

# Correspondence between Cambodia and Japan in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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In the study of Cambodian history, post-Angkor history (15th to mid-19th centuries) has been depicted, primarily on the basis of the royal chronicles, as a process in which the kingdom of Cambodia went into decline as it was attacked on both sides by Siam and Vietnam. In actual fact the extant royal chronicles were compiled from the late eighteenth century onwards, and therefore in terms of contemporaneity sources from Japan and European countries, which had dealings with Cambodia at the time, are superior to the royal chronicles. But because these Japanese and European sources are written in foreign languages and provide only fragmentary information about the domestic situation in Cambodia, they have been relegated to the position of sources used only for supplementing the royal chronicles.

During Japan's Edo period, Cambodia was, along with Siam and Vietnam, one of the principal countries with which Japan had contact.<sup>1)</sup> According to Iwao Seiichi's *Nan'yō Nihonmachi no kenkyū*, among the nineteen destinations named in vermillion-seal certificates (*shuinjō* 朱印狀) issued by the shogunate from 1604 to 1616 as licences for overseas trade, Siam 暹羅 (36 ships), Luzon 呂宋 (34 ships), Cochinchina 交趾 (32 ships), and Cambodia 柬埔寨 (24 ships) predominated, followed by Tongking 東京 and Annam 安南 (Iwao 1995: 9–10), and Iwao allocates one chapter each to detailed accounts of the Japanese communities in Cochinchina, Cambodia, Siam, and Luzon.

A Japanese source dealing with post-Angkor history is the *Ka'i hentai* 華夷變態, a collection of information gleaned from crewmen of Chinese ships that came to Nagasaki 長崎, and in 1975 Hisamitsu Yumiko published two studies of the political history of Cambodia during the seventeenth century in which she used the *Ka'i hentai* along with the Vietnamese *Gia Định thành thông chí* 嘉定城通志 and *Đại Nam thực lục* 大南寔錄 for the purpose of comparison with the Cambodian royal chronicles. Kitagawa Takako too, in an article published in 2000, showed that the

secondary kings (*obhayoréach*), thought to have established themselves at Srey Santhor on the east bank of the Mekong from the 1670s to 1690s and to have been in conflict with the kings of Udong, are mentioned in the *Ka'i hentai* as the “second king” (*niō* 二王) or the “Water King” (*mizu-ō* 水王) of Cambodia, thereby confirming the account in the royal chronicles (Kitagawa 2000: 65–72).

In addition, Chinese correspondence exchanged between Cambodia and Japan in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries is preserved in the *Gaiban tsūsho* 外蕃通書 and *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽. In contrast to the *Ka'i hentai*, these letters contain little information on political history, and because comparison with the royal chronicles is thus difficult, they have not been utilized as source materials in the study of Cambodian history. In research on Japanese history, including Iwao's *Nan'yō Nihonmachi no kenkyū*, passages extracted from some of the Chinese letters have been used only as evidence that vermilion-seal ships (*shuinsen* 朱印船) licensed by the shogunate were sailing from Japan to Cambodia and that Japanese were active in Cambodia (Iwao 1995: 85–90, 113–115).

Further, the *Gaiban shokan* 外蕃書翰, which was prepared as a reference work for the *Gaiban tsūsho*, includes copies of six Khmer letters together with copies of the Chinese letters that were sent at the same time. In November 2013 we ascertained that what may be considered to be the original copies of these letters are included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* 外國關係書簡 (Foreign Correspondence) among materials related to Kondō Jūzō 近藤重藏 that are held by the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo. It is known from the *Gaiban tsūsho* that Thai letters were sent from Siam together with Chinese letters, but no copies of Thai letters are included in either the *Gaiban shokan* or *Gaikoku kankei shokan*, and the whereabouts of the originals are not known. This means that the above-mentioned copies of six Khmer letters are the only extant letters written in neither Chinese nor a European language but in a local language that were sent from Southeast Asia to Japan. It is to be hoped that the study of this body of correspondence between Cambodia and Japan will provide leads not only for clarifying the character of Japan's foreign relations and Cambodia's relations with Japan at the time, but also for learning how people in Southeast Asia interpreted Japan's political system and institutions in their own language and what sort of relationship they were seeking to establish with Japan. In the present study, which represents the first report on this body of correspondence between Cambodia and Japan, a summary of the contents of the individual letters constituting this body of

correspondence will be provided in the first half, and in the second half we shall discuss among the matters that come to light through the decipherment of the letters new information from the Cambodian side about actual relations between Cambodia and Japan, such as the format of the letters from Cambodia, the people who served as envoys, and the officials in charge of administrative aspects of relations between Cambodia and Japan.

### I. An Overview of the Corpus of Correspondence between Japan and Cambodia

The correspondence between Cambodia and Japan taken up in the present study is listed in the accompanying table (Correspondence between Cambodia and Japan). In this table, the letters' dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar in the second column, while letters composed in Cambodia and sent to Japan are listed in the third column (column A) and letters composed in Japan and sent to Cambodia are listed in the fourth column (column B); when a letter was sent in response to a letter from the other party, both letters are given in the same row. In the following, letters will be referred to by the numbers assigned to them in this table, such as 2A and 2B. The initial number is the letter's serial number given in the first column, and "A" indicates that the letter was sent from Cambodia and "B" that it was sent from Japan. Therefore, "2A" is the number assigned to the letter sent from Cambodia in 1603 and "2B" is the number assigned to the letter from Japan that was written in response to 2A. The original letters have no titles, and the titles given in the table have been provided for the convenience of research.

The *Gaikoku kankei shokan* held by the Historiographical Institute has a colophon by Kondō Jūzō dated 1797 (Kansei 寛政 9) and is divided into two volumes. One of these volumes (S Kondō Jūzō Materials 4-402) has been bound in scroll format and contains only copies of a Khmer letter and a Chinese letter (17A) sent in 1742 to Japan by Mạc Thiên Tứ 鄭天賜, known in Khmer as Preah Sotoat, who was ruler of the port-polity of Hatien 河僊 on the Gulf of Thailand. The second volume (S Kondō Jūzō Materials 4-403), also bound in scroll format, contains, together with copies of letters from other countries, copies of six sets of letters from Cambodia, consisting of the Khmer and Chinese letters of 1742 (17A) and five sets of Khmer letters and Chinese letters from the early seventeenth century (2A, 3A, 4A, 5A, 6A). It is evident from the *Gaiban tsūsho*, also

compiled by Kondō Jūzō, that these copies of five Khmer letters from the early seventeenth century were produced on the basis of the originals that had been pasted onto a folding screen belonging to the temple Shōkokuji (*Shōkokuji shokan byōbu* 相國寺書翰屏風), while the copy of the 1742 letter was copied by Kondō himself from the original held by the Rin 林 family of Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki. As has already been noted, copies of the same six sets of Khmer and Chinese letters are included in the *Gaiban shokan*, two sets of which were prepared in 1818 as a reference work for the *Gaiban tsūsho* and presented to the shogunate, and they were deposited with the Momijiyama Bunko 紅葉山文庫 and Shōheizaka Gakumonjo 昌平坂學問所; the former can now be viewed on-line through the Digital Archive of the National Archives of Japan.

Among the copies of the Khmer letters included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan*, the five letters from the early seventeenth century have been copied rather poorly, but there are signs indicating that they were originally written in the “round script” (*aksor mul*); the vermilion seals of Hanuman and a lotus have also been carefully copied, and the letters are partially legible. They were presumably carefully copied by someone unable to read Khmer. Meanwhile, the 1742 letter was probably copied by tracing over the original, and although some similar-looking letters such as 𑄓 and 𑄔 have been interchanged, the original regular *aksor mul* script has been preserved and is easy to read, nor is there anything unnatural about the links between words and sentences, and it may be considered a fairly accurate copy. A vermilion *hamṣa* seal was affixed at the end, and this too has been meticulously copied. An illustration of an ivory cylindrical case in which the letters are said to have been kept is also included in one of the two volumes (S Kondō Jūzō Materials 4-403). The copies of the Khmer letters included in the *Gaiban shokan*, on the other hand—in both the set held by Momijiyama Bunko and that held by Shōheizaka Gakumonjo—have been extremely poorly copied and are virtually illegible.

Kondō Jūzō was familiar with neither the Khmer language nor the Khmer script, and therefore there is no likelihood of any deliberate changes having been made to the copies of the Khmer letters included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan*. In the case of the 1742 letter in particular, it is known to have been copied between 1795 and 1797 when Kondō was posted in Nagasaki, and although it is a “copy,” it may be regarded as the oldest extant piece of Khmer writing apart from inscriptions. The oldest extant chronicle among the Khmer royal chronicles, the basic source for the study of post-Angkor Cambodian history, is said to be one that was

presented by the king of Cambodia to the king of Siam in 1794, but only the Thai translation has survived and the original Khmer text has been lost. There also exist legal codes with prefaces indicating that they were compiled by royal command in 1692 and 1693, but the provenance and dates of the extant manuscripts are unclear, and they are thought not to predate the second half of the nineteenth century at the earliest.

As for letters written in Chinese, twelve Chinese letters from Cambodia, including the six counterparts to the Khmer letters, and fourteen letters from Japan, including replies to letters from Cambodia, are included in the *Gaiban tsūsho*. The early Edo shogunate employed Zen monks such as Saishō Jōtai 西笑承兌, San'yō Genkitsu 三要元佶, and Ishin Sūden 以心崇傳 to supervise the administrative aspects of foreign affairs, and consequently source materials such as letters exchanged with other countries have been preserved chiefly in their former temples. The afore-mentioned folding screen, on which were pasted the originals of the letters from the time when Saishō Jōtai was in charge (–1608) (2A, 3A, 4A, 5A, 6A), was held at the subtemple Shinge'in 心華院 (founded by Jōtai) attached to Shōkokuji, but it is said to have been lost in 1788, in the so-called great fire of the Tenmei 天明 era. Among later letters (9A, 10A, 12A, 13A), the Chinese letters are found in the *Ikoku nikki* 異國日記, compiled chiefly by Sūden, which has been preserved in the Konchi'in 金池院 subtemple, attached to Nanzenji 南禪寺, where Sūden lived. In addition to the above, the *Gaiban tsūsho* also includes three letters from the first half of the eighteenth century (15A, 16A, 17A) that Kondō Jūzō copied from originals and manuscripts passed down by families of Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki, but the whereabouts of the originals are currently unknown. The *Tsūkō ichiran*, dating from about 1853, includes the Chinese letters found in the *Gaiban tsūsho*.

The existence of copies of six Khmer letters sent to Japan in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries was reported Noël Peri in 1924 in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, and three of them were transcribed and translated into French by George Cœdès, the renowned scholar of early Southeast Asian history, and published together with photographs of the texts. The photographs used by Peri were held by the library of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi and the Vajirañāṇa National Library in Bangkok, but there is no explanation of their provenance. The three translated letters are (1) Lettre du roi du Cambodge au Shogun, (2) Lettre de deux mandarins cambodgiens, and (3) Lettre de Prah Sotat ou Mac Thiên-Tu. Two other letters—(4) Lettre du roi du Cambodge à

l'empereur du Japon and (5) Ordre royal pour l'armement d'une jonque à destination du Japon—are said to be extremely poor copies that can be deciphered only incompletely, and no information is given about the remaining letter. Nor is there any explanation of the circumstances whereby the photographs were acquired by the library of the l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi. It is stated only that the letters shown in the photographs are not the original documents, which were no longer extant, having been lost “in a fire at Edo Palace in 1866”; that the copies were produced by “copyists ignorant of the Khmer language and characters and interested only in foreign scripts”; and that five of the six letters existed in two copies, each by a different copyist. Peri was mistaken in stating that the originals had been lost in a fire at Edo Castle in 1866, and the grounds for this assertion are not given.

