The Thai Census of 1904: Translation and Analysis” in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol 84 (1), 50.

vocabulary as 廠 *hang*, still in use today to denote a large shopping complex and the building itself. Henceforth in this study, the English term “factory,” Thai term *hang*, the Cantonese term *hong*, which is spelled *hang* in Mandarin pinyin, are used interchangeably.

The trading affairs of the Siamese, like other foreign traders in the city, were governed by the Guangdong Maritime Customs. The Hoppo was subservient to the viceroy and the governor but gradually gained more autonomy over the trade from 1750 onwards. The personnel for these three posts were subjected to change every one to few years so there was a constant change in the upper management.⁵³⁰ At the execution level, however, being a *hong* merchant that handled the day-to-day business with the traders was a lifelong career often passed down in the family until the factory went broke. The factories were divided into three categories: Waiyang Hang 外洋行 for trade with Western countries; Bengang Hang 本港行 for trade with Southeast Asian countries; and Fuchao Hang 福潮行 for trade with Fujian and Chaozhou regions. The same merchant might be involved in trade with Western and Southeast Asian countries but through different factories. Similarly, a *hong* would be a consortium of merchants. A junk commissioned to trade in Southeast Asian might be sponsored by several factories.

When a vessel arrived at the entrance to the Pearl River, it first needed to register with customs by hiring a Macao pilot. The documents were checked on the way upstream to Guangzhou, and the vessel would then be assigned to one *hong* or merchant. For the Siamese tribute junks, a *hong* merchant would be assigned after the tributary document and lists of products were reported to the viceroy and the governor.⁵³¹ In return for taking full responsibility for the vessel and the conduct of the crew, the assigned *hong* or merchant had the first rights to trade with the vessel for a good share of its imports and exports. For foreign ships, a linguist would then be engaged to establish the parameters of trade and arrange for the ship to be measured for port fees. Siamese junks probably did not require a linguist as they had been coming to trade since way before the establishment of the Canton System. The negotiation with the Chinese authorities was probably done by the Chinese-speaking *chun-chu*, or supercargo.⁵³² When all payments, fees and duties were settled via the assigned *hong*, or merchant, the exit permit - *da chuanpai* 大船牌 or Grand Chop - would be issued, allowing the vessel to leave Chinese waters.⁵³³

In 1795, the only three factories in the Bengang Hang cluster went insolvent and were dissolved. The debt they owed the Siamese was footed by the Waiyang Hang cluster, which also temporarily took over Southeast Asian affairs. The next year, the Waiyang Hang cluster

⁵³⁰ Huang and Van Dyke (2017): “Hoppo Tang Ying 唐英 (1750–1751) and the Development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs” in *Journal of Asian History*, Vol 51 (2), 234.

⁵³¹ Liang (1839): 427.

⁵³² See Chapter 3, Operation on Junk.

⁵³³ Van Dyke (2005): 11, 23–25.

did not wish to continue bearing such a duty, so one merchant grasped the opportunity to set up a new *hong* to take over the Bengang Hang affairs. Soon he was caught abusing the monopoly and his *hong* was ordered to dissolve in 1799. The Qing court understood that merchants were reluctant to take on the duty as the trade to Southeast Asia was not as profitable as the one to the West, while receiving envoys was no small matter that required meticulous attention. In 1800, it was decided that the factories in the Waiyang Hang group would rotate to manage the Bengang Hang affairs, with two factories assigned every year to avoid monopoly. The first two factories named in the roster were Tong-wen 同文 and Guang-li 廣利, followed by Yi-he 怡和 and Yi-cheng 義成, Dong-sheng 東生 and Da-cheng 達成, and lastly Hui-long 會隆 and Li-quan 麗泉, before the cycle repeated with the possible addition of newly established factories.⁵³⁴

Literature Review

The continuous presence of Westerners left behind a wealth of records with which the Kwangtung Map can be compared. The estuary of the Pearl River was a strategically important area subjected to careful survey and update. A variety of these charts, inexhaustive given the vast number, are listed in the seminal reference book *Charting the Pearl River Delta* (2015). In particular, the scope of the Kwangtung Map echoes the charts *A Survey of the Tigris. From Canton to the Island of Lankeet* by Huddart (1786)⁵³⁵, *A New Chart of the Coast of China: From Pedra Blanca to St John's Island* (1803)⁵³⁶ and the three-sheet *China. Si-Kiang or West River* (1859)⁵³⁷ in English; *Carte de L'entré de Macao Avec la Route des Vaisseaux pour se Rendre a Wampou et Celle des Bateaux du Pays pour Aller par L'interieur a Quanton* [Map of the Entrance to Macau with the Sailing Route to Whampoa and then by Boats to the Interior to Canton] (1808)⁵³⁸ in French; and *Die Chinesische Küste der Provinz Kuang-tung, zu beiden Seiten des Meridians von Macao* [The Chinese Coast of Guangdong Province, on either Side of the Meridian of Macao] (1834)⁵³⁹ in German.

The Qing court also did their own survey on the distributary channels of the Pearl River between Guangzhou and Macau for defense purposes. One rare extant record, *Map of the*

⁵³⁴ Liang (1839): 500–502.

⁵³⁵ Item no HKMM 2011.0196.0003, 50 x 61 cm, printed in Hong Kong Maritime Museum (2015): *Charting The Pearl River Delta*, 11, 84. Also 49.5 X 61 cm, item no ark:/12148/btv1b53133402v, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Online at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53133402v#.

⁵³⁶ Heather (1803): 83 x 68cm, online at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53160749p/fl.item.

⁵³⁷ Item no HKMM 2009.0105.0006, 62 x 92 cm; HKMM 2009.0105.0007, 97 x 61 cm; and HKMM 2009.0105.0009, 92x 65cm; printed in Hong Kong Maritime Museum (2015): 20, 85–86.

⁵³⁸ Guignes and Houdan (1808): map no 95, 42 x 47cm, in *Voyages À Peking, Manille Et l'Isle De France: Faits Dans L'intervalle Des Années 1784 À 1801* [Travels to Peking, Manila and the Isle of France (Mauritius): Made in the Years from 1784 to 1801]. Online at lbezone.ust.hk/bib/b538782.

⁵³⁹ Berghaus (1834): 102 x 70cm. Online at www.loc.gov/resource/g7822p.ct000569

Waterways between Canton and Macao 廣州至澳門水道圖 (ca. 1809)⁵⁴⁰, now lies in the British Library. Like the Kwangtung Map, it is orientated with East on top and covers almost exactly the same area but in more detail, down to the names of the villages and streams. The map can be paired with the *Landscape From Canton to Macao* 廣州至澳門水途即景 (ca. 1821–1850)⁵⁴¹, composed of 51 paintings on the scenic spots following the waterways. Later, in around 1817, a simplified version of the map was created.⁵⁴²

Using the memorials kept in Beijing, the First Historical Archives of China compiled two publications on the strategic military stronghold Humen and the major customs office Huangpu along the Pearl River, titled *Ming qing huanggong humen midang tulu* 明清皇宮虎門秘檔圖錄 [The Humen Archive Photos Collection held in the Forbidden City] (2011) and *The Huangpu Archive Photos Collection held in Forbidden City* 明清皇宮黃埔秘檔圖錄 (2006). It also collected historical maps on the city of Guangzhou in the book *Selected Historical Maps of Guangzhou* 廣州歷史地圖精粹 (2003). More city plans can be found in *Illustrating the City's Cultural Context – Past and Current Atlas of Guangzhou* 圖說城市文脈 – 廣州古今地圖集 by Guangzhou Municipal Planning Bureau and Guangzhou Urban Development Archives (2010).

The bustling harbor scene of Guangzhou, deemed an epitome of exotic China, was a celebrated motif highly sought after by artists. Two of the early large-scale artworks include the *View of the Pearl River with the City of Canton* (1771)⁵⁴³, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and *The Waterfront at Canton* (1772)⁵⁴⁴, in the British Museum, London, showing various junks and boats docking in front of customs houses and the hustle and bustle along the city's waterfront. The British Library has also published *Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period in the British Library* (2011), which included 748 paintings in its collection ranging from cityscapes, vessels, tradesmen and architecture to corporal punishment and opera scenes in eight volumes. The collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, is also particularly well-known. Many images can be found in *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macau, Canton and Hong Kong*, co-published with the Hong Kong Museum of Art (1996) and on the website “Rise and Fall of the Canton Trade System,” created by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2009).

⁵⁴⁰ Item no Or. 2342 B, 267 x 34cm; and Or. 2342 C, 278 x 26 cm, printed in Lin (2015): *Reading Antique Cartography: Historical Chinese Maps In The British Library* 方輿搜覽: 大英圖書館所藏中文歷史地圖, 98–101. Online at digitalatlas.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/digitalatlasen/map_detail.jsp?id=A104000033

⁵⁴¹ Item no Maps C.6.d.2, 47 x 36 cm each, printed in *ibid.*: 102–111. Online at digitalatlas.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/digitalatlasen/map_detail.jsp?id=A104000034

⁵⁴² Item no Or. 7409 B, 410 x 93 cm, printed in *ibid.*: 308–311. Online at digitalatlas.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/map_detail.jsp?id=A104000125.

⁵⁴³ Anonymous artist, colors on silk, 368 x 95cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, item no NG-1052. Online at www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-1052.

⁵⁴⁴ Anonymous artist, drawing with distemper, 799.5 x 95.5 cm, London, British Museum, item no Maps K.Top.116.23. Part of King George III's Topographical Collection, donated to the nation by George IV. Online at digitalatlas.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/map_detail.jsp?id=A104000035.

Various scholars have contributed to the dating of export paintings, in particular the harbor scenes, in recent years. Most notable of these is Conner, whose *The Hong of Canton: Western Merchants in South China 1700–1900, as seen in Chinese Export Paintings* (2009), referencing the Martyn Gregory Gallery catalogues, is deemed one of the fundamental works in the field. He also annotated the Sze Yuan Tang collection of historic paintings in *Paintings of the China Trade* (2013). In Van Dyke and Mok (2015), the authors traced the changes of the Thirteen Factories in *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (2015). These dated paintings are immensely helpful for interpreting the topographic features on the Kwangtung Map and the descriptions in *Nirat Kwangtung*.

To complement the export paintings are numerous travelogues that testify to life in Guangzhou. From early travelers like Lockyer's *An Account of the Trade in India* (1711) and Noble's *A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748* (1762), to Wathen's *Journal of a Voyage, in 1811 and 1812, to Madras and China* (1814) and Toogood Downing's *The Fan-Qui in China* (1838), they all provide lively firsthand accounts of life in the city. Needless to say, Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-general of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (1830) is particularly relevant to this research, with plentiful details that are apt to be extracted for comparison with Thai and Chinese sources.

On the trade done within the Canton System, the Chinese, unfortunately, did not leave behind much record. The foremost research on this subject has been conducted by contemporary scholar Van Dyke, who has extracted extensive raw data from Western archives to reconstruct the Chinese administrative system, the career of *hong* merchants, and their trade volume with Western traders. His PhD thesis – *Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690–1845* (2002) – laid the fundamentals which he abridged to *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (2005). The fascinating life stories of the *hong* merchants were retraced in two volumes of *Merchants of Canton and Macao in Eighteenth-century Chinese Trade*. The first one explored the politics and strategies (2011), and the second one looked at success and failure (2016). His latest book, *Whampoa and the Canton Trade: Life and Death in a Chinese Port, 1700–1842* (2020), reappraised the role of Huangpu in the system and the freedom of movement enjoyed by foreign traders. Collaborating with Huang, Van Dyke also delved into the development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs and the personal history of some Hoppo in three articles published in the *Journal of Asian History* in 2017, 2019 and 2021.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁵ Huang and Van Dyke (2017): “Hoppo Tang Ying 唐英 (1750–1751) and the Development of the Guangdong Maritime Customs” in *Journal of Asian History* 51(2), 223–256; (2019): “Hoppo Mao Keming 毛克明 and the Guangdong Maritime Customs 1732–1735” in *Journal of Asian History* 53(2), 215–240; and (2021): “The Hoppo’s Books and the Guangdong Maritime Customs 1685–1842” in *Journal of Asian History* 55(1) 89–120.

While parts of the imports and exports of the junk trade were recorded by some Western traders, it is far from enough to draw a complete picture. These records also pay no particular attention to the trade between Siam and China. The Thai and Chinese firsthand materials on the trade can complement the existing research in this field.

Main Sources

Materials that are vital to the analysis of the Kwangtung Map and the *Nirat Kwangtung* include:



Figure 5.1 The studio of Tingqua (mid-19th century). Source: Hong Kong Museum of Art⁵⁴⁶

Export paintings: The genre emerged in Guangzhou to serve the foreigners who wanted to bring home scenes of interest as memento. It was said that “No Englishmen goes back to Britain without a painting of Canton port scenery.”⁵⁴⁷ We know that since the 18th century, Guangzhou already had professional export painters who had acquired Western skills to paint to foreign tastes. An established painter would open a studio in the China Street and recruit junior painters to work for him. These studios offered paintings from popular template like landscapes, port scenes and tradesmen in Guangzhou, while they also accepted commissions. For instance,

⁵⁴⁶ Item no AH1988.0012, 26.5 x 17.5cm, gouache on paper. This painting has various extant copies, for details, see Yaron (2020): “The Many Versions of the Painting of Tingqua’s Studio: Painting Copying and Originality in Nineteenth-century Canton” in *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 7(1), 132. Online at doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00623-7.

⁵⁴⁷ Gardner (1953): “Cantonese Chinnerys: Portraits of How-qua and other China Trade Paintings” in *Art Quarterly* 16(4), 316. Quoted in Jiang (2020): “Global Contacts of Canton in the Qing Dynasty: A Discussion of Export Painting” in *Tribute and Trade: China and Global Modernity, 1784–1935*, 174.

British visitor John Pope bought a set of 113 paintings exhibiting all the different trades in China in 1786.⁵⁴⁸ The craft, however, was not considered high art by mainstream society. Most of the paintings were unsigned and the painters remained anonymous. A signed artwork also does not necessarily mean it was done by an individual artist, but often several artists in a studio of the signatory. Foreigners observed that there were about 30 active studios from 1816 to 1835, and by 1848; many hundreds of hands were employed in the field.⁵⁴⁹ Among them, two brothers, Guan Qiaochang and his younger brother Guan Lianchang, commonly known as Lamqua and Tingqua, were particularly famous in the 19th century. The painting of Tingqua's studio (Figure 5.1) vividly shows how the operation worked. Painters and apprentices drew with Chinese brushes and their labor of love was hung on the wall. The studio was built with a cozy sitting area and was decorated with plants and sometimes even a parrot because customers were often invited to come see the work in progress. Today, these export paintings can be found in the collections of various museums, most notably the Peabody Essex Museum in the US, the British Museum, and the Hong Kong Museum of Art. Studies of these paintings reveal that although one scene might have originated from a template, artists at times altered minute details to make each painting more realistic. For example, Van Dyke and Mok (2015) managed to date a series of port scenes to a particular month of the year. This demonstrates that these export paintings can be considered as viable sources for studying the history of Guangzhou.

***Yue haiguan zhi* 粵海關志 [Gazetteer of Guangdong Maritime Customs]:** Compiled by Liang Tingnan in 1839, it is the only surviving official record from the Guangdong Maritime Customs (Figure 5.2). The book was divided into 14 sections, ranging from imperial edicts and the administration of the Customs Office, to the tariff on duties and a brief history of the different groups of foreign traders that frequented Guangzhou. The Siamese was one of them, listed under the section of tribute junks. It recounts the years when the Siamese came bearing tribute and the major events happened from the Ming dynasty until Daoguang 19 (1839) in the Qing dynasty, right before the Opium War. After noting the cultural customs and products found in Siam, it recorded the protocol of receiving the Siamese envoy in Guangzhou.

Scholars have been depending on the gazetteer to analyze the trade in Guangzhou, but it in fact paints only the surface layer of the picture that was honed to match the expectation of the central administration in Beijing. From the records left behind by foreign traders, we know that the routine in reality might not have gone so strictly 'by the book.' Van Dyke, therefore, cautions against over-reliance on the gazetteer.

A more realistic picture was documented in the account books kept by the Hoppo, of which none, yet, have emerged. These books recorded the measurements and port fees of all the ships,

⁵⁴⁸ Bulley (1992): *Free Mariner: John Adolphus Pope in the East Indies 1786–1821*, 73–74. Quoted in Van Dyke and Mok (2015): 87.

⁵⁴⁹ Poel (2016): "Made for trade-Made in China. Chinese Export Paintings in Dutch Collections: Art and Commodity," 72–74.

the total number of import and exports on each vessel – including junks from Southeast Asia – and the name of the *hong* merchants who were responsible for the duties. We know of their existence from the foreign records kept mainly by the British and Dutch, who often asked the linguists to collect the data from the Hoppo as such figures were openly available to prevent monopoly.⁵⁵⁰



Figure 5.2 The entrance of Yue haiguan or Guangdong Maritime Customs in Guangzhou as written on the flags (ca. 1850). Source: Hong Kong Museum of Art.⁵⁵¹

These books are not the same as the administrative books that Hirth called “The Hoppo-Book of 1753” and partly translated into English in 1882.⁵⁵² Hirth’s Hoppo books, a set of three on tariffs, lying in Berlin State Library under item number Libri sin. Hirth Ms. 8⁵⁵³, contained instructions on how to calculate port fee and levy duties. The National Library of Paris has two additional books – item numbers Chinois 2285 and 2288, in the department of manuscripts – on the administration side, such as the regulations, budgets and personnel of the Customs

⁵⁵⁰ Huang and Van Dyke (2017): 231–232.

⁵⁵¹ Item no AH2005.0001, gouache on paper.

⁵⁵² Hirth (1882): “The Hoppo-Book of 1753” in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 17, 221–235.

⁵⁵³ *The Hoppo-Book of Canton* (1753): Online at resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001060800000000.

houses. These five books served as job manuals for the newly appointed Hoppo to familiarize themselves with their responsibilities. Part of this information was featured in the gazetteer.⁵⁵⁴

There are several documents in Chinese and Thai that correlate with King Taksin's mission in 1781. The core materials (Figure 5.3) in Chinese are achieved in the National Palace Museum, Taipei:

- **Bilingual memorial submitted by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong:** The undated memorial was written in Thai and Chinese and numbered “guji 030661.” It is a short letter giving the names of the three envoys who came bearing tribute. It is possibly a copy of the Siamese text engraved on the gold-leaf tributary document, with a Chinese translation added for easy comprehension.
- **Chinese Memorial submitted by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong:** The Chinese memorial dated Qianlong 46/5/26 (17 June 1781), numbered “guji 030660,” is a formal royal letter listing the names of the three envoys, the tribute brought and the additional tribute wishing to be submitted in this occasion.
- **Letter from King Taksin to the Viceroy and the Governor of Guangdong:** This letter in Chinese, numbered “guji 031479,” is also dated Qianlong 46/5/26 (17 June 1781). It informed the viceroy and the governor on the Siamese officials in charge of the trading affairs, the additional tribute brought by the seven commercial junks, the presents wishing to be gifted to the Chinese officials, and a request to buy over 1,000 copperwares intended for religious ceremonies. Although the letter was issued in the name of King Taksin, the handwriting and format were rather casual, which is particularly obvious when compared with the memorial to Emperor Qianlong. It might have been a translation of the now lost Siamese original letter.

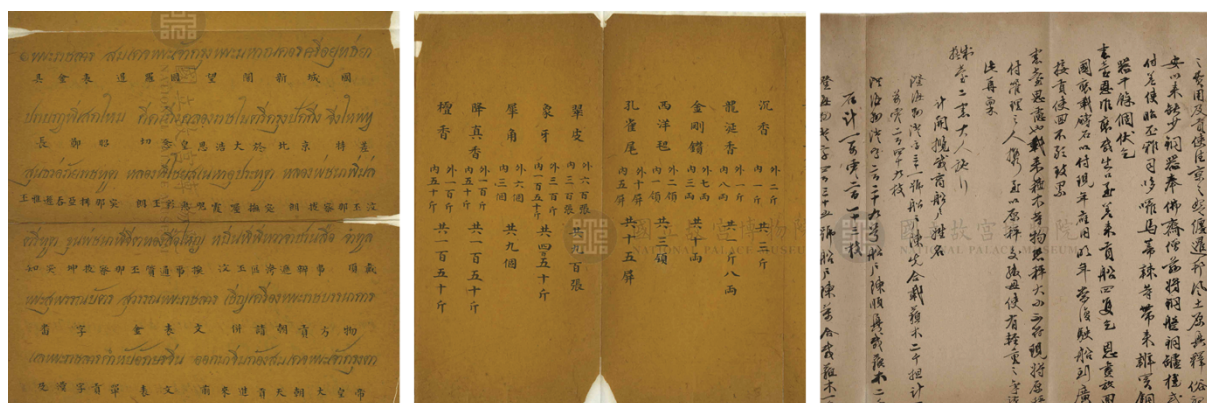


Figure 5.3 (From left) Excerpts of the bilingual and Chinese memorials submitted by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong; and the letter to Viceroy and the Governor of Guangdong. Source: National Palace Museum.

⁵⁵⁴ Huang and Van Dyke (2021): 95–97.

The relevant Thai materials are stored in the manuscript collection of The National Library of Thailand, Bangkok. All Thai product names or descriptions in this chapter follow the original writing in the documents, which may differ slightly from today's standardized spelling.

- **CMH. Thonburi #13 (1781):** Titled *samnao phra ratchasan thüing krung pakking C.S. 1143* สำเนา พระราชสาส์นถึงกรุงปักกิ่ง จ.ศ. 1143 [Copy of the Royal Letter to Beijing 1781], this manuscript, made of black khòì paper, recorded the Thai letter written by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong. The content, however, was very different from the Chinese memorial that was actually submitted. It first made several complaints: some Chinese officials asked for a bribe before accepting the tribute; the envoys were confined to their lodge in Beijing; and they were urged to take Chinese junks for the return voyage instead of waiting for Siamese junks. He then highlighted the money he spent on bringing back the Chinese fishermen who had accidentally drifted to Siam. These complaints and reports were written in a challenging tone, each closing with the question: “Does the great Emperor know this or not? ... Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya wishes to inform of this article. กรุงตั้งผู้ใหญ่ทราบหรือไม่ ... พระนครศรีอยุธยาใคร่แจ้งข้อหนึ่ง.” (Figure 5.4) But none of these have been reflected in the Chinese memorial, which was written in a submissive and grateful tone, a standard convention of tributary countries. Masuda (2007) has compared the content of the royal letters in Chinese and Thai.

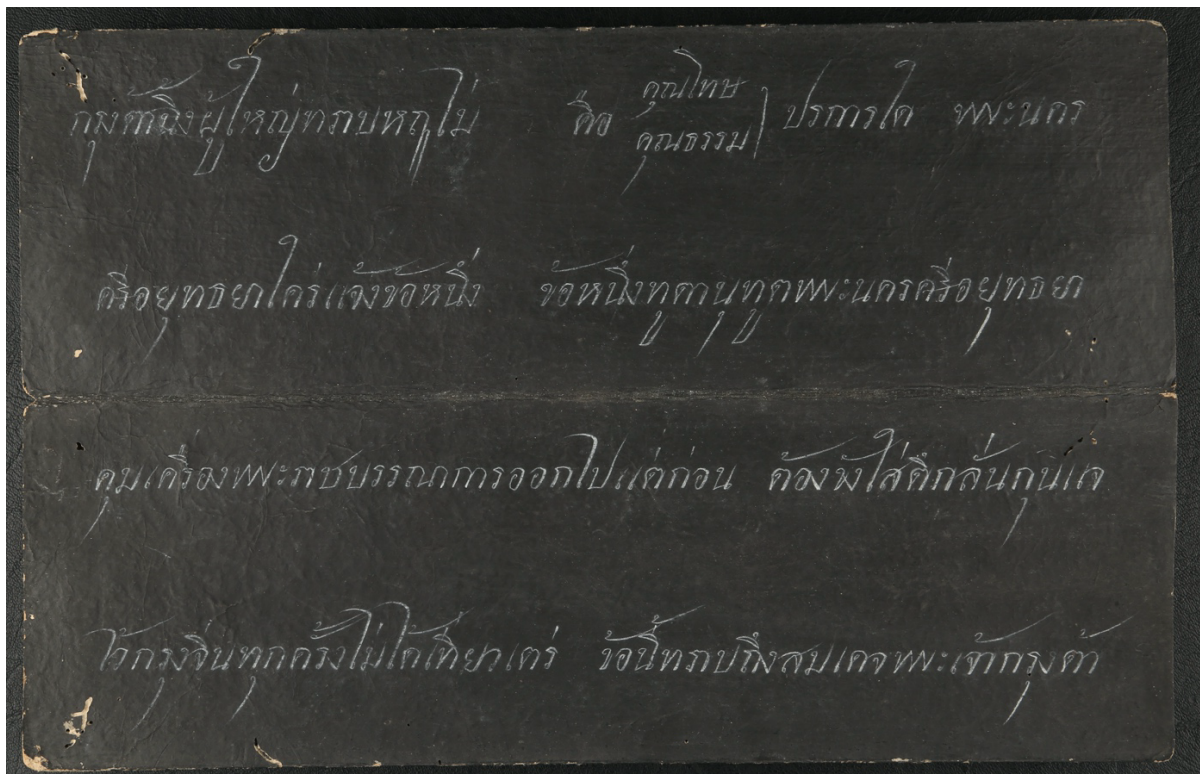


Figure 5.4 Excerpt of CMH. Thonburi #13 (1781) showing the challenging tone of the letter.

Source: National Library of Thailand.

On trading affairs, King Taksin asked for exemption from tax for Siamese junks to trade in Guangzhou, Ningpo and Amoy, and to employ a Chinese navigator to guide Siamese junks to Japan to buy copper. The replies to these requests were clearly noted in a Chinese memorial jointly submitted by the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong, numbered “gugong 064894.” It was not allowed for foreign trade to be conducted beyond Guangzhou, and Chinese navigators were not allowed to pilot foreign vessels. While these requests were first considered outrageous for the Qing court, an investigation showed that the Siamese has merely been coaxed by Chinese traders to expand the trade to gain profit, and had no alternative agenda. At the end of the letter, King Taksin listed the additional tribute that he wished to be submitted.

- **CMH. R.1 #3 (1782):** This document records the Thai translation of the four Chinese letters received regarding King Taksin’s mission in 1781. Upon the return of the envoys, King Taksin was deposed and King Rama I ascended to the throne. The document was therefore archived under the reign of Rama I. The first letter was the royal letter listing the rewards of the tribute sent by the king and the queen of Siam. The second and third letters were written by the Board of Rites listing the tribute received and the rewards granted to the Siamese delegates of the mission. The last letter was written by the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong reporting on the itinerary of the envoys in Guangzhou and Beijing.

Two secondary sources are particularly crucial for the reconstruction of the mission:

- *Cotmai het khwam songcam khong krom luang Naritharathewi* จดหมายเหตุความทรงจำ ของ กรมหลวงนรินทรเทวี [**Memoirs of Krom Luang Narintharathewi**]: This chronicle was compiled by Krom Luang Narintharathewi on events that happened between 1767 and 1838, and later checked and annotated by King Chulalongkorn. It was first printed in 1908 and a revised edition was published in 1916. The content of entry number 88 is a summary of King Taksin’s mission of 1781. It first debunks the rumor that the tribute mission was sent to ask for the hand of a daughter of the emperor of Beijing and then lists the additional tribute brought. Most importantly, it records the content of a letter from Phra Khlang, appointing seven Siamese officials to be in charge of trade affairs. Phra Khlang gives specific instructions on the items to be gifted to the Chinese officials, the items to be sold and the copperwares to be bought. The content echoes the Chinese Letter from King Taksin to the Viceroy and the Governor of Guangdong. Yet *Cotmai het khwam songcam* has one additional piece of information that cannot be found elsewhere: it mentions a balance sheet found alongside the royal letter listing the value of the gifts for the Chinese officials and the trading goods.
- **Hsu (1951a):** The Chinese article titled “Notes on Phra Cao Tak Sin’s Tribute to China in the Reign of the Emperor Ch’ien Lung in Ching Dynasty” was written by late scholar Hsu Yun-tsiao. It discusses the communication between King Taksin and the Qing court before

a tribute mission was allowed. Using Thai archived materials, he presents the tribute and additional tribute submitted, the gifts for Chinese officials and the request to buy copperwares. He also cites a document listing the value of the gifts for the Chinese officials and the trading goods, verifying the information found in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*.

Textual criticism was employed to compare the sources above to reconstruct the manifest of 11 junks commissioned for the tribute mission of 1781 in Appendix IV.

For an analysis of the trade conducted in Guangzhou, two *cotmai het* documents were consulted:

- **CMH. R.2 #15 (1813):** This document, titled “Rüang cin nai rüa khun samphao sinkha pai camnai müang cin เรื่องจีนนายเรือคุมสำเภาสินค้าไปจำหน่ายเมืองจีน [Regarding Chinese junk owners who oversee the sale of goods in China],” contains a bundle of nine letters that give updates of the trade done in Guangzhou in the year 1813. The manuscript, presumably written on khòì-paper, was donated by Mòm Cao Rattanòphat หม่อมเจ้ารัตโนภาส, a grandson of the last viceroy Bowon Wichaichan, in 1921. Staff at the Phra Vajirayana Royal Library, precursor of the National Library of Thailand, typed out the document in 1969. The first and last letters are incomplete and not all letters have the date and the author’s name. The bundle includes letters written by *nai samphao* (captian), *pan-cu* (owner of junk) and *la-da* (bookkeeper) from at least two different junks. They report on the voyages from Bangkok to Guangzhou, the selling price of the Siamese products and the destination of other Siamese junks that they have come across on the way. Two letters are of particular interest: the first gives a detailed breakdown of the cost and revenue of each Siamese product sold in Guangzhou; and the second gives a brief list of expenses incurred during the trade in Guangzhou.
- **CMH.R.3 #49 (1844):** The undated document titled “Banchi sinkha banthuk rüa kampan lae samphao òk pai camnai บัญชีสินค้าบรรทุกเรือกำปั่นและสำเภากออกไปจำหน่าย [List of goods loaded up in junks to go abroad for sale]” recorded the manifest of four junks going to trade in China. One of them, the Thepkosin เทพโกสิน, a square-rigged vessel, was destined for Guangzhou. It lists the products carried by the junk and their respective purchasing price in Siam. It also, intriguingly, includes a shopping list of goods ordered by Siamese sponsors to be bought in Guangzhou.

The Kwangtung Map

The Kwangtung Map is outlined in Figure 5.5 for easy discussion. The locations are numbered in the direction of a vessel entering the Pearl River from Macao to Guangzhou and then exiting via the West River.

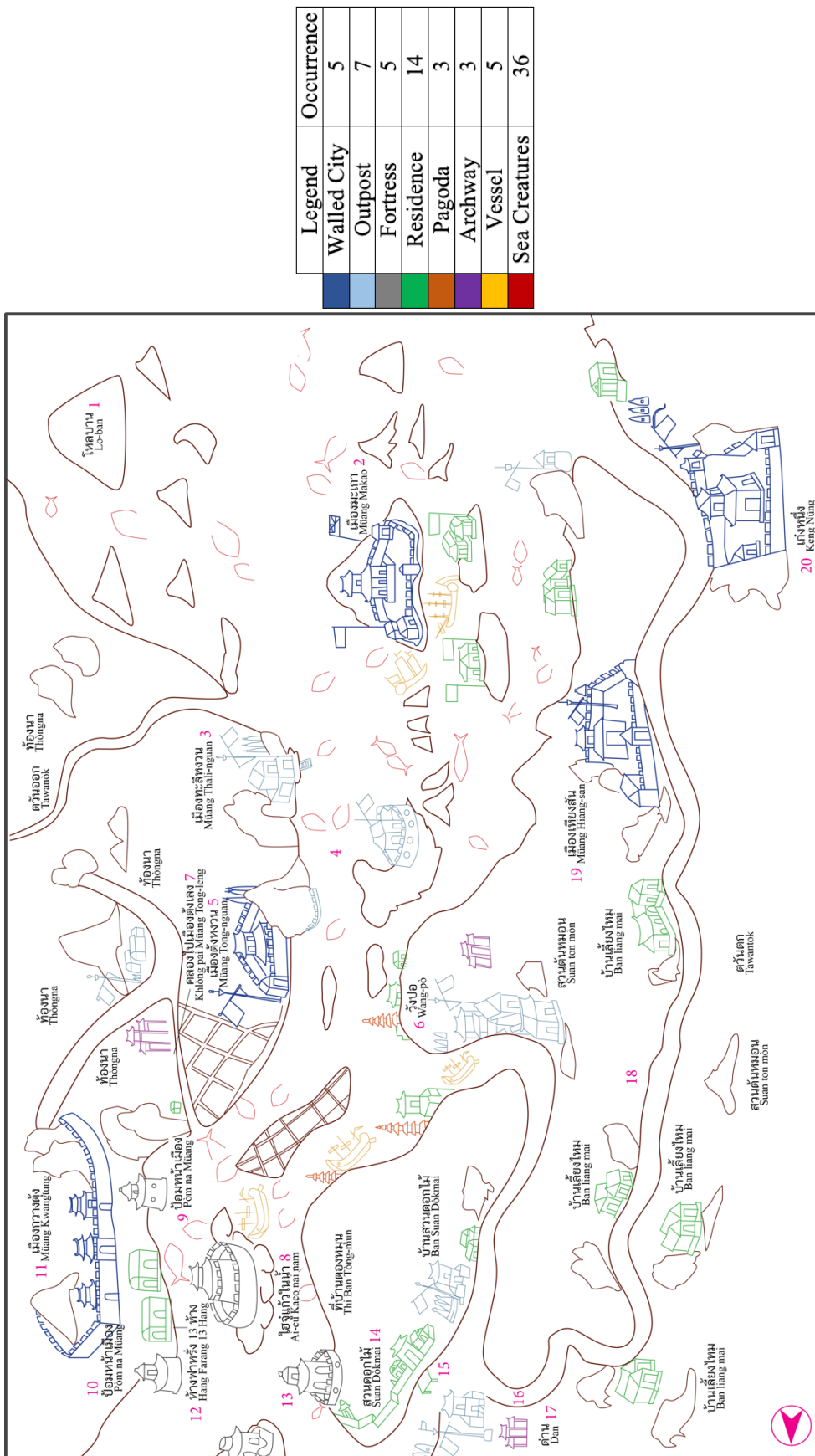


Figure 5.5 Topographic features of the Kwangtung Map annotated in colors with toponyms and numbered locations. Source: Author's illustration.

• The Pearl River

Macao

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Lo-ban โหลบาน (1), or today's Wanshan Archipelago, marks the entrance to Guangzhou via the Pearl River. From there, vessels would first proceed to Müang Makao เมืองมะเกา, or Macao (2), controlled by the Portuguese since 1557 and noted in the *Nirat Kwantung* as:⁵⁵⁵

ขึ้นยืนดูผู้คนมั่งคั่ง	Upon going further upstream, [we] stand up and see rich people
ฝรั่งตั้งแควมเกาะมเกาสถาน	at a place [called] Macao [that is] entirely established by the <i>farang</i> (here: Portuguese).
เปนท่วงทีหนีโล่ก็ได้การ	[It is built on a place that is] easy to enter and leave,
มีกำแพงสามด้านดูดี	[surrounded by] walls on three sides that look stunning (Figure 5.6);
เห็นสำเภเข้าครันกำปั่นทอด	[we] see many junks sailing and boats anchored;
แลตระหลอดดูไปไม่สุดที่	everywhere with no end in sight.



Figure 5.6 Depiction of Macao in one of the four Gentiloni Paintings dated after 1760. Oriented with East on top, the painting shows the coastal city surrounded by Western and Chinese vessels. Inside the city walls, it also depicts several churches with a big cross. Source: Hong Kong Maritime Museum⁵⁵⁶.

Western trading vessels had to follow a series of procedures to clear customs, which began with employing a licensed *Aomen yinshui ren* 澳門引水人, or Macao pilot, to guide ships upriver to Whampoa custom house. Such arrangements benefited both sides: deep-draughted Western ships could ensure a safe voyage along the hazardous river while the Chinese officials

⁵⁵⁵ Appendix II: 284–289.

⁵⁵⁶ Anonymous artist, watercolor and gouache on paper, 170.5 x 83.5 cm (framed), Hong Kong, Hong Kong Maritime Museum, item no: HKMM2010.0031.0001. The paintings were purchased by Camillo de Rossi in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1807 or 1809. Online at artsandculture.google.com/asset/gentiloni-painting-macao-late-18th-century/sgGqEzgTbWYQSA.

got to control which vessel could enter and leave the country. Upon arrival at Macao, ships would repeatedly fire one or two cannons every few hours until a pilot came.⁵⁵⁷ The port was therefore often packed with junks and ships as described in the *Nirat Kwantung* and drawn on the Kwantung Map.

It is noteworthy to point out that the ships depicted on the Kwantung Map capture all the main features of an East Indiaman to the extent that they are almost identical with the ones drawn in *An East Indiaman in Three Positions*, by John Cleveley (1757).⁵⁵⁸ The name “East Indiaman” is a generic term applied to any sailing vessels chartered under any of the East India trading companies in the 17th to 19th centuries. Yet the vessels were often merchant ships of the largest description, measuring between 1,100 and 1,400 tons, specialized for the voyage to the East.⁵⁵⁹ They differed from the naval vessels in several respects. Short red masthead vanes were flown instead of long pendants at the mainmast; a long poop was placed over the stern cabins in which passengers were accommodated; the hull was deep to maximize the capacity for cargo; and cannons were ranged in a single tier.⁵⁶⁰ The accurate depiction on the Kwantung Map suggests that the drawer had observed an actual East Indiaman or its painting in detail (see Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.7 Comparison of the East Indiaman depicted on the Kwantung Map and *An East Indiaman in Three Positions* (1757). Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Conner (2013:88).

