

***The Rekidai Hōan* and Some Aspects of the Ayutthayan Port Polity in the Fifteenth Century**

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Introduction

In 1370, two years after the foundation of the Ming Dynasty, Emperor Hung Wu sent Lü Tsun-chün 呂宗俊 to Ayutthaya as an envoy to induce the Siamese king to send tribute to China.²⁾ This Imperial overture was promptly responded to by either, as generally believed, King Boromaracha I or, as suggested by Fujiwara, his nephew Ramesuen, who ordered the dispatch of the first tributary mission to the Ming court with the tribute of a tamed elephant, a six-legged turtle and other products of different localities, including most probably sapanwood for dye, pepper, and scented wood which were to become favoured export items from Siam to the Chinese market for many years to come.³⁾ Thus began Siamese maritime trade relations with Ming China which were to last for the following two hundred and seventy years.

Unlike other well-recorded tributary relations with China, the beginnings of the Indian Ocean trade with Siam are still not clear. It is interesting to note, however, that frankincense (乳香), an aromatic grown only in limited regions of southern Arabia and northern Somalia, was already found among the tributes brought from Ayutthaya to the Chinese court in 1386. This fact suggests an early opening of trade routes linking Siam with the regions where the aromatic gum resin was found. Though oftentimes overshadowed by its far better recorded diplomatic ties with China, it is hard to deny that the Siamese commercial connection with the Indian Ocean had long been in existence in the pre-modern period. In fact, the west-coast of the Malayan Peninsula is referred to in a late fifteenth century Arabic treatise on the Indian Ocean as *Siam*, *Mul al-Siam* or *Barr al-Siam*.⁴⁾ With its relatively easy access to the Bay of Bengal via the transpeninsular route, matched with her more direct riverine passage to the Bay of Thailand through to the South China Sea, Ayutthaya was, it should be stressed, favourably located so as to be able to enter at a favourable time into the fragmented markets subsequent to the collapse of the Śrīvijayan maritime state. Ayutthaya was eventually to become one of the most important emporia in Southeast Asia for exchanging commodities from the East and the West.

Ayutthayan trade with China has recently attracted the serious attention of both Thai and western scholars.⁵⁾ What is more, the flourishing external trade of Siam has come to be reviewed in terms of the novel concept of "port-polity".⁶⁾ These stimulating studies, however, seem to share the common assumption that such maritime trade, especially that with China, politically, economically, and socially prominent only after the Ch'ing period (A.D. 1644–1910).⁷⁾ This widely accepted view may possibly have been conditioned by a seminal study made by John Anderson at the end of the last century. Anderson ascribed to King Prasathong (1629–1656) the introduction, or at least full accentuation, of the system of royal monopolies in Ayutthaya, a system which determined the subsequent development of Siamese trade relations with Ch'ing China.⁸⁾ It is regrettable, however, that this widely accepted view seems to have had an unproductive, if not a downright discouraging, effect upon an otherwise promising search for source materials of earlier centuries which might contribute to opening a new horizon in the study of Siamese external trade as well as its impact upon the formation of port-polity in Ayutthaya in a much earlier period than is usually believed. The present paper aims to contribute, if only to a small degree, to furthering the study of early Ayutthayan trade, particularly her East Asian trade, by examining hitherto insufficiently explored Ryukyuan diplomatic documents sent to and from Siam during the second decade of the fifteenth century and the mid-sixteenth century.

The *Rekidai Hōan* on Siam

The materials to be used in this paper are diplomatic dispatches and related documents contained in a compilation called the *Redikai Hōan* 歷代寶案 (Precious Documents of Successive Generations). This valuable source had long been kept in secrecy by the descendants of immigrant Chinese of Kume Village in the outskirts of the Ryukuan capital of Naha since 1871 when the Meiji administrative reform caused the incorporation of the Ryukyu Islands into centralized Japan as one of its provinces.⁹⁾ It was only in 1931 that elders of Kume village were finally persuaded to hand over to the custody of the provincial library at Naha these long cherished texts relating to the four hundred and fifty years of the Ryukyuan diplomatic history.¹⁰⁾ The *Rekidai Hōan* contains, among other items, (1) copies of thirty diplomatic dispatches sent to Siam covering forty-four years during the period A.D. 1425–1469 together with an incomplete letter of A.D. 1430, (2) six dispatches sent from Siam to the Kingdom of Ryukyu in A.D. 1480 and 1481, respectively. The documents under these two categories are filed in Vols. 40, 41 and 43 for the first and in Vol. 39 for the second.¹¹⁾ In addition to the above, Vol. 42 of the same compilation contains twenty-three documents called *chih-chao* 執照, a voyage certificate or license required for official Ryukyuan missions to travel to Southeast Asia including Siam.¹²⁾ Of the thirty Ryukyuan dispatches mentioned above, twenty-two are written in the name of *Liu-ch'iu-kuo Chung-shan-wang* 琉球國