The Historiographical Institute possesses a transcription in modern Khmer script of a Khmer letter (corresponding to 17A) to which is attached a note by Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 (Tsuji Zennosuke Materials 40-089-1, 2). According to Tsuji's note, he asked Peri to undertake an investigation of the Khmer letters included in the *Gaiban shokan*, and in October 1915 he received the transcription in modern Khmer script together with the comment that its meaning was identical to the Chinese translation. It is thus evident that, among the six Khmer letters, at least the “Lettre de Prah Sotat ou Mac Thiên-Tu” (17A) was sent from the Historiographical Institute together with a request that it be examined, and that the romanized transcription and French translation said to have been produced by Cœdès were based on a transcription in modern Khmer script, presumably by a Cambodian.

Peri writes that all six letters are accompanied by “Chinese translations” made by a Japanese and that they are not very faithful to the originals, the translator having been anxious to eliminate all unpleasant expressions and adorn them with the polite formulas of the court. In a note, he further adds that the Chinese translations were published for the first time at the start of the nineteenth century by Kondō Morishige Shōsai 近藤守重正齋, “a librarian in the shogun's palace,” in the *Gwaiban tsūsho* (*sic*) and were then included in the *Tsūkō ichiran*, compiled by order of the government in 1853. But in the *Gaiban tsūsho* it is stated that the letters sent from Cambodia consisted of pairs of letters written in “Mareisu マレイス (Malay [in reality, Khmer]), the script of that country (i.e., Cambodia)” and in Chinese and that the Chinese letters were thought to have been produced by Chinese living in Cambodia. Furthermore, in the copies of

the Chinese letters included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* there are depicted vermilion seals of the same design as those in the Khmer letters. The above evidence clearly shows that the Chinese letters are not translations produced in Japan, but were composed in Cambodia and sent to Japan together with the Khmer letters. Because he focused only on the Khmer letters and failed to take into account the entire corpus of correspondence, including the Chinese letters, Peri was unable to correctly assess the value of these letters. Further, because he had to rely on photographs rather than the original copies, he was unable to decipher or else misread parts of the letters.

The failure to take into account this corpus of correspondence as a whole is shared also with research on Japanese history, representative of which is *Nan'yō Nihonmachi no kenkyū*. In Japanese history, relations between Cambodia and Japan in the early seventeenth century have been regarded as one example of Japan's vermilion-seal ship trade. As is shown in the accompanying table, the letters exchanged at this time constituted a two-way correspondence, but as was noted earlier, passages extracted from some of the Chinese letters have been used only as evidence that vermilion-seal ships were sailing from Japan to Cambodia and that Japanese were active in Cambodia (Iwao 1995: 85–90, 113–115).

## II. Correspondence and Its Contents

### 1. Correspondence in 1602–03

The *Gaiban tsūsho*, etc., include only a letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1B), but since it is stated at the start of the letter that it is a reply, it is evident that there existed a previous letter from the king of Cambodia. It bears the date “auspicious day in the first month of the tenth year of the rabbit, Keichō 8” (慶長八年癸卯孟春嘉辰), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Ieyasu is grateful for the letter and gifts from Cambodia. (2) He deplores the civil strife in Cambodia and prays for peace. Should there be a request, he is prepared to send troops to Cambodia. (3) He asks that Japanese merchants without a letter stamped with the same seal as that stamped on this letter be refused entry to Cambodia. (4) He will issue orders to the provinces to ensure that pirates do not attack the merchant ship of Huaiting Taiguan 懷廷太官 when it next comes to Japan. (5) He is sending gifts of military arms.

## 2. Correspondence in 1603

The letter from the king of Cambodia (2A) is a reply to letter 1B, and both the Chinese and Khmer texts are included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* and *Gaiban shokan*. The Chinese letter is dated “day in the fourth month of the tenth year of the rabbit” (太歲癸卯年四月日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) His Majesty received the letter and gifts brought by Huaiting Taiguan’s ship. (2) His Majesty is in the midst of subjugating those who have still not submitted to him, and he is grateful for [Ieyasu’s] offer to send reinforcements. (3) Huaiting Taiguan’s ship is waiting for seasonal winds and will set sail as soon as there is a favourable wind. (4) His Majesty will dispatch the junk master Zhong Guanwu 鍾管吾 and wants his ship to set out on the return voyage in the eighth month of this year. (5) He is sending gifts of 8 獅角 (lion’s horns?), 300 deerskins, and 1 peacock.

The original of Khmer letter 2A may be assumed to be the same as that of the “Lettre du roi du Cambodge à l’empereur du Japon,” i.e., photograph A, 3 held by the library of the Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, one of two letters which Peri described as extremely poor copies that could be deciphered only incompletely and which he did not translate (Peri 1924: 127). Its contents are as follows:

(1) This is a letter of friendship from the king of Cambodia to Japan. (2) Thai Kvan (Huaiting Taiguan?), the junk master (*chao sampeu*), brought with him the king’s letter and long swords. (3) The king of Cambodia is delighted to learn of the king of Japan’s feelings of affection. (4) He will have junk master ... (illegible; Zhong Guanwu?) take this letter to Japan.

There is no date, and at the end of the letter a vermilion seal of Hanuman has been affixed at an angle of 90 degrees to the left.

Ieyasu’s reply (2B) is dated “tenth month of the tenth year of the rabbit, Keichō 8” (慶長八稔歲舍癸卯小春), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Ieyasu was delighted to receive the letter and gifts from Cambodia. (2) Japanese weapons are sharp-edged, and if so requested, he



will provide some. (3) He wishes to know whether Huaiting Taiguan is staying for long in Cambodia. (4) He is sending a gift of 20 Japanese swords. (5) Further details will be conveyed verbally by the junk master Zhong Guanwu.

### 3. Correspondence in 1605

There are three sets of correspondence from 1605, i.e., two sets of letters exchanged between the king of Cambodia and Ieyasu and one set of letters exchanged between the high-ranking Cambodian official Chaovéa (Zhaohua 招花) and Ieyasu. Both the Chinese and Khmer texts of the letters from Cambodia are included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* and *Gaiban shokan*. In view of the fact that both the Khmer and Chinese versions of letters 3A and 4A from the king of Cambodia mention the receipt of twenty swords from Japan, both of these letters were presumably written in response to letter 2B.

#### (1) Correspondence between the King of Cambodia and Ieyasu, 1

The contents of the Chinese text of letter 3A, the first letter in 1605 from the king of Cambodia, are as follows:

(1) Because His Majesty succeeded to the throne in troubled times, he depends on friendly relations with neighbouring countries. (2) He is grateful for the further gift of swords and so on from Japan. (3) He is sending some Cambodian products. (4) Why is there no mention in the letter of Hara Yajiemon 原彌二右衛門, who came last year together with Zhong Guanwu to offer tribute? According to Zhong Guanwu, he is a junk master, but we do not accept this, and to avoid any trouble in the future, would that an explanation of the circumstances be given. (5) His Majesty wants Japan to ensure that not too many ships come to Cambodia. (6) He will stamp a seal, give it to the tribute envoy Hara Yajiemon, and grant him permission to come and go whenever he comes to Cambodia. (7) His Majesty is pleased with the 20 long swords brought by Ming Feng's 明峯 ship. (8) He is sending gifts of 2 Siamese matchlock guns, 2 gunpowder cases made from the horn of some animal (明角藥筒), 2 帶心筒 (?), 4 peacock tails, and 50 catties of beeswax. (9) This letter is given to the tribute envoy Hara Yajiemon on the 17th day of the fourth month of the second year of

the serpent. Make sure that he brings back a reply by the first month of the new year.

The seal mentioned in section (6) is presumably the vermilion seal of a junk that has been affixed across sections (6) and (7). A vermilion seal of Hanuman, the same as that in letter 2A, has been affixed over the date in section (9).

The original of the Khmer counterpart of this letter (3A) is the same as that of the “Lettre du roi du Cambodge au Shogun” for which Peri gives a French translation, corresponding to photographs A-B, 5 held by the library of the Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient in Hanoi and photograph 2 held by the Vajirañāṇa National Library in Bangkok<sup>2</sup>) (Peri 1924: 128–130). Its contents may be summarized as follows:

(1) This is a letter of friendship from the king of Cambodia to the *Nipon Kakacho* (possibly a transliteration of *Nihon kokushu* 日本國主 [Lord of Japan]; see III.2 below). (2) The *Nipon Kakacho* had the junk master Kanngo (Zhong Guanwu?) and the junk master ... (illegible; Ming Feng?) deliver the king’s letter and 20 large long swords and pay tribute (*thvay*) to the king of Cambodia. (3) When the *Nipon Kakacho* had the junk master Kanngo and the junk master ... (Ming Feng?) bring tribute (*bannakar*), he prepared a document with the junk master Kanngo’s name and handed it to the junk master Yayiyeamong (Hara Yajiemon). In the Chinese document that he had the junk master Thai Kvan (Huaiting Taikuan?) prepare, he did not have the junk master Yayiyeamong’s name recorded. After his arrival [in Cambodia], the junk master Yayiyeamong reported that his name was missing in the document. His Majesty accordingly gave instructions that a letter be composed and handed to the junk master Yayiyeamong and that he take it to the *Nipon Kakacho* and the matter be dealt with in accordance with the land (*srok*) of the *Nipon Kakacho*. (4) Because Japanese who come to do business torment and mistreat the people and rob them of their possessions, would that he not allow large numbers of Japanese ships to come to do business. Would that he ensure that only one or two ships come, bearing the king’s letters from Japan. And would that all these Japanese carry a seal from the *Nipon Kakacho*. (5) When the junk master Yayiyeamong reaches the *Nipon Kakacho*, would that the *Nipon Kakacho* grant him leave and have him return since he is already a subject (*kñom asa*) of the king of Cambodia.

There is no date, and at the end of the letter a vermilion seal of Hanuman has been affixed at an angle of 90 degrees to the left.

Peri (1924: 129) translates section (3) as follows:

Furthermore, when Japan charged the junk master Kǎnnō (官吾) and the junk master Miñ Hōñ with transporting these presents, His Majesty drew up (in reply) a message addressed to Japan in which the name of the junk master Kǎnnō figured, and (next) he charged the junk master Yāyāmoñ (Yajiemon 彌二石衛門) with taking to Japan this message of friendship (instead of the junk master Kǎnnō?). But the junk master Hai Kuon having made a Chinese translation (of this message) not mentioning the junk master Yāyāmoñ, who figures in the (original) message, the latter came to respectfully inform His Majesty that his name did not figure in the message. His Majesty then ordered a(nother) message<sup>3)</sup> to be drawn up, which the junk master Yāyāmoñ would take to Japan so that the latter might be informed (of this incident) and make a decision conforming with the customs of the country. All this (is explained) so that Japan does not have the trouble of pondering (the reason for this second message).

But this interpretation is at variance with the content of section (4) in the Chinese letter, and because the translation has been constructed by supplementing many parts in parentheses, it would not seem to be very reliable. Peri also posits the existence of a Khmer letter composed prior to letter 3A and an erroneous “Chinese translation,” but there is no evidence of their having been sent to Japan. In the first place, if there had been any problems with the “Chinese translation” of the Khmer letter prepared by the Cambodians, it would have sufficed to send to Japan only a corrected version, and there would have been no need for any involved explanation of the circumstances in Khmer. Peri (1924: 130) further translates the end of section (4) in the Khmer letter as follows: “..., and would that the principal junk master place in irons all the Japanese in the crew.”<sup>4)</sup> But we have been unable to decipher this section.

Ieyasu’s reply to letter 3A (3B) is dated “day in the eleventh month of the second year of the serpent, Keichō 10” (慶長第十歲舍乙巳仲冬日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Ieyasu was delighted to receive the letter and gifts. (2) The reason that the king of Cambodia wishes only a small number of merchant

ships from Japan to go to Cambodia is presumably because Japanese merchants are doing wrong and tormenting the people of Cambodia. As we have informed you several times, merchants who have come from Japan and commit crimes may be punished in accordance with the laws of Cambodia.