While Macao was an essential stop on the way to Guangzhou, the city itself otherwise had little connection with Siam. The Portuguese merchants in Macao helped rekindle trade relations with Siam in the early 19th century but the factories in Bangkok were never profitable due to a lack of traffic.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Van Dyke (2005): 35–36.

⁵⁵⁸ John Cleveley senior, oil on canvas, 168 x 117 cm, private collection. Printed in Conner (2013): *Paintings Of The China Trade: The Sze Yuan Tang Collection of Historic Paintings*, 88.

⁵⁵⁹ In 1830, it was observed that no other trade in the East India Company required ships of that class. Stated in “Affairs of the East India Company: Minutes of Evidence, 17 June 1830” in *Journal of the House of Lords* 62, 1130–1136. Online at www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol62/pp1130-1136.

⁵⁶⁰ Conner (2013): 88.

⁵⁶¹ Seabra (2015): 66–8. See Chapter 3 for details.

Dongguan

Going upstream on the east bank on the Kwangtung Map, two cities are noted: Müang Thali-nguan เมืองทะลีหงวน (3) and Müang Tong-nguan เมืองตั้งหงวน (5). Although both are marked as a *müang* [city], their depiction differs. Like Macao, Dongguan (5) is elaborately drawn as a walled city, which reflects its status as a county. Müang Thali-nguan, however, is drawn as an outpost. Both representations are typical for Chinese maps: a county is always bordered by a circular or square wall (Figure 5.8), while an outpost is represented by a flying flat on a pole (Figure 5.9). Depending on the character written on the flag, an outpost could be a small military base or a custom point for collecting duties, registering or inspecting vessels.⁵⁶² The cone-shaped object near the flag was used to send out smoke signals for defense purposes like a beacon tower. The location of Müang Thali-nguan on the Kwangtung Map falls in the area of today's Hong Kong, formerly known as Xin'an or Bao'an county. However, no major outpost of a similar name can be related, so the identity of Müang Thali-nguan remains obscure.



Figure 5.8 (From left) The depiction of a walled city on the Kwangtung Map is similar to that on Chinese maps like *Guangzhou fu yutu* 廣州府輿圖 [Map of Guangzhou Province] and *Yue haiguan zhi*. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; First Historical Archives of China (2003:12); and Liang (1839:95).

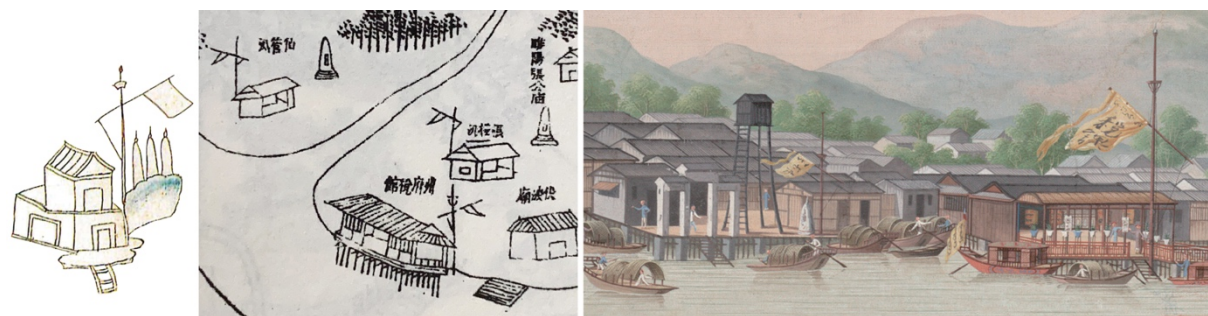


Figure 5.9 (From left) The depiction of an outpost on the Kwangtung Map echoes that on *Yue haiguan zhi* and *The Waterfront at Canton* (1772). Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; Liang (1839:70); and © British Library Board.

⁵⁶² Siu (1997): *Forts and Batteries: Coastal Defence in Guangdong During the Ming and Qing Dynasties* 關城與炮台:明清兩代廣東海防, 86–89.

Humen/Bocca Tigris

Though not named, the area between Müang Thali-nguan and Müang Tong-nguan is clearly Humen 虎門 [Tiger door] (4), or *thawan-payakkhi* ทวารพักษิ⁵⁶³ in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, which gives it the following description:⁵⁶⁴

ถึงทวารพักษิทันใด	When [we] reach the Tiger Door (Figure 5.10);
มีป้อมปืนขึ้นเชื่อมอยู่สองฟาก	[there are] fortresses with cannons on both shores;
ประหลาดหลากก่อเข้ากับเขาใหญ่	[that are] strangely built along big mountains;
ยังป้อมขวางไว้กลางชลาลัย	another fortress blocks the middle of the river;
เรือไปสองข้างอยู่กลางคั่น	[and] vessels go around [it] from two sides.
เป็นสง่าศึกงามทั้งสามป้อม	All three fortresses are grand and beautiful;
ที่ก่อล้อมล้วนແหล่งแกล้งสัน	built as intended to defend the entire area;
เอาโยทาเจนจัดให้พลัดกัน	with skillful soldiers taking turns
เปนนิรันดร์รักษาระวังการ	to diligently stand guard at all times.

The Kwangtung Map and the poetic travelogue accurately pinpoint the unique landscape of Humen, known to the Western world as Bocca Tigris [Portuguese: tiger’s mouth]. The strait is bounded on the east by Anunghoi island and on the west by Wantong islands, which are two small islets lying about 730 meters apart in a north-south direction. The channel in-between is so narrow that large vessel could only sail past on the tide, making it a strategic point for defense. In the late 1680s, during the reign of Emperor Kangxi, Anunghoi island was heavily fortified on its southwestern point, immediately behind which is a 457-meter peak.⁵⁶⁵ Another two forts were also built on the Wantong islands, abreast Anunghoi point. More forts were later added on both sides throughout the entire Qing dynasty.⁵⁶⁶ The forts were the “teeth” of the “tiger’s mouth.” The narrow strait was a popular motif for export paintings.

At Humen, Chinese officers boarded the junk carrying the envoy in the *Nirat Kwangtung* and inquired the purpose of their arrival. Their commander, *cong-ia* จงเอี้ย, was noted to be a high-ranking general in charge of 100,000 soldiers to protect the area. The investigation was thorough. Clothes had to be removed so the whole body could be inspected. Obvious physical attributes like skin moles were marked alongside the names of the delegates. Then some officers came onboard and another 30 officers went on a well-equipped warship to escort the junk upstream.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ Both *thawan* ทวาร and *payakkhi* พักษิ are Sanskrit loanwords, meaning “door” and “tiger” respectively.

⁵⁶⁴ Appendix II: 311–319.

⁵⁶⁵ United States Hydrographic Office (1910): *Asiatic Pilot: Coast of China, Yalu River to Hongkong with Formosa*, 597–598.

⁵⁶⁶ Huang (2015): *Humen paotai jianshi* 虎門炮台簡史 [Brief History of Humen Fort], 12–16.

⁵⁶⁷ Appendix II: 320–335.



Figure 5.10 (From left) The Kwangtung Map clearly shows fortification on the Anunghoi point and a fort on the Wantong island. An almost identical scene can be found in *The 'Bocca Tigris' straits on the Pearl River, from the South* (ca. 1840).⁵⁶⁸ Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn; and Conner (2013:39).

The title *cong-ia* might have been derived from *zong-ye* 總爺, an unofficial reference to *qian-zong* 千總, or Company Commander in the Chinese military forces called the Green Standards 綠營 stationed throughout the country as a kind of provincial constabulary. A *qian-zong*, however, led only 1,000 and not 100,000, as suggested in the *Nirat*. Yet at Humen, given its military significance, a *zong-bing* 總兵 was stationed. The Regional Commander was of the second rank, subordinate only to the Provincial Military Commanders and Provincial Governors.⁵⁶⁹ He might have been the one to receive the Siamese envoy. The Chinese officers that stayed onboard were known as “tidewaiters.” whose duty was to watch the junk day and night to ensure no merchandise was smuggled on or off.⁵⁷⁰

Huangpu/Whampao

On the island of Wang-pò 望波 (6) – written as Huangpu 黃埔 in Chinese and Whampao in English – was a major tollhouse called Huangpu shuiguan 黃埔稅館, which all vessels had to pass through on their way to Guangzhou. The size of its depiction on the Kwangtung Map reflects its significance. There marked the terminus for western vessels which were not allowed to go any closer to the city for security reasons. The oil painting *Whampoa (Huangpu): The Anchorage* (ca. 1810) shows a dozen East Indiamen from various Western countries lying at anchor off the tollhouse while chop boats transfer cargoes between the ships and the factories at Guangzhou (Figure 5.11).⁵⁷¹

Another prominent feature on the island is the Whampoa Pagoda, an essential navigational landmark noted on both Chinese maps and Western charts, including *The Waterways between*

⁵⁶⁸ Chinese artist, oil on canvas, 68.58 x 48.26 cm. The particular landscape had been a popular motif for western artworks. Another similar work can be found at Royal Museums Greenwich. Online at collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/13263.html.

⁵⁶⁹ Hucker (1985): 154, 533, 535.

⁵⁷⁰ Van Dyke (2005): 21–22.

⁵⁷¹ Chinese artist, oil on canvas, 57.79 x 34.29cm. A similar work, *Painting of Whampoa Reach, China* (ca. 1840), can be found at National Museum of American History. Online at americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_1301925.

Canton and Macao (ca. 1817) and *Der Canton Strom* [The Canton Stream] (1858).⁵⁷² The nine-storey Whampoa Pagoda, built during the reign of Wanli (1573–1620) in the Ming dynasty, is regarded as one of the ‘eight beautiful scenes’ of Guangzhou. It had caught the eyes of many artists, including William Heine, who published a chromolithograph of the scene in his portfolio *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition* (1856).⁵⁷³ A temple is seen standing right next to the pagoda, which echoes the representation on the *Map of the Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1817). In the foreground a group of people are paying their respects to an ancestor’s grave, signified by its horseshoe shape. The combination of elements on the Kwangtung Map – the pagoda, temple and a semi-circular structure – bear great similarities with the chromolithograph.

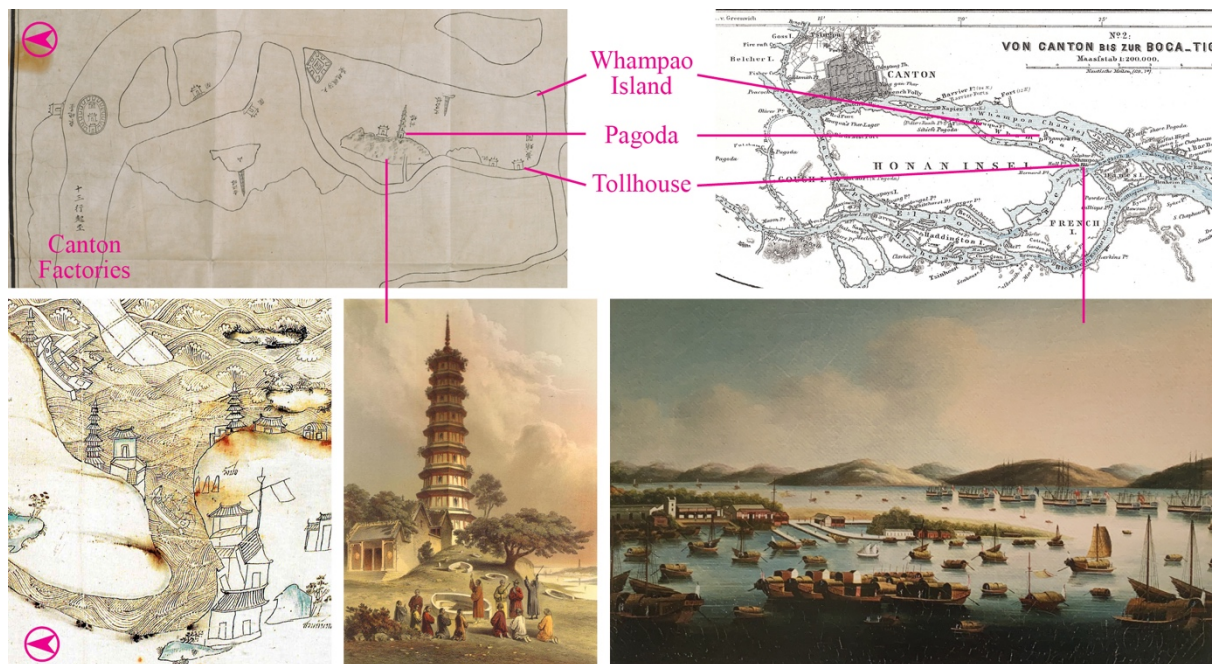


Figure 5.11 The area of Huangpu on the Kwangtung Map (bottom left); *The Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1817) (top left) and *Der Canton Strom* [The Canton Stream] (1858) (top right); and the Whampoa pagoda and tollhouse drawn in *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition* (1856) (bottom middle) and *Whampoa (Huangpu): The Anchorage* (ca. 1810) (bottom right). Source (clockwise from top left): © British Library Board; Hong Kong Maritime Museum; Conner (2013:32); Heine (1856); and Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

Although the two landmarks – the pagoda and the tollhouse – are featured on the Kwangtung Map, the area of Huangpu is not drawn as an island and it is not mentioned in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. The rather vague impression on the tollhouse reflects that it was probably not as important to the junks as to the Western vessels, as junks were allowed to go all the way to

⁵⁷² Item no. 2008.0207.0001, 41 x 24.5 cm, colour on paper, Hong Kong Maritime Museum.

⁵⁷³ Heine (1856): “Wampoa Pagoda,” chromolithograph on Bristol board, image 20.32 x 29.21 cm, in *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition*.

anchor at the waterfront of Guangzhou. The placement of the junks and ships on the Kwangtung Map indeed mirrors this regulation.

Approaching the city of Guangzhou, *Nirat Kwangtung* painted a bustling picture of villagers farming on the slope of the banks, on which few trees are standing.⁵⁷⁴ Likewise, the Kwangtung Map shows fields, or *thôngna* ท้องนา, on both banks and a small tributary marked *khlòng pai müang tong-leng* คลองไปเมืองต่งเลง (7), which means “canal to Donglong county,” a trading port frequented by Siamese junks (as noted in Chapter 4).

Harbor of Guangzhou



Figure 5.12 Excerpt of the *Guangdong guangzhoufu yutu* 廣東廣州府輿圖 (1685–1722) (left) shows a three-layer city wall made of red brick, the circular Haizhu Paotai in the harbor, and the two square-shaped Dong and Xi Paotai on both sides; and close-ups of the forts Haizhu Paotai (top right); Xi Paotai and Dong Paotai (bottom right) in *The Waterfront at Canton* (1772). Source: Guangzhou Municipal Planning Bureau and Guangzhou Urban Development Archives (2010:12); and © British Library Board.

In the poetic travelogue, the envoy reached the city of Guangzhou, or Müang Kwangtung เมือง กวางตุ้ง (11), in two nights after entering the Pearl River. As the view of Guangzhou unfolded before them, they saw a city enclosed by three layers of red-brick walls lined with rows of watch towers. Their eyes then turned to “a fortress lying in the middle of the sea, completely environed by water.”⁵⁷⁵ This refers to the Haizhu Paotai 海珠炮台 [Sea Pearl Fort] or Ai-cu 艾朥 (8) on the Kwangtung Map. Legend has it that a Middle Eastern merchant had brought “a pearl of wisdom” to this small island in front of the city and it flew into the water. The river was hence named Pearl River and the island Sea Pearl Rock. The origin of the name Haizhu was reflected in the Thai text following the name Ai-cu: *kaeo nai nam* แก้วใต้น้ำ, meaning “gem in water.” In the Song dynasty, a temple was built on the island but it ceased to exist in the

⁵⁷⁴ Appendix II: 336–349.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid: 310–327.

early Qing period. It was then converted to a fort in 1647 with 20 canons and 40 soldiers. That was damaged and rebuilt during the first Opium War and eventually destroyed during the second Opium War in 1858.⁵⁷⁶ The two-storey building inside the fort on the Kwangtung Map captured the Wenchang Ge 文昌閣 [Pavilion to the God of Literature] built in 1731.⁵⁷⁷ The island-fort was a landmark of Guangzhou and is often seen in paintings of the city.

Two more circular forts (9 and 10) stood on the two sides of the city on the Kwangtung Map. They were simply noted as *pòm na müang* ป้อมหน้าเมือง [fort in front of the city], with no name given, but they are presumably the Dongshui Paotai 東水炮台 [East Water Fort] (9) and Xining Paotai 西寧炮台 [West Peace Fort] (10) that flanked the city. On the *Guangdong Guangzhoufu yutu* 廣東廣州府輿圖 (1685–1722),⁵⁷⁸ as well as the *The Waterfront at Canton* (1772), both forts were rectangular (Figure 5.12). Round-shaped walls were later added to both structures as they are drawn as circular forts in *Yue haiguan zhi* (1839).⁵⁷⁹ The exact time of conversion is unclear, but the Dongshui Paotai is seen in circular shape in export paintings of the 1810s. The Kwangtung Map was therefore probably drawn in the early 1800s.⁵⁸⁰

Although there were more forts scattered along the harbor, these three were the most significant in Chinese accounts. Westerners, on the other hand, called the Dongshui Paotai and Haizhu Paotai the French and Dutch Folly respectively for obscure reasons. American trader William Hunter, who lived in Guangzhou from 1825 to 1844, described the forts in his book *Bits of Old China* (1885) as follows:

On beds of rocks in the river stand two old forts, which include temples, the eastern one of which is called by foreigners the ‘French Folly,’ and the western one, much the largest of the two, the ‘Dutch Folly.’ They were never occupied by foreigners except when the city was bombarded by Sir Michael Seymour, 1856 (arrow War). Their Chinese names are East and West Forts.⁵⁸¹ In the published account of the Embassy of De Kaiser and Goyer from Batavia about 1650, to congratulate the first Manchoo Emperor of China, Shun-che, is a view of Canton, with the two Dutch Ships at anchor near the Dutch Folly. It is not improbably, therefore, that it may have taken its name through an occupation of it by the Dutch crews, while the Embassy was on its way to Peking and back to Canton, a period of several months. But what we have to do with these Follies is this: Between them, for a distance of about a mile and a half, on the Ho-Nam side of the river, might be seen in 1825 and up to Treaty days, 1842, tiers of those

⁵⁷⁶ L. Huang (2016): *Qingdai Minguo Guangzhou Chengfang jiangfang yu haifang paotai yanjiu* 清代民國廣州城防、江防與海防炮台研究 [Research on the fortresses in Guangzhou for the defenses of the city, river and sea during the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China], 31–32.

⁵⁷⁷ Lo et al. (2011): 63, 67–68.

⁵⁷⁸ Paint on silk, 64 x 47.5 cm, Beijing, First Historical Archives of China.

⁵⁷⁹ Liang (1839): 68–69.

⁵⁸⁰ Lo et al. (2011): 29–31, 80–82. Also See Crossman (1991): *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities*, 416; and Conner (2009): 276.

⁵⁸¹ The Chinese name of the Dutch Folly was Haizhu Paotai, not the West Fort.

enormous sea-going junks, which with the monsoons made regular voyages to ports on the coast of China, and southerly to the Malay Peninsula, to Luzon, Java, the Spice Islands, Macassar, Celebes, &c. (one voyage at least to the Persian Gulf with Marco Polo in the latter part of the thirteenth century), and such voyages, including the annual one from Cha-po to Nagasaki have been made according to Chinese accounts from the remotest times. These junks are now rapidly disappearing.⁵⁸²

Hunter recalled tiers of junks bounded for Southeast Asia docked between the Haizhu and Dongshui forts. It is not difficult to imagine that the Siamese junks were anchored at the same spot, for the Siamese poet was impressed by how tight the security in the harbor was:⁵⁸³

ตรงปากเมืองไว้เครื่องกำเรือรบ	Right at the shore of the city are warships (Figure 5.13)
ก็เตรียมครบทอดรออยู่ถ้ำนั้น	[that are] anchored at the harbor, ready [for action].
กอดูกเหตุสังเอดคืนวัน	Be it day or night, as soon as something happens,
ก็เรียกทันถอยไล่ก็ได้ที่	[the authority] can be alerted to respond in time;
ที่กองเกณฑ์กระเวนก็สอดเสาะ	with the soldiers dispatched to that place to search;
เพื่อราชระเรือรอบบุรีศรี	[and] patrol among the vessels [in the port of] the splendid city.

Several kinds of patrol vessel were recorded in the export paintings. A standard patrol vessel named *jibu xunluo chuan* (*kuai du*) 緝捕巡邏船 (快渡) [patrol boat for catch and arrest (quick passage)] of the mid-19th century was typically manned by 40 to 60 soldiers and armed with canons and swivel guns.⁵⁸⁴ Another kind, *budao miting* 捕盜米艇 [rice transport junk for catching pirates], took the form of a junk for rice transport as it was faster and easy to maneuver.⁵⁸⁵ In 1794, *Guangdong Tongzhi* 廣東通誌 [Comprehensive gazetteer of Guangdong Province] noted that Emperor Qianlong had ordered new warships to be made according to the design of the rice transport junk.⁵⁸⁶ These junks were used to patrol at fixed intervals in the seas around counties like Dongguan, Xin'an and Xiangshan to catch pirates.⁵⁸⁷ A smaller boat, *jisi ting* 緝私艇 [patrol boat to catch smugglers], specifically for catching smugglers, was also drawn. At the stern, a variety of weapons, including swords, halberds and

⁵⁸² Hunter (1885): *Bits of Old China*, 18.

⁵⁸³ Appendix II: 368–373.

⁵⁸⁴ Anonymous artist, gouache on paper, 50 x 37 cm, Hong Kong, Hong Kong Maritime Museum, item no: HKMM2004.0010.0001. Online at artsandculture.google.com/asset/coastal-patrol-vessel-kuai-du-mid-late-19th-century/UAFerfPC9JF4Dw.

⁵⁸⁵ Anonymous artist, gouache on western paper, 53.6 x 41.6 cm, London, British Library, item no: Add. Or. 1976. Lo et al. (2011): 124–125.

⁵⁸⁶ Chen and Ruan (1819): *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通誌 [Comprehensive gazetteer of Guangdong Province], *juan* 179, 15–16. Online at repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-2113461#page/112/mode/2up.

⁵⁸⁷ Liang (1839): 419–420.

tridents were loaded.⁵⁸⁸ It is highlighted in the *Nirat Kwangtung* that the officers had a whole range of artillery at their disposal, and they were generally skilled with crossbows.⁵⁸⁹

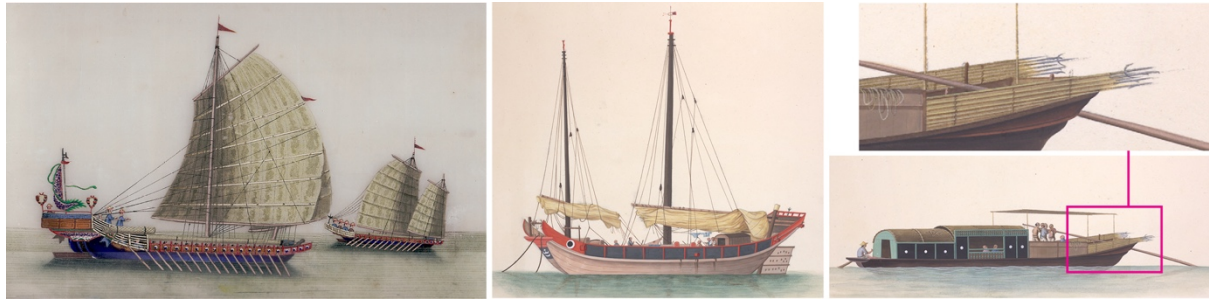


Figure 5.13 (From left) Various kinds of patrol vessel that was recorded in export paintings, such as the *jibu xunluo chuan* [patrol boat for catch and arrest] (ca. 1850s), *budao miting* [rice transport junk for catching pirates] (1800–1805) and *jisi ting* [patrol boat to catch smugglers] (1800–1805) equipped with weapons. Note that the smaller patrol boat in the first image (left) is paddled by 26 people with another four officers in the back, which makes it a total of 30 people, matching the description in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. Source: Hong Kong Maritime Museum; and © British Library Board.

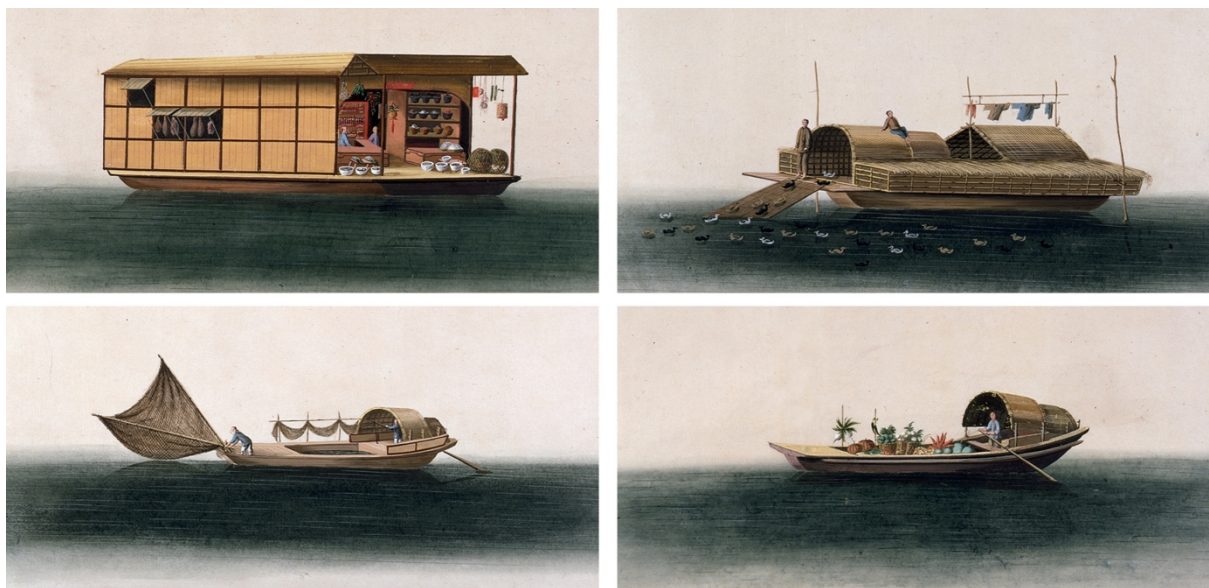


Figure 5.14 (Clockwise from top left) Images of a floating grocery; a duck boat; a sampan carrying a cargo of fruit and vegetables; and a fishing sampan with water compartment in the center of the vessel; found in the album of *Drawings of Chinese Junks Brought Home by Captain Drummond* (ca. 1792–1807). Source: National Maritime Museum.⁵⁹⁰

Beside military vessels, the harbor of Canton was scattered with a variety of service boats. Some approached the junks from the *Nirat Kwangtung* to sell them vegetables and fish.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ Anonymous artist, gouache on western paper, 53.6 x 41.6 cm, London, British Library, item no: Add. Or. 1984. Lo et al. (2011): 148–149.

⁵⁸⁹ Appendix II: 374–379.

⁵⁹⁰ Chinese artist, 44.2 x 32.7 cm, London, National Maritime Museum, Caird Collection, item no: PAI1625–PAI1648. Online at www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-151564.

⁵⁹¹ Appendix II: 380–387.

These boats were often operated by families who lived exclusively on the boats, known as the Tanka, or Danjia, people 疍家. This type of floating population was generally poor and illiterate and hence occupied the lower echelons of society.⁵⁹² In the album *Drawings of Chinese Junks Brought Home by Captain Drummond*, who served the East India Company in Canton from 1792 to 1807, some of these service boats are documented (Figure 5.14). There are, as expected, small sampan boats peddling fruit and vegetables, but daily necessities like candles, condiments, cured meat and live poultries could also be bought from a floating grocery of considerable size. Live ducks and fish were also available at specific vessels. A duck boat was characterized by a bamboo platform on both sides used for breeding and transporting ducks while a fishing boat had a water compartment in the center to keep fish alive.⁵⁹³

Another kind of boat that often caught the eyes of foreigners was the flower boats 花艇, an alternating tea house and floating brothel.⁵⁹⁴

อันนารีเรือราคะสำหรับจ้าง	[There is] a boat of lust dedicated to ladies for hire (Figure 5.15);
นั้นรูปร่างหมคจคตไศ	the appearances [of the ladies] are decent and delightful;
นวลน้มน้จิ้มลิ้มละไมใจ	[their skin looks] creamy soft [and their] heart sweet;
เมื่อดูไกลเอกเอี่ยมละออตา	when [the ladies are] seen from afar [they are] truly pleasant to the eyes;
ครั้นเข้าไปใกล้ก็เห็นเลือดชายจะเหือดผาด	When seen up close, [it makes] men's hearts skip a beat
ด้วยการสวาดไม่หกลึกเลือกภาษา	Indeed the act of pleasure [can be performed] regardless of language;
แขกฝรั่งอังกฤษวิลันดา	<i>Khaek, Farang, English and Dutch</i> ; ⁵⁹⁵
จะไปมาข้อมไค้อาไศรชกัน	[the ladies and foreigners] mingle to satisfy each other.

Although the Siamese poet portrayed an intimate picture between the flower boat girls and foreigners, such sexual exchanges were actually not allowed in Guangzhou. The Hoppo stipulated that:

... If they [the foreigners] take Chinese friends and young boys down to the Tanka boats to drink, or to pass the night with courtesans, or if they bring flower girls into the factories, the constables should seize them and they will be severely punished. If the constables accept bribes to connive at such practices, they will spend a month in the pillory in front of the factories before being executed. There will be no indulgence and no deviation from the law. Do not experiment but obey tremblingly.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹² Ibid: 152–153.

⁵⁹³ Lo et al. (2011): 152–153, 178–179, 218–219.

⁵⁹⁴ Appendix II: 388–395.

⁵⁹⁵ *Khaek* is a general term for Muslims while *farang* Westerners. The British and Dutch were singled out as they were among the most active traders in Guangzhou.

⁵⁹⁶ Canton Register, 16 October 1830. Quoted in Van Dyke (2020): 231.

That said, foreigners contrived to find ways to meet with prostitutes, often through the arrangement of their compradors. The Chinese authority exuded a certain degree of tolerance as long as no trouble was caused. At this moment, little did the Siamese poet know that one of his fellow countrymen would be entangled with a prostitute, causing a scandal before they returned to Siam.



Figure 5.15 A flower boat of Guangzhou was alternating a tea house and a floating brothel. An early depiction around 1780 (top left) shows a dinner party inside and a small sleeping area on the upper deck under the curved roof. The boats later adopted a taller structure adorned with the signature green trelliswork and elaborate carving (top right), mirrored by a photograph by Lai Fong in 1870s (bottom left). It was also a popular motif for ivory models (bottom right). Source (Clockwise from top left): Conner (2013:89)⁵⁹⁷; Peabody Essex Museum⁵⁹⁸; Hong Kong Maritime Museum⁵⁹⁹; and Loewentheil Photography of China Collection.

Canton Factories

On the Kwangtung Map, to the west of the city wall at the harborfront are two houses with an arched roof instead of a gable as on other village houses, marked *Hang Farang 13 Hang* ฝรั่ง 13 ห้าง [foreign factories, 13 *hang*] (12), an obvious transcription of the Canton Thirteen *Hong* dedicated to foreign trade.

From 1760 to the fire of 1822, there were 17 distinct buildings situated along the river, bounded on the north by Thirteen Hong Street. Though owned by Chinese merchants, foreign traders often rented the same building to stay at each year and therefore chipped in to modify the buildings to their likings. Collectively, this row of buildings, some with Western façades,

⁵⁹⁷ Chinese artist, gouache on paper, 81.3x 49.5 cm.

⁵⁹⁸ Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2009): "Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System." Online at visualizingcultures.mit.edu/rise_fall_canton_04/index.html.

⁵⁹⁹ 22 x 55 x 34.5 cm, Hong Kong, Hong Kong Maritime Museum, item no: HKMM2004.0079.0001. Online at artsandculture.google.com/asset/_/QwE4S_nlbaVIIdg.

formed a picturesque panorama that inspired numerous paintings as a visual manifestation of the thriving foreign trade. The factories were rebuilt on the same site after the fire of 1822, only to be destroyed again during the First (1841) and Second (1856) Opium Wars. Then they were moved slightly westward to the manmade island of Shamian, a new colonial enclave, where some of them still stand today as a conserved heritage architecture cluster.

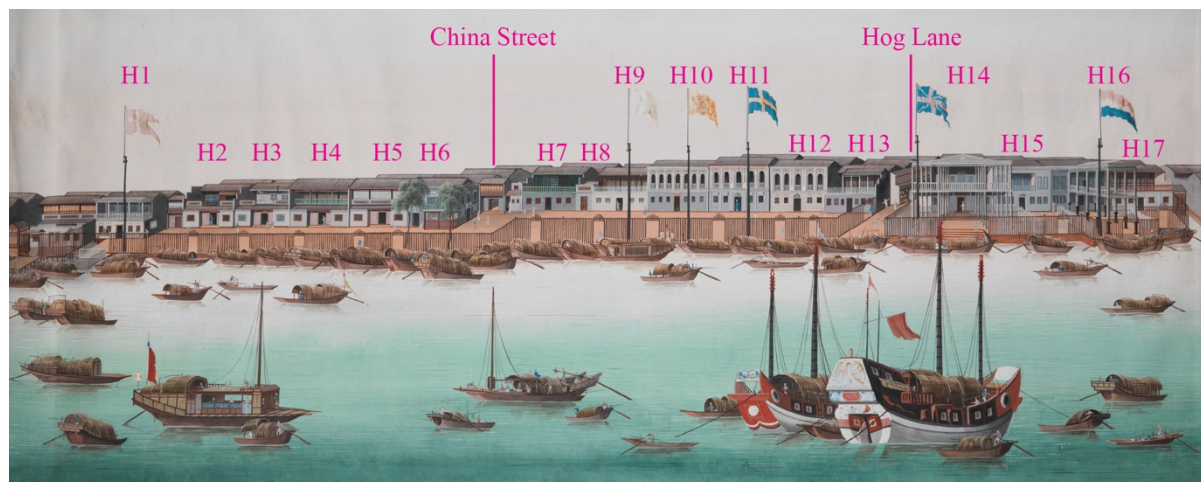


Figure 5.16 Excerpt of the exporting painting *The Hongks at Canton* dated late 1781 by Van Dyke and Mok (2015). The numbers assigned to the buildings follow that in the book *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822* for easy reference. Source: Hong Kong Museum of Art.

In the export painting *The Hongks at Canton*⁶⁰⁰ in the collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art, we see perhaps the exact scene that the poet of the *Nirat Kwantung* would have seen about three months after he arrived at Guangzhou (Figure 5.16). Based on the renovated façade of the Danish factory (H1) – most obviously an newly-added roofed balcony – and a much taller and wider entrance to China Street, Van Dyke and Mok (2015) placed the painting from 1781, the year when both alterations happened. The next year, the Danes would have completely filled in the quay in front of their factory; the French flagstaff would have been moved from the French factory (H10) to Guangyuan Hang (H7); and arched trimmings would have been added to the verandahs of the British (H14) and Dutch (H16) factories. Hence, the painting best fits the scene of the Canton Factories in 1781, more precisely, after 19 October, when the French and Imperialists had both arrived and hoisted their white and yellow flags.⁶⁰¹ The *hong* in each building in 1781 is summarized in Table 5.1.

Coincidentally, 19 October 1781 would have been a memorable day for the Siamese poet as it was the day when the three envoys and their associates, a party of 26 people, bid farewell to their fellow Siamese to begin their three-month overland journey to Beijing. This would have

⁶⁰⁰ Anonymous artist, Hong Kong, Hong Kong Museum of Art, item no: AH2012.0001.

⁶⁰¹ Van Dyke and Mok (2015): 17–21.

been the last time the poet saw the chief envoy, Phraya Sunthon Aphai พระญาสุนทรอภัย, for he soon after died of sickness, on 28 January 1782, a week before reaching the capital.⁶⁰²

No.	Chinese name	English name	Remarks
H1	Huangqi Hang 黃旗行	Danish factory	Both factories were owned by Poankeeque I and II (Pan Zhencheng 潘振承 and his son Pan Youdu 潘有度).
H2	Tongwen Hang 同文行	—	Poankeeque I was head of the <i>hong</i> merchants from 1760 until his death in 1788.
H3	n/a		The painting <i>The Waterfront at Canton</i> (1782) shows the building was occupied but the name of the firm is illegible. It became the Spanish Factory or Lvsong Hang 呂宋行 in 1788.
H4	n/a		The name of the <i>hong</i> is also illegible in <i>The Waterfront at Canton</i> (1782). It became the French Factory, or Jiu Gong Hang 舊公行 in 1789.
H5	n/a		It used to be Taihe Hang 泰和行 owned by the prominent Yan 顏 family, but it went bankrupt in 1779. It had been a powerful <i>hong</i> for 45 years in the Bengang Hang cluster and must have dealt with the Siamese.
H6	n/a		It became the firm Yanzichao 燕子巢 from the 1790s.
H7	Guangyuan Hang 廣源行	—	The <i>hong</i> of the same name went insolvent in 1775 but the building retained the name thereafter. The French took over in 1782 and rented it out to private traders. The Americans razed the building to construct their own factory from the ground up in the early 1800s. From then, it was known as the American factory, or Huaqi Hang 花旗行.
H8	n/a		It had been occupied by Chinese merchants since the 1760s and became the firm Wanyuan Hang 萬源行 in the early 1800s.
H9	Baoshun Hang 保順行	—	The founder of the <i>hong</i> failed in 1779 and his properties were confiscated. But the building retained its name.
H10	Folanxi Hang 佛蘭西行	French factory	The French rented the building from 1750 and sublet it to the Imperial Company from 1779 until they moved to H7 in

⁶⁰² Memorial “Zoubao Xianluo gongshi binggu qingkuang zhe 奏報暹羅貢使病故情形摺 [Report on the death by sickness of the Siamese tributary envoy]” submitted on Qianlong 46/12/17 (30 January 1782) in *Gongzhongdang qianlongchao zouzhe* 宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺 [Palace Memorials of the Qianlong Reign] (1986): 283.

			1782. After the Imperial Company went broke in 1786, the Prussian Company took over the building in 1788.
H11	Ruihe/Xiuhe Hang 瑞和/修和行	Swedish factory	The Swedes rented this building from 1752 to 1805 through the Swedish East India Company, followed by private Swedish traders.
H12	Longshun Hang 隆順行	Old English factory	From 1761, the East India Company had settled into H12 and H14, the former for the ships' people and the latter for supercargos and their assistants.
H13	Ziyuan yi guan 資元夷館	Moors / Parsee / Chow Chow factory	In 1773, the Dutch referred to the building as being both a Chinese <i>hong</i> (a place where a Chinese merchant lived) and the Moors factory (a place where the Muslim traders from India resided).
H14	Baohe Hang 保和行	New English factory	This was the main factory of the EIC, where meetings and business transactions were conducted. The British flag was hoisted in front of this building.
H15	Jiyi Hang 集義行	–	The founder Semqu (Qiu Kun 邱昆) and his partner Ong Tsanqua were active traders with Southeast Asia, but the <i>hong</i> went broke in 1774. The Armenians bought it sometime in the 1780s and sold to the EIC in 1810 for 5,040 taels. The British merged it with H14 in 1815.
H16	Helan Hang 荷蘭行	Dutch Factory	The Dutch rented and maintained this building at their expenses since 1734.
H17	Yihe Hang 義和行	Creek Factory	Foreign traders rented apartments from this building but the <i>hong</i> was dedicated to junk trade with Southeast Asia.

Table 5.1 Summary of the firms in the 17 factory buildings in 1781 when the envoy of the *Nirat Kwangtung* arrived Guangzhou. Source: Van Dyke (2017).

Besides these buildings, there were also other prominent merchants and factories located east of the quay that are not visible in most paintings. Unfortunately, the Siamese poet did not give the name of their *hong* owners. Yet we know they would have come from the Bengang Hang cluster. According to the substantial research made by Van Dyke, factories involved in the Southeast Asian trade in 1781 included Yihe Hang at H17, Dafeng Hang 達豐行, Wende Hang 文德行 and Fengyuan Hang 逢源行, which was later renamed Wanhe Hang 萬和行. *Hong* owner Poankeeque I, as head of *hong* merchants, could also have met with the Siamese as handling tribute affairs was no trivial matter, especially given the Siamese had not sent tribute for the past 15 years.

While it was customary for Western traders to reside in the building of the *hong* they traded with, the Siamese, as time-honored tributary partner way before the establishment of the Canton System, continued to stay in the Huaiyuan yi 懷遠驛, opened in 1405 with 120 rooms dedicated to lodging envoys. Called the old Kong Kuan 貢館 [tributary lodge] in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, it was indeed located on a narrow path outside the walled city (Figure 5.17).⁶⁰³ A lane of the same name still exists near Shibafu Road in today's Guangzhou.

อันเหล่าเจียงทหารใหญ่ในกรุงศรี	A group of high-ranking officers in Kwangtung;
นั้นใส่หมวกจามรีถั่วหน้า	each and every one [of them] wear a hat with tassels;
แวดล้อมเหล่าไทให้โคลคลา	[come] surround the Siamese to escort [us];
ใคร่ผ่านหน้าตีต้อนตะขิงไป	[while] fencing off the passersby to keep [us] moving;
ก็ลุคต่าบลงกวนเก่า	until [we] arrive the district of old <i>kong-kuan</i> ;
สถานทูตเคยเข้าอยู่อาไสรย	where the envoys used to stay.
เป็นตึกครอกอยู่นอกเวียงไชย	[It] is a building on a narrow path outside of the walled city;
ก็เชิญราชสารไว้ที่ควรการ	[there] the royal letter is submitted;
แล้วส่งของที่คุ้มไปขึ้นไว้ห้าง	and the tribute goods [in our] care are sent to be put in the <i>hang</i> ,
ตามร่างเรื่องตราโกษาสาร	following the protocol of maritime diplomacy.
ทั้งสองห้างตามหย่างธรรมเนียมนาน	The two factories [that our goods are sent to] have long followed the tributary custom;
แล้วแจ้งของที่ประธานนั้นออกไป	[the factory owners] then go out to report on the goods received.

In the bilingual *Map of the City and Entire Suburbs of Canton* (1860),⁶⁰⁴ there is a house marked Xianluo gongguan 暹羅貢館 [tributary lodge for the Siamese] not far from the Canton Factories (although by the time the map was drawn, the factories had already been moved outside the city walls to Shamian). The map was one of the first made after the Treaty of Tianjin, when the Qing court granted foreigners full access to the walled city. When we compare this map with the *Shengcheng tu* 省城圖 [Map of the Provincial Capital] in *Guangzhou fuzhi* 廣州府志 (1879),⁶⁰⁵ we see that the tributary lodge is indeed situated in the same location as the Huaiyuan yi. The Siamese must have been regular guests of the lodge to have inspired such a name on the map.

⁶⁰³ Appendix II: 524–534.

⁶⁰⁴ Vrooman (1860): 126 x 74 cm, Canberra, National Library of Australia, item no MAP LMS 636. Online at nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230559586.

⁶⁰⁵ Cheng (1897): *juan* 8, 3–4. Online at repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/islandora/object/cuhk%3A2482790.

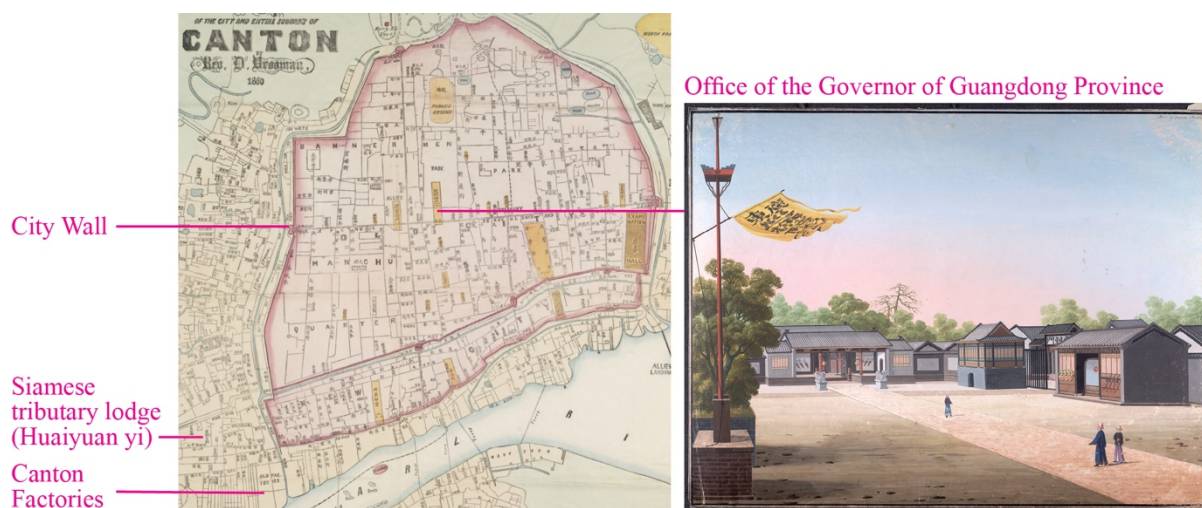


Figure 5.17 The locations of the tributary lodge, Canton Factories and office of the governor of Guangdong on *Map of the City and Entire Suburbs of Canton* (1860); and a painting of the *Office of the Governor of Guangdong Province* (1800–1805) showing the eastern carriage-shaft gate on the right, which faced the western carriage-shaft gate that the tribute would pass through. Source: National Library of Australia; and © British Library Board⁶⁰⁶.

The protocol for the examination of the tribute items from Siam was noted in the *Gazetteer*. While the *hong* merchants were involved as described in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, the place of official examination was not in a *hong* but in the office of the governor of Guangdong, located at West Gate Avenue.

At 7am to 9am on the day, the *zhixian* 知縣 (district magistrate) of Nanhai and Panyu command the *heposuo dashi* 河泊所大使 (commissioner-in-chief of Fishing Tax Office) to go to the tributary lodge to escort the tribute, as well as the envoys and *tong-shi* 通事⁶⁰⁷, to enter the city from the West Gate. [The tribute] is to be placed with care at the *xiyuanmen* 西轅門 (western carriage-shaft gate) of the office of the governor, [while] the envoys are to stand by the accountant's room (a service room) on the outside of the front gate, to wait for the two district magistrates to respectfully request the governor to allow the *zhongmen* 中門 (middle gate) to be opened. The tribute is to be escorted by *tong-shi* and the *hong* merchants to pass through the middle gate and be placed under the eaves of the main hall. *Tong-shi* then recedes to the outside of the front gate. The two district magistrates command the *dianshi* 典史 (district jailor) to invite the officials to don their official robe and proceed to the office of the governor. *Tong-shi* leads the envoys to greet [the arriving officials] with a bow. [Then all] wait for the governor to open court. The viceroy and the governor sit in the middle, while the other provincial authorities on both sides. The envoys, led by *tong-shi*, are to enter from the *dongjiaomen* 東角門 (eastern corner gate) with their entrance announced until the eaves of the main hall and they shall kneel to *kowtow* three times. Seats and teas are [then] granted. All officials get up [to examine the

⁶⁰⁶ Item no. Add. Or. 2130, 54.6 x 41.9 cm, gouache on paper.

⁶⁰⁷ See Chapter 3, Operation on Junk.

tribute]. When the examination of tribute is done, the tribute again is carried through the middle gate to exit through the western carriage-shaft gate. The envoys are to be led by the *tong-shi* to exit from *xijiaomen* 西角門 (western corner gate) to stand outside the front gate to see the officials off. The tribute is to be checked before the *tong-shi*, *hong* merchants and the envoys bring it back to the tributary lodge.⁶⁰⁸

In the case of the mission in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, the viceroy of Guangdong Bayansan 巴延三 and the governor of Guangdong Li Hu 李湖 had no problem with the usual tribute but did not dare to accept the additional tribute as there were “strict delegations not to be violated.”⁶⁰⁹ Together, they memorized the Siamese requests and asked for Emperor Qianlong decision.⁶¹⁰

แต่กำหนดนับไว้ทั้งไปมา	The journey to and fro is counted
นี้ทางม้าขี่สิบเจดราตรี	to be 27 nights by horse;
ผู้ถือสารจึงเอาสารรับสั่งส่ง	the messenger then delivers the royal decree
ไว้กับจงตงคหุหมือ	to <i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> ;
แล้วคัดข้อสารมาภาทิ	and an excerpt of the decree is announced;
ว่าพระเจ้าหมื่นปีนั้นโปรดปราน	stating that the Venerable Emperor [who shall live for] 10,000
	years showed mercy;
ให้ส่งทูตไปถวายอภิวาส	an audience with the envoy is granted;
ตามราชตำราโบราณสาร	following the ancient royal protocol;
กับสิ่งของในคลองบรรณาการ	and the goods within the tributary arrangement are accepted;
นอกหย่างโบราณมีมา	those outside [of the arrangement can be sold] like before.
นั้นไม่รับครั้งจะกลับให้คืนของ	Goods that are not accepted this time shall be returned;
	⋮
แต่ช้างนอนั้นเปนข้อประสงนาน	But the elephant and rhino horns have long been desirable;
ไว้บอกบรรณาการขึ้นส่งไป	those are accepted to be sent [as tribute].
อันจังกอบสินค้ำบันดาของ	[As for] the port tax for the whole shipment;
นั้นปลงปองโปรดปรานประทานให้	exemption has been granted out of the mercy;
ให้นายห้างผูกษาข้าหลวงไท	Factory owners are asked to consult with the Siamese officials;
ตามใจจำหน่ายขายกัน	to sell the goods together as they see fit.

⁶⁰⁸ Liang (1839): 428. 「是日辰刻，南海、番禺兩縣委河泊所大使赴驛館護送貢物，同貢使、通事由西門進城，至巡撫西轅門安放，貢使在頭門外帳房候立。俟兩縣稟請巡撫開中門，通事、行商護送貢物，先由中門至大堂簷下陳列，通事復出在頭門外。兩縣委典史請各官穿公服，至巡撫衙門，通事引貢使打躬迎接。候巡撫開門升堂，督撫各官正坐，司道各官旁坐，通事帶領貢使由東角門報門進至大堂簷下，行一跪三叩禮，賜坐、賜茶。各官即起坐，驗貢畢，將貢物仍先從中門送出西轅門。通事引貢使由西角門出，至頭門外立候送各官回，將貢物點交通事、行商、貢使同送回驛館貯放。」

⁶⁰⁹ Appendix II: 536–538.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid: 542–563.

The meeting took place on 19 August.⁶¹¹ While the memorial submitted by Bayansan and Li does not survive, the reply from Emperor Qianlong does. The decree permitting the Siamese envoys to bring the tribute to Beijing was given on 7 September and arrived in Guangzhou 12 days later on 19 September.⁶¹² Factoring in the time needed for administrative process, it is reasonable to believe that the journey took 27 evenings by horse, as recorded in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. The poet highlighted the delivery time in order to convey a sense of urgency. In the next memorial submitted by Bayansan and Li, on 29 September,⁶¹³ they reverted to the previous decree that was delivered at a daily speed of 600 *li*,⁶¹⁴ the maximum speed offered by the Ministry of War's postal service.⁶¹⁵ Such a high speed was reserved only for matters of grave importance, most often for updates on military conflicts. It showed that the Qing court gave high priority to tributary affairs. From the day the emperor permitted the envoys to come to send tribute, the Guangdong provincial government would issue rice per day for the entire party, including the crew members, for their entire stay in the city, and pay for the travel expenses to Beijing as well.⁶¹⁶ On 18 October, another decree was given stating that the emperor had shown mercy and accepted the elephant and rhino's horn from the additional tribute to be sent as tribute although it did not comply with the protocol. The unaccepted offerings needed not to be carried back to Siam, but could be sold together as part of the tax-free ballast cargo in Guangzhou.⁶¹⁷ The course of event matched the exact description in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. A complete list of the tribute items and rewards from the Qing court is summarized in Appendix IX while the trading aspect of the mission is further discussed below.

Guangzhou/Canton

While waiting for the envoys to depart, the poet had a chance to walk through the streets of Guangzhou and penned down various scenes of interest.

⁶¹¹ Appendix II: 427–431.

⁶¹² *Qing shilu*: Qianlong 46/7/20, *juan* 1137, 201–202.

⁶¹³ *Gongzhongdang qianlongchao zouzhe* (1986): Vol 48, 457.

⁶¹⁴ The value of the distance unit *li* changed over time. In 1908, it was standardized to 1,800 *chi* which equaled to 576 meters.

⁶¹⁵ The only occasion that the speed exceeding 600 *li* per day was employed happened during the Taiping Rebellion in 1864. A speed of 800 *li* per day was commissioned to inform the emperor that the rebels had taken Nanjing. Fung (2009): "Thou Art Understood!": *Ch'ing Court Communication as Reflected in the Palace Memorials*, 33.

⁶¹⁶ Liang (1839): 427–428.

⁶¹⁷ *Qing shilu*: Qianlong 46/9/2, *juan* 1140, 257.



Figure 5.18 Lithograph of a fish market in Guangzhou showing live stocks and a passing litter illustrated by Heine (1856), German edition. Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek⁶¹⁸.

He passed by a big market (Figure 5.18) that appeared to have no end, with live-stock being slaughtered in bulk, yet demand was still not met. He, as a Buddhist, could not help but lament the massive loss of animal lives. When he entered the main street, the first thing he noticed was how well-paved the street was. The bricks were lined smoothly, and the edges were flat and fine.⁶¹⁹ Soon, he was overwhelmed by the variety of merchandise on offer.⁶²⁰

อันร้านรายขายของทั้งสองฟาก	[There are] shops selling various goods on both sides;
ประหลาดหลากล้วนทำด้วยชำลา	[signboards] look exotic as they are all made of plywood;
ประจงเขียนเขียนวาดแล้วชาดทา	carefully trimmed, written on, and painted in red;
ที่ตั้งหน้าตรงร้านกระดานทอง	and right in front of the shop is a nameboard in gold;
เปนวิไสยลูกค้ำบันดาขาย	[as it] is the convention of all commercial business;
จากทุกรายไว้ให้ดูรู้ของ	to write a list of products for [customers] to see.
ที่กระถางทูปเทียนนั้นเขียนทอง	Incense and candles are gilded with gold;
ทั้งเตียงรองหลังลั่นรอนา	[and] stacked on shelves.

⁶¹⁸ Wilhelm Heine (1856): *Reise um die Erde nach Japan an Bord der Expeditions-Escadre unter Commodore M.C. Perry in den Jahren 1853, 1854 und 1855, unternommen im Auftr. der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten* [Narrative of the expedition of an American squadron to the China seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853 and 1854, under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy], Vol 1, 177. Online at opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV014148336.

⁶¹⁹ Appendix II: 434–435 and 452–457.

⁶²⁰ Ibid: 436–447.





Figure 5.19 Gouache paintings (ca. 1825) on shops in Guangzhou selling (from top left) 1. ready-made clothes; 2. silks; 3. silver jewelries; 4. deity statues; 5. gold jewelries; 6. metal goods; 7. tea; 8.

lanterns; 9. theatrical clothes and props; 10. matts and rattans; 11. Sweets and dessert; 12. timepieces; 13. cinnabar paint; 14. alcohol; 15. porcelain; and 16. lacquer. The products and decorations of the shops echo the descriptions in the *Nirat Kwangtung*. Source: Peabody Essex Museum⁶²⁶; and Hong Kong Museum of Art⁶²⁷.

Yet the shopkeepers were not the only ones in the China Street who wished to capitalize on the foreigners. Toogood Downing (1838) recalled that when a customer was seen entering a shop, the door would be crammed with five or six beggars (Figure 5.20), each holding two pieces of bamboo in their hands to beat out the most annoying sound until alms was given. The shopkeepers were used to such a nuisance, but the foreign customers were often rendered half frantic by the sound and would dash out of the shop.⁶²⁸ The Siamese poet had also witnessed such a scene and had been terrified:⁶²⁹

อันยากวันนิพทที่ไปมา	Beggars wandering around;
เที่ยวพิทขจารขอไม่พอกิน	to go ask for alms [for they do] not have enough to eat;
ก็อุบายทำกายนั่นต่าง ๆ	[they do] all kinds of tricks with their bodies;
จะรำปางโดยคูไม่สู้สิ้น	to appear [as if they are] on the verge of the last breath.
บางอุจาทนทำทั้งกายิน	Some smear [their] whole body with dirt;
บ้างนั่งวอนนอนคั่นลงโดยจน	some sit, beg, sleep and writhe to look shabby;
บ้างก็เอามีดสับจับอิฐต่อย	some hurt [themselves] with a knife or brick;
จนโลหิตแดงย้อยไปเต็มถนน	until blood seeps all over the street.
มิได้ของแล้วก็ร้องไม่จรดล	[When] no handout is given, they scream and tarry;
ไปเห็นจนก็ได้ก็คอะนิจจา	seeing such scene makes [one] cry ‘oh dear!’

Little did the poet know that the beggars in Guangzhou were numerous enough to form guilds. Toogood Downing (1838) added:

It is very probably that the Canton beggars are regularly organized among themselves, and subject to laws of their own framing... One company is well known to exist, which is called ‘The Heavenly Flower Society,’ and is supposed to comprehend one thousand members. In no city in the Chinese empire are there so many beggars as in Canton...

When membership was paid, a beggar received a talisman from the guild, to be carried at all times. In 1875, Archdeacon of Hong Kong John Henry Gray paid a visit to a beggars’ guild in Guangzhou, presumably the Heavenly Flower Society. There he saw a set of rules that had been imposed on members, or “Flowery Sons,” since 1836. It included refraining from quarrelling; giving a receipt of alms received to household celebrating marriages or holding

⁶²⁶ Item no E80607.

⁶²⁷ Item no AH1975.0002. Online at

hkmasvr.lcsd.gov.hk/hkmacs_data/web/object_web.nsf/home?openform&lang=en.

⁶²⁸ Toogood Downing (1838): Vol II, 237–239.

⁶²⁹ Appendix II: 514–523.

funerals so that other may not exact more alms; not stealing on the street; not touching fresh food sold on open stalls; and not having debts. He further noted that the members were invited to feast twice a year at the expense of the tradesmen of the city as a reward for protecting them from the harassment of leprous persons, snake charmers, street play actors, beggars who cut their bodies to excite sympathy, and beggars who threaten to expose their naked body in shops to blackmail alms.⁶³⁰ Unwittingly, the poet actually penned down one of the earliest descriptions of the beggars of Guangzhou.



Figure 5.20 Export paintings of mid-19th century showing a beggar (left) holding two pieces of bamboo to beat out annoying tunes to ask for alms; and a Guangzhou lady wearing an orange gown with overturned blue sleeves, a green pleated skirt, a long red sleeveless jacket, and small pointed shoes. Source: © British Library Board.⁶³¹

Another type of character that caught the eyes of the Siamese poet was the ladies of Guangzhou. He admired their beauty but felt sorry for the painful custom of foot binding (Figure 5.20) that was commonly practiced, firstly among gentry families and then later the general population.⁶³²

อันหมู่สาวสุดาผัดซิ่นมาหม้าย	From girls to ladies, matrons and widows;
นุ่งแต่งกายแซมมวยด้วยไม้ไผ่	they all dressed up by inserting a wooden pin into their hair knots;
ที่เยี่ยมยลยูนตึกใน	[they] look sublime on the balconies;
นุ่งอำไภยพิศพริ่งพรายตา	[they are] so beautiful and graceful to look at.
ดูยืนแต่ละหย่างกับนางเขียน	Looking at them standing [it is like] each and every one is delicately drawn by artists;
ทั้งจิบเจียนช่วยชวนเสน่ห์หา	[their] postures are effortlessly alluring;
ผัดกักรพิพพรรณตั้งจันทรธา	[their] powdered faces give a complexion [as fair] as the moon;
ในยนาทวิคแกว่งตั้งแสงนิน	[their] fluttering eyes dazzle like jewels;
นาสิกเสื้องทรงตั้งวงขอ	[their] aquiline noses are as sharp as a hook;
งามคองามคิ้วควนถวิล	[their] gorgeous necks and eyebrows make one yearn [for more];

⁶³⁰ Gray (1875): *Walks in the City of Canton*, 255–260. Quoted in Lo et al. (2011): Vol II, 146–149.

⁶³¹ Item no: Or. 2262, gouache on paper, 27 x 36.8cm.

⁶³² Appendix II: 472–487 and 503–505.

งามเกศดำเพชภูมริน	[their] beautiful hair is as black as a bee;
ปักปิ่นมวยห้อยสร้อยสุวรรณ	[their] hair knots are set with pins with dangling gold pendants;
ปากแดงนั้นด้วยแสงลิ้นจี่เต็ม	[their] lips are red like being dabbed by the gleam of lychee;
เมื่อยิ้มแย้มหน้าชมพิรมขวัน	when they smile [it is so] delightful [that it] lifts one's spirit;
ใส่เสื้องามสามศรีสลับกัน	[their] lovely clothes consist of three alternating colors;
พื้นสุวรรณแวววาววิไลใจ	embroidered by glittering gold [threads] which is exquisite.
	:
ครั้นพิศเบื้องบาทก็เสียดาย	[but it is] pitiful to look down at her feet;
เอาผ้าคาดขึงเหนี่ยวจนเรียวรัด	[which are] tightened by cloth until constricted;
พาวิบคอินทรีให้มีสลาย	bringing deformation to the anatomy.

On the 10th day of the waxing moon of the 11th month, the Year of the Ox (27 September 1781), the envoys were invited to join a ceremony and banquet in Guangzhou to celebrate Emperor Qianlong's birthday.⁶³³ The date fell on Qianlong 46/8/10 in the Chinese calendar, three days earlier than the emperor's birthday on 13rd of the 8th month. Hsu (1940) attributed the discrepancy to the poet's misremembrance. In fact, the emperor's birthday celebration might have been a week-long event – starting three days before the birthday and lasting until three days after – as reported by Pak Chiwon from Joseon Korea, who attended the celebration of the emperor's 70th birthday the previous year.⁶³⁴

Soon after the birthday banquet, on 19 October 1781, the day came for the envoys to depart for Beijing.⁶³⁵ The remaining group carried on trading but not without problems.⁶³⁶

เอากะตัญตั้งระวังผิด	[We] work with gratitude to carefully avoid making any mistakes;
ราชกิจนั้นอุสาห์ไปว่าเนื่อง	in order to say that [we have] done [our best] to complete the royal mission;
ที่ภักดีโดยการก้งานเปลื้อง	that [we have] faithfully fulfilled each task;
ไม่ยักเอื้องกิริยาเหมือนราไชย	[and did] not shirk duties like [Luang] Rachai ⁶³⁷ .
เมื่อท่านยุกระบัดหาปฤษาของ	When the honorable Yukkrabat (judicial officer) comes to discuss the shipment;
ก็ปิดป้องโรคาไม่มาได้	[he] does not show up [in the attempt] to hide his sickness;
เอาอัสัดที่วิบคั้นบอกไป	to be deceitful about such misdeed;
พวงใจอยู่ด้วยรักข้างลักขม	[as he is] anxious about his secret love affair.
อื่ดอกห้องราวทองข้ามชาติ	That slut is a pure vixen, a person with no virtue;
พิสวาคิวามีได้วันวันสม	not a day [were they] not intimately involved;
จนโรคันปั่นทอบค่างอุปทม	until [he is] stricken with a sexually transmitted disease;

⁶³³ Appendix II: 572–577.

⁶³⁴ Pak (1780): *Yorha ilgi* 열하일기 [The Jehol Diary], gwon 22.

⁶³⁵ Appendix II: 626–631.

⁶³⁶ Ibid: 656–675.

⁶³⁷ One of the Siamese officials in charge of the trading affairs. See Tribute Mission of 1781 on page 214.

เสนาหาศาลมขึ้นเต็มตัว	with rashes flaring up all over his body.
ครั้นเขามขมาขออกก็บอกพราวง	When asked or teased, he tries to lie;
จนนายห้างขึ้นชี้ลงที่หัว	until the factory owner points [him] out,
แล้วเขาพ้อว่าเจ้าคุณนี้บุญตัว	[but the factory owner] says that [Luang Rachai] is a person of high rank,
จึงจับได้แต่ไอ้วัวนั้นไปแทน	so Ai Wua (a contemptible person) is arrested in his place.
ทำให้อ่อนวอนความถึงสามกลับ	[We] plead and plead three times;
เขาจึงปรับเอาแต่น้อยก็ร้อยแผ่น	[and] finally the sentence is lowered to a fine of 100 taels;
หากเอาเงินหลวงใส่ไปให้แทน	If [our] state fund is to be handed over instead [of a fine];
จึงได้พ้นค่าแผ่นเพราะทำดี	then [it shall] cost more than [100] taels, so [the Chinese officials did us] a favor.

From the fact that Luang Rachai contracted a sexually transmitted disease, his partner in crime was probably a prostitute. Noble, an EIC officer who stayed in China in 1748, cautioned his fellow Europeans about the dangers of such diseases among the prostitutes, which were, he said, “very common,” and such infections were “infinitely more rapid in its progress and fatal in its effects, than in Europe.”⁶³⁸ When it did occur, he added, Western surgeons could do nothing about it, but the Chinese barber could cure it easily with herbs.⁶³⁹

We do not know the exact punishment for a foreigner being involved with a Chinese woman. Noble said if a European was caught with young women in a boat, he and everyone on the boat must suffer the bamboo.⁶⁴⁰ Peter Dobell, an Irish-born merchant who lived in China from 1798 to 1805, noted that “any strangers found in a flower-boat would not only be punished severely, but also be fined several thousand dollars.”⁶⁴¹ One incident from 1791 could serve as a reference. Three Dutch officers – a captain lieutenant, a constable and a boatswain’s mate – from a VOC ship were arrested and put in chains after being caught with Chinese women. The Chinese authority demanded \$3,000 for the men’s release, but the factory owner Geowqua (Wu Qiaoguan) successfully negotiated the fine down to \$700. The Dutch chief in Guangzhou settled the fine and charged the captain lieutenant \$400 and the others \$150 each.⁶⁴² In the case of the Siamese, Luang Rachai was not arrested, to show enough respect, and the fine was only 100 taels (\$139). It would seem that the Chinese authority handled this particular case with great lenience.

The last part of the *Nirat* was a prayer to plead for a safe voyage home.⁶⁴³ No departure date was given. We know from CMH. R.1 #3 (1782) that the envoy party returned from Beijing to Guangzhou on 1st March 1782 and stayed in Guangzhou to wait for the next monsoon season.

⁶³⁸ Noble (1762): 281–282.

⁶³⁹ Nicol (1822): 102–103.

⁶⁴⁰ Noble (1762): 280.

⁶⁴¹ Dobell (1830): Vol 2, 226.

⁶⁴² VOC 4447 dagregister, 29 December 1791, 1. Quoted in Van Dyke (2020): 233.

⁶⁴³ Appendix II: 680–739.

The Siamese junks that came to pick them up bore shocking news: King Taksin had been deposed due to his cruelty to the people. With King Rama I on the throne, the Bangkok period officially began in 1782.

• The West River

Across the harbor stands the Hong Paotai 紅炮台, or Red Fort (13), on Honam Island. To its west is a place called Huadi 花地 [flower land] on Chinese maps, or Flower Gardens on Western maps (Figure 5.21). It was one of the few places, alongside Honam Temple, where foreign traders were allowed to visit for relaxation in Guangzhou. Otherwise, they were mostly confined to the area around the factories outside the city walls. In 1816, it was stipulated that the British could go across the river for a day trip thrice a month in a group of 10 people.⁶⁴⁴ The toponym Suan Dòkmai สวนดอกไม้ [flower garden] (14) seems to be a translation of Huadi, which marks the entry to the West River, a tributary of the Pearl River, on *Map of The Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1809).



Figure 5.21 (From left) Huadi or Flower Gardens shown on *Map of The Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1817) and Vrooman (1860) *Map of the City and Entire Suburbs of Canton*. Source: © British Library Board⁶⁴⁵; National Library of Australia.

Along the West River on the Kwangtung Map is a fenced residence (15), an archway (16) and a point marked *dan* ด่าน [barrier, or passing point] (17). Similar scenes are also portrayed in the painting album *Landscape from Canton to Macao* (1821–1850) (Figure 5.22)

For instance, a memorial archway called Bijiang paifang 碧江牌坊 is highlighted in the album. Known as *paifang* 牌坊 or *pailou* 牌樓, an archway is a form of ancient Chinese vernacular architecture that serves both as monument and landmark. The standalone structure is commonly seen as a gateway to buildings or public spaces like markets, temples, ancestral halls and government offices. Its central panel mostly carries the name of the place or of the gate itself. It could also be established, only under the assent of the emperor, to honor a person of exemplary virtue, such as having shown loyalty or filial piety. Such memorial archways were monuments of supreme honor for the whole area. While the Ming court granted most memorial

⁶⁴⁴ Liang (1839): 519.

⁶⁴⁵ Item no Or. 2342 B.

archways to meritorious statesmen, generals, and those who excelled in civil examinations, the Qing court put greater weight on praising chaste and filial women.⁶⁴⁶

At Gangkou Fort 港口汛, a staked barrier is seen, used to control traffic and protect the river. Next to the fort is a fenced residence called *Yangshuai fu* 楊帥府 [Residence of General Yang], which bears a striking resemblance to the unnamed fenced residence on the Kwangtung Map. Ordinary houses are signified by a triangular roof, typical of Chinese architecture, on the Kwangtung Map, and only one fenced residence, complete with its own jetty, is drawn. It is indeed premature to decide whether the two are the same place without further evidence. But, to say the least, the illustrations on the Kwangtung Map stay true to landscape in early 1800s.



Figure 5.22 Sceneries along the West River on the *Map of The Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1809) and their corresponding drawings on *Landscape From Canton to Macao* (ca. 1821–1850) that echo the elements shown on the Kwangtung Map. Source: © British Library Board⁶⁴⁷.

The river then leads to several villages marked *ban liang mai* บ้านเลี้ยงไหม [village raising silkworms] and *suan ton môn* สวนต้นหมอน [mulberry garden] (18). Silk production was a common motif in export paintings. In the collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art, there is a set of 12 paintings on the subject (Figure 5.23). In the images, we can see the village is situated along a river with mulberry trees farmed outside the village as food for silkworms. From raising the silkworms to delivering a bolt of silk fabric, the villagers were responsible for all steps. It is not hard to imagine that these scenes were what the cartographer had seen when creating the Kwangtung Map.

⁶⁴⁶ Wang & Duan (2016): “A Study on the Classification and Value of Ming Dynasty *Paifang* in China: A Case Study of *Paifang* in Jinxi County” in *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 15:2, 147–154, DOI: 10.3130/jaabe.15.147.

⁶⁴⁷ Item no Or. 2342 B and Maps C.6.d.2.





Figure 5.23 A set of 12 gouache paintings on silk production. (From top left): 1. Plucking mulberry leaves; 2. silkworms morph into moths; 3. washing the eggs of silkworms; 4. feeding silkworms; 5. dormant period; 6. feeding silkworms after dormant; 7. arranging silkworms on trellises; 8. warming cocoons; 9. reeling silk; 10. spinning silk-threads; 11. dyeing and weaving; and 12. fashioning into dress materials. Source: Hong Kong Museum of Art⁶⁴⁸.

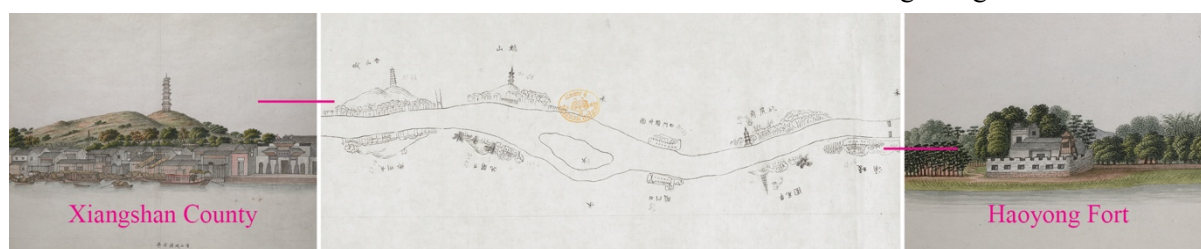


Figure 5.24 Xiangshan County and Haoyong Fort along the West River on the *Map of The Waterways between Canton and Macao* (ca. 1809) and their corresponding drawings on *Landscape From Canton to Macao* (ca. 1821–1850) that echo the elements shown on the Kwangtung Map. Source: © British Library Board⁶⁴⁹.

⁶⁴⁸ Item no: AH1975.0058.001– AH1975.0058.012. Anonymous artist of 19th Century. Online at hkmasvr.lcsd.gov.hk/hkmacs_data/web/object_web.nsf/home?openform&lang=en. A similar set (ca. 1820) can be found in lot 38 of Live auction 18840 China Trade Paintings: Selections from the Kelton Collection at Christies on 7 November 2019. Online at www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6231115.

⁶⁴⁹ Item no Or. 2342 B and Maps C.6.d.2.

Silk was no doubt a celebrated export item in constant high demand. Those of the highest grade or in yellow color were reserved exclusively for the emperor. Each foreign vessel was allowed a limited quote of 100 piculs. In the late 1770s, the price of raw silk varied depending on the quality and the manufacturer. For instance, the Dutch contracted at 190 taels per picul while the Danes paid 275 taels.⁶⁵⁰

At the mouth of the West River were two walled cities, one on each side of the bank: Müang Hiang-san เมืองเชียงตัน (19) on the east and Keng Nüing เก่งหนึ่ง (20) on the west. The former was clearly Xiangshan County 香山縣 (Figure 5.24), which was involved in issuing licenses for Macao pilots and charging tolls. There was, however, no walled city on the west bank of the West River, yet there was indeed a rectangular fort called Haoyong 壕涌炮台. The fort was not far from the small military base called Diyijiao 第一角 [the first corner] on the east bank. It partially echoes the ambiguous Thai name Keng Nüing, in which [*thi*] *nüing* means “first.”

Siamese Trade in Guangzhou

While the Siamese tribute missions were recorded with diligence since the Ming Dynasty, the trading affairs of a tribute mission left virtually no record in today’s Chinese historical sources. Similarly, in Thailand, only a few records on Sino-Siamese trade survive.

In this section, an overview of the imported products from Siam during the late Ayutthaya period is first presented to set a baseline for further comparison. Then the trading affairs of King Taksin’s tribute mission of 1781 are divulged. It is probably the only occasion that the trade affiliated with a tribute mission can be reconstructed. All 11 junks that came for King Taksin’s tribute mission enjoyed a tax exemption. The concession was thereafter limited to the two official tribute junks only. In the 1813 report of a Siamese junk, we can see how private trade was conducted. Lastly, the 1844 report gave us a rough idea of the products imported from Siam after the fall of the Canton System.

• Trade during the late Ayutthaya period

No information can be found in Thai and Chinese regarding the Siamese trade done in Guangzhou during the Ayutthaya period. The VOC, however, has left us a glimpse of the imported products from Siam in the years 1761, 1768 and 1773. For 1774, a complete list is not available because the Dutch supercargoes did not trust the linguist’s report on the junk import that year (Table 5.2).⁶⁵¹ All four years on record were not tribute years, so the trade was probably conducted by Guangzhou-based junks sponsored by the Canton Factories, as evidenced by the low ratio of sappan wood, a royal monopoly, imported: only two out of a total

⁶⁵⁰ Van Dyke (2016): 192–194.