## (2) Correspondence between the King of Cambodia and Ieyasu, 2

The contents of the Chinese text of the second letter from the king of Cambodia (4A) are as follows:

(1) His Majesty received the 20 great swords given by the Great King (i.e., Ieyasu) and is grateful for them. (2) He is sending Zhong Guanwu once again to deliver a letter and gifts. (3) If the Great King wishes to send ships next year too and engage in trade, would that he issue certificates of passage (文引) so that they are not inconvenienced in their comings and goings. (4) His Majesty is sending gifts of 300 deer-skins, 4 tiger skins, 1 large fan, and 1 small fan. (5) This letter is given to the tribute envoy Guanwu and the junk master Ming Feng on the 26th day of the fourth month of the second year of the serpent.

The original of the Khmer counterpart to this letter (4A) may be assumed to be the same as that of the “Ordre royal pour l’armement d’une jonque à destination du Japon,” i.e., photograph A-B, 4 held by the library of the Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, one of two letters which Peri described as extremely poor copies that could be deciphered only incompletely and which he did not translate (Peri 1924: 127). Its contents are as follows:

(1) This is a letter of friendship from the king of Cambodia to the *Nippon Kakacho*. (2) His Majesty received the king’s letter and the 20 long swords to be offered as tribute to His Majesty which the *Nippon Kakacho* had the junk master Kanngo bring. (3) His Majesty is very pleased to learn of the *Nippon Kakacho*’s feelings of affection. (4) Would that he ensure that large numbers of Japanese ships do not go to do business in Cambodia. (5) The junk master Kanngo will deliver 300 (deer?) skins, 1 *hap* (unit of weight equivalent to 60 kg) of ..., 4 tiger skins, 1 ... (large?) fan, and 1 ... (small fan?).

There is no date, and at the end of the letter a vermilion seal of Hanuman has been affixed at an angle of 90 degrees to the left.

Ieyasu's reply to this letter (4B) is dated "19th day of the ninth month of the second year of the serpent, Keichō 10" (慶長第十龍集乙巳暮穉十有九日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Ieyasu was delighted to receive the letter and gifts from the Lord of Cambodia. (2) Those who are going annually by merchant ship from Japan to Cambodia and doing business there are not people of status or learning, but the sort of people who pursue only profit, and if they do wrong they should be imprisoned. (3) The junk master (i.e., Ming Feng) has announced his date of departure, and so we are sending a gift of a pair of swords.

### (3) Correspondence between Chaovéa and Ieyasu

The Chinese letter from Chaovéa (Zhaohua) (5A) explains the circumstances behind the writing of this letter in the first half, while the second half contains demands of the king of Japan and a list of gifts. A distinctive feature of this letter is that, unlike letters from the king of Cambodia, it uses phrases employed in Chinese official documents. Its contents are as follows:

(1) This is a letter from Woya Zhaohua 握雅招花 to put far-off people at ease. (2) According to his reply to the junk master Ming Feng, the Japanese merchant Nagai Shirōemon 長井四郎右衛門 came to Cambodia to do business, but because there were problems with the junk, he asked the *bashui* 把水 (harbour master?) for permission to make ready another junk, loaded it with skins, and returned to Macao; but concerned that he did not have a certificate of passage (文引), he was to petition the Lord of Cambodia to have me (Woya Zhaohua) issue him with a certificate of passage [from Cambodia] and also to have the junk master make the junk ready. Upon making enquiries, it was found that the merchant Nagai Shirōemon was a good person, and so I issued [a certificate of passage]. (3) I will send [Shirōemon to Japan] and have him purchase good horses, copper, iron, swords, firearms, and other goods. (4) Once he arrives in port, would that the Lord of Japan give consideration to Cambodia since he has formed a relationship of sibling countries [with Cambodia], and would that

he issue [Shirōemon] with a certificate of passage without censuring him and allow him to come to Cambodia. (5) In addition, I am having him take 100 catties of beeswax and 2 tiger skins. (6) Make sure that [Shirōemon] returns by the middle of the ninth month with the purchased goods and a letter from Japan. (7) I send the junk master Nagai Shirōemon on a day in the fourth month of the second year of the serpent.

A vermilion seal of Hanuman has been affixed in four places, i.e., to the right of section (6), below sections (5) and (6), and above section (7).

The original of the Khmer counterpart (5A) to this letter may be assumed to be the same as that of one of the six Khmer letters held by the library of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, i.e., photograph A-B, 6, to which Peri does not allude in his article. The manuscript included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* has been written in a poor hand, and the opening section can only just be made out: "Preah Chao Samdach Barom Bâpit Anak... Chaovéa ... prepared a document and gives it to a junk master ... (Nagai Shirōemon?)." In addition, the words "seal from the *Nipon Kakacho*" in the second-to-last line can also be made out. Vermillion seals of Hanuman have been affixed at the start and the end of the letter at an angle of 90 degrees to the left.

A manuscript held by Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫, thought to belong to a different manuscript lineage from the *Gaikoku kankei shokan*, may be read as follows:

(1) Preah Bat Samdach Barom Bâpit Anak Chea Ang Ksatr Loe Tbaung Chaovéa Maha Oparach prepared a letter and gave it to Niengai Saleyaemon (Nagai Shirōemon). (2) When Niengai Saleyaemon went, he relied on the junk master Kanngo. (3) He has now bought a ship and will reach the land (*srok*) of the *Nipon Kakacho*. (4) He will have the *Nipon Kakacho* .... (5) Niengai Saleyaemon will come ... with a ship. (6) He will purchase red copper, iron, ammunition, swords, and horses from the land of the *Nipon Kakacho* and transport them to the land of Cambodia. (7) Once he arrives at ... (illegible; the harbour?), he will have the *Nipon Kakacho* issue a permit granting a seal from the *Nipon Kakacho*. (8) In accordance with the laws (*chbap*) for junk masters, we will have Chao Makkang Sya (?) issue orders to the junk master Niengai Saleyaemon.

The place where a seal was affixed is indicated by a circle, but the seal itself has not been copied.

The reply to this letter (5B) is dated “day in the tenth month of the second year of the serpent, Keichō 10” (慶長拾年星輯乙巳孟冬日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) On reading the letter sent by the Cambodian Woya Zhaohua with the Japanese merchant Nagai Shirōemon, it mentioned gifts of beeswax and tiger skins, and it was a delightfully unexpected letter. (2) As regards fine horses, copper, iron, swords, firearms, and other Japanese products, [permission to trade] will be granted in accordance with your request. (3) If Japanese merchants commit crimes, they should [be punished] in accordance with the laws of Cambodia after careful adjudication. (4) We are sending gifts of a long sword and a short sword. (5) As regards various other matters, a message will be sent at a later date when an envoy travels by ship.

#### 4. Correspondence in 1606

In 1606 there were three letters, i.e., a set of letters exchanged between two Cambodian *okña* (*woya* 握雅) and Ieyasu and a letter from Ieyasu to the king of Cambodia.

##### (1) Correspondence between the *Okña* and Ieyasu

There have been preserved the Khmer text and the Chinese text of the letter from the *okña* (6A), and both are included in the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* and *Gaiban shokan*. The Chinese text is dated “day in the third month of the third year of the horse” (丙午年季春日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) We are sending a ship and dispatching Kizaemon (Kōno Kizaemon 河野喜三右衛門) with gifts. (2) We ask that the ship that is being sent be granted permission to trade and afterwards immediately be sent back. (3) We are sending gifts of 100 catties of beeswax, 1 picul of crystallized sugar, 1 picul of white sugar, 5 carpets, 10 peacock tails, and 5 leopard skins.

A lotus-flower vermilion seal has been affixed over the date at the end

of the letter.

The original of the Khmer text of letter 6A is the same as that of the letter translated by Peri as “Lettre de deux mandarins cambodgiens,” i.e., photograph A-B, 7 held by the library of the Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient in Hanoi and photograph 4 held by the Vajirañña National Library in Bangkok (Peri 1924: 130). Its contents may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Okña Srei Akkearéach (Woya Lao Yuanfu 握雅老元輔 in the Chinese text) and Okña Thoamméa Décho (Woya Tan Erzhu 握雅潭二主) present a letter to the King of Japan (Ñipon). (2) We have sent the junk masters named Sayyeamon (Kizaemon?) and Kanno (or Kanngo?) to Japan. (3) May the *Ñipon Kakacho* grant them leave and let them return promptly without detaining them there [in Japan]. (4) We offer 5 ... (carpets?), 1 *hap* of wax, 1 *hap* of ... (crystallized?) sugar, 1 *hap* of white sugar, 10 peacock tails, and 5 tiger ... (leopard?) skins.

There is no date, and at the end a lotus-flower seal has been affixed at the correct angle. According to the Chinese text, Woya Lao Yuanfu (Okña Srei Akkearéach) and Woya Tan Erzhu (Okña Thoamméa Décho) were father and son, but there is no corresponding expression in the Khmer text.

Ieyasu’s reply (6B) is dated “day in the eighth month of the third year of the horse, Keichō 11” (慶長十一年星集丙午仲秋日), and its contents are as follows:

- (1) Following on from last year, we were pleased to receive a letter again this year together with six gifts. (2) We sent some Japanese products two or three times last year, but it is unclear whether or not they have arrived. (3) Whether or not merchant ships from Cambodia stay in Japan should be left to the merchants’ wishes. (4) When people from one country go to another country and behave unlawfully, they should be swiftly punished. (5) Cambodia too should give strict orders to foreigners not to commit robbery. (6) We are sending a gift of two sets of Japanese armour.

It is evident from section (1) that Woya Lao Yuanfu (Okña Srei Akkearéach) had sent a letter to Japan the previous year too. In view of the fact that the name of the sender of letter 8A of 1607 included among the



Taichōin 泰長院 Documents is given as Lao Yuanfu Wozi Zhaohua 老元輔握仔昭花, it is possible that Woya Zhaohua (Chaovéa) appearing in the correspondence of 1605 and Woya Lao Yuanfu (Okña Srei Akkearéach) were the same person.

## (2) Letter from Ieyasu to the King of Cambodia

Letter 7B, from Ieyasu to the king of Cambodia, is not a reply to an earlier letter, and it is to be supposed that no prior letter had arrived in Japan from the king of Cambodia. It is dated “19th day of the ninth month of the third year of the horse, Keichō 11” (慶長拾一年丙午季秋十九日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) We are sending this letter because Japanese merchants going to Cambodia must carry a letter with them. (2) We regret that although we have sent Japanese products on several occasions, they have sometimes not reached Cambodia because [the ships] drifted to other countries or met with mishaps on the waves. (3) We are seeking agarwood of the best quality (奇楠香) from Cambodia, and details will be explained by the junk master. (4) We are sending a gift of 5 gold-leaf folding screens.

Judging from section (2) in this letter and section (2) in letter 6B, it is to be surmised that because there had been no letter from the king of Cambodia this year (1606), it was not known whether or not the previous year’s letter and gifts from Japan had arrived in Cambodia. In point of fact, it is not mentioned in the *okña*’s letter (6A) that they had received the previous year’s letter and gifts. Further, in this same year Ieyasu had also been seeking agarwood from Siam and Champa. The reason that a letter was sent by Ieyasu despite no letter having arrived from the king of Cambodia may have been that he was concerned that the previous year’s letter and gifts had not arrived, but it may also have been that he wanted to secure a supply of agarwood. In the *Ikoku goshuin chō* 異國御朱印帳 it is stated that five gold-decorated folding screens were sent to Cambodia in 1606 with Nishimura Hayato 西村隼人, but the folding screens and a letter were lost en route.

## 5. Correspondence in 1608

In 1608 there were two sets of letters, i.e., letters from the king of Cambodia and Wang Jiu Woya Erzhu 王舅握雅忒諸 and Ieyasu's replies to both.

### (1) Letters from Cambodia

According to the *Ioku nikki*, letter 9A consisted of one sheet of Chinese paper (唐紙), about 1 *shaku* 尺 2 *sun* 寸 high and 4 *shaku* wide, which had been folded in half, with the Chinese text on the second half and indecipherable glyphs resembling the Siddham script written horizontally on the first half, and there had been affixed two seals on each half, four seals in total. It may therefore be supposed that the Khmer text and Chinese text were written on a single sheet of paper. There is no copy of the Khmer letter, and the design of the seals is also unknown. The Chinese letter is dated “auspicious day in the fifth year of the monkey” (龍飛戊申年吉日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Funa Wang Jia 浮哪王家 was extremely delighted because the previous year Jianwu 簡吾 (Zhong Guanwu) and a Japanese merchant arrived with a letter and gifts. (2) It was intended to send Zhong Guanwu with return tribute, but he has not yet returned from Siam. (3) Woya Laoye 握雅老爺 will be made to prepare a ship and Wo Kun Chuang Yu 握坤窓宇 will be sent to offer tribute. (4) It is Cambodia's wish that a friendship be formed and comings and goings be maintained regardless of the quality and quantity of gifts. (5) There are many horses in Cambodia, but they are small and difficult to use. Since we have heard that Japan produces fine horses, we wish to have Wo Kun Chuang Yu purchase two horses more than 5 *shaku* high and bring them back to Cambodia. (6) The gifts are 2 pairs of peacocks, 1 pair of ivory tusks weighing 68 catties, 2 piculs of wax, 1 piece of incense (東香) weighing 95 catties, 4 pails of white sugar weighing 195 catties, and 2 baskets of refined sugar (糖霜) weighing 87 catties.

In the case of the letter from Wang Jiu Woya Erzhu (10A) too, there is no Khmer text and only the Chinese text is included. It is dated “auspicious day in the fourth month of the fifth year of the monkey” (龍飛戊申年孟夏月吉日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) I am sending Wu Kun Chuang Yu with a letter to the Lord of Great Japan (i.e., Ieyasu), conveying greetings and our wish to maintain comings and goings. (2) We offer one branch of Champa incense (占城香) as a gift. (3) We would like one fine Japanese horse.

Section (4) of letter 9A and section (1) of letter 10A, indicating that there is no intention on the part of the Cambodians to sever relations, were probably written in response to section (2) of letter 6B and section (2) of letter 7B. Further, according to the *Ikoku nikki*, the peacocks included among the gifts died en route and did not arrive. In the *Tsūkō ichiran* there is quoted a passage from the *Todaiki* 當代記 for the 24th day in the 7th month of the fifth year of the monkey, Keichō 13, according to which there were gifts of 1 bundle of incense, 6 pails of sugar, 4 packets of wax, and 2 ivory tusks from the Lord of Cambodia (*Kabocha no Yakata* カボチャの屋形) and one piece of agarwood (伽羅) from his younger brother, and on the basis of the attached explanatory remarks it is suggested that Woya Laoye was the king's younger brother.

## (2) Ieyasu's Reply

In the *Gaiban tsūsho* Kondō Jūzō writes that initially letter 9B(1), dated “day in the seventh month of the fifth year of the monkey, Keichō 13” (慶長十三戌申孟秋日), was prepared,<sup>5)</sup> but then the wording was altered and letter 9B(2), dated “6th day in the eighth month of the fifth year of the monkey, Keichō 13” (慶長十三龍集戌申八月六日), was prepared anew and sent to Cambodia. When one considers that Ishin Sūden does not include letter 9B(1) in the *Ikoku nikki*, Jūzō's view would seem to be reasonable. The contents of letter 9B(2) are as follows:

(1) A letter was received towards the end of the seventh month, and on reading it we learnt of the circumstances of the king of Cambodia. (2) We take it as an expression of firm neighbourly relations that our earlier promise was not forgotten and a tribute ship arrived. (3) We gratefully received six gifts. (4) What my humble self (i.e., Ieyasu) was seeking was agarwood of the best quality from Champa (占城奇楠香). Last year we sent Lin Sangan 林三官 across the sea, but because he encountered pirates, he was unable to acquire any. We then asked Europeans (南蠻人), but we have still not acquired any. We have heard that Cambodia has recently made peace with Champa and has con-

tact with them, and so we would like you to ask the Lord of Champa, seek out some agarwood of the highest quality, and send it, regardless of the quantity. (5) The gifts are 5 swords, 5 short swords, and 2 horses.

The reply to Wang Jiu Woya Laoye (10B) is dated “6th day of the eighth month of the fifth year of the monkey, Keichō 13” (慶長十三年戊申八月六日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) We are grateful for the gift of agarwood (沉香). (2) We want you to act as an intermediary for sending a letter to the Lord of Champa. (3) We are sending a gift of 1 horse.

## 6. Correspondence in 1610

The correspondence in 1610 consisted of a letter from the king of Cambodia (12A) and Ieyasu’s reply (12B). Only the Chinese text of the king of Cambodia’s letter has been preserved, and it is not known whether there was also a corresponding Khmer text. It is dated “day in the fourth month of the seventh year of the dog” (庚戌年孟夏四月日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Last year His Majesty sent Wu Kun Chuang Yu 握坤滄宇 on a small ship to offer gifts. His Majesty has heard that [Ieyasu] received the envoy warmly, and he is much obliged for the return gifts, which were several times more [than those from Cambodia]. (2) His Majesty has burnt incense, bowed to [Ieyasu in] the east, and prays that he may live for ever. (3) He will once again send Liu Fu Lao Tao Luo Meng Yu Yong 六浮勝桃羅猛與庸 to inquire after [Ieyasu’s] health and offer gifts. (4) There are many Japanese who are committing wicked deeds and plundering merchant ships along the coasts of Cochinchina, Champa, and elsewhere. Because ships coming into Cambodian ports are severely affected by this and there is never a peaceful day, His Majesty wants a strict crackdown on the villains. (5) The tribute goods are 2 large ivory tusks weighing 70 catties, 2 small ivory tusks weighing 41 catties, and 300 catties of beeswax, 12 cakes in all.

According to the *Ikoku nikki*, this letter was in the form of a folding book, and on the cover of red Chinese paper there was inscribed in gold leaf

“Tribute Letter” (*gongshu* 貢書).

Ieyasu’s reply (12B) is dated “day in the seventh month of the seventh year of the dog” (龍集庚戌孟秋日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) The statement that [His Majesty] has burnt incense, bowed to [Ieyasu in] the east, and prays that he may live for ever shows utmost sincerity. (2) Tribute goods as listed in the letter were duly received. (3) As regards the news that Japanese merchants are going to Cambodia, Cochinchina, Champa, and elsewhere and committing wicked deeds, the deleterious effects of which are enormous, and there is never a peaceful day, we already notified you last year [that evildoers should be punished in accordance with the laws of Cambodia].<sup>6)</sup> Their associates remaining in Japan have all been put to death. Evildoers will most certainly be punished upon their return to Japan, but perhaps because they fear severe punishment, until now they have not returned, and we have heard that instead they are lying low in Cochinchina and *Sunohai* 須濃波夷,<sup>7)</sup> where they are plotting evil deeds and causing trouble to everyone. Their errors are profound and serious. We wish you to punish them in accordance with the laws of Cambodia. (4) If any Cambodian merchant ship arrives in Japan, we will ban brigands both at sea and on land and allow the merchants to engage freely in buying and selling goods. (5) The gifts are listed on a separate sheet (30 firearms).

## 7. Correspondence in 1627

There are three letters from 1627, i.e., a letter (13A) from *bashui* Zhao Benya Zhu Li Su 招笨雅珠歷蘇 to Hasegawa Gonroku 長谷川權六, the governor (*bugyō* 奉行) of Nagasaki,<sup>8)</sup> Gonroku’s reply (13B), and a letter from Gonroku to the royal family of Cambodia (14B).

The contents of letter 13A are as follows:

(1) Japan and Cambodia are sibling countries, and during the reign of the previous king ships never stopped coming and going. Since the present king ascended the throne contact has ceased. (2) Cambodia is at war with Siam, but because the ruler of Japan is on friendly terms with the king of Cambodia, I wish you to disregard this and not stop conveying the king of Cambodia’s feelings [to the shogun].<sup>9)</sup> (3) Take-tomi Chōemon 武富長右衛門 is cognizant of the above matters.

The reply to this letter (13B) is dated “day in the eighth month of the fourth year of the rabbit” (星集丁卯八月日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) I was delighted to receive the letter entrusted last year to Taketomi Chōemon. (2) I received 1 catty of agarwood of the best quality (奇楠香), for which I am much obliged. (3) I have heard that in recent years merchant ships have not been arriving [in Cambodia] and there has been no communication, but there is nothing to worry about. (4) I am now sending one of my merchant ships, which is under the command of my retainers Yamatoya Zenzaemon 大和屋善左衛門 and Wakebe Matashirō 分部又四郎. (5) On receiving further news [from Cambodia], I will report in detail to my superiors (i.e., senior councilors [*rōjū* 老中]) and endeavour to meet the wishes of your country [to restore contacts]. (6) Other matters will be conveyed verbally by the two envoys (Yamatoya Zenzaemon and Wakebe Matashirō). (7) The gifts are 4 gold-decorated folding screens, 1 large mirror, 5 pewter bowls, and 1 gold-lacquered tray with a handle. Please accept them.

Letter 14B is dated “eighth month of the fourth year of the rabbit” (龍集丁卯仲秋), and its contents are as follows:

(1) The letter addressed to the administrator Doi Ōi-no-kami 土井大炊頭 (Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝) and two pieces of ivory, brought by Taketomi Chōemon, were forwarded [to Toshikatsu]. (2) I will send one of my ships and dispatch Yamatoya Zenzaemon and Wakebe Matashirō. (3) I am sending a gift of a gold-decorated folding screen.

## 8. Correspondence in 1727

The next letter from Cambodia after letter 13A for which there exists a copy is a Chinese letter of 1727 from Liu Fo Jiao Hua 六佛嬌花 addressed to the king of Japan (15A). However, as will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, it was not the case that there was no contact between Cambodia and Japan during the intervening period. According to the *Tsūkō ichiran*, a letter arrived from the lord of Cambodia in 1692, which is merely no longer extant, and it is known that during this period of one hundred years letters were being sent sporadically from Cambodia to Japan.

Letter 15A is dated “day in the fourth month of the fourth year of the sheep” (天運丁未年四月日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) Although Cambodia is a long way from Japan, our ancestors sent people to trade, and there were comings and goings for a long time. But because the country has been plagued by many troubles, we had been unable to maintain contact for more than twenty years. (2) Since having assumed rule, I have endeavoured to follow the practices of my predecessor. (3) I am sending Woya Shi Han Wen De Li 偃雅世罕文得理 on a small ship. (4) I offer some products as a small token of my sincerity. (5) As a favour to Cambodia, I would like you to grant a trade permit (*jinpi longpai* 金批龍牌 [i.e., *shinpai* 信牌]).

In the *Gaiban tsūsho* it is stated that Kondō Jūzō borrowed this letter from a Chinese interpreter in Nagasaki to copy, and, quoting the *Nagasaki jitsuroku* 長崎實錄, it is also recorded that on the 26th day of the seventh month, Kyōhō 12 (1727) a tribute ship from Cambodia entered port with a letter from the king of Cambodia, Liu Fo Jiao Hua, requesting a trade permit, and twenty tribute goods. This ship left after having obtained a trade permit as requested. “Liu Fo” corresponds to *neak preah*, a title added to the names of kings and people of high rank.

### 9. Correspondence in 1740

The sender of the letter in 1740 (16A) was Mạc Thiên Tứ (Preah So-toat), the second ruler of the port-polity of Hatien on the coast of the Gulf of Thailand. According to the *Gaiban tsūsho*, Kondō Jūzō copied only the Chinese text in Nagasaki. If the Khmer text had been extant at this time, he would presumably have copied it at the same time or at least mentioned it, but since he did not do so, it is possible that the Khmer letter had been lost by 1795, although we believe there is a stronger possibility that no Khmer letter was sent in the first place.