⁶⁵¹ State Archives, The Hague: VOC 4388, 4404, 4411 and 4412, compiled by Van Dyke (2002).

of 34,458 piculs of products. Popular imports include redwood, horn, sea cucumber, elephant tusk and candy sugar. On average, each junk carried 2,300 to 3,300 piculs.

	1761	1768	1773	1774
Number of junks	N/A	2	7	5
Tripangs (Sea cucumber)	4,263			N/A
Black Wood	6			
Arack			300	
Artal	426			
Black Wood		100	500	
Candy Sugar	1,286			
Dried beef	31			
Ebony Wood	14			
Elephant tusk		600	1000	
Gom Lak			50	
Hong-Tsu-pi (a vanish)	8	100		
Horn			10,000	
Pepper		100	500	
Red Wood	563	3,500	11,000	
Salted fish	3			
Sappan wood	2			
Shark Fin		100		
Staart Pepper	6			
Total piculs	6,608	4,500	23,350	
Average piculs/junk		2,250	3,336	
cow hide (pieces)			200	

Table 5.2 Siamese junk imports in 1761, 1768, 1773 and 1774. Source: Van Dyke (2002): 660–665.

- **Tribute mission of 1781**

For the Siamese mission of 1781, King Taksin assembled a fleet of 11 junks to carry tribute and trade items to Guangzhou. On this particular occasion, besides the usual tribute items for the emperor in Beijing and the ballast cargo to be sold in Guangzhou, King Taksin had also prepared additional tribute and bore gifts for Chinese officials.

Among the 11 junks, two were Siamese while the rest were from Guangdong Province. The tribute good were consigned to four junks – two Siamese and two Guangdong - and included the zhenggong 正貢 [main tribute] and the fugong 副貢 [second tribute] vessels (Figure 5.25). The list of tribute items can be found in the Chinese memorial submitted by King Taksin to

Emperor Qianlong,⁶⁵² as well as the Thai translation of the Chinese letters from the Board of Rites in CMH. R.1 #3 (1782). The latter also noted the rewards for the Siamese monarch and the envoys. A breakdown of the tribute sent by the Siamese king and queen, as well as the rewards given, are tabulated in Appendix IV.

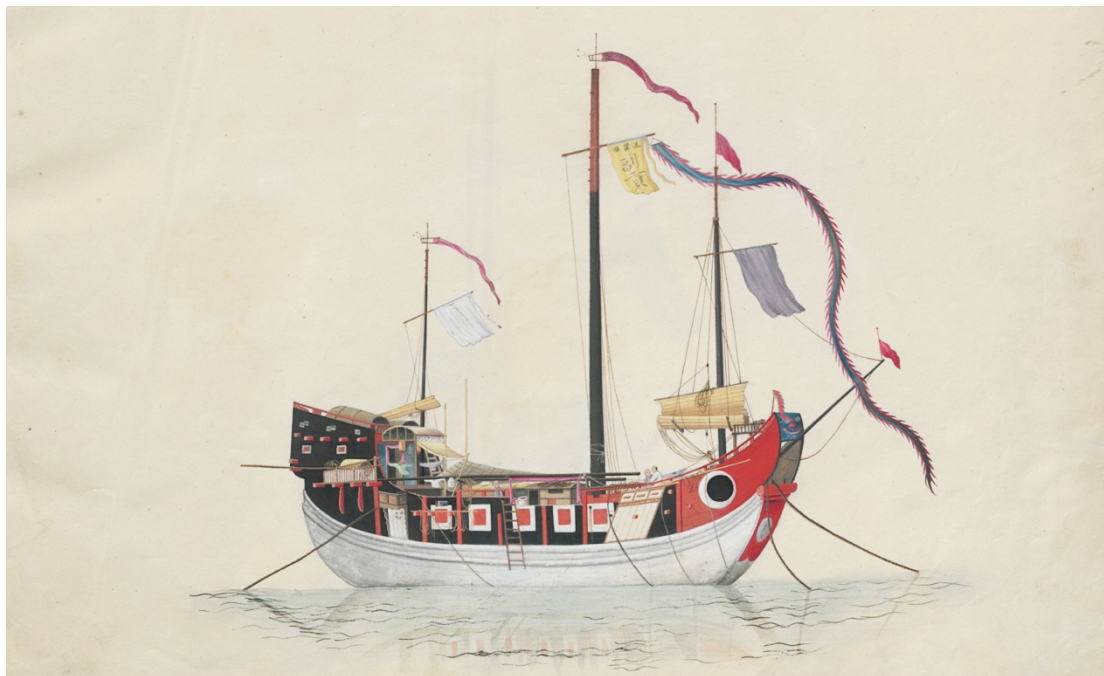


Figure 5.25 A gouache painting (1800–1805) of a Siamese tribute junk. On the flag on the main mast, the words “*Xianluo guo* 暹羅國 [Kingdom of Siam]” is written horizontally while “*fugong* 副貢 [second tribute]” vertically. The junk looks like a regular Chinese junk, except the *tou ji* or bowsprit-sail in the front, a distinct feature of a Siamese junk (see Figure 3.9 for comparison). The people onboard are at ease with the laundry hanging out to dry. Source: © British Library Board.⁶⁵³

The remaining seven Guangdong junks formed a trade party led by Cao Phraya Sri Thammathirat เจ้าพระยาศรีธรรมราช 昭丕雅司哆囉馬蒂辣, with members including the general manager⁶⁵⁴ Phraya Ratchatsuphawadi พระยาราชสุภาวดี 丕雅那史拋滑里, Luang Rachai หลวงราชไชย 朗拉彩, Luang Sriyot หลวงศรียศ 朗司悅, Luang Ratchatmontri หลวงราชมนตรี 朗拉徹汶知, and two chamberlains - Nai Rit นายฤทธิ 乃力 and Nai Sak นายศักดิ์ 乃揀.⁶⁵⁵ This trading party had four tasks: transport the additional tribute offerings; bring gifts for Chinese officials and factory merchants; sell the ballast goods to pay for the envoys’ trip to Beijing; and buy 1,100 pieces of copperware to bring back to Siam. The tasks were noted in a Chinese letter from King Taksin to the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong,⁶⁵⁶ dated Qianlong 46/5/26 (17 June 1781) – the same date as the memorial to Emperor Qianlong. It listed the items intended for

⁶⁵² PMGCA guji no. 030660.

⁶⁵³ Item no: Add. Or. 1967, gouache on western paper, 53.6 x 41.6 cm.

⁶⁵⁴ The position *phra phi liang* พระพี่เลี้ยง carried a duty beyond the literal meaning of a nurse.

⁶⁵⁵ The Thai names were listed in *Cotmai het khwam songcam* and their Chinese transcription in PMGCA, guji no. 031479.

⁶⁵⁶ PMGCA, guji no. 031479.

additional tribute offerings, gifts for Chinese officials and the ballast cargo for sale. The content mirrors a letter from Phra Khlang recorded in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*,⁶⁵⁷ which also mentioned a balance sheet stating the value of the trade items alongside the copy of King Taksin's royal letter to China. In Hsu's article in 1951,⁶⁵⁸ the author referred to the same information and gave a summary of it in Chinese. However, in the National Library of Thailand today, only a copy of the royal letter⁶⁵⁹ remains. The content of these three sources – the Chinese letter to the viceroy and the governor of Guangzhou, *Cotmai het khwam songcam* and Hsu (1951a) – are mostly complementary, yet each contains minute conflicting details. The method of textual criticism was employed in this study to reconstruct the most reasonable content in Appendix IV.

A summarized manifest of the 11 junks is shown in Table 5.3. Since there was no information about the specific allocation of the cargo on each junk, the goods were roughly divided into two groups. The first included the golden letter for the emperor, tribute items and at least 33 Siamese officials. We do not know exactly how many Siamese came but a party of 26 went to Beijing and at least seven stayed in Guangzhou to oversee the trade. The official list of tribute included only two elephants and an extra one was prepared as an additional tribute offering. The elephants were probably transported together via an “elephant junk,” which was slightly smaller than a regular tribute junk⁶⁶⁰, so they were all put together in this group. The second group of items included the additional tribute, gifts for Chinese officials and the ballast cargo for sale, distributed by the seven commercial junks from Guangdong. The background information about the seven junks, including their places of origin, license numbers and the name of the captains, is given, as well as the amount of sappan wood each carried.

The seven junks carried a total of 19,243.96 piculs of goods, which computed to 2749.1 piculs per junk. Thus fell within the range of average piculs carried by junks that traded in Siam in the late Ayutthaya period, as noted by the VOC. It also complies with the findings in Van Dyke (2011) that the average capacity of Guangdong junks was about 2,750 piculs from the late 18th century to the early 19th century.⁶⁶¹

The additional tribute offerings prepared were 10,000 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of ivory, 300 piculs of tin, 1 picul of rhino horn, 100 piculs of gamboge, 3,000 piculs of pepper and one male elephant. As aforementioned, the elephant and rhino horn were accepted as tribute and the rest were to be sold tax-free in Guangzhou like the ballast cargo. The value of

⁶⁵⁷ Krom Luang Narintharathewi (1983): Cremation volume for Princess Wapi Busakom, 162–165.

⁶⁵⁸ Hsu (1951a): 1–17.

⁶⁵⁹ CMH. Thonburi #13 (1781).

⁶⁶⁰ Liang (1968): *Yuedao gongguo shuo* 粵道貢國說 [Report on the Tribute Countries in Guangdong], 152–153.

⁶⁶¹ Van Dyke (2011): 72, 288.

this group of items, according to *Cotmai het khwam songcam*, was estimated at 149,294.25 baht (59,717.7 taels).

	Place of origin	License no.	Captain	Sappan wood (picul)	Other items	Quantity (picul)				
Tribute	Siam	n/a	n/a	45	Golden Letter	1 piece				
	Siam	n/a	n/a		Siamese passenger	≥ 33 person				
					Elephant	3 animals				
					Kingfisher's feathers	900 pieces				
Guangdong	n/a	One of them is Zhang Kehe	Peacock's tail	15 pieces						
			Rhino's horn	9 pieces						
			Western carpet	3 pieces						
			Agarwood	0.03						
Commercial	Chenghai	Cheng 31	Chen Xianhe	2,000	Ambergris	0.015				
					Black wood	4.5				
					Camphor	1.5				
					Chaulmoogra seed	4.5				
					Cinnamon	1.5				
					Diamond	0.00625				
					Formosa sweet gum	1.5				
					Gambier	1.5				
					Gamboge	4.5				
					Ivory	4.5				
					Long pepper	1.5				
Rose wood	1.5									
Sandal wood	1.5									
Siam cardamom	4.5									
Commercial	Chenghai	Cheng 229	Chen Shunxing	2,400	Black wood	300.76				
					Gamboge	100				
					Ivory	100				
					Pepper	3,000				
					Red wood	1,802.20				
					Rhino's horn	1				
					Tin	300				
Commercial	Chenghai	Cheng 435	Chen Wanhe	2,040						
					Xinhui	Hui 752	Yang Chengjin	2,160		
					Chenghai	Cheng 8	Chen Wan	1,320		
Commercial	Chenghai	Cheng 300	Wang Yongsheng	1,320						
					Chenghai	Cheng 323	Liu Shengjin	2,400		

Table 5.3 Manifest of the 11 junks that arrived in Guangzhou for the Siamese mission of 1781, including tribute items, additional tribute offerings, gifts for Chinese officials and the ballast cargo for sale. Source: PMGCA guji no. 030660, 031479, gugong no. 064894; and CMH. R.1 #3 (1782).

For gifts, 1,000 piculs of sappan wood – valued at 4,500 baht (1,800 taels) – was intended for the Minister of the Board of Rites in Beijing. This entails that the cost of one picul of sappan wood was 4.5 baht. The Siamese monarch held a royal monopoly on the product and the price remained the same in 1813.⁶⁶² For the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong, a total of 500 piculs of sappan wood and 500 piculs of red wood was prepared for both. These were worth

⁶⁶² See discussion below on CMH. R.2 #15 (1813).

3,000 baht (1,200 taels) so the cost of one picul of red wood was 1.5 baht. Finally, 100 piculs of sappan wood and 100 piculs of red wood were arranged for each of the four factory owners, adding up to 2,400 baht (960 taels). Yet the gifts were rebuffed by the viceroy who replied that the Qing court upheld straight law and order which allowed no one to receive gifts privately.⁶⁶³

The ballast cargo included 1,740 piculs of sappan wood, 902.2 piculs of red wood and 300.76 piculs of black wood, worth 36,307.625 baht (14,523.05 taels) in total. The viceroy said that the protocol allowed the ballast cargo to be sold without asking for permission and that the cost of the envoys' trip to Beijing was to be covered by the Qing court. The request to buy copperware was declined because copper was prohibited to be exported.⁶⁶⁴

The total value of the additional tribute offerings, gifts and ballast cargo adds up to 195,501.875 baht (78,200.75 taels), which means the cost to buy these products in Siam was about 10 baht, or 4 taels, per picul. Unfortunately, we do not have the selling prices of the products in Guangzhou in 1781 to calculate the exact profit. However, using import and export data assembled by Dalrymple in 1767,⁶⁶⁵ the only detailed list of Canton junk cargo available, Van Dyke (2011) estimated that the average import value for junks in Guangzhou was about 8 taels per picul.⁶⁶⁶ If that was the case, the commercial junks that tagged along on the Siamese mission would have earned a 100 percent gross profit margin on each picul.

In 1786, the Hoppo memorised that around 8,600 taels of duty were waived for the 11 junks of the 1781 mission, and another 3,100 taels for the *tangong* 探貢 [visiting tribute] junk that arrived the next year to pick up the envoys. Two years later, in 1784, a total of 6,500 taels were waived for the two Siamese tribute junks, followed by 3,900 taels for the *tangong* junk the next year. In order to close the loophole that was being exploited by Chinese traders, he suggested to revise the regulations to allow only two Siamese tribute junks – main and second – to sell ballast cargo duty-free. No other associated junks could be exempted from duty.⁶⁶⁷ The suggestion was approved and implemented in the same year.

• Tribute mission of 1813

The tribute mission of 1813 was far from a success story. According to *Yue haiguan zhi*, two tribute junks were sent by Rama II. The main junk, unfortunately, caught fire and - with everyone and everything, including the chief envoy, the royal letter and most tribute items – lost at sea. The second tribute junk arrived in Guangzhou with 10 of the tribute items and a

⁶⁶³ PMGCA, guji no. 031782.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Dalrymple (1793): *Oriental Repertory*, 281–286.

⁶⁶⁶ Van Dyke (2011): 72–73.

⁶⁶⁷ First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館 and Zhongguo guji zhengli yanjiuhui 中國古籍整理研究會 (2002): *Qingong yuegangao shangmao dangan quanji* 清宮粵港澳商貿檔案全集 [Collection of the Commercial and Trade Documents of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao in the Qing Court], 2920–2928.

sick deputy envoy Ji-bi-cha-na-pi-wen-zhi-tu 唧彼察哪丕汶知突, whose condition was aggravated upon learning the fate of the main tribute junk. Therefore, Emperor Jiaqing ordered Chinese officials to transport the tribute to Beijing in his stead and let the deputy envoy stay in Guangzhou to recover before his return to Siam.⁶⁶⁸ The Thai source added that two people from the main tribute junk were eventually rescued by fishing boats.⁶⁶⁹

That year, seven royally-commissioned junks also arrived in Guangzhou: Kim-yuk-sun กิมยุกซุน, Kim-yok-seng กิมยอกเสง, Kim-yong-li กิมยงหลี, Kim-sun-huat กิมซุนหวาด, Yi-sun-kim ยีซุนกิม, imraksa อิมรัชสา and husong หุซง.⁶⁷⁰ Fragmented reports from the junk Kim-yuk-sun and Kim-yuk-seng were recorded in CMH. R.2 #15 (1813), including a brief itinerary, selling situation of the products onboard and associated expenses.

The junk Kim-yuk-sun sailed passed Sam Ròi Yòt mountain on 25 July 1813 and arrived in the outskirts of Guangzhou on 23 August. Due to bad weather, 10 fishing boats were hired to toll the junk upstream along the Pearl River to take sanctuary. The wind continued to be unfavorable after a storm, so the junk decided to stay in Guangzhou and began to sell its cargo on 26 August. In the interim reports of the sales, the products were divided into four groups: sold, unsold, items put on the Kim-yuk-sun junk, and items of *nai krom* ไนกรม [a member of the royal family appointed by the king to run a department], which were put on Kim-yuk-seng junk. For each of the products sold, a detailed breakdown was given (Table 5.4). First, it gave the initial investment in baht and the weight of the product bought in Siam. Then, it showed how much weight was taxed as duty in Guangzhou, the net weight for the sale, the selling price and the revenue. The net weight for the sale was calculated by the initial weight minus the weight lost as duty, and the calculations stand for all products. Theoretically, the revenue should be the product of the net weight for sale multiplied by the selling price per picul. Yet the revenue given did not always match the calculation. The same product might have been sold in several batches with slightly varying selling prices, but the bookkeeper merely put down one price in the report. For instance, the larger logs of sappan wood could be sold for a higher price but such differences were not reflected in the report. The revenue in Table 5.4 follows the number given in the report. The total revenue adds up to 16,891.63 by calculation, but instead 18,200 was written in the report.

Although the duty of each product was levied individually, it added up to around 10 percent of the total weight. The cost of these products in Siam was about 6.2 baht (2.48 taels) per picul, and the revenue was 7.9 baht (3.16 taels) per picul, yielding a gross profit margin of 27.33 percent. The most profitable items were the buffalo and deer hides, followed by *plong*, a Thai

⁶⁶⁸ Liang (1839): 439.

⁶⁶⁹ CMH. R.2 #15 (1813).

⁶⁷⁰ The prefix *kim* กิม corresponds with *jin* 金 in Chinese. In *Xiamen zhi* 廈門志 [Gazetteer of Amoy], *juan* 15, it was stated that: “when a few people jointly opened a store or build a junk, the prefix jin is used. [The practice is seen] only in Amoy, and Taiwan.” Online at ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=738032.

noun of obscure meaning. The junk broke even with meat and rattan but, peculiarly, suffered a major loss with Thai pepper, one of the prized export products of Siam. Crawford noted that the Phra Klang of 1822, Suri Wung Kosa, told him that 40,000 piculs of pepper were annually sent to the royal magazines at eight baht per picul, and could be sold for 20 baht per picul.⁶⁷¹ Yet the cost of Thai pepper in the report was close to 20 baht per picul. Therefore, the number of the initial investment for the Thai pepper might have been wrong from the beginning or corrupted when the content of the manuscript was transferred to paper. If we substitute the initial investment of 20 to eight baht per picul in Crawford's report, then the Thai pepper would yield a more reasonable profit of 41.70 percent. The cost of all products in Siam would be lowered to 5.11 baht (2 taels) per picul, while the overall gross profit margin would increase to 54.64 percent.

Sold Products		Initial investment	Initial weight	Weight lost as duty	Net weight for sale	Selling price	Revenue	Gross Profit margin
		baht	picul.catty			baht/picul	baht	%
Thai pepper	พริกไทย	4207.00	210.39	30.39	180	13.25	2385.00	-43.31
Sappan wood	ฝาง	2624.13	583.15	30.15	553	7.88	*4292.38	63.57
Dried fish	ปลาแห้ง	98.88	11.82	0.82	11	14.40	158.25	60.05
Meat	เนื้อ	3725.63	408.80	28.80	380	10.00	3800.00	2.00
Rattan	หวายตะกร้า	1248.00	236.93	36.93	200	6.48	*1235.00	-1.04
Buffalo hide	หนังกระบือ	240.00	133.03	33.03	100	11.70	1160.00	383.33
Plong ⁶⁷²	ปล้อง	300.75	377.56	27.56	350	2.70	*882.75	193.52
Ivory	งาช้าง	270.50	3.62	0.62	3	144.00	*368.00	36.04
Cardamom	กระวาน	120.00	1.20	0.20	1	189.00	189.00	57.50
Split betel nut	หมากผ่า	1151.25	291	41.00	250	6.66	1656.25	43.87
Deer hide	หนังกวาง	218.13	44.21	4.21	40	16.70	665.00	204.87
Tin	ดีบุก	88.75	2.63	0.13	2.5	40.00	100.00	12.68
Total		14293.02	2304.34	233.84	2070.5	–	*18200	27.33

Table 5.4 Balance sheet of the products sold in Guangzhou in 1813, with the gross profit margin calculated by the author.⁶⁷³ The numbers with * indicate those differ from calculation, but the number given in the report was followed. Source: CMH. R.2 #15 (1813).

The list of unsold products was not available; only an estimated value of 4,800 baht was given. Items that were put on the Kim-yuk-sun junk included 50 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of meat, two piculs of ivory and 15 piculs of tin, said to worth 2,389.25 baht. The items that were put on the Kim-yuk-seng junk by *nai krom* were worth 3,620 baht. If we only focus only on the products loaded on Kim-yuk-sun, which included the sold, unsold and items that were put on the junk, the total is 25,389.25 baht (10,155.7 taels).

⁶⁷¹ Crawford (1830): Vol 2, 113.

⁶⁷² The meaning of the Thai term is unclear, a transcription is therefore offered.

⁶⁷³ Initial weight – weight lost as duty = net weight for sale. Net weight for sale x selling price = revenue. (Revenue – initial investment) / initial investment x 100% = Gross profit margin.

A fragmentary expense report in Guangzhou was also included in CMH. R.2 #15 (1813). The name of the junk was not given, but we know it was not the aforementioned Kim-yuk-sun or Kim-yuk-seng, whose captains were Thian-it เทียนอิด and Ing-cio เองจิว, respectively. It was a junk captained by Tiao-an เตียวอัน. Cushman (1993) translated this part into English but many of the terms remain intelligible (Table 5.5).⁶⁷⁴ Her numbers are also slightly different from those recorded in the typed copy of CMH. R.2 #15 (1813).

English translation	Thai original	Baht	Taels
Port fee	ระวางค่าธรรมเนียม	11,058.00	4,423.20
Fees for entering upstream	เบิกขึ้นใช้สอยเบ็ดเสร็จ	7,823.66	3,129.46
Fees for exiting downstream ⁶⁷⁵	เบิกกลงใช้สอยเบ็ดเสร็จ	8,922.96	3,569.18
Permits / Chops / Licenses	ป้าย	3,704.03	1,481.61
Distribute to Sin-lo	แจกสินโล	4,503.60	1,801.44
Pan-ju used	ปันจูใช้	1,839.34	735.74
Sub-Total		*37,583.48	15,033.40
“bang” (hide?) the value of 6 items	บังราคาสินค้า ๖ ราย	2,813.76	1,125.51
All up and downstream fees	เบิกขึ้นลงใช้เบ็ดเสร็จ	4,995.13	1,998.05
Further distribute to Sin-lo	แจกสินโลเกิน	104.00	41.60
Crew who chose to get paid instead of loading cargo onboard	ลูกเรือไม่ขนของ เรียกเอาเงิน	16.00	6.40
Collect money from crew of Ming-i	เรียกลูกเรือมิงอิ	46.00	18.40
Bang-yong	บังหยง	308.65	123.46
Bang-ta-thao	บังตาเถา	152.69	61.08
Cargo that was left being “bang”	ค่าระวางบังไว้	1,270.50	508.20
Pan-ju used	ปันจูใช้สอยสูง	409.25	163.70
Sub total		*10,039.70	4,015.88
Grand total		47,623.18	19,049.27

Table 5.5 Brief expenses of a junk captained by Tiaw-an in Guangzhou in 1813, the corresponding taels is added by the author. The numbers with * indicate those differ from calculation, the number given in the report was followed. Source: CMH. R.2 #15 (1813).

The first part seemed to be expenses used on the way to Guangzhou while the second part was the expenses paid in Guangzhou. Since the descriptions were brief, not all expenses were clear and could be explained. First, the port fee amounted to 11,058 baht (4,423.2 taels), which was

⁶⁷⁴ Cushman (1993):171–173.

⁶⁷⁵ CMH. R.2 #15 (1813) lists 16,746.62 baht for the fees for existing downstream. However, that causes the subtotal to deviate greatly from the recorded number. In Cushman (1993), this number is close to the total given in combining the fees for going up and downstream. A subtraction of 16,746.62 – 7,823.66 is then made to arrive at the current number.

determined based on the size of the vessel plus a lump sum of 1,950 taels, called the *guiliyin* 規禮銀, known in English as the Emperor's "present." Milburn (1813) gave a breakdown of how the present was calculated in *Oriental Commerce* (Table 5.6). Yet the breakdown was not recorded in any Chinese materials and Milburn did not reveal his source. Van Dyke (2002) cautioned the reliability of these figures as they were reproduced by Morse (1926) in *Chronicles of the East India Company* under the year 1739.⁶⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the breakdown is reproduced here to give an impression of the composition.

Calculation of the Emperor's "Present"	Taels
To the Emperor on the ship's arrival	1,089.64
To the Emperor on the ship's departure	516.56
To the Liangtao (Grain Commissioner) for the poor	132.00
To the Security Merchant's Dispatchador	12.00
To the Writers (Shupan) on measuring the ship	8.40
To the soldiers attending the measuring	5.56
To the Hoppo's soldiers on the arrival of the ship	16.78
To the Fuyuan on the arrival of the ship	2.80
To the Kwanchow Fu (Prefecture of Canton)	2.80
To the Penyii Hien with jurisdiction over Whampoa	1.70
To the Namhoi Hien with jurisdiction over the factories	1.20
To two tidewaiters (preventive officers) stationed by the Hoppo on the ship during the stay at Whampoa	150.00
To the difference of the Emperor's weight, etc	9.36
Total	1,950.00

Table 5.6 Breakdown of Emperor's "Present" listed in *Oriental Commerce*. Source: Milburn (1813).⁶⁷⁷

As for the other part of the port fee charged on measurement, vessels were divided into three categories: small, medium and large. According to Van Dyke (2002), the three rates remained the same from the early 1720s to 1830, after which a slight increase was observed. If we look at his data on the port fees paid by 1,449 Western ships in Guangzhou from 1722 to 1842, a vessel that paid a port fee in the range of 4,400 taels would be a large ship of 1,200 tons.⁶⁷⁸ Given the capacity of an average junk was 250 tons, a 1,200-ton junk might be uncommon but not impossible. Owing to the fixed amount of the Emperor's "present," advantage skewed

⁶⁷⁶ Morse (1926): Vol 1, 268; Van Dyke (2002): 78.

⁶⁷⁷ Milburn (1813): *Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China, and Japan, with Their Produce, Manufactures, and Trade*, Vol 2, 492.

⁶⁷⁸ Van Dyke (2002): 75, 620–627.

towards larger vessels, which paid a smaller port fee per ton. Therefore, some companies like the EIC were sending ships of between 1,200 and 1,600 tons by the 1820s.⁶⁷⁹

The fees for going upstream and downstream were noted as 7,823.66 baht (3,129.46 taels) and 8,922.96 (3,569.18 taels) respectively. It is unclear what these fees included. We know that for going upstream towards Guangzhou via the Pearl River, engaging a licensed Macao pilot was the foremost prerequisite. The exact fee for piloting a Siamese junk was unknown, but as a reference, Western records show that \$60 (83.33 taels) became the standard fee to pilot a Western ship upriver to Whampoa after 1810. The pilot would then hire two sampans to help navigate upstream through shallow waters. In addition, buoy sampans were also commissioned to use a long bamboo to keep sounding shoals on both sides so the pilot could stay on the best course.⁶⁸⁰ Sometimes as many as 50 sampans were hired, depending on the tonnage of the vessel. Each sampan cost \$1 (1.39 taels) for one passage per day. As an example, in 1802, the 1,200-ton ship *Kungen* of *Danmarck IV* [King of Denmark], from the Danish Asiatic Company, paid a total of \$113 to go upstream and downstream.⁶⁸¹ For going downstream, vessels either left via the Pearl River or the West River. The tolls charged on the way were not standardised. In the late 1790s, Westerners complained about the customhouses on the West River passage collecting high tolls at will. For instance, Morse (1926) noted that the EIC paid only \$1,000 (1,388.89 taels) in 1772, but \$9,000 (12,500 taels) in 1791 and even \$10,000 (13,888.89 taels) in 1792 before the toll was dropped to \$6,000 (8,333.33 taels) in 1773.⁶⁸²

The Thai word *pai* ป้าย corresponds to *pai* 牌 in Chinese. It encompasses a variety of licenses, permits and chops. To transverse up and down the West River, a “permit to come to the province 上省執照” and a “permit to leave the province 下省執照” were required. All imported goods also needed to have chops to sell – 10 taels each for most goods except duty-free products like silver. When all debts were settled and the vessel was ready to leave, an exit permit, known as the “Grand Chop,” was needed.⁶⁸³

It is unclear what *sin-lo* สิ้นโล means. But *lo* could be a transcription of the Chinese word *佬*⁶⁸⁴, which would refer to a type of male worker who provided manual labor, such as a cooly.

The amount used by *Pan-ju* ปั้นจู – 1,839.34 baht (735.74 taels) on the way to Guangzhou and 409.25 baht (163.70 taels) in Guangzhou – were spent on repairing the junk. For instance, carpenters were hired for repairing and overhauling the vessel’s cabins, decks and holds, and bracing for the stowage of cargo; shipwrights and sail-makers for the riggings, tackling and sails; cabinetmaker for building and repairing animal cages and pens; and painters for applying

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid: 87.

⁶⁸⁰ Huddart (1786).

⁶⁸¹ Van Dyke (2002): 143–145, 617–619.

⁶⁸² Morse (1926): *Chronicles*, Vol 2, 208; and Van Dyke (2002): 48–51.

⁶⁸³ Van Dyke (2002): 47–48, 101, 113.

⁶⁸⁴ Read *lou2* in Cantonese.

fresh coats of paint and varnish wherever needed throughout the vessel. The workmen were waited on by a crew of Chinese boys – usually young relatives of the tradesmen – who delivered drinks and meals as well as materials and tools needed from the warehouse.⁶⁸⁵

The meaning of *bang* บัง is obscure. Originally the word means “hide” in Thai, but it could also be a transcription of a Chinese word as it would better fit the context of *bang-yong* บังหยง and *bang-ta-thao* บังตาเตา, which are obviously not Thai phrases. Cushman (1993) adopted the meaning of “hide” and suggested that it could be “hush money” to be paid to hide the value of six items.⁶⁸⁶ However, duty was levied on the weight of each product, regardless of its value. That said, smuggling was still a known practice. For instance, some pilots involved in the trade guided vessels to Lintin Island, a smuggling hotspot, before going upriver. The traded articles included official contraband items such as opium and gold, but there were also other regulated goods such as tea, porcelain and silk available to be exported without paying the duties. Fueled by the opium trade, smuggling was established by the 1810s and 1820s, when Westerners could ship all contraband to Guangzhou and sell it directly out of their factories.⁶⁸⁷ We do not know how much the Siamese were involved in this trade.

Only 16 baht (6.40 taels) was paid to the crew members who wished to get cash instead of loading cargo onboard. Most opted for cargo space to bring products of their choice and sell them back home. The literal meaning of *riarai lukrüa ming-i* เรือไรลูกเรือมิ่งอิ is “to collect money from crew of *ming-i*.” Cushman (1993) translated this sentence as sailor’s subscription for *ming-i* (play). It is unclear how she arrived at this translation as *riarai* means “collect” or “solicit” money, the opposite of paying for a subscription, while there is also no reference to the term *ming-i* being a play. Yet, there were indeed theatre boats (Figure 5.26) that performed plays on water. These boats carried Cantonese opera actors, their costumes and props, and also served as living quarters.⁶⁸⁸

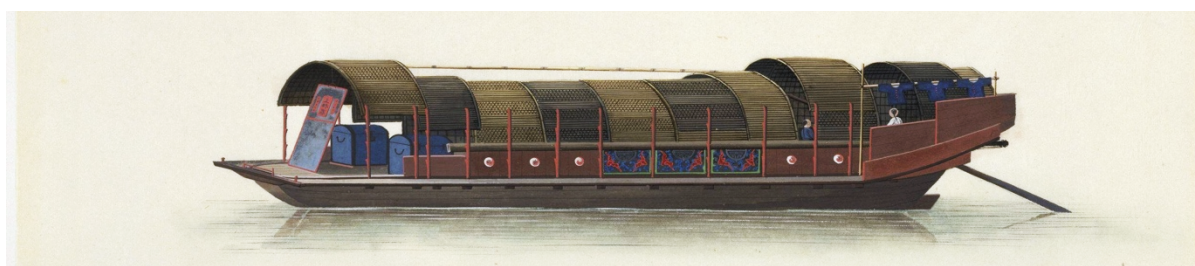


Figure 5.26 Theatrical troupe’s boat (1800–1820). Source: Victoria and Albert Museum⁶⁸⁹.

The expenses listed in this report are rather arbitrary and therefore hard to make complete sense of. We also do not see a payment for food provisions. Westerners had to procure their food

⁶⁸⁵ Van Dyke (2005): 62–63.

⁶⁸⁶ Cushman (1993):171–173.

⁶⁸⁷ Van Dyke (2005): 70, 132.

⁶⁸⁸ Lo et al. (2011): Vol 6, 128–131.

⁶⁸⁹ Item no: 8655:26, watercolor and ink on paper, 38 x 32 cm. Online at collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O91214/theatrical-troupes-boat-painting-unknown/.

during their stay in Guangzhou and for the return passage through a licensed comprador. It should be the same for the Siamese junks that were not on a tribute mission. The title *boei-pan* เบี้ยปัน was listed as one of the positions in the Krom Tha Sai in the Three Seals Law. A transcription of *mai-ban* 買辦 in Chinese, it was “in charge of buying provisions.”⁶⁹⁰

• Trade manifest of 1844

From CMH.R.3 #49 (1844), we know that four junks went to trade in China that year. The square-rigged vessel Thepkosin carried 88 people to Guangzhou on 2 June 1844 while the other three, Sunhong ซุนหอม, Sunha ซุนหา and Cinli จีนหลี went to Shanghai and Ningbo.

Product		Weight		Unit price	Cargo investment	Tax Rate	Total Tax	Investment + Tax
		(picul.catty)						
Sappan wood	ฝาง	4,250.00		1.25	5,312.50	1.00	4,250.00	9,562.50
Thai pepper	พริกไทย	2,044.74		7.00	14,313.06	–	–	14,313.06
Red wood	ไมยแดง	4,582.60		0.98	4,467.84	0.75	3,749.40	8,717.40
		416.80		1.20	500.41			
Cardamom from Pursat (in Cambodia)	กระวานโพธิ์สัต	10.40		220.00	2,208.80	14.00	140.56	2,349.36
Lac	ครั่ง	55.37		8.00	442.96	1.25	69.09	512.17
Dried Betel	มากแหง	15.12		2.50	37.80	1.00	15.05	52.85
Long pepper	ดีปลี	33.52		12.00	402.24	–	–	402.24
Tin (20 Tara)	ดีบุก	60.00		80/tara	1600.00	3.00	180.00	1,780.00
Plong	โปลง	553.15		0.54	297.84	0.33	216.17	613.99
		112.00		0.89	99.98			
Rudder	จังกูด	85	Piece	48/piece	96.00	32/piece	64.00	160.00
			2					
Anchors	สมอ	30	1	36/piece	36.00	5.5/piece	5.50	252.00
		90	3	32/piece	96.00	5.5/piece	16.60	
		120	4	20/piece	80.00	4.5/piece	18.00	
Sub-Total		12,458.14			29,991.42		8,724.27	38,715.69
Expense	Pay salary							5,536.88
	Misc.							
Total								44,252.56

Table 5.7 Manifest of the Siamese vessel Thepkosin destined for Guangzhou in 1844. Source: CMH.R.3 #49 (1844).

⁶⁹⁰ See Chapter 3.

By that time, Guangzhou was no longer the sole port for foreign trade. Following the defeat of the Qing court in the first Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking, signed in 1842, stipulated the opening of Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou and Xiamen as additional trading ports. This effectively ended the Canton System that had been in place for 85 years. Siamese junks were thenceforth dispatched to these cities.

The list of products carried by Thepkosin and their purchasing price with tax in Siam is summarized in Table 5.7. Some of the products, such as Thai pepper and long pepper, were tax-free. The average cost for the products, excluding the rudder and anchor, was 3.16 baht (1.26 taels) per picul. Unfortunately, the import price of these products in Guangzhou in 1844 is yet to be found. Hence a calculation of the profit is not possible.

The CMH.R.3 #49 (1844) also includes a list of products to be procured in Guangzhou for Nai Kaeo นายแก้ว and Cao Khun เจ้าคุณ. For the former, a series of construction materials were ordered, including stone in different shapes, colors, sizes and patterns; a big Chinese-style incense-burner; junks, animals and figures made from glazed tiles – such as peacocks, pigs, buffalo, men, women, children, nobleman and commoners in standing, sitting and sleeping forms; Chinese roof tiles; brass lamps and flags with different symbols like a yellow tiger with wings or a dragon; silks and fabrics. It looks like the materials requested were meant for building or renovating a Chinese temple. The figures requested were probably products of Shiwan kilns, famed for producing figures in colored glazes. Cao Khun – which refers to a person of Phraya rank or a Lord Abbot of a monastery – commissioned to make several pedestals in silver and copper, as well as a pair of gold-plated eyeglasses suitable for a person aged 60. The list is a rare example of the desired products from Guangzhou.

Discussion

• The Kwangtung Map

The map shows the landmarks that were relevant to Siamese junks within the Canton System (1757–1842). At the entrance to the Pearl River, it first shows Wanshan Archipelago (1) in the top right corner. The city of Macao (2), a peninsular, is drawn as an island in the middle of the estuary, probably because it was administratively run by the Portuguese. Along the Pearl River, Müang Thali-nguan (3), located in the area of today's Hong Kong, is not identifiable. Yet Dongguan County (5) and Huangpu (6) are clearly marked, as well as a canal to Donglong County (7). The important strategic stronghold of Humen (4) is not named but its unique topographic features are illustrated. At Guangzhou harbor, Haizhu Fort (8) stands prominently in the water, facing the Canton Factories (12) in front of the walled city of Guangzhou (11). Flanking the city on both sides are two forts, Dongshui Fort (9) and Xining Fort (10), commonly known as the East and West Forts. The Red Fort (13) sits across the harbor. The West River can be entered via Huadi (14). Scenic sights like a fenced residence (15), an

archway (16), a staked barrier (17) and villages with mulberry gardens for raising silkworms (18) are depicted on the way downstream to Xiangshan County (19). The identity of the last walled city - Keng Nüng (20) - in the bottom right corner is obscure, but it might be a combination of Haoyong Fort and the name of the nearby military base Diyijiao. Out of the 10 named places on the entire map, two are unrecognisable. It is unclear whether these two place names are corrupted or unique to the Siamese.

We know that the area was carefully mapped by both Chinese and Westerners. Yet there is not enough evidence to judge whether the cartographer of the Kwangtung Map referred to other maps during the creation of his map given the obscure toponyms and abstract depiction of the area. For instance, Huangpu was well-known as an island, but it is merged with the mainland along the West River on the map. That said, as discussed in Chapter 2, geographic accuracy was hardly a prerequisite in indigenous Siamese mapping tradition.

The details on the map, on the other hand, suggest that the cartographer had indeed been to Guangzhou or had at least studied paintings of the city and its surroundings closely. In the Swedish National Maritime Museum is a collection of four paintings, two of which show the harbors of Guangzhou and Huangpu. The paintings were part of an album brought to England by the Secretary of the Royal Society Charles Brian Blagden in the late 18th century. Van Dyke and Mok (2015) dated the harbor scene to 1780 or 1781. It bears great similarity with the Kwangtung Map (Figure 5.27). One interesting observation is that while the Kwangtung Map is oriented with East on top, the harbor scene area is drawn with North on top, like most export paintings.



Figure 5.27 Comparison of the ink painting *Kina, Kanton* [China, Canton] (1780–1781) with the harbor scene on the Kwangtung Map. In the middle of the harbor is Haizhu Fort (8), facing the Canton Factories (12) in front of the walled city of Guangzhou (11). Flanking on both sides are the East (9) and West Forts (10) while the Red Fort (13) sits across the harbor on the Honam Island. Source: Swedish National Maritime Museum⁶⁹¹; and Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

In the area of Huangpu on the Kwangtung Map, there is a tollhouse with three pagodas. Although the pagodas are not named, they are not inserted for aesthetic purposes. In the

⁶⁹¹ Item no: S6095, 55.3 x 39 cm, ink on paper. Online at digitaltmuseum.se/011024830309/kina-kanton.

painting *Kina, Whampoo* [China, Whampoa], we can see the tollhouse on the island of Huangpu, close to the anchorage for foreign ships, and three pagodas on the way to Guangzhou, serving as navigation landmarks (Figure 5.28). This reflects that the details on the Kwangtung Map are based on realistic information, although little weight was put on geographic accuracy. Furthermore, as previously discussed, the illustrations of some features like the Whampoa Pagoda, East Indiaman and fenced residences are true to life, albeit drawn with simplicity. It is hard to imagine that the cartographer could recreate such scenes without studying them with his own eyes.

The illustration on the map certainly exudes a Chinese flair, especially the depiction of buildings and mountains, which resemble those in *Yue Haiguan zhi* (1839). The sea creatures, however, are akin to those drawn on *Samutphap Traiphum*, a genuine Siamese tradition. The map might not have been created by a single person but by a team of scribes and drawers. The cartographer in charge, however, was probably bilingual and had visited Guangzhou.

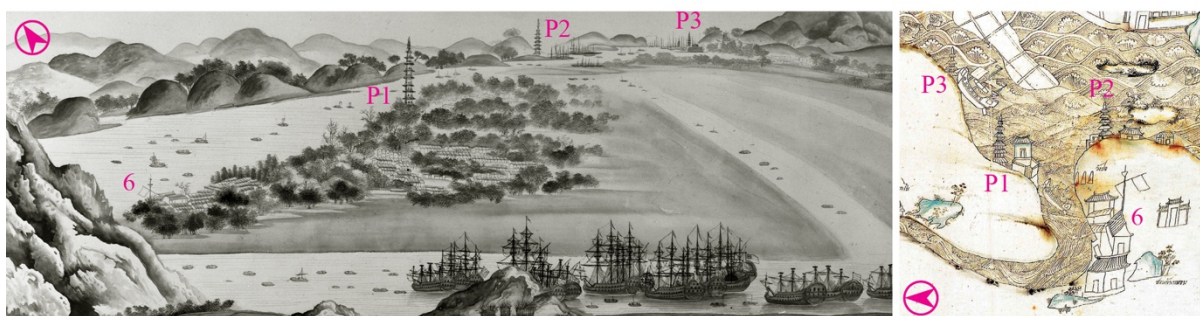


Figure 5.28 Comparison of the ink painting of *Kina, Whampoo* [China, Huangpu] (1780–1781) with the area of Huangpu on the Kwangtung Map. The Huangpu tollhouse (6) is shown along with three pagodas (P1-P3). Source: Swedish National Maritime Museum⁶⁹²; and Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

The poetic travelogue the *Nirat Kwangtung* offers a personal perspective that deeply enriches the interpretation of the map. Through the poet's stimulating descriptions, not only can we better visualize the landscape depicted on the map, we also get a first-hand account of the happenings at different sites. The toponyms then become much more alive than mere texts on a map. For instance, historical records tell us that security at Humen was tight, with a large number of forts, cannons and soldiers. The poet enlightens us from another perspective: the Siamese delegates even had to undress for a full body inspection so the Chinese officials could note down unique physical appearances next to their names. The overlap between the *Nirat Kwangtung* and the Kwangtung map may be limited, but the implications are significant.

However, the two sources cannot be fully explained without the help of export paintings. In an era prior to the invention of photography, these paintings truthfully reflected the essence of the

⁶⁹² Item no: S6096, 55.3 x 39 cm, ink on paper. Online at digitaltmuseum.se/011024830310/kina-whampoo.

landscape and the daily life of people in Guangzhou and help clarify ambiguous details in Thai sources. For the *Nirat Kwangtung* in particular, the scenes or events described could be collaborated with many of the export paintings. Perhaps the cartographer and the poet had both seen the export paintings during their time in Guangzhou. Since foreigners were not allowed full access to the city, the places they could and would visit were more or less the same. The scenes and events recorded in the export paintings reflected their shared experiences.

The hermeneutics approach used to interpret the Kwangtung Map and the *Nirat Kwangtung* has proven to be fruitful. If the Kwangtung Map is seen as the backbone of the story of the Siamese in Guangzhou, and the *Nirat Kwangtung* the meaty flesh, the export paintings would be the tendons that tightly connect the two.

- **Siamese trade in Guangzhou**

The trade activities of the Siamese in Guangzhou left few traces in the extant records. The bits and pieces gathered in this research allow us to glimpse the trade in different eras but by no means represent a full picture.

The mission sent by King Taksin in 1781 presented an interesting case study. Although he was fully aware of the straight protocol for tribute submission, he still arranged a large quantity of “additional tribute.” Take Sapa wood as an example: 45 piculs were sent as tribute while another 10,000 piculs were prepared as additional tribute. It was rather obvious that the Qing court had a slim chance of accepting such a large quantity of additional tribute as the reward granted must exceed the tribute in value as a rule of thumb. King Taksin anticipated that the Qing court would allow him to sell these products in Guangzhou, which was exactly what he planned for. Under the pretense of additional tribute, he could enjoy tax-free trading in Guangzhou at a volume so much larger than the usual ballast cargo. His intention could be validated by the fact that the additional tribute items were put under the charge of the trade team in Guangzhou instead of the envoy team going to Beijing. His plan worked out. The bold move possibly earned him 100% profit on the Siamese products. Right after this mission, the Qing court plugged the loophole by mandating that only the two official tribute junks were allowed to be exempted from tax.

The 1813 trade document is the only one we have on the royally commissioned private trade to Guangzhou, and also the only one listed with the buying price in Siam and selling prices in Guangzhou for some products that allowed us to calculate the exact profit. Although the list is incomplete, it is enough to gauge the profit gained, possibly only half of what King Taksin’s tribute mission enjoyed. Unfortunately, the list of expense is far too simple for a better understanding of the charges that a Siamese junk was required to pay for trading in Guangzhou.

The last trade document, from 1844, gives us an idea of the products that were traded in Guangzhou, when the Canton System had collapsed upon the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing.

Since we have no information on the prices of imported products in Guangzhou after the fall of the system, it is not possible to calculate the profit made. However, we can see that the signature Siamese products like sappan wood and Thai pepper, alongside cardamom from Cambodia, were still brought to sell in large quantities, seemingly unaffected by the opening of other treaty ports. The peculiar list of items, such as a pair of glasses, requested by the sponsors to be bought in Guangzhou also reflect the international city's unique edge over the other treaty ports.

This research merely aims to introduce the Thai records into the discussion within the Canton System. There remains much to be explored on Siamese trade in Guangzhou through the traces left in foreign archives.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

“As the junk drifts along the market canal;
 overwhelmed, [I] turn around [for a last glance at the city] and tears come falling;
 [moving] further away from home, away from amicable friends;
 as if affinity shall now be absent from my life.

Oh my happiness, my pleasure!

From now on until [we] meet again, [I shall] count the days,
 and months, [which will] turn into years;
 [I shall] persevere to sit through the misery.”

The Nirat Kwangtung (1781)⁶⁹³

It was with this heavy heart that the poet of the *Nirat Kwangtung* embarked on a month-long voyage from Siam to China in 1781. His poignant words truthfully captured the voices of all those who had made the same voyage from the Siamese capitals of Ayutthaya, Thonburi and later Bangkok, to Guangzhou, China, for over four centuries, voices that are rarely heard in the field of today’s historical research due to a lack of first-hand materials in Thai. Their blood, toil, tears and sweat were often reduced to brief notes of statistics and stereotypes in foreign records.

Given the scarcity of Thai documents available for the study of the maritime history of Siam, this dissertation has presented a modest attempt to examine the subject from a regional perspective using unconventional sources to put the hitherto faint Siamese voices center stage. Three indigenous Siamese maps were analyzed in conjunction with a Thai poetic travelogue to reveal the maritime cultural landscape between the Siamese capitals and Guangdong Province, China, from the 17th to the 19th century.

Although the Coastal Map is found in the Buddhist manuscript *Samut Phap Traiphum*, it is in nature a geographical map. Such an intention is clear when the map is juxtaposed with the Tamnan Map in the same manuscript, which is essentially a religious map. The Coastal Map represents an update on geographic information within Buddhist cosmography. It records, in particular, the trade networks between Siam and other countries from roughly around 1600 to the 1650s. Considering the long-time trade relations between Siam and China, the map shows a surprising apparent absence of Chinese references. The minimal Chinese influence in the court of Ayutthaya might be attributed to the sea bans issued during the dynastic change from Ming to Qing in China during the first half of the 1600s, which did not allow traders to leave the country. Indigenous knowledge was then blended with new Portuguese and Dutch

⁶⁹³ Appendix II: 60–67.

information to create the map. It is not possible to pinpoint the date of the map's creation, which has been passed down by copying the manuscript. All we can say for sure is that the last update was made after Nagasaki became the sole authorized Japanese port for international trade in 1641. Later, in 1771, King Taksin used the Coastal Map as a base for the Navigation Map of Siam to be submitted to Emperor Qianlong in the hope of gaining the Qing court's endorsement as king of Siam and to garner military support to help fight the Burmese. The Navigation Map of Siam is stripped of any *traiphum* references, despite the fact that King Taksin was known to be a dedicated Buddhist. This suggests that the Siamese were able to extract pure geographical information from the religious context by the 1770s.

Another big leap in Siamese cartographic development is witnessed on the China Map. It represents an adaptation of indigenous knowledge on top of Western cartographic techniques, an important transition phase towards modern cartography. The cartographer was probably a Thai-Chinese of Chaozhou origin, who put his hometown in the center of the map. The toponyms are Thai transcriptions of the Teochew pronunciation of ancient Chinese toponyms used since the Ming dynasty. The sailing routes, expressed in Chinese compass points with the Thai distance unit *yot*, also coincide with the routes noted in Chinese rutters, matching particularly well the information on the Yale Maps used in the 1840s. From Chao Phraya River, the junks would use the Sam Roi Yot Mountain range as a distinct landmark and sail across the Gulf of Thailand to Hon Khoai, where they would turn sail to the east and look for the Con Dao Islands. Then, hugging the coastline of the Indochina Peninsula until Cu Lao Re, the junk would again brave the open sea and avoid the dangerous waters around the Paracel Islands, with the aim of sailing along the east side of Hainan Island to reach the Wanshan Archipelago, the entrance to the Pearl River, leading on to Guangzhou. The China Map serves as a vivid record of the dissemination of nautical knowledge in the region. Meanwhile, the poetic travelogue *Nirat Kwangtung*, as well as other foreign travelogues, offered first-person descriptions of the landscape, dangers and customs practiced by the mariners en-route, giving us an intimate impression of the dangerous yet rewarding voyage to China. It was found that Chinese and Thai-Chinese sailors prayed and made sacrifices, led by the incense-keeper on board, at particular places they considered spiritual all across the South China Sea. Furthermore, those who frequented Siam worshiped at additional sites in the Gulf of Thailand.

By the 1800s, the system and officials involved in the maritime trade in Siam had been well established, following the legacy from Ayutthaya. The positions and their duties are listed in the Three Seals Law, compiled by order of Rama I in 1805. Most of the titles were derived from a Chinese equivalent as they were appropriated from the labor of division on Chinese junks. On a Siamese junk, the supercargo was the person of the highest rank, followed by the navigator and the chief bookkeeper. Supercargo had the ultimate control over the sales in Guangzhou, he, usually a Chinese or a Chinese descendent, would be the one who penned the

reports to his patrons, usually royals, regarding the sales. Meanwhile, we also see examples of the chief bookkeepers, often a Siamese, reporting on the sales directly to the patrons when he had disagreements with the supercargo. The letters also show that the Siamese-commissioned junks that went to Guangzhou to trade in the same season were operated by a close circle of crews, usually relatives of each other.

The Kwangtung Map reflects the importance of Guangzhou, the city that the Siamese had travelled to for centuries to send tribute and later conduct private trade. The relevant stops for the Siamese junks within the Canton System are highlighted in the map, yet offering practical navigating directions was not the priority. A greater weight is placed on the aesthetic value as the illustrations on the map highly conform with the export paintings in the 1800s, which were popular souvenirs made by Chinese artists for foreigners in Guangzhou.

The Siamese presence in Guangzhou has been an understudied subject. The tribute they sent is well documented but little is known about their trading activities on site. The *Nirat Kwangtung* shows us the entire process: from preparations in Siam, the voyage across the South China Sea, to the submission of tribute and the trade done in Guangzhou. What is missing from the poetic travelogue is supplemented by the Chinese memorials submitted by King Taksin and the Siamese letters from Phra Klang left in the archives. These materials allow us to reconstruct, for the first time, a tribute mission, including its trading aspect. It serves as an exemplar to introduce the Siamese into the discussion of the Canton System.

The three Siamese maps studied reflect the integration of Chinese – those from Chaozhou in particular – into Siam. On the Coastal Map, we see few Chinese references, which imply the ethnic group had minimal influence in the court of Ayutthaya despite these diasporas working for the kings of Siam for many years. The sea bans in China and internal politics in Siam had whittled down their power. However, with King Taksin emerging victorious after the fall of Ayutthaya, the Chinese, especially those from Chaozhou, hometown of the king's father, were appointed to facilitate communications between Siam and the Qing court of China. The group soon climbed the ladder and dominated trade with China, which prompted the creation of the China Map. At the same time, the Kwangtung Map highlights the importance of Guangzhou as the designated city for tribute and trade in China.

Maritime Cultural Landscape between Siam and China: New Sources

To expand the study of the maritime history of Siam, one approach proven feasible in this research is to view the entire space where these maritime activities took place as a maritime cultural landscape. This would include all elements that reflect human activities related to the sea, be they tangible, like ports and fortifications, or intangible, like toponyms and customs. We can then go beyond the conventional documentary research to involve multidisciplinary sources.

The Siamese were hardly seafarers themselves and the royals relied on different groups of traders to conduct their overseas trade. The Chinese diaspora naturally became the dedicated group that managed trading to the east. It is therefore not hard to understand why the Siamese shared the same wealth of nautical knowledge with the Chinese, especially in the 1800s. Such a discovery would not have been possible if the regional space was not considered a shared maritime cultural landscape, and the China Map would not have been able to be decrypted.

This study also demonstrated that the literature genre of *nirat*, or poetic travelogue, can be viable for historical studies. The case is especially true for the *Nirat Kwangtung*, in which the factual descriptions are verifiable by Chinese historical sources and export paintings. Another unique aspect of a *nirat* is the rich emotions that it carries. Oftentimes, historical research focuses on objective facts and relegates feelings and opinions. However, it is precisely the emotions and sentiments described in the *nirat* that remind us of the hard work endured by our study subjects in the past to attain remarkable achievements. It brings a personal perspective to the narrative that helps amplify the gravity of historical events as they happened. Therefore, although a *nirat* is officially a type of literature, it bears great potential to be considered a viable source for historical studies.

Export paintings, in this research, have been a pivotal supplementary source that facilitates the hermeneutic interpretation of the indigenous maps and the poetic travelogue. These paintings have previously been used to study the operations and changes of the Canton Factories and the depictions have found to be highly accurate and realistic. When compared against the scenes on the Kwangtung Map and in the *Nirat Kwangtung*, the paintings are enlightening. The ambiguous details become crystal clear immediately. Foreigners could only access limited parts of the city, which included one shopping street near the Canton Factories and, under escort, some administrative buildings inside the city walls. Their experience of the city, and subsequently their records, might therefore be similar. Another possibility is that the cartographer and the poet had been inspired by the typical export paintings which painted scenes of interest for foreigners to take home as souvenirs. In any case, the Thai sources are insightfully explained in this research by dint of export paintings.

The Study of Indigenous Maps of Southeast Asia

Indigenous maps that are not drawn to the conventions of Western cartography have long been marginalized and branded ‘inaccurate’ for their arbitrary geographic depictions of geographical phenomena. However, with the definition of maps being updated to put the emphasis on spatial relationships instead of an absolute graphical representation, indigenous maps can then be examined in a new light. Such an endeavor also falls within the broader call for paradigm revision in historical studies, recognising that conceptions of space, and thus cartography, had been interinfluenced.

Several studies have been done on the indigenous Burmese and Vietnamese maps in recent years, yet the field is still in its infancy. A secular mapping tradition of Southeast Asia has yet to be established while indigenous Siamese maps have yet to receive much scholarly attention. There have been virtually no new publications exploring the subject since the introduction of the 17 indigenous maps found in the Grand Palace in Bangkok in the book *Royal Siamese Maps: War and Trade in Nineteenth Century Thailand* (2004).

Since each indigenous map is created out of different intentions and not to universal standards, it is hard to analyse them using the conventional Western approach. However, the fundamental principles of the study of cartography still apply. In this research, the Siamese maps are subjected to examination in three aspects: their nature, the factors that shaped their making and transmission, and their role within Siamese society. It should be born in mind that while Western maps are mostly intellectual and have one purpose, the Siamese indigenous maps could be simultaneously intellectual and spiritual they were created based on the cartographer's knowledge and perspective instead of geographic survey. Unlike in the West, where maps have been constantly produced and printed for the public since the 1400s, maps in Siam were exclusive products reserved for the royals and the elites. Hints can be drawn from the orientation, the toponyms or the illustrations of the map to determine the intended audience, and thereby the map's role within the society.

Unfortunately, the material aspect of the three Siamese maps, like the paper, cotton and pigments used, cannot be physically or chemically analyzed within the scope of this research. This information may have potentially led us to the physical process of map production at the court of Siam, which as yet remains entirely unknown.

The understudied field of the indigenous cartography of Southeast Asia presents numerous opportunities for future research. Only two out of the 17 maps found in the Grand Palace have been explored in this research. Other maps covering different parts of Siam and neighboring countries like Laos, Burma, Malaysia, Cambodia and Vietnam are worthy of in-depth study to reveal their sources and intentions. Meanwhile, the Siamese and Burmese maps of the 1800s show some obvious stylistic similarities, such as being drawn in ink on cotton. A comparison of the mapping techniques between the two cultures also warrants further research and might possibly serve as a baseline to establish a vernacular mapping tradition of Southeast Asia.

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Appendix I Maps



Figure I.1 The Coastal Map in *Samut Phap Traiphum* II650 (1776), ca. 138 x 51.8 cm, paint on *khôi* paper. Source: © Berlin State Museums, Museum of Asian Art, Photo: SBB-PK Hagen Immel.



Figure I.2 The China Map (ca. early 1800s), 417 x 172 cm, ink on cotton. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

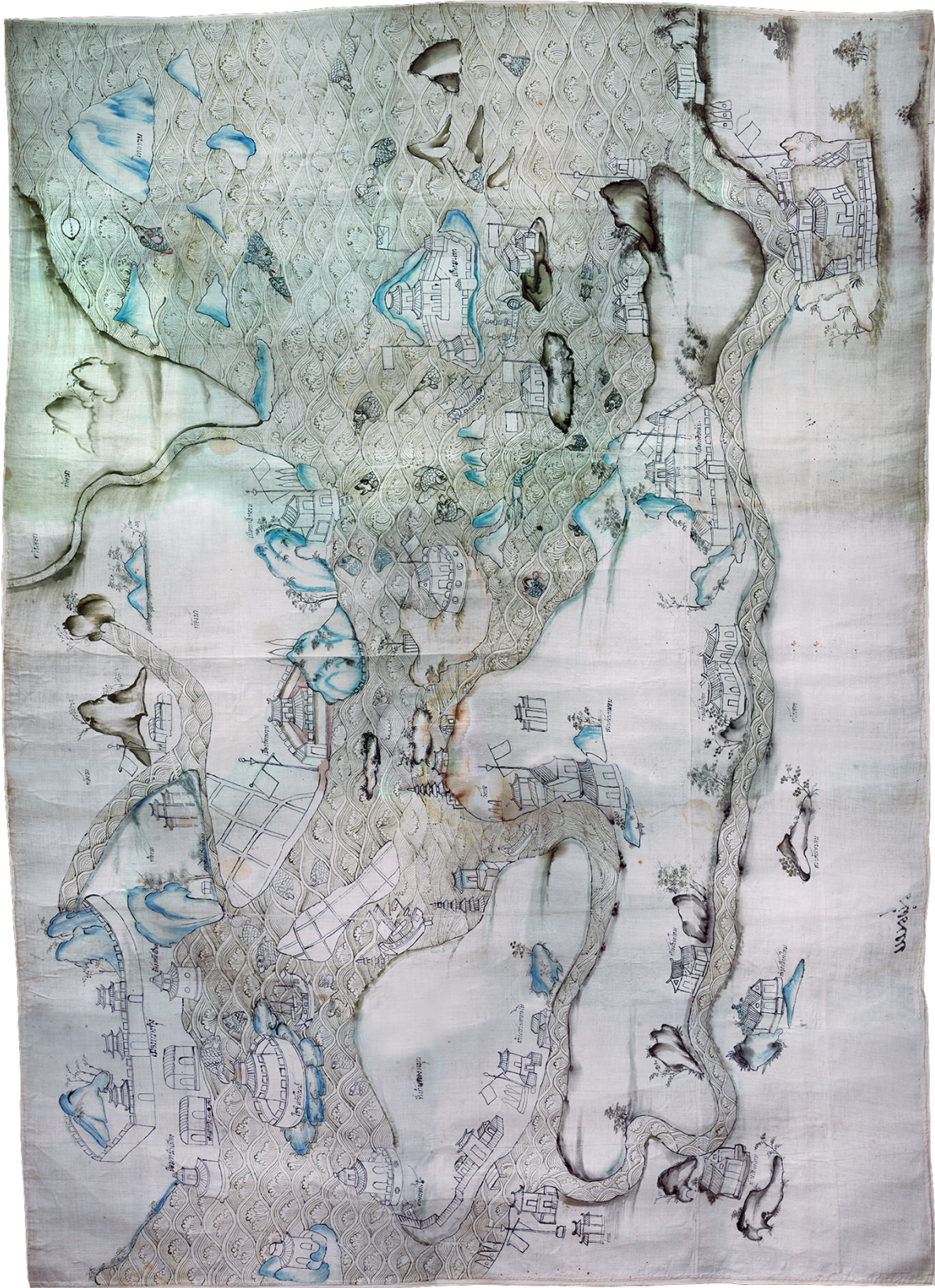


Figure I.3 The Kwangtung Map (ca. early 1800s), 191 x 188 cm, ink on cotton. Source: Royal Collection of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn

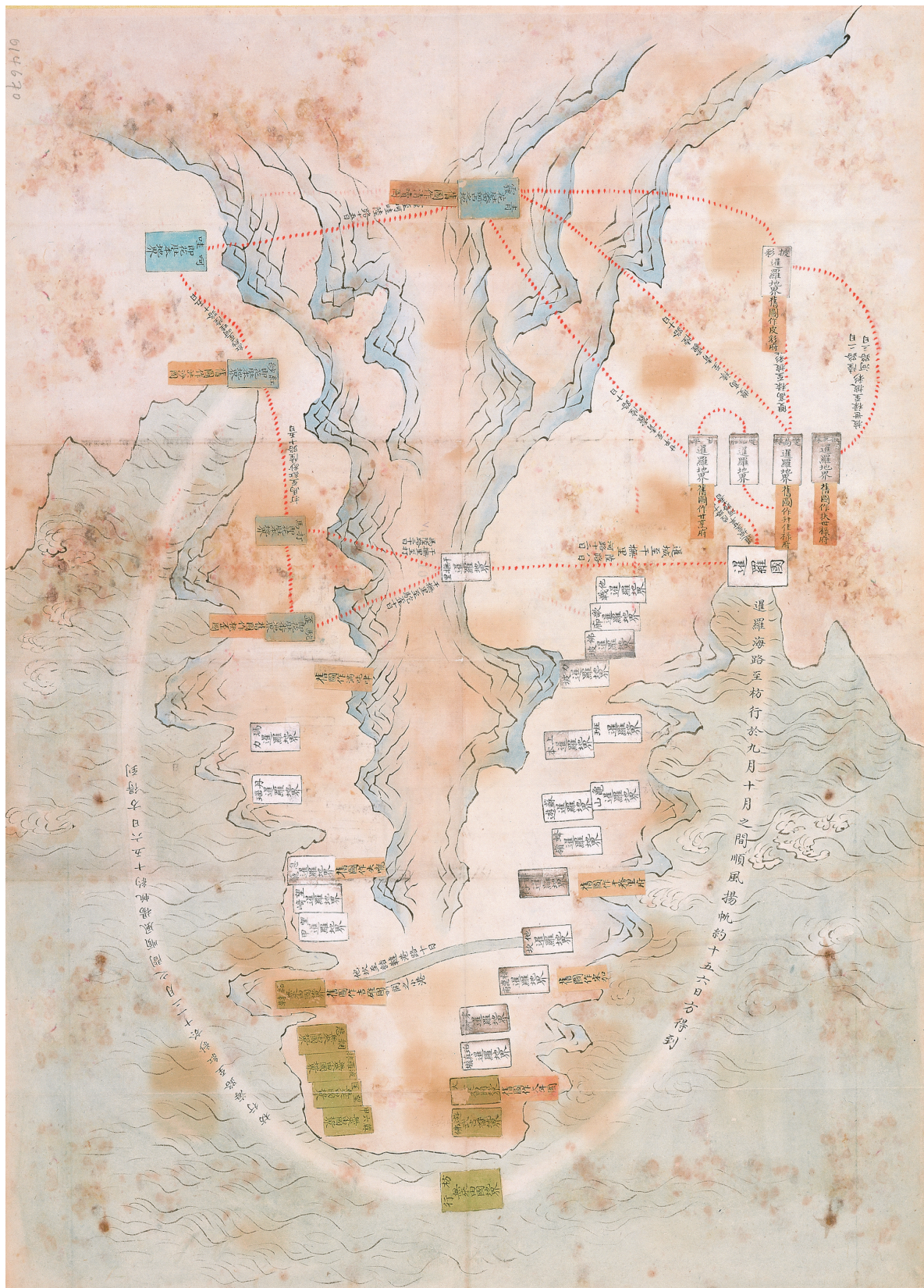


Figure I.4 *Xianluo hanghai tu* 暹羅航海圖 [Navigation Map of Siam] (1771), 61 x 43.5 cm, ink on paper. Source: National Palace Museum (*guji* no 014792).

Appendix II Translation of the *Nirat Kwangtung*

The Thai text is taken from manuscript no. 4 in the *khlóng nirat* subsection, literature section, manuscript collection of the National Library of Thailand, and was written with white pencil on blackened khòì. The paratext on the first page reads: “luang song suradet song nirat kwangtung prathan hai khat wai samrap hò phra samut หลวงทรงสุรเดชส่งนิราศกวางตุงประทานให้คัดไว้สำหรับหอพระสมุด [Luang Song Suradet sent the Nirat Kwangtung to be copied and kept in the National Library of Thailand].”

		1	๑ สรวมชีพบังคมบรมนารถ
2	ด้วยภักดีชูลีลาบาท		อภิวาดขอเบื้องพระบารมี
4	เปนมรมโศสุวรรณ์กั้นเกษ		ไปประเทศกวางตุงกรุงศรี
6	เปนจดหมายมาถวายด้วยภักดี		ตามที่ได้สดับเดิมความ
8	แรกราชดำริะตรีตรองถวิน		จะเหยียบพื้นป่าพิณให้งามสนาม
10	จะสั่งสรรค์ดั่งสวรรค์ที่เรืองราม		จึงจะงามมงกุฎอุทุมพร
12	เมื่อไอสุรสมนุรณด้วยสมบัติ		กับกระษัตราชคฤคฤหา
14	เคยร่วมพื้นยืนแผ่นสุวรรณ์มา		แต่นิราเสื่อมเส้ามานานาน
16	เสื่อมสนองโดยคลองกระษัตราชาติ		เสื่อมราชไมตรีไม่มีสมาน
18	เสื่อมสวาดขาคมาก็ช้านาน		จะประมาณญี่สิบสี่ปีปลาย
20	จึงทรงคิดจะติดความตามประถม		สำหรับราชบรมกระษัตราสาย
22	จึงแผ่พื้นสุวรรณ์พัฒนราย		เอาเยบคายพื้นเพื่อเปนเคเรือวัน
24	เอาทับทิมแทนใบใส่ดอกเพชรช		งามเสจร็จสมบูรณทุกสิ่งสรร
26	งามทางทั้งจะสั่งเขตชั้น		งามสรรพทรงกิดคดียาม
28	ควรเปนจอมจุลจักราราช		แล้วเสดจ้บันลั๊งก์อาศน์ออกสนาม

Luang Song Suradet was the title held by Phraya Suriyanuwong Prawat (Ten Bunnag) พระยาสุริยานุวงศ์ประวัติ (เต็น บุนนาค) from 1902 to 1908, until he was promoted again to be Phraya Intharawichit พระยาอินทวิจิตร as the Governor of Ang Thong Province. Meanwhile, the National Library of Thailand only opened its doors in 1905. The manuscript, therefore, is likely a copy made between 1905 to 1908.

The English translation focuses on the course of event in lieu of its poetic composition. The voyage from Thonburi to Guangzhou is discussed in Chapter 4, and the happenings upon arrival in Guangzhou are described in Chapter 5.

		1	May I pay obeisance to the King with all my life.
2	With my loyalty, I obeisantly bid farewell to His Majesty;		[and] revere the omnipotence of His Majesty;
4	to which I obeisantly plead to shade my head like a golden parasol;		[when I] go overseas to the splendid city of Kwangtung (Guangzhou).
6	This is a journal submitted with fidelity;		following [what I have heard] from the beginning.
8	It begins with the King's aspiration;		to restore the beauty of the nation;
10	to make [it] as glorious as the heaven;		so that [it is] as sublime as the crown of Ayutthaya.
12	At the time when the kingship reached [its] prime in wealth;		[diplomatic relations] with the Emperor of China,
14	who once jointly stood on the [same] plate of gold,		have sadly been long suspended.
16	Waned, the King's honor to the crown;		for the royal friendship has been broken with no repair;
18	for a tribute mission has long been absent		for approximately 24 years.
20	So [the King] has decided to resume the former [relations];		in the same vein as the esteemed kings before;
22	to extend the golden plate.		With prudence, [the King seeks] to flourish [the relations] like blossoming vines;
24	but with rubies as leaves and diamonds as flowers instead;		[so that] everything [for the tribute mission] is beautifully arranged to perfection.
26	Beautiful in the way [that shall] benefit both parties;		beautiful as the King has envisioned;
28	[the tribute mission] shall be as honorable as the great King.		[The King] enters the court and proceeds to the throne;

30	แย้มพระโอฐประดิพัศแล้วตรัสความ	อำมาตย์หมู่มีนามประนมพืง
32	ไฉนพร้อมยอมอวยแล้วอภิวาด	กราบบาทด้วยค่านับแล้วรับสั่ง
34	ทูลโดยลำดับมาเปนคราตรัง	ที่หยุดแล้วจะยังยืนควร
36	จึงพระบาททรงราชนิพนธ์สาร	เปนตะพานนพคุณควรสงวน
38	ให้เขียนสารลงลานทองทวน	จัดส่วนบรรณาการลดานตา
40	อนึ่งนอกจิมก้องเปนของถวาย	ก็โปรยปรายประทานไปหน้าหน้า
42	ทั้งนายห้างขุนนางในนครา	ให้มีตราบัวแก้วสำคัญกัน
44	แล้วจัดทูตทูลคำให้จำสาร	บรรณาการพร้อมสิ้นทุกสิ่งสรรพ
46	ทั้งของแถมแนมความนั้นงามครัน	เปนกำนันถวายนอกบรรณาการ
48	แล้วทรงสั่งสิ่งของเปนสองเหล่า	อย่าควบเข้าแบ่งพร้องเปนสองถาน
50	ฝ่ายทูตนั้นให้ว่าบรรณาการ	โดยฉบับบูรานรวดมา
52	อนึ่งนอกจิมก้องเปนของถวาย	รับสั่งยกให้ทนายข้าหลวงว่า
54	บันทุกเสร็จทั้งสิบเบ็จเพตรา	มาทอดท่าคอยฤกษ์เรียงลำ
56	ครั้นถึงวันฤกษ์เชษฐมาศรี	กาลปักศิษธิสิบสามคำ
58	เมื่อโมงสองบาตเข้าพองงำ	สิบเบ็จลำบังคมลาแล้วคลาไคล
60	ครั้นเรือล่องคล้อยคลองทะเลลาดเลียว	ตลิ่งเหลียวแล้วชลในยไหลด
62	จะจากเรือนจากเพื่อนพิรมไกล	ดั่งสายใจนี้จะขาดจากอาตมา
64	โอ้ความปริเปรมเกษมสัน	ตั้งแต่จะนับวันคอยหา
66	จะนับเดือนเคลื่อนสังวัชรา	จะก้มหน้านั่งชำระกำไป
68	ชรอยพรากเนื่อนกวิหกขัง	บารายรังริบลูกเขาเป็นไฉน

30	smiling with affection, [His Majesty] makes a speech;	[while] those officials with noble titles all put their palms together and listen.
32	Given heed, [they] accord and pay obeisance;	[by] laying on the floor at the King's feet to pay respect and receive the royal decree;
34	[and] report to [the King] in the order [mandated by] the protocol;	afterwards [they] remain standing.
36	Then the venerated King composes the royal letter;	[which] is a golden bridge of the purist quality [for friendship] that deserves to be preserved.
38	The text is engraved on [a sheet of] gold leaf (Figure 3.19);	the list of tribute prepared is overwhelming;
40	on top of <i>cim-kông</i> (tribute) are additional tribute;	the products cover a broad spectrum.
42	All the important merchants and nobilities in the city	are given the Seal of Crystal Lotus [of Krom Phra Khlang] (Figure 3.20).
44	Then the envoys are appointed and messages are relayed to be kept in mind.	Each and every item on the list of tribute is at the ready;
46	all the products are loaded nicely;	together with those to be presented in addition to the tribute.
48	The goods are to be delivered in two batches;	not to be mixed up, [they shall be] recognized as two categories.
50	Those on the side of the envoy is known as tribute;	according to the ancient protocol that [we have been] following;
52	on top of <i>cim-kông</i> are additional tribute offerings.	The royal decree given to the six officials states that:
54	after all 11 junks have been loaded and fitted,	the fleet shall go wait in the harbor for the auspicious moment.
56	When [the date] reaches Tuesday, in the 7 th month,	waning moon, on the 13 th day (19 June 1781);
58	as soon as the shadow leans on 8 am [on the sundial];	[the fleet of] 11 junks solemnly bids farewell and departs.
60	As the junk drifts along the market canal;	overwhelmed, [I] turn around [for a last glance at the city], and tears come falling;
62	[moving] further away from home, away from amicable friends;	as if affinity shall now be absent from my life.
64	Oh my happiness, my pleasure!	From now on until [we] meet again, [I shall] count the days,
66	and months, [which will] turn into years;	[I shall] persevere to sit through the misery.
68	Perhaps [it is because] I have butchered a deer and captured a bird,	whose nest [I] destroyed to seize its young, is the reason why [I shall suffer in return];