This letter is dated “day in the fourth month of the seventh year of the monkey” (天運庚申歲四月日), and its contents are as follows:

(1) I am sending this letter in order to enrich the country and increase trade. (2) Words of praise for Japan. (3) Cambodia lies to the southwest of Japan and produces aromatic wood, skins, lacquer, and so on suitable as goods for sending to Japan. (4) In the fifth year of the

monkey (1728) and the sixth year of the cock (1729) Liu Weiguan 劉衛觀, Huang Yiguan 黃揖觀, and others were entrusted with goods, traded with Japan, and were issued with a trade permit. (5) On two occasions, in the eighth year of the boar (1731) and the ninth year of the rat (1732), they went to Canton because of unfavourable winds and were unable to reach Japan. (6) This year, the seventh year of the monkey (1740), with Wu Shaoyuan 吳苕園 as junk master, they set sail for Japan from this port (Hatien?) on the 21st day of the fourth month. (7) Once the setting of prices for the goods and other procedures have been completed, I wish to have them set sail from Japan in the eleventh month, the season of swift favourable winds. (8) They will set sail for Japan again in spring next year, and in the future I hope to continue trading without interruption.

In the *Gaiban tsūsho* it is added that a Cambodian ship that entered port on 28th day of the sixth month, Genbun 元文 5 (1740) brought with it a live hawksbill turtle.

## 10. Correspondence in 1742

According to the *Gaiban tsūsho*, two letters arrived from Cambodia in 1742, one written in “the Malay script of that country,” i.e., Khmer, and the other written in Chinese, and the *Gaikoku kankei shokan* includes both the Chinese and Khmer texts, copied by Kondō Jūzō himself in Nagasaki from the originals held by the Rin family of Chinese interpreters. The Chinese letter is dated “day in the fifth month of the ninth year of the dog” (壬戌年五月日), and the first half praises Japan, while the second half deals with administrative matters. The second half may be summarized as follows:

(1) In former times Cambodia was issued with trade permits by Japan and engaged in trade. (2) In the tenth year of the ox (1733) and the first year of the tiger (1734) ships waited at Canton and Amoy for unfavourable winds to abate and so were unable to sail to Japan. (3) In the third year of the dragon (1736) an uprising occurred in Cambodia, and people died, ships left, and the trade permit was lost. (4) Last year (1740) we sent Wu Shaoyuan with a letter to Japan. (5) [In 1742] we sent Liu Woya Po Mao Wen De Li 六偃雅婆冒文得理 and the merchant Lin Shanchang 林善長 with gifts and requested that the



trade permit be reissued.

The inventory of gifts lists 1 pair of ivory tusks, 1 rhinoceros horn, 1 hawkbill turtleshell, 10 lacquered bowls, 100 catties of cardamom, 100 catties of black cardamom seeds, 1 pair of peacocks, 1 pair of turkeys, 1 pair of pheasants, and 4 hawkbill turtles.

The Khmer letter is dated “year of the dog, *chattvasak* (fourth year), month of Chesth (seventh month in former Cambodian calendar), eighth day of the waxing moon, Sunday,” and its contents are as follows:

(1) This is a letter of friendship from Neak Samdech Preah Sotoat living in Cambodia to the Council of Japan (*as chumnum preah nokor Yipun* [i.e., *rōjū*]). (2) Formerly there was much trade between Japan (*preah nokor Yipun*) and Cambodia. (3) Subsequently the domestic situation in Cambodia deteriorated and trade ceased, but special words from the King (*preah bantul pises* [i.e., a trade permit]) were granted by the Council of Japan and trade resumed. (4) In the year of the dragon (1736) the domestic situation in Cambodia once again deteriorated and trade ceased. (5) [In 1740] Preah Sotoat sent Chao Teav Uon, who explained the situation and asked for a resumption of trade. (6) Preah Sotoat sent Okña Bavar Metrei and the junk chief (*neai sampeu*) Nguon Kuo to ask Japan to grant a trade permit and resume trade.

In section (1), where Preah Sotoat is described as “living in Cambodia,” Peri has “king (*rācā*) of Cambodia.” There is some confusion in the handwriting, and probably because the text would have been unclear in the photograph, Peri may have ventured a guess regarding the reading. The praise of Japan in the first half of the Chinese letter is not found in the Khmer letter. In the Khmer letter, special terms associated with a king, such as *preah bantul* (king’s words) and *preah reach harutei* (king’s heart) are used to show respect for Japan’s king and people of equivalent rank, and these differences between the Chinese and Khmer letters may be understood as differences in the epistolary etiquette of both languages. That ships from Cambodia failed to reach Japan in 1733 and 1734 is not mentioned in the Khmer letter.

In the *Gaiban tsūsho* it is stated that three Cambodian ships entered port on the 2nd day of the sixth month, Kanpō 寛保 2 (1742) and left after having obtained a trade permit as per their request. It is further reported that in the following year, on the 9th day of the sixth month, the

same ships encountered strong winds off Cape Noma 野間 in Satsuma 薩摩 (present-day Kagoshima prefecture) and were wrecked, with 14 out of 74 people drowning, and on the 9th day of the eighth month sixty survivors and cargo that had been washed away were sent to Nagasaki. Further, according to the *Tobashi* 鳥羽誌 published in 1911, the statue of Child-Protecting Avalokiteśvara (Koyasu Kanzeon 子安觀世音) enshrined in the temple Seihōji 棲鳳寺 in the village of Ugata 鶺方 (in present-day Shima city, Mie prefecture) was a “secret Buddhist image belonging to the Tripitaka Master of the Tang” that had originally been brought to Nagasaki from Minzhou 閩州 in Qing China by the Cambodian Woya Po Mao Wen De Li 偓雅婆冒(冒)文得理 in Genbun 5 (1740) and was later, in the fourth month of Hōreki 寶曆 11 (1761), brought to Seihōji by the Seihōji priest Dōnyo 道如 (Sogabe 1911: 198). According to traditions passed down at Seihōji, in Hōreki 11, after having retired when he was more than seventy years old, the head priest Dōnyo made a pilgrimage of sacred sites in western Japan, and when wintering in Nagasaki he was given the statue of Avalokiteśvara by the owner of a shop called Tamaya 玉屋, according to whom it was a statue with miraculous powers, consecrated and revered by the Tripitaka Master of the Great Tang, which had been brought from Minzhou by the Cambodian envoy Woya Po Mao Wen De Li, who had visited Nagasaki about twenty years earlier and had been on friendly terms with Tamaya.

### III. Aspects of Relations between Cambodia and Japan

#### 1. Comparison of Japanese Sources and the Royal Chronicles

##### (1) Letters from the Early Seventeenth Century

The years 1601–10, when letters were being exchanged between the king of Cambodia and Tokugawa Ieyasu, corresponded, according to the royal chronicles, to a time of upheaval when the previous king’s younger brother Srei Soriyopor (r. 1602–18) and his eldest son Chey Chétha and second son Outey Réachéa, who had returned from Ayutthaya where they had been held captive after the fall of the capital Longvek to the Ayutthayan king Naresuan in 1594, brought under their control forces that had established themselves in different parts of the country, reunified the kingdom, and in 1620 founded a new capital at Udong. It is well known that there is an account of the fall of Longvek and the situation immedi-

ately afterwards also in Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which tallies with the general course of events as described in the royal chronicles.

In the Chinese letters of 1603 to 1605 there are also statements indicative of the civil strife in Cambodia. Up until 1610 the gifts sent from Japan to Cambodia were predominantly military in nature, such as swords, firearms, armour, and horses. The existence of correspondence between Cambodia and Japan shows that during the same period when he was fighting to quell hostile forces, the king of Cambodia at the time was monopolizing relations with Ieyasu. In the first half of the seventeenth century there existed a Japanese community at a place called Ponjalou in Dutch sources (Iwao 1995: 90–104). Ponjalou corresponds to Ponhea Lueu, which lies on the shores of Tonlé Sap almost due east of the sacred mountain of Udong, and at the time it functioned as the river port of the royal capital Udong. It is to be surmised that it was around this time that a Japanese community was born here.

There can be little doubt that the kings of Cambodia who were in contact with Ieyasu were Srei Soriyopor and his sons Chey Chétha and Outey Réachéa mentioned in the royal chronicles. Not only were they closely related to the kings of Longvek, but it is also to be surmised that their control of trading rights with Japan was of enormous benefit as they overcame other opposing forces. Srei Soriyopor's successor Chey Chétha (r. 1618–25) married a princess from Yuon (Vietnam), established the capital at Udong in 1620, and in 1621–22 repulsed attacks by Siamese forces. After his death, his younger brother Outey Réachéa administered the affairs of state as “second king” (*obhayoréach*). Letter 13A from 1627 notes that there had been a change of king in Cambodia and that Siam and Cambodia were at war.

According to the Khmer letters from this period, the king of Cambodia was called Samdach Barom Bâpit Preah Chao Krong Kamvuchéa Thipadei Srei Saothor Preah Maha Nokor Eintra Prasith Ratna Reach Theani (2A) and Samdach Preah Reach Ongka Barom Bâpit Krong Kamvuchéa Thipadei Srei Saothor Preah Maha Nokor Eintra Prasith Ratna Reach Theani (3A, 4A). These names consist only of the king's titles and do not include his personal name. In the Chinese letters the king is called “my humble self of Cambodia” (柬埔寨國寡人 [2A]), “lord of Cambodia, Fulao Wang Jia” (柬埔寨國主浮勝王嘉 [3A, 4A]), “lord of this country, Liu Fu Tu (Wang?) Jia” (本國主六浮土(王?)嘉 [8A]), “Funa Wang Jia of Cambodia” (柬埔寨浮哪王家 [9A]), and “Liu Shi Li Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia” (東

埔寨國主六識曆王嘉 [12A]). “Fulao” 浮勝 and “Funa” 浮哪 are probably transliterations of *preah*, a word prefixed to the name of a king. “Liu Shi Li” 六識曆 in letter 12A may be a transliteration of *neak srei*, used at the start of a king’s name.

It is known that the account in the royal chronicles from the reign of Chey Chétha onwards is consistent with the account given in Nicholas Gervaise’s *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam*, published in 1688. Gervaise refers to the king corresponding to Chey Chétha as Nac-Chesta, who, he writes, ruled for fifteen years. With one of his concubines he had two sons, named Nac-Channe and Nac-Ché. Nac-Chesta’s younger brother appears under the name Nac-Barachia, and after having served as regent for ten years after his older brother’s death, he was assassinated by Nac-Channe. According to the royal chronicles, the assassination of Outey Réachéa occurred in 1638, but it has been confirmed from Dutch sources that it took place at the start of January 1642 (Kraan 2009: 10, 13–16). If we backcalculate on this basis the reigns described by Gervaise, it is found that Nac-Chesta died in about 1632 and ascended the throne in about 1617. Assuming that it is appropriate to make these calculations by combining Dutch sources with Gervaise’s account, this means that the previous king who was in frequent contact with Ieyasu, mentioned in letter 13A of 1627, was Srei Soriyopor and the current king who sent the letter was Chey Chétha/Nac-Chesta. The king’s name Neak Srei (Liu Shi Li) in letter 12A of 1610 is consistent with Srei Soriyopor’s name and lends support to these conjectures.

## (2) A Blank in Correspondence: The *Ka’i Hentai*

During the hundred years from 1627 to 1727 when no letters from Cambodia appear in the *Gaiban tsūsho*, etc., there was no break in contacts between Cambodia and Japan. According to the *Tōsen yunyū mokuroku* 唐船輸入目録 restored by Nagazumi Yōko, at least forty-two Cambodian ships arrived in Japan from 1641 to 1745 (Nagazumi 1987: 36–252). In the *Ka’i hentai* thirty-six Cambodian ships are mentioned between 1679 and 1723. There are gaps in the original sources of the *Tōsen yunyū mokuroku*,<sup>10)</sup> with the only year for which information from both sources overlaps being 1682, and this means that from 1641 to 1745 at least seventy-six or seventy-seven<sup>11)</sup> Cambodian ships arrived in Nagasaki. The period for which Cambodian ships appear in the *Ka’i hentai* corresponds to the period during which, according to the royal chronicles, the royal family was

divided into two lines, based at the royal capital Udong on the western shores of Tonlé Sap and at Srei Santhor on the east bank of the Mekong, and, backed by Siam and Vietnam respectively, they were continually engaged in armed conflict with each other. Information about the domestic situation in Cambodia during this time by and large coincides in the Cambodian royal chronicles, the Vietnamese *Đại Nam thực lục tiền biên* 大南寔錄前編, and the Japanese *Ka'i hentai*, three sources of different provenance. According to the royal chronicles, the kings who ruled from Udong belonged to the legitimate line, namely, Ang Chi (r. 1672–75), his younger brother Ang Saur (r. 1675–95, 1696–1700, 1701–02, 1705–06), and his son Srei Thomma Réachéa (r. 1702–05, 1706–14, 1738–47), while a line of “second kings” (*obhayoréach*)—Ang Tân, Ang Non, his son Ang Im (r. 1700–01, 1714–22, 1729), and his son Ang Chi (r. 1722–29, 1729–38)—ruled from Srei Santhor. In the *Ka'i hentai*, the king corresponding to Ang Saur is referred to as “Sovereign” (*hon-yakata* 本屋形) or “Great King” (*daiō* 大王) and the person corresponding to the *obhayoréach* Ang Non as “second king” (*niō* 二王). During the next generation, when clashes continued between Srei Thomma Réachéa and Ang Im, the former is referred to as “Mountain King” (*yama-ō* 山王) and the latter as “Water King” (*mizu-ō* 水王) (Kitagawa 2000: 65–71).