70	มาตามทันบั้นร่าร้างไว้กลางใจ	ให้จำไกลจากราชาธานี
72	แล้วยกกรรม์ศการขึ้นเพียงผม	พระบรมไตรรัตน์เรืองศรี
74	เคหะศีลสัจจากับบาระมี	ทั้งชั้นคือค้อมอำนวยทาน
76	ขอเปนข้ายเจดขึ้นไปกั้นเกษ	สรรพเพททุกซ์โภในชลฉาน
78	ให้ปลอดเหตุสาระพิศก่าจัดมาร	มัศการแล้วล่องคันไลไป
80	ครั้นถึงเมืองปากน้ำภอย่าหม่อง	คูเหวว่าร้องเพลาประจุไสม
82	ทอดสมอรอรั้งปะทั่งใจ	อยู่ที่ปากชลาลัยนั้นสองวัน
84	ต่อน้ำขึ้นจึงได้ถอยออกถอยล่อง	จำเกาะร่องสำเภาผายผัน
86	แต่จุดซากลากเขนอยู่เปนควัน	หวังให้ทันมรสุมสำเภาไป
88	ครั้นค่ำมโฆดหลังเตาออกตกภก	ก็ตั้งตริกตรอมจนกระหม่นไหม้
90	เขาผูกจัดเชือกเสาแลเพลาไป	แล้วคอยลมที่จะได้ไคลคลา
92	ครั้นเขาชักใบนุดขึ้นสุดเสา	ก็ปลาบเปล่าทรวงโทรมนัศา
94	คลื่นทุ้มกลุ่มทิ้งเทมา	เกตรากลิ่งกลอกกระฉอกกาย
96	กระทบปัดพัดปั้งที่พื้นคลื่น	แลฟูฟุ้งฟูมฟองนองสาย
98	แสนทเวษแต่ซบเข้าเมามาย	ระกำกายมิได้กินโภชนา
100	แต่เก้าเสียดค้อยละเลียดด้วยลมขัด	พระกายพิศสลาตันตรานหน้า
102	แต่เล่นเก้ากลับใบไปมา	แล้วก็ถอยคอยถ้ำลมดี
104	สุดคิดจึงอุทิศถึงพระบาท	แล้วยกกรอภิวาษเหนือเกษี
106	ขอเคหะตะบะบุญพระบาระมี	จะแทนที่วรุพุทซ์โพธิญาณ
108	กับอนึ่งซึ่งพระองค์ได้ทรงศีล	อันผ่องพินโยยอดพระกำมะสถาน

70	karma has caught up [with me] to axe a hole in the middle of my heart;	[and take me] away from the city to atone.
72	[I] put [my] hands together as high as [my] hair;	[to] take refuge in the holy <i>Trai Rat</i> (Three Jewels: Buddha, Dharma, Sangha).
74	May the almighty perfection [of the Three Jewels],	save me [from dangers];
76	shield my head with seven layers;	[to protect me] from all the harm and suffering amidst the upcoming voyage;
78	[and] expel evil, to be void of any incidents.	As [I] pray, [the junk] drifts on and on.
80	When [the junk] reaches the town of Paknam, bells are chiming;	the birds are chirping in the morning.
82	Anchor is dropped to wait patiently;	there at the river mouth for two days.
84	At the turn of the tide, the junk can then carry on to drift,	along the waterway;
86	[the crew] pull, drag, push, [to work at full] steam.	in the hope to the catch the monsoon in time for the junk to depart.
88	After crossing the bar named Tao (turtle), [the junk] sails out into deep waters,	and [I] feel so much sorrow that my heart burns.
90	They fasten the ropes onto the masts and let loose the sail;	and wait for the favorable wind to depart.
92	When they hoist the sail up to the top of the mast;	[a sense of] despair stabs through my empty heart.
94	Waves come bashing and crashing;	rocking the junk with splashes;
96	[causing the junk to] struggle to ride the waves amid the smashing and spinning;	as waves keep crashing and dissolving into foam.
98	[It is] hard [to cope with] the dizziness from seasick;	and the misery of malnutrition from not being able to eat.
100	Yet gradually [the junk] inches forward into the wind;	as Phra Phai (God of Winds) blows the monsoon;
102	but still [the junk] rocks and the sail flaps;	so [it] drifts as [we] wait for the favorable wind.
104	At [our] wits' end, [we] make sacrifice in the name of the King;	[we] put our palms together above our heads to pray:
106	May the almighty perfection of the King,	mirror the almighty perfection of Lord Buddha.
108	Also, may the omnipotence that the King has attained via rigorous practice and meditation;	and the enlightenment cultivated by the highest level of meditation;

110	มาช่วยป้องกันภัยพิบัติ	ขอบันดามลส่งให้ตรงไป
112	อนึ่งเขาในชะลอมจำชาติ	ทั้งดีศาจพวกพรายอย่ากลายไถ่
114	ให้ปลอดภัยสวระพักจำจัด ไทย	จำเรณูไชยชมชื่นจนคืนมา
116	ครั้นสิ้นคำบรรยายพระกายพัก	ภอกำศักดิ์ส่งท้ายก็ย้ายหา
118	ได้เห็นเหตุในพระเศวตเศชา	ก็เล่นไปได้ทวาทศวัน
120	จึงถึงที่ว่าสามร้อยยอด	เขาหยุดทอดไหว้ทเวะทำขวัน
122	ตามเคยสังเวทแก้ววัน	ที่สำคัญหลักคำมเคยมา
124	แล้วใช้ใบปากคำมไปตามเขม	ค่อยเกบเลมลมไปด้วยใบผ้า
126	ได้สองวันแต่สันจรคลา	ครั้นถึงกึ่งกลางมหาสมุทรไท
128	จึงบุชาตรงหน้าพุทไทมาค	เส้นสากลงท้องทะเลใหญ่
130	กระดาศเหวรินแล้วล้อยไป	เขาว่าไหว้ผืนน้ำในท่ากลาง
132	แต่จากนั้นสองวันก็ไปเหน	พระสุริยหย่อนแสงเย็นถึงเกาะขวาง
134	ชะงอกเงื่อมเอี่ยมแอบอยู่แทบทาง	กระเด็นโดดอยู่กลางวาริ
136	แต่กราบคำย่ำรุ่งจนเรืองแสง	ก็เล่นแข่งเสียดพันคีรีศรี
138	ถึงเกาะมันคิดว่ามันยังมี	ได้ถามถึว่าบูรณประมาณมา
140	แล้วไปสองวันเล่าก็เขาขุ่น	บ้างเรียกเกาะกุ่มต้นภูผา
142	เปนสองเกาะน้อยใหญ่แต่ไกลตา	กับขอบฝั่งนั้นสักห้าโยชปลาย
144	ก็ใช้ใบไปกลางที่หว่างนั้น	ถึงสลูบก่าปั่นไปค้าขาย
146	จะเล่นนอกนั้นไม่ได้ไกลเกาะทราย	จำเกาะบายเข้าหว่างเปนทางจร
148	เขาล้มไถ่ลงไหว้ทเวด	ตามเพทที่สถิตยอยู่สิงขร

110	come help keep the wind blowing like a fan.	May the wind be set for a voyage with no interruption.
112	Furthermore, for all beings that reside underwater among shoals of fish;	[may] all evil beings are dispelled without ever coming close.
114	To expel evil, to be void of any incidents;	[may] triumph, glory and exultation [be with us always] until our return.
116	Upon the end of the ceremony, the wind comes	as soon as the prayer is said, and [the junk] begins to move;
118	allowing [me] to bear witness to [the King's] omnipotence in this incident.	Then [the junk] sails for 12 days;
120	until the place called Sam Ròi Yòt;	[the sailors] stop to worship to ward off evil;
122	As usual, sacrifice is made;	for it is an important basis for the ceremony.
124	Then [the junk] sails in the direction following the needle [of the compass];	gradually the wind blows into the sail.
126	After two days and a bit more;	[we] reach the middle of the great Thai ocean.
128	Then [the sailors] worship in front of Phutthaimas;	streamers are scattered there into the belly of the ocean;
130	papers are burned and alcohol is poured before sailing off;	they are said to be offerings for the ghosts of the water in the midst [of the sea].
132	Two days after that, [we] see	the evening sun rays reach Kò Khwang;
134	[some] lean out to look at it along the way;	while splashes splatter as the junk breaks the water.
136	But from the evening until the sky lights up at dawn;	the junk has already traversed the glorious mountain.
138	[We] reach Kò Man, [whose name makes one] think [that there are] lots of potatoes.	[This question has] probably [been] asked many times before [in the olden days].
140	After sailing for two days, [we reached] Mount Jackfruit;	some call [it] the Kun-tun cliff islands.
142	It is [in fact] two islands, a big and a small one, that are out of each other's sight;	the distance from shore to shore measures up to slightly short of six <i>yot</i> .
144	When sailing towards the middle of that interspace;	[we] meet sloops and junks [that] go to trade.
146	[The junks] will [then] sail from the outside of this interspace to avoid Kò Sai;	particularly because this detour is the right route.
148	They sacrifice chickens as offerings to the deities;	according to the spiritual beings who live in the mountain.

150	บันดาพวกเรือค้าเพชรاجر	ถวายนครตามตำแหน่งทุกแห่งไป
152	ครั้นถึงแหลมเลี้ยวหน้าเมืองปาลัก	ก็ประจักษ์ปากน้ำภอจำได้
154	เหนเรือยวนขึ้นแจ้วเปนแถวไป	เขาใช้ใบเลมหล้าออกหากิน
156	แล้วไปสองวันครั้งก็ถึงไสลย	เหนปากน้ำญวนใหญ่ก็ใจถวิล
158	เกลือกจะออกชิงไชยสีไพริน	ก็คิดสู้ว่าจะสิ้นสุดที
160	แล้วก็ไปสามวันถึงบรรพต	นามกำหนดซ้ำข้ามคีรีศรี
162	ตระหง่านเขางำเงาชลที	เขว่ามีเปนนิทานโบราณมา
164	ว่าเขาเนื้ออีกกาลวาย	เมื่อไฟฟ้าผ่าฟาดลงภูผา
166	แล้วลูกใหม่ไล่เลียลามสินลา	พฤษษาจึงไม่ลัดระบัดใบ
168	ก็ดูเหมือนหนึ่งจะต้องทำนองกล่าว	ด้วยเรื่องรารอยมีอยู่ที่ไสลย
170	แล้วแล่นผ่านพันสถานทีนั้นไป	จนอุไทแจ่มแจ้งพะโยมบน
172	ก็ลุยังอินตั้งตัวบุตร	สูงสุดเทิดเทียมพระเวหน
174	ตระหง่านเขาเงาดำลงงำชน	ฝ่ายบนเบื้องจอมคีรินราย
176	มีสินลาหนึ่งปักเปนกำหนด	ประหลาดหลากกว่าบรรพตทั้งหลาย
178	ฟังแกลงหลายปากมามากมาย	ว่าเป็นศรนารายณ์เอาวะตาล
180	เมื่อเสด็จออกคงไปทรงพรต	ยังบรรพตศาลาโดยไพรसान
182	ทรงเพลงสาตรศรไปรอนราน	พิฆามารซึ่งแปลงเปนกวางมา
184	แล้วสาบศรให้เป็นท่อนสินลาปัก	จึงประจักษ์อยู่ที่จอมภูผา
186	ทรงสถานที่ประมาณสมมุคมา	ก็หมายตาเหมือนจะต้องโบราณการ
188	ฝ่ายฝูงคนอาารักษ์	สิทธิศักดิ์เข้าสู่สิงสถาน

150	All kinds of trading ships sail and pay homage to such beings;	from wherever [the ships] are posited.
152	When [we] reach the cape and turn towards Bassac;	[I] remember looking at its river mouth;
154	and see many rows of Vietnamese boats with a standing oarsman;	sailing ploddingly to make a living.
156	Then [we] sail for two and a half days to reach a mountain;	[and upon] seeing Paknam Yuanyai [we] become uneasy;
158	eager to go out and fight with the enemy;	and intended to battle until the end.
160	Then [we] sail for three days to reach a mountain,	known as Chang Kham, the Great Mountain;
162	which stands loftily with its shadow leaning against the ocean.	This mountain long has an ancient folktale;
164	It is said that the mountain once caught fire during a storm;	when lightning struck the mountain;
166	then wildfire engulfed the mountain;	from then on floras do not bud.
168	[It] looks like the tale passed down is true;	as traces of the tale can be seen on the mountain.
170	Then [the junk] sails past that place;	sunrise can be seen clearly on the sky;
172	which also reaches the mountain of Intang,	whose summit is as high as the sky.
174	[It is a] lofty mountain [whose] black shadow leans on a river.	Many peaks jut out of the mountain top;
176	on one of them sits a special boulder;	[that looks] very strange, making it different from all the other peaks.
178	Many oral tales have been told;	referring to it as the arrow of Nārāyaṇa (Figure 4.9):
180	when he (Nārāyaṇa) went into the forest for his routine practice;	by a pavilion in the forest;
182	[he] shot a sharp arrow to kill	the evil which had transformed itself into a deer.
184	A fraction of the cursed arrow then turned into the boulder;	[which is now] evident on the peak of the mountain.
186	[It] resembles the place of Rama;	[anyone who sees the boulder will] think [it is the] remnant of the ancient story.
188	It is protected by deities;	[who have] entered and live there with might and power.

190	ผู้ไปมาบูชาเซียวชาน	วิไสพาลพานิชนิยมมา
192	แต่แปลกหย่างออกที่ทำสำเภาน้อย	กระจ้อยร่อยภอพึงเส่นหา
194	เอาเชือกเสาเพลลาไบใส่เพชร	แล้วเย็บผ้าถุงเสียบึงเรียงราย
196	บันดามีเงินทองของเอมโอช	สรรพโภชนใส่ลงบันจงถวย
198	เอากระดาษวาดรูปทุกตัวนาย	ทั้งนายท้ายต้นหนทุกคนไป
200	แล้วยกสำเภาน้อยลงลอยน้ำ	เหมือนไถ่ล่าที่ร้ายให้คลายได้
202	เผากระดาษฟาดเคราะห์สะเดาะไป	ตามวิไสสันจรแต่ก่อนมา
204	แล้วจากนั้นสองวันก็เหนเขา	เปนขอบเงายืดยาวไปหนักหนา
206	ค่อยแล่นคล่องไปได้สองทีวารา	ก็ถึงวาโหลภกชะเลวล
208	เป็นที่ข้ามตามทางไปกว้างต้ง	เหนสุดม่งหมอกมืดไม่เหนหน
210	แล้วก็กว้างกว่าทางทุกตำบล	ก็พึงย่นเขาบูชาเปนอาจินต์
212	กำหนดแต่เขาขวางที่ทางมา	เปนพาราเหล่าล่วนแต่ถวนสิ้น
214	จนวาโหลขอบแคว้นแดนสี่ขริน	จึงสุดดินสิ้นเขตนิเวศถวน
216	ก็บ้ายข้ามตามบูรภาภาค	แสนวิบากคลื่นใหญ่ก็ใจหวน
218	แต่หาวเหียรป่วนเปียนสกลกวน	ด้วยเมฆวณรากลุ่รทมทน
220	แล้วบังเกิดพยุใหญ่จนไบกลับ	ทั้งคลื่นทับเทพองแล้วนองฝน
222	เปนพยุยับท่วมม้วน	กำลังฝนแลบพรายกระจายไป
224	เสียงคลื่นประหนึ่งพื้นสุทาวาย	จะวินาศไปด้วยชลไม่ทนได้
226	ตลิ่งนิ่งเหนเขาวิ่งวุ่นวายไป	บ้างร้องให้รักคนที่ลนลาน
228	บ้างก็ยึดมัดไม้(แต่)ไบเก่า	บ้างก็เฝ้าถ้ำน้ำแลสำบ้าน

190	Those passing by are adept at making sacrifices;	[it has] long become a prevalent practice among traders.
192	[The] odd [practice involves the sailors] going out to make small ships;	small enough [for one] to find it adorable.
194	Ropes, masts and sails are fitted onto the [small] ships;	[which is] well furnished with bags of provisions;
196	all loaded with gold, silver and delicious food;	[and] offerings are carefully put in the sack on [the small ships].
198	Papers are used to draw a sketch of every person;	everyone from the helmsman to the navigator.
200	Then the miniature ships are offered to set sail into the sea;	as if releasing such ships can ward off evil.
202	Papers are burnt [as sacrifice at a ceremony] to dispel misfortune;	following the ancient custom of voyage.
204	From there, after two days, a mountain is seen,	whose shadow stretches long ahead.
206	Gradually the junk sails smoothly for two days before stopping;	and reaches Walo, a swirly deep ocean;
208	which is to be crossed to follow the route to Kwangtung.	In the misty night [our] sight is obstructed by fog;
210	[here the ocean is] wider than any place [we have been].	[It is also] the norm to offer sacrifice for the mountains;
212	especially for those that lay blocking our route.	They are the last group of places in the whole of Vietnam.
214	Walo mountain marks the country's border;	which is the end of Vietnam's territory.
216	Then [we] turn eastward to cross [the sea];	[the voyage is made] extremely difficult by the huge waves, [and I] wish [we could] turn back.
218	The sky swirls frenetically while [my] body twirls;	like [I am] staggeringly drunk, spewing out with despair.
220	Then a sudden squall forces us to furl the sail;	waves gush on board and dissolve into foam while rain pours.
222	Besieged by such an ominous squall,	amid the rain and lightning, all hell breaks loose.
224	The waves sound like the ground of heaven	would have collapsed at not being able to sustain such an amount of water.
226	[I remain] stunned [while] watching people frantically run around;	some fearfully cry out loud while scurrying;
228	some grab a tight hold of old planks;	some watch over the water buckets and Sampan boats (Chinese wooden dinghy).

230	เหนการผิดแล้วก็คิดน้ศการ	สละพาลภาวะนารักษาคณ
232	จะแลฝั่งที่ใหญ่ที่สุดเนตร	จะสังเกดพึงพนักซ์ัดสน
234	แต่นั่งแลดูตากันห้าคน	เหนจะจนเสียในท้องทะเลาน
236	สุดคิดจึงอุทิศถึงพระเดช	มาปกเกษช่วยชีพสังขาร
238	เดชะตระบะบุญพระคุณชาญ	ลมพานก็ค้อยเพลานันทาพลัน
240	เพตราจึงค้อยพื่นขึ้นคลื่นได้	จึงชักใบขึ้นรอไว้กอผัน
242	ครั้นลมหายค้อยสะบายอารมณ์รัน	ถึงกะนั้นก็ยังไมสุขสักราศรี
244	ถ้ากลางคืนก็ได้ขึ้นแต่แสงจันทร์	ทิวาวันก็ได้ชมแต่รังศรี
246	กับจะคุมัจฉาในวารีย์	ก็มีแต่พวกพันจะอันตร้าย
248	ที่ตามล้อมตอมว่ายน้นหลายหมู่	ก็เหลือรู้ที่จะกำหนดจดหมาย
250	ชลาคำด้วยน้ำเคมพราย	ทังสุดสายคิงร้อยห้าสิบวา
252	จะดูโดยทิชใดก็ใจหวาด	วิประหลาดเหนวารขึ้นข้างขวา
254	ประมาณยาราวสามสิบห้าวา	ที่ท่อนหน้าไม่ตระหนักประจักใจ
256	เหนคล้ายกึ่งที่กะพุงแพนหาง	ประมาณกว้างน้นสิบห้าวาได้
258	แต่โดยลมอมชนที่พื่นไป	ก็สูงได้โดยหมายกับปลายตาล
260	เขาก็กลับใบบากออกจากที่	คะเนหนีจให้พื่นแถวสถาน
262	เอารูปเทียรบวงบนขึ้นลอนลาน	วันทะนาปลาวันวุ่นวาย
264	แล้วเขาทำเปิดไก่อ้วเทเวษ	ตามเพทที่ทะเลแล้วเทถวาย
266	แต่ขุยขลุกลแล้วลุกขึ้นโปรยปราย	กะดาษพรายเผาเพลิงถกึ่งเรื่อง
268	เย็นเข้าไปหัวเจ้าด้วยม้าพ่อ	พระหมาจอพึงอิงคนิ่งเนื่อง

230	[They] recall the mistakes [they made in life] and pray to	denounce their sins and save themselves.
232	[They] look, as far as [they] can see, for a shore to dock;	but [there is] nothing to be seen.
234	Five people sit and look at each other in the eyes;	expecting to perish at the bottom of the ocean.
236	At wits' end, we pray to the omnipotence of the King	to come protect our heads and bodies to spare our lives;
238	with the merits from meditation.	The wind gradually calms down;
240	the junk can slowly ride the waves again;	[the sailors] hoist up the sail to wait for a change.
242	When the storm gradually eases, [we] begin to feel calm;	but feelings of being overwhelmed and uncertain still [haunt us] at night.
244	Moonlight [provides us with] comfort in the middle of the night;	[until] dawn breaks.
246	[We] see shoals of fish in the water;	among which are some dangerous kinds;
248	There are so many groups of fish swimming around the junk;	too many to be penned down.
250	[The ocean is so deep that the] sea water looks black;	[sounding measures] almost the whole rope at 150 <i>wa</i> ;
252	[it is] terrifying to look in any directions.	Startlingly, a whale surfaces on the right-hand side (starboard) of the ship;
254	about 35- <i>wa</i> long.	When [we] look at the head [of the whale], [it is] hard to believe [that]
256	the tail [part] looks like a prawn;	[that is] approximately 15- <i>wa</i> in width.
258	It sucks water and sprouts out;	as high as the top of a palm tree.
260	[The sailors] furl the sail and get the junk straight out of there.	[When they] reckon [the junk has] escaped from the area;
262	[they] scamper to put up incense to pray;	[and] hectically, [they] pay homage to the whale.
264	Then a chicken and a duck are used to pay tribute to the deities (of the sea);	and [alcohol] is poured, following the custom of the sea.
266	After the ritual, they stand up to scatter	paper for the spirit and burn a fire that is high and bright.
268	Every morning and evening, they worship with gongs;	even the Goddess Mazu would be deafened if she heard it.

270	ครั้นคำแฉวนโคมเคียงเรียงเรียง	ตระหลอดเบื้องหน้าท้ายที่รายไป
272	ครั้นอรุณเรืองแสงสุริโยภาส	เยี่ยมราชศิริศรีไสล
274	เหนซุ่มตระคุมเขียวไกล	ตระหลอดไปล้วนเหล่าศิรินราย
276	เขาบอกกันว่านั่นแลขอบเขต	เปนประเทศที่จีนทั้งหลาย
278	ก็ขึ้นเรียงบันเทิงร่ำทำกรวยกราย	บ้างทบายบอกเบื้องเรื่องศิริ
280	อันโหลบานนี้ทวารแต่ชั้นนอก	ที่เข้าออกกว้างตุงกรุงศรี
282	จำเกาะทางเข้าหว่างศิริมี	ครั้นลมดีก็ได้แหล้นเข้าโหลบาน
284	ขึ้นยืนดูผู้คนมั่งคั่ง	ฝรั่งตั้งเตมเกาะมเกาะสถาน
286	เปนท่วงทีหนีไล่ก็ได้การ	มีกำแพงสามด้านคูดี
288	เหนสำเภาเข้าครั้นกำปั่นทอด	แลตระหลอดดูไปไม่สุดที่
290	แต่มีงไม้ไร่สิ้นทุกศิริ	บ้างที่มีคนตัดไม้ลัดทัน
292	แต่นั่งดูภูผาสีลาลาด	คั่งประภาสหิมพานพะนาสัน
294	ที่วุ้งเวียงเชิงผาเปนหน้าบัน	บ้างเปนขอบคันกุฎีดา
296	ที่เลื่อมลายเล่าก็ชมเหมือนพรมลาด	ที่ขาวคาดไปก็ดูคั่งบุผ้า
298	ที่เยี่ยมย่อยออกมาห้อยถึงคองคา	จะไปมาเลี้ยวหลีกคันไลไคล
300	เหนเรือทั้งเที่ยวท่องท่ามัจฉา	ดูดาไปแต่ล้วนเสาไสว
302	จนสุดเนตรสังเกดไม่สุดใบ	คั่งทับใหญ่ยกหนักออกหักราน
304	อันโดยทางกลางเหล่าที่เว้นไว้	ครั้นจะใส่ถ้วนถึให้วิธาน
306	เหลือสติจะตำริะให้รอบการ	ขอประมาณแต่ันิราธานี
308	ถ้านับวันก็ได้สามสิบสามวัน	ถ้าสำคัญว่าเท่าไรในวิถี

270	At night, beaming lanterns are hung up one by one (Figure 3.9);	always from the direction of bow to stern.
272	When the sunlight of the dawn	touches the royal mountain;
274	[we] vaguely see a lush of green from afar;	all the way [over the horizon] with a cluster of mountains.
276	[The sailors] tell each other to [come] look at the edges [of the islands];	all [of which] are parts of the country of China.
278	Delighted, [they] burst into dancing with ecstasy.	Some explain the story of the mountains;
280	this Lo-ban is a door on the outskirts;	for getting in and out of the splendid city of Kwangtung.
282	There is a specific way to enter the mountain;	when the wind becomes favorable, Lo-ban can be reached.
284	Upon going further upstream, [we] stand up and see rich people	at a place [called] Macau [that is] entirely established by the <i>farang</i> (here: Portuguese).
286	[It is built on a place that is] easy to enter and leave,	[surrounded by] walls on three sides that look stunning (Figure 5.6);
288	[we] see many junks sailing and boats anchored;	everywhere with no end in sight.
290	But there are no trees on the mountains;	[just as if] some people had tried to cut them down to make short cuts.
292	[I] sit to look at the landscape;	as if [I am] traveling in the forest of Himavanta.
294	The panorama of the mountain looks like [a series of] gables;	some [smaller peaks] look like dwellings of hermits;
296	[some] look patterned like a carpet;	[and some look] like a sheet of fabric with the white pavements.
298	[Rocks] hang over the river and jut out from water;	[the junk] has to zigzag its way forward to avoid [the rocks].
300	[We] see small [sampan] boats wandering around to fish;	[while we are] surrounded by masts
302	[and] sails as far as our eyes can see;	as if a large army of navy is advancing for battle.
304	Some routes are left out, not to be mentioned	[or] clarified in detail,
306	[for it is] beyond my capability [to include them all].	[When you] ask approximately how long [the voyage took] from the capital (Thonburi);
308	if [we] count in days then [you] get 33 days;	if [it is] important to [count] how far the voyage [was];

310	ก็ได้สามร้อยโยชน์เสศสังกตมิ	ถึงทวารพัยคมิทันใด
312	มีป้อมปืนยื่นเยียมอยู่สองฟาก	ประหลาดหลากก่อเข้ากับเขาใหญ่
314	ยังป้อมขวางไว้กลางชลาลัย	เรือไปสองข้างอยู่กลางคัน
316	เปนสง่าศึกงามทั้งสามป้อม	ที่ก่อล้อมล้วนแหล่งแก่งสัน
318	เอาโยธาเงินจัดให้พลัดกัน	เปนนิรันต์รักษาระวังการ
320	ฝ่ายจีนจงเอี้ยซึ่งเปนใหญ่	ได้คุมไพร่สิบหมื่นรักษาสถาน
322	ก็ลงเรือรีบพลันมิทันนาน	มาถามการข่าวข้อคดีดี
324	ฝ่ายทูตตอบว่าพระราชสาร	พระเจ้าผ่านอยุธยาเวดีศรี
326	มาจิ้มก้องโดยคลองประเพณี	จำเรณูราชไมตรีตามโบราณ
328	ฝ่ายจีนจดหมายเอารายชื่อ	แล้วก็เรือคูทรงสงสถาน
330	แต่จังกจกไปจนไฟปาน	แล้วเคนเจ้าพนักงานลงคุมไป
332	กับทหารสามสิบใส่เรือรบ	เครื่องครบอาวุธสรรพไสว
334	พนักงานป้องกันให้คันไถ	ก็เล่นไปตามเรื่องรัถยา
336	เหนวรีนั้นไม่มีมัจฉาชาติ	อรัญวายเล่าก็ไร้รุกขา
338	บนอากาศขาดหมุ่สกุณา	พสุธาดาชายด้วยคนไป
340	เปนชาวคามนิคมวาศรี	ช่างทำที่นั่นอุส่าห์หน้าอาไสย
342	ล้วนตีก่อต่อเนื่องเปนเรื่องไป	ทุกวึ่งเวียงเชิงไสลลลลลลลล
344	ที่พื้นน้ำนั้นก็ทำเปนเรือสวน	บ้างเกาะพวนปลุกผักก็หนักหนา
346	ที่ลุ่มลาดหาดน้ำก็ทำนา	ไม่มีป่าปลูกไม้ไผ่ไว้มากมี
348	พื้นผลแต่ที่คนตระการรศ	จะกำหนดคนามไซ้ก็ไซ้ที่

310	[we] have observed [that it is] over 300 <i>yot</i> .	When [we] reach the Tiger Door (Figure 5.10);
312	[there are] fortresses with cannons on both shores;	[that are] strangely built along big mountains;
314	another fortress blocks the middle of the river;	[and] vessels go around [it] from two sides.
316	All three fortresses are grand and beautiful;	built as intended to defend the entire area;
318	with skillful soldiers taking turns	to diligently stand guard at all times.
320	In China, <i>cong-ia</i> is a high-ranking general;	in charge of 10,000 soldiers to protect that area.
322	[Chinese officers] hurry board [our] junk	in order to inquire the purpose of our arrival.
324	The envoy replies [that we come to deliver] a royal letter	for the Chinese Emperor from the King of Ayutthaya;
326	to <i>cim-kòng</i> following the tradition;	[and] foster the royal bilateral relations following the ancient [protocol].
328	Chinese [officials] list the name of the envoys;	inspect their bodies with [their] clothes removed;
330	[and] jot down their physical appearance [such as] moles.	Then some officers are summoned to come and stand guard [on board];
332	together with 30 officers in a warship;	[which is] equipped with all kinds of weapons.
334	The officers protect and escort [our junk]	to sail along the natural course of the waterway.
336	No shoals of fish can be seen swimming in the water;	nor trees near the temple in the forest;
338	nor birds flying in the sky.	The land is strewn by people walking around;
340	who are residents of the villages;	who diligently make this area worthy of living;
342	with houses built all along the way.	Each turn [brings us to a scenery that] dazzles [our] eyes;
344	the riverbanks are used for plantations;	some grow vegetables in many rows;
346	on the slopes of the banks are fields;	[there are] not many trees are left.
348	The fruits are delicious;	their names are too many to be penned down here.

350	แต่เข้าคลองไปได้สองราตรี	ก็ถึงที่หยุดภักนัครา
352	เหนก่าปั่นแลสำเภาเข้าค้าขาย	เปนทิวทอดทะเลลดท่ายคฤหา
354	ทั้งสี่แถวตามแนวนัครา	ก็ทอดท่าหน้าเมืองเปนเรื่องกัน
356	แต่เสากะ โคงที่ระคะตะกะกาย	จนสุดสายเนตรแลแปรผัน
358	บ้างขึ้นล่องเที่ยวท่องจรจัด	สุดอนันที่จะนับจะคลณา
360	พิศภูมสถานทีนัครา	เปนขอบเขตอยู่แนวเนินผา
362	มีกำแพงสามชั้นกันนัครา	ล้วนสีลาแลงปรับประดับดี
364	อันหอรบนางเรียงที่เรียงเรียบ	ไว้ระเบียบป้องกันบุรีศรี
366	มีป้อมขวางอยู่กลางชลที	วาริแล่นรอบเปนขอบคัน
368	ตรงฟากเมืองไว้เครื่องค่างเรือรบ	ก็เตรียมครบทอดราอยู่ถ้ำนั้น
370	ภอคุกเหตุสังเอดคืนวัน	ก็เรียกทันถอยไล่ก็ได้ที
372	ที่กองเกนให้กระเวนก็สอดเสาะ	เที่ยวรายเราะเรือรอบบุรีศรี
374	สัรพสรรพาฐไว้มากมี	ประจำที่จุกช่องอยู่อัครา
376	เหล่าทหารประจำการกินเบี้ยหวัด	ก็เปลี่ยนผลัดกันพิทักษ์รักษา
378	ล้วนเกาทันสันทัดอยู่อัครา	ถือตำราที่โบราณท่านชิงไชย
380	ฝ่ายฝูงประชานชาติ	ก็เกลื่อนกลาดกลุ่มมาไม่นับได้
382	สะพรั่งพร้อมล้อมพุมาคูไท	ทั้งชายหญิงวังไขว่กันไปมา
384	บ้างลงเรื่อน้อยน้อยมาพลอยทัก	ยิ้มพยักด้วยไม่รู้ภาษา
386	บ้างลอยล้อมตอมรอบทั้งเพตรา	เอาผักปลามาจำหน่ายขายไท
388	อันนารีเรือราศสำหรับจ้าง	นั้นรูปร่างหมดจดสดไส

350	Two nights after entering the waterway;	[we] reach the city to rest.
352	[There we] see ships and junks come to trade;	the rows of vessels extend all the way to the end of the city;
354	all lined up in four rows;	anchored in the harbor in front of the city, busying with their own business.
356	[It is so] crowded that the masts knock against each other	as far as I can see, [and then when I] look in another direction;
358	some are sailing and roaming around;	such view goes on and on with no end.
360	[When] gazing upon the landscape of the city;	[it] borders along a mountain cliff;
362	there are three layers of walls enclosing the city (Figure 5.12);	[which are] made entirely of red bricks and beautifully adorned
364	with rows of watch towers that are lined up orderly	to stand guard to protect the city since long ago.
366	[There is] a fortress lying in the middle of the sea;	rims [of which] are completely surrounded by water.
368	Right at the shore of the city are warships (Figure 5. 13)	[that are] anchored at the harbor, ready [for action].
370	Be it day or night, as soon as something happens,	[the authority] can be alerted to respond in time;
372	with the soldiers dispatched to that place to search;	[and] patrol among the vessels [in the port of] the splendid city.
374	[There they have] a whole range of artilleries,	fully loaded at the station;
376	the officers stationed there earn military pay;	to take shifts to protect [the city].
378	[They are] generally skilled in crossbows;	following the ancient manual of warfare (“The Art of War”).
380	The citizens [of the city]	are too many to be counted.
382	Many are prepared to come from all directions to see [us] Siamese;	all men and women run to rush over together;
384	some take the small boats to come greet [us]	by smiling and nodding since [they] do not speak the language;
386	some sail circumventing [our] junk	to sell us vegetables and fish (Figure 5.14).
388	[There is] a boat of lust dedicated to ladies for hire (Figure 5.15);	the appearances [of the ladies] are decent and delightful;

390	นวนิรม์จิมลิมละไมใจ	เมื่อดูไกลเอกเอี่ยมละออตา
392	ครั้นเข้าใกล้ก็เห็นเลือดชายจะเผือดผาด	ด้วยการสวาดไม่หลีกเลือกภาษา
394	แขกฝรั่งอังกฤษวิลันดา	จะไปมาย่อมได้อาไศรยกัน
396	ต้องห้ามทั้งมิให้ไปอยู่บก	ประจำพกแหล่งหลักสำนักนั้น
398	ประกวดคือที่นับถือกัน	ไม่เว้นวันชายหาจึงว่าดี
400	แต่บันจงจิตรจิตรจัดผัดภัคตร์	บำรุงรักมิให้ชายหน่ายหนี
402	กันไรให้วิไลกับเมาลี	มวยมีดอกไม้เงินงาม
404	นุ่งกั๋งเกงใส่เสื้อที่สังเกด	ทำแปลงเพทก็พอเอี่ยมออกสนาม
406	รู้ชำเลื่องประปรายให้ชายตาม	แต่ต้องห้ามมิให้ไทไปพบพาน
408	ถ้าไปไหนภอกักสำนักนั่ง	ไม่ระวังก็กะโจมเอาสูงสถาน
410	วิไลเมืองเขาเป็นเรื่องราวพาด	ถึงนอนคลานค้ำมิได้ไม่ถือกัน
412	บำรุงเรือแต่ให้เก็การสังวาส	นั้นปลาจัดแจงเกลี้ยงสรร
414	ล้วนภู่กลื่นฟุ้งอบตระหลบครัน	ปะไม่ทันรู้เข้าก็เอาแพง
416	เข้ามาชี้แจงความให้ตามกฎ	ในกำหนดที่ตระหนักประจักษ์แจ้ง
418	ว่าสุวรรณย์ขาวเหลืองเครื่องทองแดง	ทั้งแพรไหมเหล็กแท่งแลสาตรา
420	มิให้ไทเอาหญิงมาพึงภาษ	อันการสวาคนี้กำชับกันหนักหนา
422	ที่รักตัวเขาก็กลัวไม่พานพา	ที่แกมกล้าก็เข้ากลัวเอาตัวพัน
424	เสียดแรงมาพาร่างถึงกว้างตุง	ขมื่นมุ่นว่าจะลองก็ต้องพรั่น
426	ได้ชมงามอยู่แต่ไกลมิได้กัน	ครั้นถึงวันรวิวารเวลา
428	พิทบทกำหนดปีอุศุภศก	ค่างหมู้อัจตกเขาปฤกษา

390	[their skin looks] creamy soft [and their] heart sweet;	when [the ladies are] seen from afar [they are] truly pleasant to the eyes;
392	When seen up close, [it makes] men's hearts skip a beat.	Indeed, the act of pleasure [can be performed] regardless of language;
394	<i>Khaek, Farang</i> , English and Dutch;	[the ladies and foreigners] mingle to satisfy each other.
396	Forbidden to go ashore;	[the ladies] usually stay inside their affiliated club (flower boat);
398	Competition [among ladies is] positive as [it] looks like they respect each other;	[it is considered] great if not a day goes by without men visiting.
400	[The ladies] powder their face elaborately;	to arouse love not to let men get away;
402	make their topknot and hairpin graceful;	[and] put a beautiful silver flower on the bun.
404	[They] wear [pretty] pants and shirts for show;	[and] polish their appearance to stand out.
406	A light glance [is enough] for men to follow;	but it is forbidden for Siamese to go meet [them].
408	If [we] go on the boat to sit and rest;	[we shall be led into the] tent [for sexual intercourse] once not being careful;
410	[as] such misconduct [is part of] the mode of living of the city;	[They are] comfortable with crawling over each other during sleep;
412	[and] look after the boat together to help support the sexual services;	the floor is paved with many cushions;
414	[and] the tassels [hung] permeate a pleasant scent.	[If one] does not know the charge before entering, [it] will be expensive.
416	[Chinese officials] come to explain the rules to be followed;	[so that we are] clearly aware of the regulations;
418	All gold, silver, copper and ceramics;	[and] silk, iron ingots and weapons;
420	cannot be touched by the ladies, [and] all Siamese should comply;	[yet] many still engage in sexual intercourse.
422	Those who love themselves are scared to be involved;	[and those who brave the] risk get themselves tangled up.
424	[It] takes a great effort to bring ourselves to Kwangtung;	[I] want to try but [I am] truly afraid;
426	The ladies are] pretty [when seen] from afar, but [I] do not dare to engage with [them].	When the time reaches Sunday;
428	the first day of the 10 th month in the Year of the Ox (19 August 1781);	<i>mu-i</i> (governor) and <i>cong-tok</i> (viceroys) [of Guangdong] come for consultation;

430	แล้วมารับค่านับราชาสารา	กับทูตข้าหลวงทั้งปวงไป
432	ขึ้นจีเกวียนจรดคนด้วยคนหาม	ดำเนินตามที่ทางถนนใหญ่
434	ลีลาลาดดาบฎที่ดูไป	นั้นอำไพเรียบบริมรัถยา
436	อันร้านรายขายของทั้งสองฟาก	ประหลาดหลากล้วนทำด้วยชำฉา
438	ประจงเจียนเขียนวาดแล้วชาดทา	ที่ตั้งนำตรงร้านกระดานทอง
440	เปนวิไสยลูกกำบันดาขาย	จากกรายไว้ให้ดูรู้ของ
442	ที่กระถางทูปเทียนนั้นเขียนทอง	ทั้งเตียงรองหล่นลคนั้นรจนา
444	อันเครื่องร้านที่สำหรับประดับของ	ล้วนแก้วแหวนเงินทองนั้นหนักหนา
446	แพรพรรณสรรพสิ่งกลานตา	ทั้งเสื้อผ้ามุ้งม่านตระการใจ
448	ทั้งถ้วยโถโอจานแลจันอัป	จะคลนนามนับไปเปนไหน ๆ
450	บ้างหาบคอนร่อนขายอุบายไป	บ้างเคาะไม้แทนปากก็มากมาย
452	อันหมูแพะแกะกทิงมะหิงหาร	วัละพันก็ไม่พานภอขาย
454	เต็มตะหลาดดาบดูไม่รู้วาย	บ้างซื้อจ่ายวุ่นไขว่กันไปมา
456	มีแต่จะฆ่าสัตว์ตัดชีวาตร	เปนตรุษสาตรไถยจิตรข้างมิจฉา
458	ไม่อายบาปหยาบพันที่คลณา	ความอุสาหมิให้เสียสิ่งไรไป
460	ที่นำกว้านร้านตะหลาดนั้นกวาดเลี่ยน	ตะหลิบเตียนมิให้มีสิ่งใดได้
462	อันหญิงชายประชาข้าเวียงไชย	ก็วิ่งไขว่ซ้อหน้ามาอลวล
464	บ้างอุ้มลูกจูงยายตะกายหลาน	ก็กลนลานวิ่งเบียดกันเสียดสน
466	ที่ชารามายากลำบากตน	ก็จี้คนรีบเร่งมาเลงแล
468	เอาแหวันตาติคนตร์เข้าเฟ่งพิศ	หวังจิตรให้รู้จักกระหนกแน่

430	[and] then go pay respect to the royal letter;	and [greet] the envoys and officials all together.
432	[Envoys are invited to] sit in litters carried by people,	to go along the main street;
434	bricks are paved smoothly all the way as far as the eye can see,	[even] the edges of the path are fine and flat.
436	[There are] shops selling various goods on both sides (Figure 5.19);	[signboards] look exotic as they are all made of plywood;
438	carefully trimmed, written on, and painted in red;	and right in front of the shop is a nameboard in gold;
440	[as it] is the convention of all commercial business;	to write a list of products for [customers] to see.
442	Incense and candles are gilded with gold;	[and] stacked on shelves.
444	In the shop for decorative items;	glasses, rings, silver and gold [jewelries] abound;
446	[as well as] different kinds of silk, everything is dazzling;	from clothes, curtains to mosquito nets, all are pleasing to the heart.
448	All cups, jars and plates and Chinese sweets,	[there are] too many of them to name which is which.
450	Some [vendors] skillfully carry woven baskets with a shoulder pole to peddle;	some tap out a rhythm with wooden planks instead of chanting.
452	Pig, goat, sheep, bull, buffalo and goose;	a thousand [of them are sold] each day but the demand is still not met;
454	the extensive market appears to have no end (Figure 5.18);	some purchase in a rush [while others] come and go.
456	But animals are being killed, lives being ended;	[especially] for festivals like the New Year;
458	[their] shameless wrongdoings are beyond measure;	but [they are] determined not to lose any [opportunities to sell].
460	[The space] in front of the market and all shops are swept clean;	the whole area is cleared, nothing is allowed to be left behind.
462	Men, women, all citizens of the walled city;	run and scramble to come out;
464	some grab a hold of the kids and grandmas [who were] carrying babies on their backs;	[they all] scurry hastily, bumping shoulders [with each other] in the crowd.
466	[It is] arduous for the elderly to come on their own;	so [they] ride on shoulders to come quickly to see;
468	[some] put on glasses and start squinting;	in the hope of getting a better look;

470	ทั้งสาวหนุ่มกลุ่มกัณฑ์มาอัดแอ	ซ้อแซ่ฟ่งพิศพิณิดไท
472	อันหมู่สาวสุตามัดชีมาหม้าย	นั่นแต่งกายแซมมวยด้วยไม้ไหว
474	ที่เยี่ยมยลยุบนตึกโน	นั่นอำไภยพิศพริ้งพรายตา
476	คูยืนแต่ละหย่างกับนางเขียน	ทั้งจับเขียนย้วยวนเสน่ห์หา
478	ผัดภักตรพิวพรรณดั่งจันทรา	ในยนากวัดแกว่งคั้งแสงนิน
480	นาสิกเสื่องทรงดั่งวงขอ	งามคองามคิ้วควนถวิล
482	งามเกศคำเพชภุมริน	ปักปิ่นมวยห้อยสร้อยสุวรรณ
484	ปากแดงนั้นด้วยแสงลื่นจีแต่้ม	เมื่อยิ้มแย้มหน้าชมพิรมขวัน
486	ใส่เสื่องงามสามศรีสลักกัน	พื่นสุวรรณแวววาบวิไลใจ
488	แม่น้องคพระธิดาดวงสมร	จะเอกเอี่ยมอรชรสักเพียงไหน
490	แต่ได้คูหมู่ข้ายังอาไล	คั้งสายใจนี้จะยึดไปหีบชม
492	เห็นกานอายุทิมะม้ายแล้วเมียงภักตร	ก็ประจักษ์แต่ว่าต่างภาษาสม
494	แต่ขรเนตรเสียบเนตรสังเกดคม	ยิ่งนิยมอบต้องตระหลอดใจ
496	ถึงต่างชาติกันก็ดีโลกิจิตร	อันการคิดนี้จะเว้นแก่ใครไหน
498	ก็ห้ามเหนไว้ให้เปนประมาณใจ	แล้วค้นไลตามรัถยามา
500	อันชมสาวที่ชาวสถนนมาศ	ไม่อุจาดเหมือนจีนประจำท่า
502	อันรูปทรงสรรเสริญจำเริญตา	ครั้นพิศเบื่องบาทาก็เสียดาย
504	เอาผ้าคาดชิงเหนี่ยวจนเรียวรัด	พาวิบัตอินทรีให้มีสลาย
506	จะดำเนรมิใคร่ตรงภอทรงกาย	ยอมใช้ชายขายค้ำมาให้กิน
508	มีแต่จะพึงฟัวเปนคร้วใช้	ตัวได้แต่จะร่วมพิรมถวิน

470	young girls and boys also [push their way through] the throng;	to look closely at the Siamese and exclaim.
472	From girls to ladies, matrons and widows;	they all dress up by inserting a wooden pin into their hair knots (Figure 5.20);
474	[they] look sublime on the balconies;	[they are] so beautiful and graceful to look at.
476	Looking at them standing [it is like] each and every one is delicately drawn by artists;	[their] postures are effortlessly alluring;
478	[their] powdered faces give a complexion [as fair] as the moon;	[their] fluttering eyes dazzle like jewels;
480	[their] aquiline noses are as sharp as a hook;	[their] gorgeous necks and eyebrows make one yearn [for more];
482	[their] beautiful hair is as black as a bee;	[their] hair knots are set with pins with dangling gold pendants;
484	[their] lips are red like being dabbed by the gleam of lychee;	when they smile [it is so] delightful [that it] lifts one's spirit;
486	[their] lovely clothes consist of three alternating colors;	embroidered by glittering gold [threads] which is exquisite.
488	How lovely would the princess be	[when] the commoners [are already so] pure and slender;
490	[I feel] sorrowful for the servants;	such sweethearts [should have been admired like] picking up and smelling [a flower].
492	Too shy to be looked at, [they] steal a glimpse and turn [their] faces;	[it] is evident that despite the language differences;
494	the arrow of glance can pierce sharply into the eyes of the beholder.	The more [I] admire; [the stronger the] answer [I have] in [my] heart:
496	[Even] in foreign lands, worldly desires still find [their way into one's] mind;	these desires eclipse the who and the why;
498	so [I] forbid [myself from] looking to rein in [my] heart;	and carry on walking along the street.
500	[I] see a young girl [who] lives on land;	[she is] not as disgraceful as those Chinese girls at the harbor;
502	her figure is easy on the eyes;	[but it is] pitiful to look down at her feet;
504	[which are] tightened by cloth until constricted;	bringing deformation to the anatomy.
506	[Thus women] can stay balanced but cannot walk straight;	[they] most likely depend on men to make a living;
508	[and] rely on the husband for household affairs;	she herself only offering sex acts.

510	แต่ชายถ้อยทูลจิตพิศดกระบิล	ย่อมคว่ำผินประคิพทอยู่อุตรา
512	จะเข้าออกนอกในก็ใช้สอย	บุรุษรูปน้อยน้อยโอ้อ่า
514	อันยากวันนีพทที่ไปมา	เที่ยวพิททอาจารย์ขอไม่ภอกิน
516	ก็อุบายทำกายนั้นต่าง ๆ	จะรำปางโดยคูไม่รู้สิ้น
518	บางอุจาทนทำทั้งกายิน	บ้างนั่งนอนนอนดั้นลงโดยจน
520	บ้างก็เอามีดสับจับอิฐต่อ	จนโลหิตแดงย่อยไปเต็มถนน
522	มิได้ของแล้วก็ร้องไม่จรด	ไปเหนจนก็ได้คิดอะนิจจา
524	อันเหล่าเจียงทหารใหญ่ในกรุงศรี	นั้นใส่หมวกจามรีถ้วนหน้า
526	แวดล้อมเหล่าไทให้ไคลคลา	ใคร่ผ่านหน้าตีต้อนตะบึงไป
528	ก็ลุดลตำบลงกวนเก่า	สถานทูตเคยเข้าอยู่อาไศรย
530	เปนตีกตรอกอยู่นอกเวียงไชย	ก็เชิญราชสารไว้ที่ควรการ
532	แล้วส่งของที่คุมไปขึ้นไว้ห้าง	ตามร่างเรื่องตราโกษาสาร
534	ทั้งสองห้างตามอย่างธรรมเนียมนาน	แล้วแจ้งของที่ประทานนั้นออกไป
536	ข้างจตทหมู่อผู้มีสติ	เขาคำริะแล้วไม่รับประทานได้
538	ว่ากฎห้ามกวดขันถึงบันไลย	ประนมไหว้ควรขอบพระคุณมา
540	แล้วให้คนเรวรับยังนักเรศ	ถวายเหตุราชคฤฤหา
542	แต่กำหนดนับไว้ทั้งไปมา	นี้ทางม้ายี่สิบเจดราตรี
544	ผู้ถือสารจึงเอาสารรับสั่งส่ง	ให้กับจตทหมู่อ
546	แล้วคัดข้อสารมาภาทิ	ว่าพระเจ้าหมื่นปีนั้นโปรดปราน
548	ให้ส่งทูตไปถวายอภิवास	ตามราชตำราโบราณสาร

510	But [some] despicable men cheat on the system;	disrupting the social norm [by committing adultery];
512	spending a lot wherever [they] go;	[soon these] men appear to be less and less decent.
514	Beggars wander around (Figure 5.20);	[to go ask] for alms [for they do] not have enough to eat;
516	[they do] all kinds of tricks with their bodies;	to appear [as if they are] on the verge of their last breath.
518	Some smear [their] whole body with dirt;	some sit, beg, sleep and writhe to look shabby;
520	some hurt [themselves] with a knife or brick;	until blood seeps all over the street.
522	[When] no handout is given, they scream and tarry;	seeing such scenes makes [one] cry out ‘Oh dear!’
524	A group of high-ranking officers in Kwangtung;	each and every one [of them] wear a hat with tassels;
526	[come] surround the Siamese to escort [us];	[while] fencing off the passersby to keep [us] moving;
528	until [we] arrive in the district of old <i>kong-kuan</i> (Figure 5.17);	where the envoys used to stay.
530	[It] is a building on a narrow path outside the walled city;	[there] the royal letter is submitted;
532	and the tribute goods [in our] care are sent to be put in the <i>hang</i> (Canton Factories);	following the protocol of maritime diplomacy.
534	The two factories [that our goods are sent to] have long followed the tributary custom;	[the factory owners] then go out to report on the goods received.
536	<i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> are men of competence;	they reckon [that it is] not appropriate to accept the tribute;
538	[they] says [there are] strict relocations not to be violated;	[they] put their hands together respectfully to thank [us] for coming;
540	[and] send [someone] to hurry to the city [of Beijing];	to present the matter to the Emperor.
542	The journey to and fro is counted	to be 27 nights by horse;
544	the messenger then delivers the royal decree	to <i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> ;
546	and an excerpt of the decree is announced;	stating that the Venerable Emperor [who shall live for] 10,000 years showed mercy;
548	an audience with the envoy is granted;	following the ancient royal protocol;

550	กับสิ่งของในคลองบรรณาการ	ที่นอกหย่างบูรณมีมา
552	นั้นไม่รับครั้งจะกลับให้คืนของ	รวางคลองเหมือนไม้แสนเส่นหา
554	เสียดายราชไม้ตรีที่มีมา	ทางชะเลก็เป้นถ้ำกันคานนาน
556	ก็ควรขายจำหน่ายเอาทุณทรัพย์	ให้คืนกลับอยู่ทชยามหาสถาน
558	แต่ช่างนอนั้นเป้นข้อประสงนาน	ให้บอกบรรณาการขึ้นส่งไป
560	อันจังกอบสินค้ำบันดาของ	นั้นปลงปองโปรดปรานประทานให้
562	ให้นายห้างปลุกษาข้าหลวงไท	ตามใจจำหน่ายขายกัน
564	แต่ข้อทูตที่จะได้ไปอภิวย	ยังพระบาทหมื่นปีศรีสวรรย์
566	ต่อแล้วการคำรพอภิวัน	ปั้นสื่อนิ่มหน้มโหลาน
568	เป้นปีนปักหลักจีนทุกจังหวัด	เหมือนไทถือน้ำพิทพิทธีสถาน
570	ประชุมชอบพร้อมหน้าปุชาการ	วันประสูตรพระผู้ผ่านนัครา
572	ครั้งถึงวันที่จะทำโดยกำหนด	เดือนสิบเบ็ดขึ้นทศมาสา
574	จึงจตกหมู้อี้ให้ลีลา	มาเชิญทูตกับข้าหลวงจร
576	ไปอภิวันปั้นสื่อในนัครศ	ตามเพทขุนนางแต่ปางก่อน
578	ช่างทูตไทผู้จะไปถวายกร	ก็ผันผ่อนแต่งเงให้งามทรง
580	เป้นคนเจนซัดเซนในเชิงเก่า	ถึงแก่เกล้าก็จิริตยังหีบหย่ง
582	นุ่งยกช่องกระจกโจงผจง	ฉลององค์อัดหัดประทานงาม
584	เอาเสนาภฎใส่วิไลเกษ	ดั่งไชยเขตบูรณชาญสนาม
586	พระพีเลี้ยงข้าหลวงทั้งปวงตาม	ทหารหามคั้นเกี่ยวด้วยกันไป
588	ครั้งไปถึงที่ประตุเห็นหมู่ทหาร	ริมทวารขัดดาบคูไสว

550	and the goods within the tributary arrangement are accepted;	those outside [of the arrangement can be sold] like before.
552	Goods that are not accepted this time shall be returned;	[it feels] like the tributary goods are not being fully appreciated;
554	such a shame for the time-honored royal friendship;	[it is] such a pity as the maritime trade has long been [like] a port deprived of water;
556	[we] ought to trade and bring in wealth;	to return to the great city of Ayutthaya.
558	But elephant and rhino horns have long been desirable;	those are accepted to be sent [as tribute].
560	[As for] the port tax for the whole shipment;	exemption has been granted out of the mercy;
562	<i>Hang</i> owners are asked to consult with the Siamese officials;	to sell the goods together as they see fit.
564	As per the decree the envoy get to go appear before	the Emperor, [may] he live long in heaven.
566	After [the announcement we all] hail and salute;	the Emperor;
568	[the deference to the Emperor] is deeply ingrained in each province in China;	[it is] similar to the Siamese ceremony of pledging the oath of allegiance;
570	[we all ought to] get ready to gather to make offerings;	on the birthday of the Venerable Emperor.
572	When the day has come as planned,	on the 10 th day of the waxing moon of the 11 th month (27 September 1781);
574	<i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> proceed with grace;	to come invite the envoys and the officials;
576	to go and worship the Emperor in the city;	according to the rank of [each] title, like former times.
578	Siamese envoys shall go and pay respect;	time is allowed to inspect [our] attire from all angles [to make sure it is] impeccable;
580	[the envoy] is well-versed in the ancient tradition and old conventions;	[he] conducts [himself] with poise despite his elderly age.
582	[He] carefully tightens up [his] traditional pants;	neatens [his] ceremonial shirt to make [it] beautiful;
584	[and] puts on the [traditional] headdress (Figure 3.12);	looking like a victorious veteran warrior who had triumphed on the battlefield.
586	The servants all follow behind;	[while] soldiers carry the litters to go together.
588	When arriving at the door [we] see groups of soldiers	buffing [their] shiny swords by the entrance.

590	ทั้งสองแถวรัยคาไป	ที่ชั้นในไว้เหล่าที่เกาทัน
592	ทั้งง้าวปิ่นย่นงามไปตามถนน	ที่ว่างคนลคเลี้ยวเป็นหลายหลั่น
594	ถึงสถานที่จะได้ไปอภิวัน	พิศพรรณเพียงจะแลละลานตา
596	ล้วนปิดทองทำมาชาติแล้ววาดเขียน	ธงเทียรพืนสุวรรณ์เลขา
598	ที่ถิ่นถานสอ้านโอพา	รจณา โคมเคียงเรียงกัน
600	อันโรงรีซึ่งเป็นที่สำหรับรับ	นั้นประดับแพรแดงแกลิ่งสัน
602	ใส่ภูรายข่ายรอบเป็นขอบคัน	เอาพืนพรรณ์แพรลาดเป็นหลังคา
604	แล้วก็แซมดอกไม้กับใบสน	เป็นที่ย่นับถือกันหนักหนา
606	พอจ้งตกหม้ออีลีลามา	ทั้งขุนนางช้อนหน้ามาเนื่องกัน
608	แต่ยื่นรับค่านับที่หนักหนา	ออกระอาแล้วไม่วายที่ผายผัน
610	ครันพร้อมหน้าแล้วก็ภากันจรจัด	ไปอภิวันป็นสื่อสำหรับมา
612	เขาขุขลุกลุกพร้อมแล้วกรอมกราบ	ข้างเหล่าไทมิไคร่ราบแต่โรยหา
614	ก็กลั่นสวนอยู่จนท่วนทั้งสามครา	แล้วกลับมาสถิตย์โรงเมื่อแรกไป
616	จงดกให้ยกโตะมาตั้งเลี้ยง	ตะหลอดเรียงรวดรายทั้งนายไพร่
618	ครันเสพเสร็จสำเร้จกันจะคันไล	หม้ออีจ้งปราไสด้วยวาจา
620	เราป็นสื่อด้วยกันในวันนี้	ก็เป็นทีบุญธรรมนั้นหนักหนา
622	ครันสายแสงแรงศรีพระสุริยา	ก็ต่างคนต่างคลาไปจากกัน
624	ฝ่ายทูตก็คืนควรงกวนเก่า	ค่านวนเนานับนานอยู่ที่นั้น
626	ครันถึงเดือนสิบสองสุกรวัน	ขึ้นสำคัญสามค่าจะจำจร
628	หม้ออีจ้งให้เชิญพระราชสาร	บรรณาการทูตอันจะผันผ่อน

590	[The soldiers] march in a two-line formation;	comprising groups of archers;
592	pikemen and gunmen, [and then they all] readily parade down the street;	passersby scramble to zigzag out of the way.
594	Upon reaching the destination for worship;	[we] see a lustrous array of displays;
596	[which is] all painted and gilded in gold;	the flags and candles are ornamented with gold lines;
598	the abode is spotless and majestic;	[in which] sublime lanterns hang closely next to each other.
600	The tapered area [dedicated] for welcoming guests	is a structure separately built and decorated with red silk;
602	with strands of tassel dangling from all around the ridges;	[and] covered by an assortment of silks as the rooftop;
604	then adorned with flowers and leaves;	[it] is truly awe-inspiring (Figure II.1).
606	As <i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> come strutting;	all noblemen and officials swarm up to them;
608	so much standing and greeting;	[it is] tedious and wearisome but [they] carry on.
610	When ready, they proceed together;	to worship and pay respect to the Emperor.
612	They murmur then kneel to prostrate;	no one among us Siamese [wants to] prostrate, [so we] try to bow [instead];
614	[and we] refrain from laughing until [we] bow exactly for three times.	Then [we] return to the area [where we] departed from;
616	order is given to set up a banquet;	speedy arrangement [is made] for both the officials and commoners.
618	When the feast is over, [we] leave together,	<i>mu-i</i> makes a speech;
620	today we join the crowd and hail ‘Long live the Emperor’ together;	[we] must have made a lot of merits.
622	When the sun goes down;	each goes his own way;
624	the mission party goes back to old <i>kong-kuan</i> ;	[We] keep count of the days passed since [our] arrival.
626	On a Friday of the 12 th month,	the third day of the waxing moon, the critical day for departure (19 October 1781);
628	<i>cong-tok</i> and <i>mu-i</i> cordially asked for the royal letter,	for the tribute and envoys to be ready;

630	ประดับด้วยนาวาสถาวร	ขึ้นนครราชคฤห์คราวดี
632	อันโดยทางที่จะไปนั้นไตรมาต	จึงถึงราชปะกิ่งกรุงศรี
634	ฝ่ายทูตเขาจะไปไหนได้ดี	เพราะทุลิตบาทกุมคลุมไป
636	อันพวกผู้อยู่ขายจำหน่ายของ	แต่นั่งกรอมนอนกรอมจนผอมผู่
638	ที่ขาดเหลือเจือครบบันจบไป	ก็มีในบาณูชีย์ว่าทั้งห้าบาน
640	ครั้นเสร็จของเงินทองสำเร็จรับ	แล้วประดับเพชรมาสถาน
642	ความดีใจประหนึ่งได้วิมานปาน	แต่นับวารคอยคร่ำทุกเช้าเย็น
644	อันเหล่าไท่ที่ได้ไปเป็นเพื่อนยาก	คำมทะเลลำบากนั้นแสนเขน
646	แต่ตรากน้ำตราฝนแล้วทนเย็น	จะนั่งนอนแต่ขมั้นไม่เว้นวาง
648	อันที่ท่านสี่ลำลำภาพหลง	นั้นพุ่มพวงสารพัดไม่ขัดขวาง
650	จะแสนยากอยู่แต่เหล่าที่เช่าระวาง	ปืมปางจะไม่เห็นว่าเปนกาย
652	หากพระขันตีคุณกรุณาภาพ	ก้มกราบถึงพระบาทไม่ขาดสาย
654	จึงได้พ้นโทษอันร้าย	รอดตายมาขึ้นคืนเมือง
656	เอากะตัญตั้งระวังผิด	ราชกิจนั้นอุสาห์ไปว่าเนื่อง
658	ที่ภักดีโดยการกึ่งงานเปลื้อง	ไม่ยกเอื้องกิริยาเหมือนราไชย
660	เมื่อท่านยุกระบัดหาปฤษาของ	ก็ปิดป้องโรคาไม่มาได้
662	เอาอัสดที่วิบคั้นบอกไป	พวงใจอยู่ด้วยรักข้างลักขม
664	อีดอกที่องราวทองข้ามชาติ	พิศวาดิว่ามีได้เว้นวันสม
666	จนโรคนั้นพันทพค่างอุปทม	เสน่หาส่าลมขึ้นเต็มตัว
668	ครั้นเขาถามเขาหยอกก็บอกพราง	จนนายห้างยืนชี้ลงที่หัว

630	for the junks to be decorated and fitted;	to head to the heavenly city.
632	The journey shall take three months;	to reach the splendid capital city of Beijing.
634	The envoys safely go [on with their journey];	because [they are] protected by the King's power.
636	The group that stays behind carries on trading;	but [we] sit, think and sleep with a heavy heart so [we] become thin like twigs;
638	the products are stocked and checked;	against the list [that is] five-volumes long.
640	When the transactions are settled;	[and] the junks are fitted to set sail;
642	[we are] so glad as if [we are] receiving a divine residence;	every morning and night [we] count down to the day [of departure].
644	We Siamese have become true good friends;	as crossing the raging sea is arduous;
646	[we have to] brave the storm and rain while enduring the cold;	and keep [us] fully on guard no matter sitting or sleeping.
648	There are four royally commissioned junks;	they are fitted without any problems;
650	except the grave [situation] inside the junks' hold;	[the products are] stacked up so tightly that [one] cannot see anyone [in there].
652	With all the King's power, perfection and mercy,	[we] pay homage to the King at all times;
654	to triumph over all dangers;	to cheat death and return home [a] happy [man].
656	[We] work with gratitude to carefully avoid making any mistakes;	in order to say that [we have] done [our best] to complete the royal mission;
658	that [we have] faithfully fulfilled each task;	[and did] not shirk duties like [Luang] Rachai.
660	When the honorable <i>Yukkrabat</i> (judicial officer) comes to discuss the shipment;	[he] does not show up [in the attempt] to hide his sickness;
662	to be deceitful about such misdeeds;	[as he is] anxious about his secret love affair.
664	That slut is a pure vixen, a person with no virtue;	not a day [were they] not intimately involved;
666	until [he is] stricken with a sexually transmitted disease;	with rashes flaring up all over his body.
668	When asked or teased, he tries to lie;	until the factory owner points [him] out,

670	แล้วเขาพ้อว่าเจ้าคุณนี้บุญตัว	จึงจับได้แต่ไ้วันนั้นไปแทน
672	ทำให้อ่อนวอนความถึงสามกลับ	เขาจึงปรับเอาแต่น้อยก็ร้อยแผ่น
674	หากเอาเงินหลวงใส่ไปให้แทน	จึงได้พื่นค่าแผ่นเพราะทำดี
676	ให้เขาชมชาวเราว่าเจ้าชู้	พิเคราะห์ดูก็เป็นหน้าบัคศรีผี
678	พลอยเอาตมเต็มหน้าให้รำคิ	มิเสียที่จ้าวใช้ไปได้อาย
680	ประการใดไปทางระวางเหตุ	ก็สังเครธยาเข้ามาถวาย
682	เหนการค้ำเหลือบ่าจะแบกตะพาย	ถ้าหักค่ายหฤชาติทับขอรับไป
684	ไม่เหนช่องเลยว่ของพระราชทรัพย์	จะได้กลับหฤมากลายเปนนายได้
686	แล้วแสนยากที่ชะเลคะเนไกล	ก็กลับภามาได้สวดกดี
688	ดั่งเทวามาสุมประชุมทรัพย์	ไว้สำหรับเนื้อหน่อพระฉิมศรี
690	จะสั่งสมอบรมพระบารมี	ในยุคนี้บันจบให้ครบกลับปี
692	ชรอยอักบุรุษอุดมวงษ์	ในสิบองค์โพธิสัตว์ดุสิตสวรรค์
694	ได้ลัทธยาเทตทายทำนายธรรม	ในอันต์สำนักชินเนรนาน
696	จึงคนใจให้พระองค์ทรงนั่ง	บันลังก์รักรศพระกำถาน
698	ให้ทรงเครื่องนพรัตน์ช้ชวาร	พระชมณญแทนเบญจะกุฎพัน
700	เอาพระไตรยลักษณ์ทรงเปนมงกุฎ	ก็งามสุดยอดฟ้าสุชาสวรรค์
702	เอาพระศีลสุจริตในกิจธรรม	เป็นสุวรรณเนาวะรัตน์สังวาร
704	เอาพระวิมุติธรรมเป็นคันฉัตร	เอาพระสัตเปนระใบไพसार
706	ล้วนเครื่องศีลวัดอันช้ชวาร	พระอุเบกขาญาณเปันทานกร
708	เอาพระไวยปัญญาเปนอนูฐ	ตัดวิมุติสงไสแล้วสั่งสอน

670	[but the factory owner] says that [Luang Rachai] is a person of high rank,	so Ai Wua (a contemptible person) is arrested in his place.
672	[We] plead and plead three times;	[and] finally the sentence is lowered to a fine of 100 taels;
674	If [our] state fund is to be handed over instead [of a fine];	then [it shall] cost more than [100] taels, so [the Chinese officials did us] a favor.
676	[However] they now see all of us as adulterers;	whose minds are full of filthy thoughts.
678	The gem is now tarnished with imperfection;	[our effort of] not bringing any shame to the mission is unfortunately negated.
680	In any case, [I am glad] to be able to serve on the junk;	observe the protocol to bring forth the offerings [to the King];
682	[and] see how the trade is carried out.	If [I were to be] drafted into army, [which is a duty I would have] accepted it whole-
684	then regretfully [I shall] not get to see the sales of [what we] called royal properties;	[but] the [land-bound] journey [as a soldier] to and fro would have been easier.
686	Voyages are strenuous, probably [because of] the long distance;	[I hope] the return voyage comes with ease;
688	as if the deities are gathering wealth;	to be offered to the descendant of the Buddha;
690	for the cultivation of perfection;	in this era till the end of the aeons;
692	[and] as if the great man from the noble race;	among the 10 Bodhisattvas in Tusita heaven;
694	had received the prophecies	from one of the Buddhas since time immemorial;
696	thus [the prophecies] inspired him to sit down	upon the throne, for the love of the taste of meditation;
698	[and] wear the luminous garment made of nine propitious gems.	He values religious wisdom, instead of his five pieces of regalia;
700	takes the three marks of existence as his crown	of utmost beauty in all heavens and earths;
702	the righteous precepts	as his golden, nine gems cross-body chain;
704	the teaching of liberation as his umbrella shaft;	[and] the truth as his large canopy.
706	These are all resplendent, virtuous conducts.	[He takes] the contemplation of equanimity as his cane;
708	and the sharpness of his wisdom as his weapon	to silence his doubts about deliverance; and preach.

710	สว่างแจ่มกว่าแสงกิมกร	สถาวรทั่วโลกย์แลงาม
712	จะคูโดยโลกีย์เป็นที่รักษ์	ถึงามนั้กสุดโลกย์เหลือถาม
714	จะคูฤทธิ์เล่าก็คล้ายนารายณ์ราม	จะชูงามไปทั่วกาลาปา
716	ขอพรพระศรีรัตนไตรย	อันเปนใจจอมพุทธศาสนา
718	ช่วยบำบัตต์ดาปชรรมา	ให้ลู่โดยเจตนาโพธิญาณ
720	ขอพรบรมเมศวรเรื่องฤทธิ์	ซึ่งสถิตย์อุสุราชเรื่องสถาน
722	เชิญช่วยพระองค์ทรงชนมาน	ให้คงการกำหนดภูพระไทยตรอม,
724	ขอพรพิศนุพงษ์ทรงสังข์	ประทมทิพยบัลลังก์พุชชงฉลอง
726	ช่วยล้างมารผลาญหมู่ศัตรูปอง	ให้มาช่องเคียรกัมบังคมกัน
728	ขออรบงกชพิวัลย์ไว	ที่กันไลยหงษ์ทิพรังสรร
730	ช่วยดับโศกวัณโรคโรคนัน	ให้ทรงพระฉวีวรรณสมบูรณงาม
732	ขอพรหัตไนยกันโลกช	สารเสวตรตรีทศเคียรสาม
734	ช่วยดำรงดำรงชี้คืความ	พยายามไพร่ฟ้าประชาชน
736	อันสมบัติในจังหวัดทวีปนี้	ให้อยู่ในพระบารมีทุกแห่งหน
738	ให้พระเกียรติ์ก้องฟ้าสุธาคล	ขอพระชนได้รื้อยพระวษาเอย ๗๕๐๗

710	His brilliant, beautiful wisdom outshines the sun,	[which] casts rays everlastingly around the world.
712	Looking up with worldly eyes;	[the wisdom] is the most beautiful in the world.
714	His prowess resembles Lord Narai-Rama,	well reputed for aeons.
716	May the three gems,	the heart of Buddhism,
718	relieve him from sins;	and enable him to attain enlightenment, as he wishes.
720	May the powerful Lord Ishvara,	upon the great bull Ushubharaja and his brilliant abode,
722	enable him to live	as long as he wishes.
724	May Lord Vishnu, with a conch shell in his hand,	who slumbers upon his great naga-throne,
726	defeat daemons and grudging enemies;	and bring them all to prostrate before him.
728	May Lord Brahma, lotus-born,	who travels by his magical swan,
730	relieve him from woeful illnesses;	so that his skin shines perfectly.
732	May the Lord of a thousand eyes (Indra), who rides	the white thirty-three-headed elephant,
734	guide him to the right path of helping	struggling people.
736	May all the treasures of the worlds	gather under his reign.
738	May his glory resound throughout heavens and earths.	May his years reach a hundred.

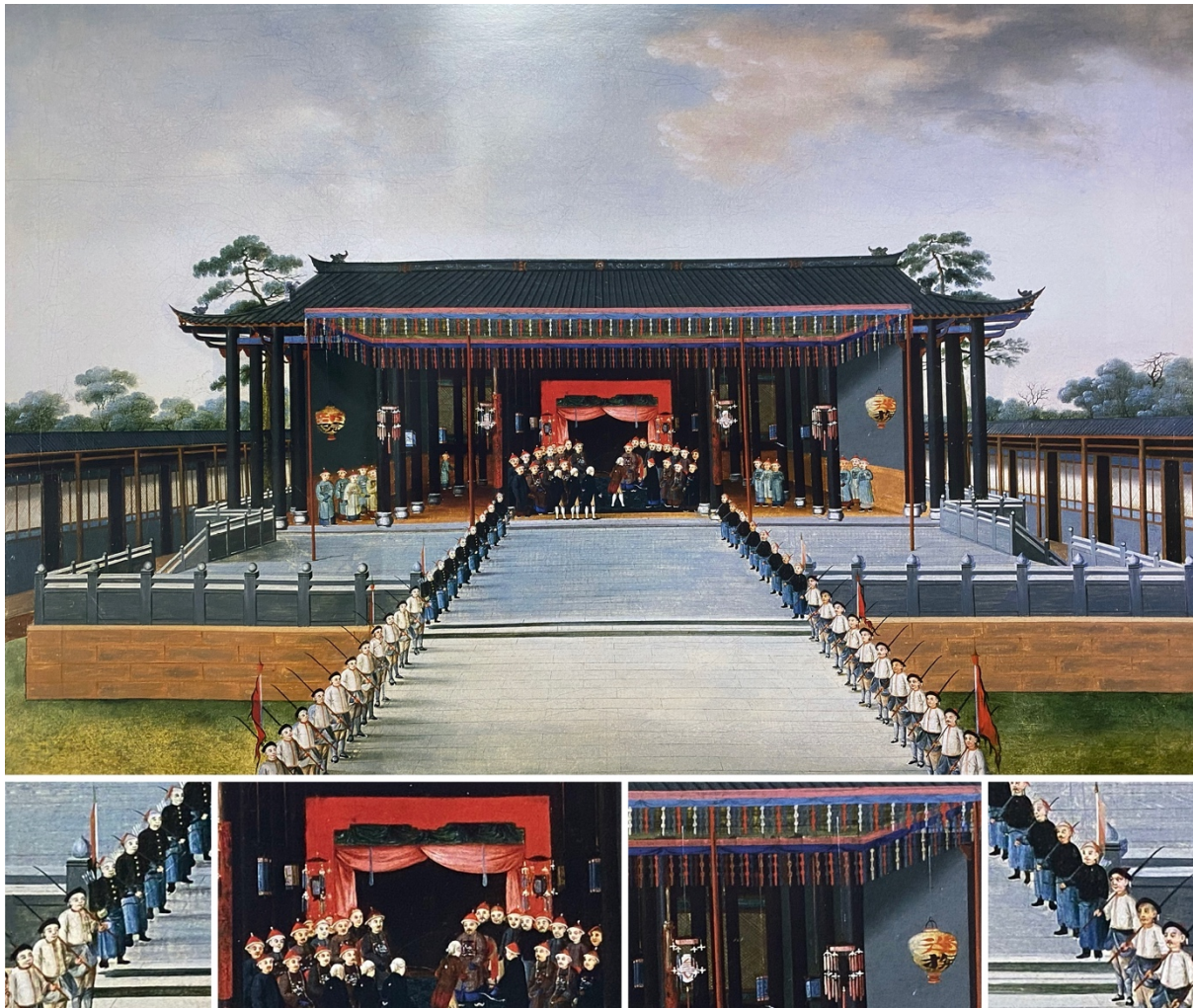


Figure II.1 This oil painting Reception of Lord Macartney by the Viceroy of Canton shows the meeting on 19 December 1793 in Guangzhou, after Macartney's audience with Emperor Qianlong. The arrangement of soldiers and ornaments echoes the description in the *Nirat Kwangtung* of the banquet hosted by viceroy of Guangzhou on the occasion of Emperor Qianlong's birthday. The archers, pikemen and gunmen line two sides while the sheltered area is decorated with lanterns, tassels and red silks. Source: Conner (2013:136)¹

¹ Chinese artist, oil on canvas, 110.5 x 75.5 cm.