According to the *Ka'i hentai*, boat 69 in 1691 from Cambodia and boat 58 in 1692 from Cambodia each carried one Cambodian, thought to be an envoy, while there were two such people on boat 38 in 1698 from Cambodia, and these may be considered to have been “ships commissioned by the sovereign of Cambodia” (*Kanbojia yakata shidashi no fune* 柬埔寨屋形仕出しの船). In the *Tsūkō ichiran* it is mentioned that a letter arrived from the lord (*kokushu* 國主) of Cambodia in 1692, and although it is no longer extant, it is evident that during this hundred-year period letters were being sent sporadically from Cambodia to Japan. The greater part of the cargo of boat 69 in 1691 from Cambodia was that of the *yakata* of Cambodia, and it was reported that (1) for several years now merchant ships had stopped coming because of strife among members of the *yakata*'s family, and because the fighting had been intense, the *yakata*, his officials, and ordinary people had become extremely impoverished; (2) Cambodia did not produce cloth or thread, and it produced some deerskins, poor-quality brown sugar, lacquer, ivory, betel nuts, and medicinal substances; and (3) there were more than one thousand Chinese residents, and many officials were also Chinese. Boat 58 in 1692 from Cambodia,<sup>12)</sup> which is known from the *Tsūkō ichiran* to have brought a letter from Cambodia,

also reported that (1) commerce had ceased because of several years of civil strife; (2) the civil strife had ended “last autumn” following the death of the “second king”; and (3) consequently ships from Cambodia were likely to start coming to Nagasaki annually. It is to be surmised that the letter was also similar in content.

According to the royal chronicles, in 1691 the *obhayoréach* Ang Non died, his son Ang Im escaped with the help of Yuon (Vietnam), and the regions along the east bank of the Mekong submitted to the king. It may be supposed, in other words, that boat 69 in 1691 and boat 58 in 1692 were sent by the king of Cambodia with the aim of resuming trade with Japan following the end of the civil war.

### (3) Letters of the Eighteenth Century

In letter 15A of 1727 it is stated that Cambodia had been unable to have any contact with Japan for more than twenty years because it had been plagued with troubles, and in letter 16A of 1740 it is also stated that ships had been sent in 1728 and 1729. According to the royal chronicles, this would have coincided with the reigns of Ang Im and Ang Chi. It was a time when the war between the Mountain King and the Water King is thought to have come to a halt and the Water King ruled over Cambodia. The royal chronicles, *Đại Nam thực lục tiền biên*, and *Ka'i hentai* all agree that as a result of fighting in 1714 Srei Thomma Réachéa (Nặc Thâm 匿深/Mountain King) fled to Siam and Ang Im (Nặc Yêm 匿淹/Water King) ascended the throne. In Hatien, this corresponded to the time of Mạc Thiên Tứ's father Mạc Cửu 鄭玖, and it is not clear whether the ships sent in 1728 and 1729 were sent from Hatien or by the king of Cambodia from either Udong or Phnom Penh via the Mekong. Further, in letter 16A of 1740 it is stated that ships were sent in 1731 and 1732 and in Chinese letter 17A of 1742 that ships were sent in 1733 and 1734, but in each case they failed to reach Japan because of unfavourable winds. If this is all true, it means that from 1727 to 1734 merchant ships set out from Cambodia for Japan every year except 1730 and that for four successive years from 1731 to 1734 they were unable to reach Japan. According to the *Tōsen shinkō kaitō roku* 唐船進港回棹錄 (Oba 1974: 65–96), from 1723 Cambodian ships were continually arriving in Nagasaki, two in 1726, one in 1728, one in 1729, one in 1730, two in 1731, and two in 1732. This may correspond to the period during which, according to Khmer letter 17A of 1742, trade resumed after the granting of “the king's special words” (*preah bantul pises*). Regardless of

whether these ships were sent from the inland towns of Udong or Phnom Penh or whether they were sent from Hatien on the coast of the Gulf of Thailand, it is at least certain that Preah Sotoat (Mạc Thiên Tứ) possessed information about trade between Japan and Cambodia.

According to the royal chronicles, Ang Im submitted to Ayutthaya in the year of the boar (1719), offering a letter and a tree made of gold and silver as tribute. The rule of Ang Im (Water King) and his son Ang Chi continued until Srei Thomma Réachéa (Mountain King) was restored to the throne in the year of the serpent (1737), after a dispute broke out within the royal family. If we believe this account, the changes in the arrivals of Cambodian ships in Nagasaki can be explained in the following way. In 1717, when peace had not yet been concluded with Siam, the Water King (Ang Im) had not gained full control of the hinterland, making it difficult to collect produce, and therefore the Cambodian ship that arrived in 1717 reported that there was a dearth of goods in Cambodia. Once the rule of the Water King (Ang Im) had stabilized by the mid-1720s after the conclusion of peace with Siam in 1719, ships from Cambodia began to make regular visits to Nagasaki.

According to the *Ka'i hentai*, the Mountain King died in Siam in 1722, and thereafter the Water Kings alone ruled peacefully over Cambodia. But according to the account in the royal chronicles, Srei Thomma Réachéa had not died, and following the strife that broke out in the royal family in 1737, he returned to Cambodia by sea. An inscription at Angkor Vat (IMA39) dating from 1747 records that in the year of the serpent (probably 1737) extreme difficulties arose in Cambodia and a king by the name of Thomma Réachéa returned to Cambodia by sea. In letter 17A of 1742 too it is stated that unsettled conditions prevailed in Cambodia in the year of the dragon (1736) and trade with Japan ceased. Furthermore, the missionary Bouillevaux, who visited Cambodia in the middle of the nineteenth century, writes that the Catholic village of Ponhea Lueu fell into decline as a result of famine and wars in the mid-eighteenth century (Bouillevaux 1874: 115). There are no sources that give a clear indication of the actual situation, but there can at least be no doubt that major upheavals were taking place in Cambodia at this time and this resulted in the cessation of ships being sent from Cambodia to Japan between 1734 and 1740. Letter 16A of 1740 explains the location of Cambodia, its products, and the season suitable for sea voyages, and it gives the impression of trying to promote anew to Japan trade with Cambodia. It may have been that Hatien, presenting itself as Cambodia, was embarking anew on trade

with Japan or that the explanatory remarks were added in case Japan had lost information about Cambodia during the period when there had been no contact between the two countries. A comparison of letter 16A of 1740 and letter 17A of 1742 reveals that the Japanese addressee is given in greater detail in the latter, and in particular not only does the Khmer letter use the term “Council of Japan” (*as chumnum preah nokor Yipun*), suggesting an attempt to give expression to a political institution peculiar to Japan, but high-ranking officials bearing the title *okñā* were appointed envoys and a letter in Khmer was sent, all of which suggests that the information gained during contact in 1740 was reflected in the dispatch of an envoy in 1742. In view of the above, there would seem to be a strong probability that the envoys of 1740 and 1742 were sent by Hatien, claiming to represent Cambodia, in an attempt to enter into trade with Japan.

## 2. Cambodian Understanding of Japan

In the Khmer letters, Cambodia is consistently referred to as “Krong Kamvuchéa Thipadei.” Meanwhile, in letters of the early seventeenth century Japan is rendered as “Ñipon,” which is in many cases followed by a word that can be read *Kakacho*. Peri interprets *Ñipon Kakacho* as a transcription of *Nippon Kokuchū* 日本國中, but it is probably more likely to correspond to *Nippon Kokushu* 日本國主 (“Lord of Japan”), which appears in some of the Chinese letters. There are, however, instances in which the words that may be read as *Ñipon Kakacho* can be interpreted as being used as the name of a country rather than referring to a person, i.e., Tokugawa Ieyasu. But nothing further can be said on this matter unless a clearer copy or the original is discovered. In letter 2A of 1603 from the king of Cambodia and in letter 6A of 1606 from the *okñā* the phrase *sdech Ñipon*, meaning “king of Japan,” appears. In Chinese letters Ieyasu is referred to in various ways, including “Lord of Japan” (日本國主; 2A), “King of Japan” (日本國王; 3A, 5A), “Great King of Japan” (日本國大王; 4A), “King of the Great Land of Japan” (日本大邦國王; 6A), “Lord of Great Japan” (大日本國主; 9A, 10A), and “King of the Great Land of Japan” (大邦日本國王; 12A). In letter 17A of 1742, on the other hand, Japan is rendered as *preah nokor Yipun* and the Cambodians’ negotiating partner is, as already mentioned, referred to as the “Council of Japan” (*as chumnum preah nokor Yipun*). *Nokor* derives from Sanskrit *nagara*, and in the royal chronicles it is used to refer to the territories over which the rule of the kings of Cambodia and Siam extended. It is to be surmised that *as chumnum* (“council”) refers



to the senior councillors (*rōjū*) of the shogunate.

In addition, in Khmer letters of the early seventeenth century letters composed by the Japanese are called “the king’s letters from Japan” (*preah reach sar pi Nipon*). Again, in Khmer letter 17A of 1742 the trade permit (*shinpai*) issued by the Japanese is referred to as “the king’s special words” (*preah bantul pises*), and the term “king’s heart” (*preah reach harutei*) is used to refer to the decision-maker on the Japanese side. Together with the expression *preah nokor Yipun*, these phrases show that the Cambodians understood political authority in Japan as being the equivalent of kingship in Cambodia.

In the correspondence of the early seventeenth century, there is variability in the expressions used in the Chinese letters from Cambodia, but in the letters from Ieyasu he is consistently referred to as “Minamoto no Ieyasu of Japan” (日本國源家康), while the king of Cambodia is called “Lord of Cambodia” (柬埔寨國主).

### 3. Letters of Friendship

In letters from the king of Cambodia in the early seventeenth century, self-deprecating expressions are used in the Chinese letters, but in the Khmer letters it is stated, for example, that Japan was offering (*thvay*) tribute (*bannakar*) to the king of Cambodia. This sort of difference is similar to the differences between the Thai and Chinese versions of state letters exchanged between the Siamese Rattanakosin dynasty and Qing China (Masuda 1995).

Further, Khmer letters of the early seventeenth century use words such as *snetth* (intimate), *sneha* (love), *metrei* (friendship), and *sralaṅ* (to love) to indicate that the king of Cambodia and Ieyasu had formed a friendship through the exchange of letters and gifts, and it is also stated that the king of Cambodia was “delighted” (*harutei trek ar*) at this. In Khmer letter 17A of 1742 too it is stated at the outset that it is a “letter of friendship” from Preah Sotoat to Japan, and the expression that Japan and Cambodia have for some time been linked by a “bridge of friendship” (*spean metrei*) appears twice. The act of confirming friendship between countries (or their rulers) by means of letters and gifts is also found in Thai state letters sent by Rama I and II of Siam to the Qing. It is to be surmised, therefore, that the custom of using expressions of “friendship” in contacts between kings had probably been established in Cambodia and Siam by the start of the seventeenth century and that the letters that were written in their respec-

tive languages sent by the kings of Cambodia and Siam to the rulers of Japan and China were composed in line with this practice. However, in the case of the kings of Siam's letters to Japan and the Qing, the Thai letter engraved on a thin sheet of gold was the official version, and the Chinese text served only as a translation, and in this respect they differed from the letters sent from Cambodia. It should thus be noted that the customs of Cambodia and Siam were not completely the same in this regard.

An exception is Chinese letter 3A from Cambodia in 1605, in which it is stated that Hara Yajiemon "came to offer tribute" (來貢) together with Zhong Guanwu, a turn of phrase that could have been regarded as discourteous by the Japanese. Ieyasu sent a reply to this letter (3B), but there is no evidence that the Japanese viewed the use of this phrase as problematic. There are various possibilities regarding this matter, and it may, for example, have been considered that it was a merchant and not Ieyasu who had offered tribute, but at the present point in time there are not sufficient grounds for drawing any firm conclusion.

#### 4. The Establishment of the Vermillion-Seal Ship Trade

It is evident from the very existence of correspondence between Cambodia and Japan in the early seventeenth century that merchants setting out not only from Japan for Cambodia, but also from Cambodia for Japan, carried with them a letter stamped with the vermilion seal of the king of Cambodia or a high-ranking official. In particular, there were three exchanges of letters in 1605—letter 3A given to Hara Yajiemon (Chinese text (6) & (9), Khmer text (3)), letter 4A given to Zhong Guanwu and Ming Feng (Chinese text (2) & (5), Khmer text (5)), and letter 5A given to Nagai Shirōemon (Chinese text (2) & (7), Khmer text (1))—and it is evident that either one merchant or one ship was issued with a letter.

In his letter of 1603 Ieyasu asked the king of Cambodia to refuse entry to Japanese merchants who did not have "a letter stamped with the same seal as this letter," that is, a vermilion-seal certificate (1B (3)). In two of his letters in 1605 the king of Cambodia requested the issuance of a certificate of passage (i.e., vermilion-seal certificate) for the following year (4A, Chinese text (3); 5A, Chinese text (4)), and because there were evildoers among the Japanese who travelled to Cambodia, he also asked that the number of merchant ships be limited to one or two annually and that they all be made to carry a letter stamped with a seal (3A, Chinese text (5), Khmer text (4); 4A, Khmer text (4)). From the above it is clear

that it was a basic rule recognized by both parties that merchants travelling from Japan to Cambodia had to carry a vermilion-seal certificate and that the Cambodians viewed such a certificate as a guarantee of the merchant's character.

The Japanese merchants Hara Yajiemon (3A, Chinese text (4), Khmer text (3)) and Nagai Shirōemon (5A, Chinese text (2), Khmer text (2)) had initially sailed to Cambodia on the ships of the Chinese merchants Zhong Guanwu and Ming Feng. Because they were not carrying letters with their names, they notified the authorities after their arrival in Cambodia, and once Zhong Guanwu and Ming Feng had explained their identity and they had been granted permission to engage in trade, they returned to Japan with letters issued by the Cambodian authorities. These letters asked the Japanese authorities to issue them with certificates of passage (*preah reach sar pi Nipon*) and, once they had been granted permission to trade, to send them promptly back to Cambodia since they were subjects (*kñom asa*) of the king of Cambodia. In the *Ikoku goshuin chō* it is recorded that a vermilion-seal certificate for travelling to Cambodia was handed over to Hara Yajiemon on the 6th day of the eleventh month, Keichō 10 (1605) and a letter thought to be letter 3B was given to him on the 7th day of the twelfth month, and it is also recorded that on the 2nd day of the tenth month of the same year a vermilion-seal certificate (dated 28th day of the ninth month) was given to Nagai Shirōemon together with a pair of large and small swords. It is thus clear that the matter was dealt with in accordance with the Cambodians' request.

Requests for the return of merchants-cum-envoys who had travelled from Cambodia to Japan are also found in letters carried by Zhong Guanwu (2A, Chinese text (4)), Kōno Kizaemon (6A, Chinese text (2), Khmer text (3)), and Wo Kun Chuang Yu (9A (5)), as well as in letter 16A of the eighteenth century. In addition, Hara Yajiemon was given a letter stamped with the vermilion seal of a junk in which it was stated that whenever he came to Cambodia, Cambodian officials would always allow him to come and go (3A, Chinese text (6)). In other words, the Cambodian letters presupposed a round voyage from Cambodia to Japan and back. In response to this request, Ieyasu replied that merchants ships from Cambodia should remain in Japan for as long as the merchants wished (6B (3)), and in response to the complaint that there were Japanese who went to Cambodia and committed evil deeds, he replied that the Cambodian authorities should punish them in accordance with Cambodian law (3B (2), 4B (2), 5B (3), 6B (4) & (5), 12B (3)).

## 5. Envoys

The envoys-cum-merchants who formed a link between Cambodia and Japan in the early seventeenth century included the Chinese Huaiting Taiguan, Zhong Guangwu, and Ming Feng and the Japanese Hara Yajiemon, Nagai Shirōemon, Nishimura Hayato, Taketomi Chōemon, Yamatoya Zenzaemon, and Wakebe Matashirō. In addition, envoys bearing the Cambodian official titles Ok Khun (Wo Kun 握坤) and Neak Preah (Liu Fulao 六浮勝) were also sent, and these included Wo Kun Chuang Yu in 1608 (9A (3) & (5), 10A (1), 12A (1)) and Liu Fulao Tao Luo Meng Yu Yong in 1610 (12A (3)).

Both the Chinese letters and the Khmer letters include, in addition to formal salutations, contents of an administrative nature, such as requests for the issuance of vermilion-seal certificates, etc., and for specific products. But there are instances in which it was stated that details would be conveyed verbally by the envoy (2B (5), 5B (5), 7B (4), 13A (3), 13B (6)) and also cases in which matters mentioned only in the Khmer letter and not in the corresponding Chinese letter were conveyed to the Japanese (3A, Khmer text (4); 3B (2), 4B (2)). These examples would imply that details of negotiations were conveyed verbally by the junk master.

As we have already seen, it can be confirmed from the *Ka'i hentai* that ships bearing envoys from Cambodia arrived in Nagasaki on at least three occasions during the period from which no correspondence has survived. On all three occasions the junk masters were, judging from their names, Chinese.<sup>13)</sup> Boat 69 in 1691 from Cambodia had previously come to Nagasaki (boat 62 in 1689 from Gaozhou 高州), as had boat 58 in 1692 from Cambodia (boat 8 in 1688 from Chaozhou 潮州), but boat 38 in 1698 from Cambodia, described as “a ship commissioned by the sovereign of Cambodia,” was visiting Nagasaki for the first time. Boat 69 in 1691 from Cambodia carried a complement of fifty-two Chinese and one Cambodian, boat 58 in 1692 from Cambodia forty-four Chinese and one Cambodian, and boat 38 in 1698 from Cambodia forty-nine Chinese and two Cambodians. The Cambodians presumably chartered Chinese ships and had envoys who had been granted Cambodian official titles join the ships.

On the ship that brought letter 15A in 1727 there were three Cambodians (including Woya Shi Han Wen De Li), six Javanese, and fifty-six Chinese. The two Cambodians apart from Woya Shi Han Wen De Li were probably his attendants. If “Javanese” corresponds to Khmer *chvear*, then

as a place-name it would have referred to Java, but in the case of people it signified Malay Muslims from insular Southeast Asia. There were many Malay Muslims living along the coast of the Gulf of Thailand and also inland on the shores of Tonlé Sap and along the Mekong, and the fact that they were travelling together with Chinese cannot be used as a factor for determining the ship's port of departure.

In letter 16A of 1740 it is stated that in 1728 and 1729 Liu Weiguan and Huang Yiguan had been sent with goods to trade with Japan and had been issued with trade permits and that in 1740 the junk master Wu Shaoyuan was being sent to Japan with a letter. In letter 17A of 1742 it is stated that Chao Teav Uon (Wu Shaoyuan) had been sent in 1740 and that in 1742 (Neak) Okña Bavar Metrei (Liu Woya Po Mao Wen De Li) and the merchant Nguon Kuo (Lin Shanchang) were being sent to Japan with gifts and a letter requesting the reissue of a trade permit. According to the *Gaiban tsūsho*, three Cambodian ships entered port on the 28th day of the sixth month, Kanpō 2 (1742); the junk master of one of the ships was called Lin Shanchang 林善長 Su Yaode 蘇耀德, and he had with him an envoy named Liu Woya Po Mao Wen De Li (Okña Bavar Metrei) and several of his attendants, who were named Zhao Jie 招街, Zhao Cheng 招成, Zhao Da 招達, Zhao Fan 招煩, Zhao Dang 招黨, Zhao Si 招司, Zhao Li 招理, Zhao Li 招吏, Zhao Xi 招息, Zhao Jia 招家, and Zhao Tian 招田. The word “Zhao” prefixed to the names of the attendants corresponds to Khmer “*chao*,” which is prefixed to the names of ordinary males, and since the personal names following “Zhao” all consist of a single Chinese character, they may be assumed to be transliterations of Khmer names. The title *okña* was granted even to non-Khmers if they were appointed by the king to an important position on account of some particular ability, and so it would not have been strange for Okña Bavar Metrei (Liu Woya Po Mao Wen De Li) to have been Chinese. This means that an embassy was composed of Cambodians or at least people subject to the king of Cambodia, while the junk master and crew were Chinese.

## 6. Cambodian Officials in Charge of Trade and Diplomacy with Japan

According to *Nan'yō Nihonmachi no kenkyū*, in the first half of the seventeenth century there were in Cambodia five *shahbandar* (rendered in European sources as *chabandaer*, *chabander*, *sabandhaer*, *shabander*, etc.), one of whom was Japanese (Iwao 1995: 91, 97, 105–112).<sup>14)</sup> The official title *shahbandar*, which derives from Persian, has not been ascertained in

Khmer sources.<sup>15)</sup> In the Khmer letters taken up here there is no mention of the official title of those in charge of trade, but in Chinese letters (5A of 1605 and 13A of 1627) there appears the title *bashui*.<sup>16)</sup> The *bashui* mentioned in letter 5A procured a junk for Nagai Shirōemon for the purpose of loading the skins that he had acquired in Cambodia (Chinese text (2)), while the sender of letter 13A was a *bashui* who bore the high-ranking title of *chao poñéa* (*zhao benya* 招笨雅), second only to *okñā*.

There are indications in the copies of the Khmer letters that they were written in what is generally called the “round script” (*aksor mul*), and, like Preah Sotoat’s letter of 1742, they would have originally been written in a fine hand, suggesting that there may have already existed officials such as scribes (*smien*) who specialized in the preparation of Khmer documents. Meanwhile, a comparison of the Chinese letters reveals varying degrees of skill and variations in the forms employed for the names of the senders and addressees, and there is a strong possibility that there were several drafters who were probably Chinese merchants. The vermilion seals of Hanuman affixed to the Khmer letters of 1603 and 1605 have been turned 90 degrees to the left so as to match the vertically written Chinese letters (2A, 3A, 4A, 5A), and this suggests that the person in charge of contacts with Japan and entrusted with a seal at this time may have been a Chinese speaker who could not read Khmer.

In connection with the letters sent from Cambodia, it is to be supposed, judging from their content and the affixing of seals to both the Khmer and Chinese letters, that it was not the case that the Khmer letters were the official versions and the Chinese letters their translations. It is known from the *Gaiban tsūsho* that in Japan there were at least until the middle of the seventeenth century Thai interpreters with a working knowledge of Thai,<sup>17)</sup> but it is unlikely that there would have been anyone in Japan able to read the Khmer letters. In seventeenth-century Cambodia the tradition of the “king’s letter of friendship,” sent by the king to the king of another country, was well established, and while the Cambodians were probably well aware that this would not have been understood in Japan, it would have been most unlikely for them not to have composed the Khmer letters as official letters addressed to Japan’s equivalent of a king.