Appendix III Translation of CMH. R.3 #10 (1834)

Rayathang rüang rüa bai pai müang yuan ระยะทางเรือใบไปเมืองญวน [Sailing Distance to the City of Vietnam]

We, Phra Phakdiwanit, Phra Sonthorawanit, Phra Maitriwanit and Luang Camroenwanit, received order to consult with a Chinese-Vietnamese helmsman² and at the same time measure the distance from Hue to Saigon, then report back to His Majesty.

In the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th months, it is the season of the east wind, which is a good wind. It is possible to go quickly from Hue to Saigon in only nine or 10 days. But for the return, it is not possible in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th months. In the 5th month, it is possible to return to Hue in some 17 or 18 days.

In the 6th, 7th and 8th months, it is the season of the south wind, the monsoon, which is an upwind. It is thus not possible to go down from Hue to Saigon. For the return, if it is the monsoon wind, then one can go quickly, reaching Hue in nine or 10 days.

In the 9th, 10th and 11th months, it is the season of the east wind, slanted towards the south, and the west wind. The winds fluctuate, so it is hard to look for a place to stand. From Hue to go down to Saigon, it is necessary to sail for about 21 or 22 days to reach Saigon. For the return, if the wind is not favorable, then one can reach Hue in 25 or 26 days.

In the 12th and 1st months, it is the season of the strong north wind and the east wind slanted towards the south; the waves are big and storms can happen amid the rain. It is therefore not possible to go from Hue to Saigon. For the return, if there is a rainstorm and big waves hitting towards the coast, then it is not possible to sail forward.

The distances out from Hue to go Saigon and places to call at for fetching water and collecting firewoods, if the wind is good, are:

From	Day	To
Hue	1	Hansò mountain, in front of Huian City;
Hansò mountain	½	Ciam Pit Lò Island;
	1	Wualo Island, at rivermouth of Khwang Ngai City;
Wualo Island	2	river mouth of Kuyioen City;

² The helmsman is called 舵公 *duo gong* in Mandarin Chinese, which means “steersman.” In the Chaozhou dialect, it is pronounced *tai kong*.

river mouth of Kuiyoen City	1	river mouth of Phuian City;
river mouth of Phuian City	1	river mouth of Yatrang City;
river mouth of Yatrang City	2	Wuayim, at the river mouth of Saigon.

The outer route from Saigon to Phutthaimas City.

In the 11th, 12th and 1st months, it is the season of the east wind, Phutthaimas City can be reached quickly in four or five days.

In the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th months, it is also possible to go. If it is the season of the north wind, it will take some six or seven days to reach Phutthaimas City. To return to Saigon, one must sail for three or four days to Man Island. From Man Island to Saigon, it is not possible in the east wind and north wind, which are upwinds.

In the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th months, it is the season of the south wind; the wind and waves are strong. It is not possible to go from Saigon to Phutthaimas City. But for the return, one can sail quickly. With the west wind, it takes five or six days to reach Saigon.

The inner route from the mouth of the river at Saigon to the ocean. When the wind is good, then:

From	Day	To
river mouth of Saigon	½	river mouth of Samitò City;
river mouth of Samitò City	½	river mouth of Longho City;
river mouth of Longho City	½	river mouth of Basak City;
river mouth of Basak City	½	Uiloe Island.

If the waves and winds are strong, ships should sail to Uiloe Island; if the waves and winds are as usual, ships should go from the outer side of Uiloe Island to Man Island. Man Island and Uiloe Island are the same - about ½ a day in distance between each other. If there is a south wind, ships from the south sail on the outer side of Man Island. If the Vietnamese junk is 12 or 12 wa long, then it can sail to Man Island or Uiloe Island. From the head of Uiloe Island, sail one day to the very end of Uiloe Island. Sailing out from the end of Uiloe Island, one can see river mouth of Khema City.

From	Day	To
river mouth of Khema City	1	Teksia City;
Teksia City	1	Phutthaimas City;

Phutthaimas City	½	Kampòt City; and see Tun Island in about ½ day in the south direction
Kampòt City	½	Chong Dangmüng for getting water and woods;
Dangmüng	½	Kraphongsom City;
Kraphongsom City	½	Kong Island;
Saigon	6,7	
Kong Island	1	Kut Island, Chang Island, in front of Trad City;
Chang Island	1	Sing peninsula, river mouth of Chanthaburi City;
river mouth of Chanthaburi City	1	Samet Island;
Samet Island	½	river mouth of Rayòng City;
river mouth of Rayòng City	½	Chòng Saemsan;
Chòng Saemsan	1	Sichang Island, in front of Bang Lamung City;
Sichang Island	1	river mouth of Chao Phraya.
Saigon City	13,14	

From the river mouth of Saigon, big ships will take the outer route:

From	Day	To
river mouth of Saigon	2	Man Island;
Man Island	½	Khwang Yai;
Khwang Yai	1	Khwang Nòi.

From Khwang Nòi, in the 2nd and 3rd months, two months in the season of the east wind, slanted towards the south, one must sail along the eastern coast:

From	Day	To
Khwang Nòi	3,4	Chòng Kampan Island;
Chòng Kampan Island	1	Phai Island;
Phai Island	1	behind Tao.

Going straight into river mouth of Chao Phraya is a route that will take 9 or 10 days.

In the 4th and 5th months, two months in the season of the south wind, the monsoon, then:

From	Day	To
Khwang Nòi	4,5	the front of Sam Ròi Yòt mountain;
Sam Ròi Yòt mountain	½	Chao Lai;
Chao Lai	½	Phai Island;
	1	behind Tao.

Going straight into river mouth of Chao Phraya is a route that will take 3 days.

The 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th months are the season of the west wind blowing strong, and waves are big. It is not possible to enter Phutthaimas City and Khwang Nòi.

In the 10th, 11th, 12th and 1st months, the season of the east wind, a turning head wind, it is not possible to take the outer route because there is a strong wind, with big waves. If one must sail, then take the inner route.

To set up bases for cruisers to watch out for ships sailing on the eastern route – one at Kut island, one at Chòng Kampan Island; on the western route – one at Sam Ròi Yòt.

To set up patrol ships in the inner route – one for Kong island, Chang Island, Kut island and Sichang Island.

Going from Saigon to Phutthaimas City: In the 11th, 12th and 1st months, it can be done quickly; in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th months, it is also possible; in the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th months, it is not possible.

Appendix IV The Siamese Mission of 1781

The Siamese mission of 1781, sent by King Taksin, was of particular significance as it rekindled tributary relations with China after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. The mission, like its predecessor, consisted of two components: tribute and trade.

The tribute was submitted in a straightforward manner as there was protocol to follow. The lists of tribute prepared by the Siamese monarch and the rewards granted are summarized below.

The trade usually only concerned ballast cargo. Yet on this particular occasion, King Taksin prepared additional tribute and gifts for Chinese officials and factory merchants. Only the male elephant and one picul of rhino horn were accepted among the additional tribute while the other gifts were repudiated. The emperor allowed all unaccepted goods to be sold tax-free in Guangzhou alongside the ballast cargo.

The number of goods and their values, however, differ in the Thai and Chinese sources. Textual criticism was employed to analyze the three extant sources: the Chinese Letter from King Taksin to the Viceroy and the Governor of Guangdong (1781); *Cotmai het khwam songcam* in Thai; and a Chinese article entitled “Notes on Phra Cao Tak Sin's Tribute to China in the Reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in Ching Dynasty,” by Hsu (1951a) and written with Thai sources. First, a summary of the text in the three sources is provided with an English translation. The Thai and Chinese texts follow the orthography in the original documents. Then a comparison is made to clarify the mistakes made in each source. Their discrepancies are discussed and resolved by the most reasonable assumptions.

Tribute

- **List of items submitted by the King and Queen of Siam**

The list was compiled using the Chinese memorial to Emperor Qianlong and CMH.R.1 #3 (1782). The unit of most items was wrongly translated into Thai. It is unclear whether the mistakes were made during the translation in 1782 or in subsequent transmissions.

Tribute Items			King	Queen	Total	Unit
Gold leaf	金表	พระราชสาส์นแผ่นทอง	–		1	sheet
Male elephant	公象	ช้างพลาย	–		1	animal
Female elephant	母象	ช้างพัง	–		1	animal
Agarwood	沉香	ไม้เนื้อกฤษณา	2	1	3	catty

Ambergris	龍涎香	อำพัน	1	0.5	1.5	catty
Diamond	金剛鑽	กากเพชร	7	3	10	tael
Western carpet	西洋氈	พรม	2	1	3	sheet
Peacock's tail	孔雀尾	หางนกยูง	10	5	15	piece
Kingfisher's feathers	翠皮	ปีกนก	600	300	900	piece
Ivory	象牙	งาช้าง	300	150	450	catty
Rhino horn	犀角	นอระมาด	6	3	9	piece
Rose wood	降真香	กรักจี	100	50	150	catty
Sandal wood	檀香	จัน	100	50	150	catty
Formosa sweet gum	白膠香	ชันปีก	100	50	150	catty
Camphor	樟腦	การบูรณ์	100	50	150	catty
Long pepper	萆撥	ตีปลี	100	50	150	catty
Siam cardamom	白荳蔻	ลูกกระวาน	300	150	450	catty
Gamboge	藤黃	รง	300	150	450	catty
Chaulmoogra seed	大楓子	ลูกกระเบา	300	150	450	catty
Black wood	烏木	ไม้ดำ	300	150	450	catty
Cinnamon	桂皮	อบเชย	100	50	150	catty
Gambier	甘蜜皮	เปลือกดีเสียด	100	50	150	catty
Sappan wood	蘇木	ฝาง	30	15	45	picul

Table IV.1 List of tribute items submitted by King Taksin and his queen. Source: PMGCA *guji* no. 030660; and CMH.R.1 #3 (1782).

- **List of rewards granted to the monarch and the delegations of Siam**

The list of rewards was noted in the translated letter from the Board of Rites in CMH.R.1 #3 (1782). The Chinese did not leave a record of the actual rewards, only a memorial stating the rewards would be the same as those granted in Qianlong 31 (1766), the last tribute submission from Siam.⁶⁹⁶ Since one male elephant and one picul of rhino horn were accepted as additional tribute, extra rewards were also granted to the King and Queen of Siam, it is hard to estimate

⁶⁹⁶ *Ming Qing Shiliao Gengbian* 明清史料庚編 [Collection of Ming-Qing Historical Materials, Vol 7] (1987): vol 6, 540.

the value of the rewards as silks of the highest grade were reserved exclusively for the Qing court and hence no market price could be referenced. The rule of thumb was, however, to grant rewards with a value higher than that of the tribute submitted to show good faith.

Rewards			King	Queen	3 Envoys and <i>Pan-su</i> (each)	Tong-su	Others x 21 (each)
Various silk brocades with gold threads	แพรกิมตอน ⁶⁹⁷	金錦	8	–			
	แพรจิตกิมตอน	織金緞	8	4			
	แพรจิตกิมแสด	織金紗	8	4			
	แพรจิตกิมโล	織金羅	8	4	3	–	–
Various silk brocades	แพรแสด	紗	12	6	–	–	–
	แพรตอน	緞	18	6	8	5	–
	แพรหลอ	羅	18	6	5	5	–
	แพรลิ	綢	–	–	2	3	3
	แพรลิน	錦	–	–	5	–	–
Fine fabric	ผ้า	布	–	–	1	–	8
Total (in bolt):			80	30	24	13	11

Additional rewards for the king and queen				Unit
Silk brocade with dragon pattern	แพรมั่งตอน	蟒緞	2	bolt
	แพรกิมตอน	錦緞	2	
Various silk brocades	แพรเลี่ยมตอน	閃緞	1	
	แพรเกียนกิม	片金緞	1	
	แพรเปะคิตอน	白絲緞	4	
Jade objects	ขังยคคิ	玉器	1	piece
Agate objects	ขังมาเจ้า	瑪瑙器	1	

⁶⁹⁷ The Thai names of the fabrics are mostly transcription of their Chinese names.

Inkstone	ศิลาฝนหมึก	松花白硯	2
Enamel objects	เครื่องถมปิด	琺瑯	13
Ceramics and Porcelains	เครื่องถ้วย เครื่องชาม	瓷器	104

Table IV.2 List of rewards granted to King Taksin, his queen and the Siamese delegation that went to Beijing for the submission of tribute and additional tribute. Source: CMH.R.1 #3 (1782); and Liang (1839: 427).

Trade

• Letter from King Taksin to the Viceroy and the Governor of Guangdong

The Chinese letter was dated Qianlong 46/5/26 (17 June 1781). Its content is similar to a letter from Phra Khlang recorded in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*.

Original text:

稟

暹羅國王鄭昭再稟為懇請金恩遠人戴德事現另差昭丕雅司哆囉馬蒂辣丕雅那史拋滑里朗拉彩朗司悅拉徹汶知乃力乃灣馬吓歷乃揀乃灣馬吓歷等協同管理乘載貢禮貨物船四隻併寫攬載商船七隻共十一隻除進貢單外另備蘇木一萬担象牙一百担錫三百担犀角一担籐黃一百担胡椒三千担公象一隻此貢外之貢再乞恩轉奏代進

大皇帝陛下切念

列憲培植之恩無門補報謹敬來

禮部大堂大人蘇木一千担物到日乞恩轉達更來

督撫臺二憲大人蘇木共五百担紅木共五百担併與洋行商四行每行蘇木各一百担紅木各一百担到日併懇恩分支仍剩蘇木七千陸百担烏木三百担零七十六斤紅木九百零二担二十斤但遣來差使皆屬暹人從未識見天朝膽敢冒乞

憲恩著行商代為發賣將此項銀兩以作貢船差役之費用及貢使往京之盤纏暹邦風土原興釋俗初安以來缺少銅器奉佛齋僧茲將銅盤銅鑪樣式付差使昭丕雅司哆囉馬蒂辣等帶來辨買銅器千餘個伏乞

憲臺恩准乘載出口至差來貢船四隻乞恩盡放回國乘載磚石以付現年應用明年當復駛船到廣接貢使回不敢致累

憲臺思慮如載來蘇木等物恐秤大小不符現將原秤付管理之人攜至以原秤交繳毋使有輕重之爭讓此再稟

制撫臺二憲大人施行

計開攬載商船戶姓名

澄海縣澄字三十一號船戶陳先合載蘇木二千担計一萬零二百四十九枝

澄海縣澄字二百二十九號船戶陳順興載蘇木二千石計一萬零二百一十三枝

澄海縣澄字四百三十五號船戶陳萬合載蘇木一千七百石計九千二百八十七枝
 新會縣會字七百五十二號船戶楊成金載蘇木一千八百石計八千二百九十五枝
 澄海縣澄字第八號船戶許陳萬載蘇木一千一百石計五千零九十二枝
 澄海縣澄字三百號船戶王永盛載蘇木一千一百石計
 澄海縣澄字三百二十三號船戶劉盛金載蘇木二千石計九千零三十五枝
 乾隆四十六年五月廿六日行

Key points:

- Among the 11 junks, four are consigned with tribute goods and the remaining seven are commercial junks whose details are recorded in the letter.
- The junks are managed by Zhao-pi-ya-si-duo-luo-ma-di-la, Pi-ya-na-shi-pao-hua-li, Lang-la-cai, Lang-si-yue, [Lang] la-che-wen-zhi, Nai-li-nai-wan-ma-xia-li, and Nai-shu-nai-wan-ma-xia-li.
- Besides the tribute items, additional tribute is prepared: 10,000 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of ivory, 300 piculs of tin, 1 picul of rhino horn, 100 piculs of gamboge, 3,000 piculs of pepper and one male elephant.
- As a token of gratitude, gifts are prepared: 1,000 piculs of sappan wood for the Minister of the Board of Rites; a total of 500 piculs of sappan wood and 500 piculs of red wood for the viceroy and governor; and 100 piculs of sappan wood and 100 piculs of red wood each for four factory merchants.
- Please ask the factory merchants to help sell the remaining 7,600 piculs of sappan wood, 300.76 piculs of black wood and 902.20 piculs of red wood in order to pay for the labor cost of the tribute junks and the envoys' trip to Beijing.
- Siam lacks copperware for Buddhist religious ceremonies. Zhao-pi-ya-si-duo-luo-ma-di-la has brought along samples of copper plate and firepot needed in the hope of buying 1,000-plus pieces in Guangzhou.
- Please allow the four tribute junks to go back to Siam with bricks, and be assured that the junks will be back next year to receive the envoys.
- To avoid arguments about the weight of the goods, the person in charge has brought along the original weight for verification.

– The amount of sappan wood carried by the seven commercial junks are:

	Place of origin	License no.	Captain	Weight	Number of logs
1	Chenghai	Cheng 31	Chen Xianhe	2,000 piculs	10,249
2	Chenghai	Cheng 229	Chen Shunxing	2,000 <i>shi</i> (2,400 piculs)	10,213
3	Chenghai	Cheng 435	Chen Wanhe	1,700 <i>shi</i> (2,040 piculs)	9,287
4	Xinhui	Hui 752	Yang Chengjin	1,800 <i>shi</i> (2,160 piculs)	8,295
5	Chenghai	Cheng 8	Chen Wan	1,100 <i>shi</i> (1,320 piculs)	5,092
6	Chenghai	Cheng 300	Wang Yongsheng	1,100 <i>shi</i> (1,320 piculs)	n/a
7	Chenghai	Cheng 323	Liu Shengjin	2,000 <i>shi</i> (2,400 piculs)	9,035

Table IV.3 Background information of the seven commercial junks including their place of origin, license number, the name of the captain and the number of sappan wood onboard.

Source: PMGCA *guji* no. 031479.

• *Cotmai het khwam songcam:*

King Taksin's tribute mission to China was recorded in Entry 88. It first rebuffed the idea that the mission was to ask for the marriage of a Chinese princess, followed by a list of the additional tribute prepared. It then included two important documents. The first was a letter from Phra Khlang, mirroring the content of the Chinese letter from King Taksin to the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong. The other was a balance sheet stating the value of the goods in different groups. The Thai text below is taken from the first printed edition from 1983.

Excerpt of the original text:

๘๘ ให้แต่งสำเนาทรงพระราชสาส์นไปถึงพระเจ้าปักกิ่งว่าจะขอลูกสาวพระเจ้าปักกิ่ง ให้เจ้าพระยาตรีธรรมราชผู้เฒ่า กับหลวงนายฤทธิหลวงนายศักดิ์เป็นราชทูต หุ้มแพรมหาดเล็กเลวไปมาก แต่งเครื่องบรรณาการไปกล่าวขอลูกสาวเจ้าปักกิ่ง

...คราวนี้ ถวายของนอกบรรณาการ ฝาง ๑๐๐๐๐ หาบ, งาช้าง ๑๐๐ หาบ, ดีบุก ๑๐๐ หาบ, นอระมาด ๑ หาบ, พริกไทย ๓๐๐๐ หาบ, ช้างพลาย ๑ ช้าง ...

อีกฉบับหนึ่ง เป็นหนังสือเจ้าพระยาพระคลัง ว่าแต่งให้เจ้าพระยาตรีธรรมราช, พระยาราชสุภาวดี, พระพิเชียร, หลวงราชไชย, หลวงศรียศ, หลวงราชมนตรี, นายฤทธิ, นายศักดิ์, นายเวรมหาดเล็กข้าหลวง คุมสำเนา ๑๑ สำเนาของไปถวาย จำนวนเท่าที่ว่ามีมาแล้วให้ลืประตูทั้ง ฝาง ๑๐๐๐ หาบ เหลือฝางอีก ๘,๐๐๐ หาบ ไม้ดำ ๓๐๐ หาบ ไม้แดง ๑๘๐๒ หาบ ๒๐ ชั่ง, ให้จิ้งตักหมู ฝาง ๕๐๐ หาบ, ไม้แดง ๕๐๐ หาบ, นายห้าง ๔ ห้าง ฝางห้าง ละ ๑๐๐ หาบ, ไม้แดงห้างละ ๑๐๐ หาบ เหลือฝาง ๑๓๐๐ หาบ, ไม้แดง ๘๐๒ หาบ, ไม้ดำ ๓๐๐ หาบ ๑๖ ชั่ง ให้ขายใช้จ่าย, ต้องการเทียบทองแดงสำหรับเลี้ยงพระ ๕๐๐ ใบ พานของคาวทองขาว ๒๕๐ ใบ หวาน ๒๕๐ ใบ หม้อทองแดงใส่ไฟ ๑๐๐ ใบ, ส่งตัวอย่างให้กุมออกไปด้วย แลให้ข้าหลวงมีชื่อเหล่านี้ชื่ออัฐส่งเข้ามาก่อน แล้วจึงให้เรือกลับไปรับทูต ...

มีบัญชีคิดเงินอยู่ในสมุดสำเนาพระราชสาส์น ว่าถวายเจ้าปักกิ่งเป็นของนอกบรรณาการ คิดราคาสั่งของตามบัญชี ที่กล่าวมาแล้ว เป็นเงิน ๑๘๖๖ ชั่ง ๓ ตำลึง ๒ บาทสลึง

ให้ลืประตูทั้ง คิดราคาของ เป็นเงิน ๕๖ ชั่ง ๕ ตำลึง

ให้จิ้งตักหมู คิดราคาของ เป็นเงิน ๓๗ ชั่ง ๑๐ ตำลึง

ให้นายห้าง ๔ ห้าง คิดราคาของ เปนเงิน ๓๐ ชั่ง
 รวมที่ส่งของไปแจกเปนเงิน ๑๕๘๕ ชั่ง ๑๘ ตำลึง ๒ บาทสลึง
 เหลือสิ่งของสำหรับให้จำหน่ายใช้การ เพราะเหตุที่ไม่ได้เอาเงินออกไปจ่าย เอาของออกไปจ่ายต่างเงิน เปนราคา
 ๔๕๓ ชั่ง ๖ ตำลึง ๓ บาท ๒ สลึงเฟื้อง
 รวมเปนสินค้าที่ได้อบรมทุกเรือออกไป ๑๑ ลำครั้งนี้ เปนราคาเงิน ๒๔๔๓ ชั่ง ๑๕ ตำลึงบาท ๓ สลึงเฟื้อง ...

Key points:

- Additional tribute prepared are: 10,000 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of ivory, 100 piculs of tin, 1 picul of rhino horn, 3,000 piculs of pepper, and one male elephant.
- In the letter from Cao Phraya Phra Khlang:
 - Cao Phraya Sri Thammathirat, Phraya Ratchatsuphawadi, Luang Rachai, Luang Sriyot, Luang Ratchatmontri, and two chamberlains Nai Rit and Nai Sak, are appointed to look after the junks and oversee the sale in Guangzhou.
 - Upon arrival, 1,000 piculs of sappan wood should be gifted to the Ministry of the Board of Rites. Then there remains 9,000 piculs of sappan wood, 300 piculs of black wood and 1,802 piculs and 20 catties of red wood. A total of 500 piculs of sappan wood and 500 piculs of red wood should be gifted to *cong-tok* and *mu-i*. Lastly, 100 piculs of sappan wood and 100 piculs of red wood should be gifted to each of the four factory owners.
 - The remaining 1,700 piculs of sappan wood, 902 piculs of red wood, and 300 piculs and 76 catties of black wood are to be sold.
 - The revenue is to be used to pay for the expenses of the mission, as well as buy 500 pieces of copper food tray to offer food to the monks, 250 pieces of copper plate for food, and 250 pieces for sweets and 100 pieces of copper firepot. The person in charge has brought with him samples of the copperwares in question.
 - Buy bricks and send them back with the first junks. The junks would then return to receive the envoy.
- In the balance sheet:
 - The value of the additional tribute for the emperor of Beijing is estimated at 1,866 chang 3 tamlüng 2 baht [missing] salüng;
 - Those for the Minister of the Board of Rites are 56 chang 5 tamlüng; those for *cong-tok* and *mu-i* are 37 chang 10 tamlüng; and those for four factory owners are 30 chang.
 - The combined value of these goods is 1,989 chang 18 tamlüng 2 baht [missing] salüng.

- The value of the remaining goods to be sold is 453 chang 6 tamlüng 3 baht 2 salüng [missing] füang.
- The value of all the goods loaded onto the 11 junks is 2,443 chang 15 tamlüng [missing] baht 3 salüng [missing] füang.

• **“Notes on Phra Cao Tak Sin's Tribute to China in the Reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in Ching Dynasty” by Hsu (1951a)**

The article explored the interactions between King Taksin and the Qing court which eventually led to the tribute submission. It recounted the additional tribute and the gifts prepared. Most importantly, it referred to the balance sheet that was mentioned in the now missing *Cotmai het khuam songcam*.

Excerpt of the original text:

……至檄稿所謂另稟大要如下：

暹羅國王鄭昭謹奏：除例貢外，又備貢外之貢，奉獻大清國大皇帝陛下，計開：蘇木一萬担，象牙一百担，錫三百担，籐黃一百担，胡椒三千担，犀角一担，牡象一。伏冀俯垂鑒納，庶存懷遠之義。此外呈送蘇木一千担，烏木三百担，紅木一千八百零二担二十斤，奉贈禮部大堂；蘇木五百担，紅木五百担，奉贈總督撫院；又蘇木各一百担，紅木各一百担，奉贈四行主；聊表遠臣仰慕上國之盛。其押艙貨物，懇於廣東變價，作為來使盤纏；並准買銅器千餘箇，先放空船回國。謹此拜表以聞。

此項加貢之物，據暹尚書室存檔謂：值銀一千八百六十六斤三兩二銖一錢，贈禮部物，值銀五十六斤五兩，贈督撫物，值銀三十七斤十兩，贈四行主物，值銀三十斤，全部共值銀一千九百八十九斤十八兩二銖一錢，合現代暹幣十五萬九千一百九十四銖（Baht）二十五士丁（Satang）。其例貢之價值不詳，惟知滿載加貢物，贈品及押艙貨物之船十一艘，其全部價值為二千四百四十三斤十五兩一銖三錢一鈔，合現代暹幣十九萬五千五百另銖八十七士丁半，則其押艙貨物僅三萬六千三百另七銖六十二士丁半而已。……

Key points:

- In a letter from King Taksin to the Qing court:
 - Besides the usual tribute, additional tribute is prepared: 10,000 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of ivory, 300 piculs of tin, 100 piculs of gamboge, 3,000 piculs of pepper, 1 picul of rhino horn, and one male elephant.
 - In addition, 1,000 piculs of sappan wood, 300 piculs of black wood, and 1,802 piculs of red wood are to be gifted to the Minister of the Board of Rites; 500 piculs of sappan

wood and 500 piculs red wood for the viceroy and the governor; and 100 piculs of sappan wood and 100 piculs of red wood for each of the four factory owners.

- Permission is requested to sell the ballast cargo in Guangzhou to cover the travel expenses of the envoys, buy 1,000-plus copperwares, and let the unloaded junks return to Siam first.
- In the balance sheet:
 - The additional tribute is worth 1,866 chang 3 tamlüng 2 baht 1 salüng.
 - Gifts for the Minister of the Board of Rites are worth 56 chang 5 tamlüng; for the viceroy and the governor 37 chang 10 tamlüng; and for the four *hong* owners 30 chang.
 - The value of these two groups of goods adds up to 1,989 chang 18 tamlüng 2 baht and 1 salüng (159,194 baht and 25 satang).
 - The value of all the tribute items, gifts and ballast cargo is said to be 2,443 chang 15 tamlüng 1 baht and 3 salüng 1 füang (195,501 baht and 87.5 satang).
 - By calculation, Hsu believes the ballast cargo was worth only 36,307 baht and 62.5 satang.

• Comparison of the Three Sources

The information on additional tribute, gifts, ballast and their values across the three sources – the Chinese Letter from King Taksin to the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong (1781), *Cotmai het khwam songcam* and Hsu (1951a) – are juxtaposed in Table IV.4.

First of all, the list of additional tribute is certain: 10,000 piculs of sappan wood, 100 piculs of ivory, 300 piculs of tin, 1 picul of rhino horn, 100 piculs of gamboge, 3,000 piculs of pepper and one male elephant. The same information can be found in both the Chinese Memorial submitted by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong⁶⁹⁸ and the copy of the royal letter in Thai in CMH. Thonburi #13 (1781). Therefore, we know for sure that *Cotmai het khuam songcam* confused the number of tin with gamboge, while the latter was omitted. The value of this group of items was estimated at 1,866 chang, 3 tamlüng, 2 baht, and 1 salüng (149,294.25 baht).

For gifts, all the sources noted the same number of products for the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong and each of the four factory owners. A total of 500 piculs of sappan wood and 500 piculs of red wood were intended for the former and 400 piculs of sappan wood and 400 piculs of red wood were reserved for the latter. While all sources acknowledged 1,000 piculs of sappan wood was prepared for the minister of Board of Rites, Hsu (1951a) attributed an extra 1,802 piculs of red wood and 300 piculs of black wood, which is incorrect. He mixed up these numbers with the ballast cargo which he did not elaborate. The value of this group of

⁶⁹⁸ PMGCA, guji no. 030660.

products is clear. The gifts for the minister of the Board of Rites were worth 56 chang 5 tamlüng (4,500 baht); while those for the viceroy and the governor 37 chang 10 tamlüng (3,000 baht) and those for the factory owners 30 chang (2,400 baht). The total value of this group was 123 chang 15 tamlüng (9,900 baht).

		Chin letter (1781)			<i>Cotmai het khwam songcam</i>					Hsu (1951a)				
Additional Tribute	Male elephant	1 animal			1 animal					1 animal				
	Rhino horn	1			1					1				
	Ivory	100			100					100				
	Tin	300			100					300				
	Gamboge	100			-					100				
	Pepper	3,000			3,000					3,000				
	Sappan wood	10,000			10,000					10,000				
	Subgroup value	-			C	T	B	S		C	T	B	S	
				1,866	3	2	?		1,866	3	2	1		
Gifts	to	Rites	V/G	Hongs	Rites	V/G	Hongs	Rites	V/G	Hongs				
	Sappan wood	1,000	500	400	1,000	500	400	1,000	500	400				
	Red wood	-	500	400	-	500	400	1,802	500	400				
	Black wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	-	-				
	Subgroup value	-			C	T	C	T	C	C	T	C	T	C
				56	5	37	10	30	56	5	37	10	30	
Ballast	Sappan wood	7,600			1,700					-				
	Red wood	902.20			902					-				
	Black wood	300.76			300.76					-				
	Subgroup value	-			C	T	B	S	F	-				
				453	6	3	2	?						
Total value	-			C	T	B	S	F	C	T	B	S	F	
				2,443	15	?	3	?	2,443	15	1	3	1	

Table IV.4 Comparison of the information on additional tribute, gifts, ballast and their values across the three sources. The unit for all products are picul.catty. The value in baht is expressed in chang (C), tamlüng (T) baht (B) salüng (S) and füang (F). The recipients of gifts are minister of the Board of Rites (Rites), the viceroy and the governor of Guangdong (V/G) and four factory owners (Hongs).

Source: PMGCA *guji* 031479; Krom Luang Narintharathewi (1983); and Hsu (1951a).

The amount of sappan wood in the ballast cargo shows a big difference between the Chinese letter (1781) and *Cotmai het khwam songcam*. The discrepancy mostly likely stemmed from a mistake in the original Thai letter that is now lost. In *Cotmai het khwam songcam*, it was said that after gifting 1,000 piculs of sappan wood to the Minister of the Board of Rites, “there

remained 9,000 piculs of sappan wood, 300 piculs of black wood, and 1,802.20 piculs of red wood.” Yet, the subtraction of 1,000 piculs of sappan wood intended for the minister’s gift from the 10,000 piculs of sappan wood prepared for additional tribute is wrong from the beginning. The gifts would be prepared on top of the additional tribute. Therefore, in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*, it concluded that “the remaining 1,700 piculs of sappan wood, 902 piculs of red wood, and 300.76 catties of black wood are to be sold” as ballast cargo. The number 1,700 piculs of sappan wood seems to appear out of the blue but it was in fact closest to the truth. The Chinese letter (1781) showed a total of 13,640 piculs of sappan wood carried by the seven junks. When we minus the 10,000 piculs for additional tribute and the 1,900 piculs for the gifts, the difference is 1,740 piculs. The number 1,700 piculs of sappan wood noted in the *Cotmai het khwam songcam* is therefore a more reliable figure.

We know this mistake existed in the original Thai letter as the Chinese translator had noticed the miscalculation in the remaining amount of sappan wood as ballast and tried to rectify it following the wrong subtraction. In the Chinese letter (1781), the ballast cargo was noted to be 7,600 piculs of sappan wood, 902.20 piculs of red wood and 300.76 piculs of black wood. The translator, however, also erred as he had mistaken that 500 piculs of sappan wood each was intended for the viceroy and the governor, but in fact it was a total of 500 piculs for both. So instead of 8,100 piculs of sappan wood, he arrived at 7,600 piculs. This mistake also misled Hsu to believe that the black wood and red wood were also intended as gifts for the minister of the Board of Rites.

The value of the ballast cargo was noted to be 453 chang, 6 tamlüng, 3 baht, 2 salüng and [missing] füang (36,267.5 baht) in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*. In fact, it should be 453 chang, 16 tamlüng, 3 baht, 2 salüng and 1 füang (36,307.625 baht). This can easily be calculated by subtracting the values of additional tribute and gifts from the total value of goods on the 11 junks, which means 2,443 chang, 15 tamlüng, 1 baht, 3 salüng and 1 füang (195,501.875 baht) minus 1,989 chang, 18 tamlüng, 2 baht and 1 salüng (159,194.25 baht). Here the total value of goods did not include the tribute items.

To sum up, the additional tribute, gifts and ballast assigned to the seven commercial junks is summarized in Table IV.5. Together, the junks carried a total of 19,243.96 piculs of products worth 195,501.875 baht.

From the mistakes, we can also ascertain the correlation among the three sources (Figure IV.1). The Chinese letter (1781) was a direct translation from the original letter from Phra Khlang, now lost. It did not reference the original balance sheet, which is now also lost.

Yet the content of the letter from Phra Khlang and the balance sheet were copied onto the *khòì* manuscript entitled “Copy of the Royal Letter to Beijing C.S. 1143,” archived in the National Library of Thailand under CHM. Thonburi #13 (1781), and subsequently referenced by

Cotmai het khwam songcam and Hsu (1951a). Since Hsu (1951a) provided the exact values of the goods missing in *Cotmai het khwam songcam*, he must have obtained the information directly from the manuscript. Today, however, the original letter from Phra Khlung and the balance sheet are no longer available at the National Library of Thailand, and only the Thai letter written by King Taksin to Emperor Qianlong remains.

Items	Additional tribute	Gifts			Ballast	Total (piculs.catty)
		Minister of Board of Rites	Viceroy and Governor	Four <i>Hong</i> Owners		
Male Elephant	1 (animal)	–	–	–	–	1 (animal)
Rhino horn	1	–	–	–	–	1
Ivory	100	–	–	–	–	100
Tin	300	–	–	–	–	300
Gamboge	100	–	–	–	–	100
Pepper	3,000	–	–	–	–	3,000
Sappan wood	10,000	1,000	500	400	1,700	13,600
Red wood	–	–	500	400	902.20	1,802.20
Black wood	–	–	–	–	300.76	300.76
Baht	149,294.25	4,500	3,000	2,400	36,307.625	19,243.96 195,501.875

Table IV.5 The number of items and their values carried by the seven commercial junks allocated for additional tribute, gifts and ballast. Source: PMGCA *guji* 031479; Krom Luang Narintharathewi (1983); and Hsu (1951a).

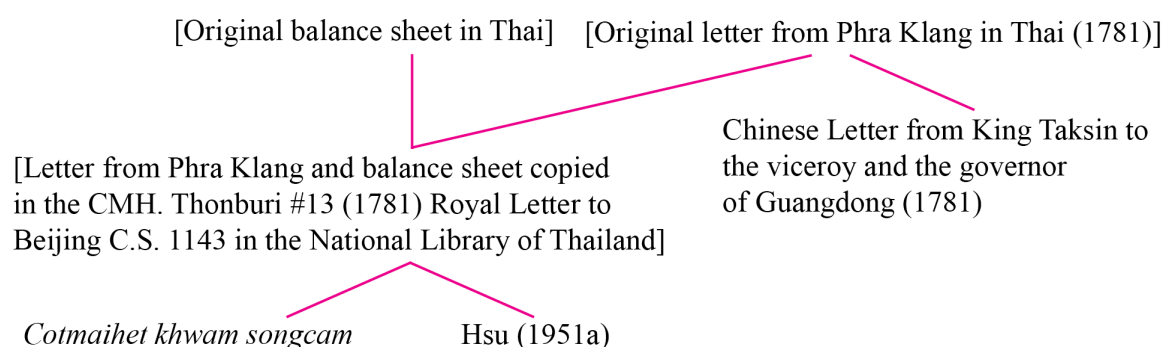


Figure IV.1 Stemma of the three extant sources. The documents in [] has been lost. Source: Author's illustration.

Eidesstattliche Versicherung

Hiermit erkläre ich an Eides statt, dass ich die vorliegende Dissertationsschrift selbst verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe.

Joyce KAM Ho-Ching