### By Way of Conclusion: Future Prospects

In the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century Cambodia was exchanging letters with not only Japan but also Siam, Vietnam, Batavia,

Manila, etc. The whereabouts of the originals of these letters are not currently known. Therefore, the sources preserved in Japan, although copies, are extremely valuable, and their value is further enhanced by the fact that correspondence spanning several years can be ascertained and it includes not only Chinese letters but also Khmer letters.

The findings of the present study may be considered to be of significance for research in the field of Japanese history in that they demonstrate that a precondition of the vermillion-seal ship trade was contacts between rulers, which were underpinned by merchants, and as was the case in Japan's foreign relations during the latter part of the medieval period, foreign relations and trade were inseparably connected.

In connection with the study of Southeast Asian history, there has emerged from the analysis of the Khmer letters the possibility that, insofar that letters sent by the king of Cambodia to the king of another country were written as "letters of friendship," Siam and Cambodia shared the same epistolary conventions. There then arises the question of whether letters sent to Siam and Vietnam, which posed direct threats to the king of Cambodia and to which he sometimes offered tribute, were also written as "letters of friendship," and there is also the question of the format of letters exchanged between Siam and Vietnam. Further, in Dutch translations of letters sent to Batavia in the mid-seventeenth century the Malay title *orang kaya* is used with the names of Cambodian officials (Endō 2014: 16, 18), and there is a possibility that Malay was used as an intermediary language in correspondence with Batavia. In view of the fact that the principal inhabitants of Ponhea Lueu, where the Japanese community was located, were Portuguese, there is also a possibility that Portuguese may have intermediated in correspondence with Manila and also with Malacca and Macao (if such correspondence did in fact exist). Also intriguing are questions such as whether Khmer "letters of friendship" were also being sent to Batavia and Manila and how the Cambodians viewed European governors-general and so on. Although the unknown whereabouts of the originals is a handicap, it may be possible to draw certain inferences from the translations.

As for the Chinese letters, the kings of Cambodia are considered not to have been offering tribute to China from the start of the fifteenth century. Through a comparison with Siam and Vietnam, which had closer relations with China, it should be possible to shed light on the capabilities and presumptive provenance of those capable of writing Chinese in Cambodia, to provide a more concrete picture of the world connected by

letters written in Chinese, and to clarify the positions of Cambodia, Siam, Vietnam, and other parts of Southeast Asia within this world. Through this kind of research it is to be hoped that it will also be quite possible to elucidate the nature of epistolary diplomacy in Southeast Asia.

### Notes

- 1) For example, the *Nagasaki shoji oboegaki* 長崎諸事覺書 from the 1670s, which contains records of investigations conducted for the purpose of reforming the Nagasaki trade, gives the distance from Japan along with a simple description and a list of principal products for Taiwan, Quảng Nam (Cochinchina), Tongking, Champa, Cambodia, Pattani, Ligor, Siam, and Kelapa (Kisaki 2005: 52–53; Ota 2007: 335–336).
- 2) Since the appendix to the *Senra Nihon kōtsū shiryō* 暹羅日本交通史料 sent by Uchida Ginzō 内田銀藏 to the Thai royal household includes photographs of 3A and 6A (Uchida 1921: 494–495), the photographs said by Peri to have been held by the Vajirañāṇa National Library in Bangkok had probably been sent by Uchida. Furthermore, the photograph of Khmer letter 6A reproduced in Peri’s article does not tally with any of the manuscripts held by the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo, and instead it coincides with “a copy of a Cambodian letter” said to have been included among the “Shokan byōbu utsushi” 書翰屏風寫 formerly held by Shinmura Izuru 新村出 (Kawashima 1921: 190). The photographs appended to the *Senra Nihon kōtsū shiryō* also include a “vermillion-seal certificate for sailing to Siam” (*Senrakoku tokai shuinjō* 暹羅國渡海朱印狀) dated the 25th day of the seventh month, Keichō 13 (1608) and a written acknowledgement of a loan of silver dated the 11th day of the tenth month, Kan’ei 寬永 2 (1625), photographs of both of which are included in Peri’s article. In view of the above, there is a strong possibility that the photographs of Khmer letters 3A and 6A used by Peri are photographs of copies of the *Shōkokuji shokan byōbu* held by Shinmura Izuru and that these photographs were sent by Uchida to Thailand together with other photographs.
- 3) According to a footnote, “Probably the present letter.” It refers to the Khmer text of letter 3A.
- 4) The romanized transcription is given as follows: *kdēi* (to decide) *òy* (causative) *čau sam̐pou* (junk master) *čā* (is) *thom̐* (large) *khnoh̐* (fetters) *n̐p̐n̐* (Japanese) *tān̐* (all) *nōh̐* (that).
- 5) It listed some gifts and expressed thanks for an earlier letter.
- 6) This may be considered to refer to letter 11B.
- 7) In the *Gaiban tsūsho* Kondō Jūzō suggests that Sunohai may be an error for Nobisupai 濃毗須波夷 (Nueva España), but Sunohai is the correct form, being a corruption of Thuận Hóa 順化, an administrative unit that extended from present-day Quảng Bình to Thừa Thiên and Huế. Here it would seem reasonable to identify Sunohai with the region where the Nguyễn 阮 lords were based, namely, present-day Quảng Trị province.



- 8) However, in the eighth month of 1627 when letters 13B and 14B were issued, Gonroku was no longer governor of Nagasaki. Further, letter 13A has no date, but judging from 13B (1) it is conceivable that it predates 1626.
- 9) In a letter from Ok Pra (Wo Funa 握浮哪) of Siam to Sakai Utanokami 酒井雅樂頭 in 1626, included in the *Ikoku nikki*, it is stated that Siam would send a punitive expedition to Cambodia because it was rebelling.
- 10) The earliest of the sources used to restore the *Tōsen yunyū mokuroku* dates from 1637, and sources for 1667–79, 1685–95, 1707–17, 1719–23, and 1726–32 are missing (Nagazumi 1987: 4–5).
- 11) The *Tōsen yunyū mokuroku* mentions the cargo of a ship from Cambodia in an entry for the 5th day of the eighth month, 1682, while the *Ka'i hentai* records information obtained from boats 11 and 12 from Cambodia on the 3rd day of the seventh month, Tenna 天和 2 (1682).
- 12) According to boat 67 in 1693 from Cambodia, boat 58 in 1692 from Cambodia failed to return to Cambodia after setting sail from Nagasaki and no more was heard of it.
- 13) The master of boat 69 in 1691 was Wang Deguan 王德官 and the sub-master Chen Zhaiguan 陳宅官; the master of boat 58 in 1692 was Chen Yulong 陳于龍; and the master of boat 38 in 1698 was Cheng Huishi 程徽士 and the sub-master Li Ruibao 李瑞寶.
- 14) In addition to one *shahbandar* in the Japanese community, there were one in the Portuguese community, one in the Malay-Javanese community, and two in the Chinese community.
- 15) Article 100 of the legal code *Kram srok*, said to have been compiled in 1693 (Leclère 1898: 114–115), states: “For foreigners, one should choose their chief (*chautéa*) from among them. A Lao *chautéa* is charged with control of the Lao dugout canoes; an Annamese (Vietnamese) *chautéa* has control of all his compatriots; a Cham *chautéa* is charged with supervision of the Cham; a Malay *chautéa* is charged with supervision of the *chvéa* (Javanese and Malays); a Chinese *chautéa* is charged with supervising the Chinese; a Japanese *chautéa* is charged with supervising the Japanese.”
- 16) The post of *bashui* appears also in a copy of a certificate of passage included in the Taichōin Documents (Historiographical Institute, facsimile 3071.92–8). It is also evident that there was a Japanese named Shinzaemon 新左衛門 who was serving the king of Cambodia around this time. Kawashima Motojirō (1921: 194–195) has identified him with Naya Sukezaemon 納屋助左衛門, but there is no definite proof that they were the same person.
- 17) A Thai interpreter (*Senra tsūji* 暹羅通事) was summoned on the 27th day of the eighth month, Genna 元和 7 (1621) when an envoy from Siam visited Edo Castle. In addition, on the 17th day of the fifth month, Meireki 明曆 2 (1656), when a ship bearing an envoy from Siam entered port, the interpreter Morita Chōsuke 森田長助 deciphered a letter written in Thai script.

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## Correspondence between Cambodia and Japan

Year	A. Letters from Cambodia	B. Letters from Japan
~ 1601	In the 8th year of the ox, Keichō 6 (慶長六辛丑年) a letter and gifts arrived from Cambodia for the first time, and it is stated that this was in return for an earlier letter and gifts sent from Japan [ <i>Gaikoku tsūshin jiryaku</i> 外國通信事略, <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	
1 ~ 1603	Letter from lord of Cambodia (lost) [ <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> 異國往來, <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
2 1603	Letter from Cambodia to lord of Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text: letter of friendship from king of Cambodia to Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
3 1605	Letter from Fulao Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia, to king of Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text: letter of friendship from king of Cambodia to <i>Nipon Kakacho</i> [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> ; French translation by Noël Peri]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to Fulao Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
4	Letter from Fulao Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia, to great king of Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text: letter of friendship from king of Cambodia to <i>Nipon Kakacho</i> [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to Fulao Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
5	Letter from Woya Zhaohua of Cambodia to king of Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
6 1606	Letter from Woya Lao Yuanfu and his son Woya Tan Erzhu, subjects of Cambodia, to king of Great Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text: Letter from Okña Srei Akearéach and Okña Thoamméa Décho to <i>sdech Nipon</i> [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan</i> , <i>Gaiban shokan</i> ; French translation by Noël Peri]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to Woya Lao Yuanfu and his son Woya Tan Erzhu, subjects of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
7		Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki</i> , <i>Ikoku ōrai</i> , <i>Gaiban tsūsho</i> , <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]

8	1607	Document (trade permit) of Wozi Zhaohua of Cambodia, dated “1st day of 4th month of 4th year of sheep” (太歲丁未年肆月初一日) [Taichōin Documents] Document (trade permit) of Lao Yuanfu Wozi Zhaohua of Cambodia, dated “12th day of 4th month of 4th year of sheep” (太歲丁未年四月十二日) [Taichōin Documents]	
9	1608	Letter from Funa Wang Jia of Cambodia to lord of Great Japan [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text (lost) [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho</i> ]	(1) Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku ōrai, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] (2) Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to Funa Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Ikoku ōrai, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
10		Letter from Wang Jiu Woya Erzhu to lord of Great Japan [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to Wang Jiu Woya Laoye of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Ikoku ōrai, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
11			Prohibition edict from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia, dated “6th day of 8th month of 5th year of monkey, Keichō 13” (慶長十三年戊申八月六日) [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
12	1610	Letter from Liu Shi Li Wang Jia, lord of Cambodia, to king of Great Japan [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Ikoku ōrai, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	Letter from Tokugawa Ieyasu to lord of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
13	1627	Letter from <i>bashui</i> Zhao Benya Zhu Li Su of Cambodia to Hasegawa Gonroku of Great Japan (大日本國大柱國長崎長谷川煌六殿大人) [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	Letter from Hasegawa Gonroku to <i>bashui</i> Zhao Benya Zhu Li Su of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
14			Letter from Hasegawa Gonroku to royal family of Cambodia [ <i>Ikoku nikki, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]
	1692	Letter from lord of Cambodia (lost) —letter arrived from lord of Cambodia in 9th year of monkey, Genroku 5 (元祿五壬申年) [ <i>Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	
15	1727	Letter from Liu Fo Jiao Hua, subject of Cambodia, to king of Japan [ <i>Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	
16	1740	Letter from Mạc Thiên Tú (東埔寨國總制進六參烈巴司哲王鄭) [ <i>Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ]	
17	1742	Letter from Mạc Thiên Tú (東埔寨國大總制進爵六參烈巴司哲王鄭) to king of Japan [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan, Gaiban shokan, Gaiban tsūsho, Tsūkō ichiran</i> ] Khmer text: letter of friendship from Preah Sotoaot to Council of Japan ( <i>as chumnum preah nokor Yipun</i> ) [ <i>Gaikoku kankei shokan, Gaiban shokan</i> ; French translation by Noël Peri]	