中山王, or The King of the Country of Ryukyu addressed to *Hsien-lo-kuo* 暹羅國 or the Country of Siam, whereas six are sent from *Liu-ch'iu-kuo-wang* 琉球國王, or the King of the Country of Ryukyu to the Country of Siam. There is one that is sent from *Liu-ch'iu-kuo-fu* 琉球國府 or the Royal Court of the Country of Ryukyu to the Country of Siam. Document No. 17¹³⁾ in Vol. 43 may deserve a special notice for its uniqueness in that the sender is referred to as *Liu-ch'iu-kuo Chih-shih-kuan* U[ruku Uchi] 琉球國執事官烏 [魯古結制] or “an official in charge of rites and other affairs of the Country of Ryukyu”. This letter is addressed to *Hsien-lo-kuo Chung-jên Mi-tsan-chih-tao* 暹羅國中人蜜讚知道 or *Mi-tsan-chih-tao*, “Middle Man” of the Country of Siam, the term being a verbatim rendering of the Chinese word *chujin*, the meaning of which is not clear. Kobata believes this person to be “apparently an influential statesman close to the Ayutthayan king.”¹⁴⁾

The six Siamese letters in the second category are more diversely written, namely, by *Hsien-lo-kuo-wang* 暹羅國王 or the King of Siam, *Hsien-lo-kuo Li-pu Shang-shu* 暹羅國禮部尚書 or Minister of the Board of Rites of the Country of Siam, *Hsien-lo-kuo Ch'ang-chê Ming-hsia Nai-lo-ssü-li* 暹羅國長者名下奈羅思利 or a senior person¹⁵⁾ by the name of *Nai-lo-ssü-li*, and *Hsien-lo-kuo Ch'ang-shih Nai-yüeh-pên* 暹羅國長史奈悅本 or the Senior Minister by the name of *Nai-yüeh-pên* of the Country of Siam. Worthy of note, in this connection, is the fact that there is no such office as *Li-pu* or the Board of Rites in the Siamese administrative organization of any period. The *Li-pu* is obviously one of the Six Boards in the central administration of China which used to be responsible, among others, for the reception of tributary missions from abroad. It is not unlikely that the writer of this dispatch, most probably some immigrant Chinese who was then in the service of the Siamese court with his command of the written Chinese language and with an appropriate knowledge of the diplomatic practices of the day, used this Chinese term just for convenience sake in order to denote an unidentified Siamese office which should have had a function corresponding to that of the *Li-pu* in China. For our present purpose suffice it to note that this could be taken as evidence to show that such an office was already in existence in Ayutthaya at the time this dispatch was written.

Now let us turn to the details of the Ryukyuan texts cited above to study the Siamese titles recorded therein. In the dispatch written in A.D. 1480 by the so-called “Minister of the Board of Rites of the Country of Siam” are recorded seven Siamese titles in Chinese transcription, namely, that of the Minister of the Board, the Chief Envoy to the Court of Siam and his Deputy, a Chinese interpreter, and four high-ranking officials. The title of the Minister is given in Chinese characters as 屋把羅摩訶薩陀烈 *Wu-pa-lo-ma-ho Sa-t'o-lieh*. The first three characters may safely be identified with Okphra, a common title of the period, whereas the following two may be taken as representing *Maha*. As for the last three characters, Higaonna proposes *Sattborath* as a probable reading,¹⁶⁾ while Kobata wants to identify it with *Suwanarath*.¹⁷⁾ Thus we obtain either *Okphra Mahasattorath* or *Okphra Mahasuwanarath* as possible reconstructions for this royally given title. The

Chief Envoy is named *Nai-min-ying Hsieh-t'i* 奈悶英謝替. Higaonna and Kobata both agree in regarding it as a transcription for the Siamese personal name *Bunhiang* followed by his probable affiliation, *chao tha* เจ้าท่า, namely the harbour master. As for his deputy, the name is transliterated as *Nai-ts'êng Hsieh-t'i* 奈曾謝替 which may stand for *Nai Chung* of the same office, whereas the name of the interpreter *Nai-yung* 奈榮 is to be read as *Nai Yung*. The names of four other officials of high rank are: *Nai-na* 奈納, *Mao-khun Pi-t'o-wu* 冒坤字陀屋, *Nai-kou-ko-sha* 奈勾歌沙, and *Ch'ang-shih Nai-yüeh-pen* 長史奈悅本, respectively. Kobata proposes the name *Nai-na* as *Nai Noi*.¹⁸⁾ Then Higaonna thinks *Mao-khun Pi-t'o-wu* is a transcription of *Okhun Phithak*.¹⁹⁾ The latter might rather be interpreted as an abbreviated form of *Phithaknawa* พิทักษ์นาวา, for example, which is the royally given title of one of the two deputy directors in the Phra Khlang Ministry with *sakdina* of 400.²⁰⁾ As for *Nai-kou-ko-sha*, the second syllable *kou* causes the identification to be problematic, whereas the first one *nai* นาย should taken as a common title for a male official.²¹⁾ The term “*kosa* โกษา” is frequently used to constitute a part of royally given titles of Phra Khlang officials such as *Phra Phithakkosa*, *Khun Thipkosa*, *Khun Sawadikosa*, etc. We tentatively propose, therefore, that *Nai-kou-ko-sha* should be read *Nai Kosa*, leaving the identification of “*kou*” for further scrutiny. For *Ch'ang-shih* 長史 Kobata gives “senior minister” as a translation. This term denotes a high ranking official of the Ming central administration, which must have been analogically used by the scribe of the Ryukyuan government. It seems more likely that his name *Nai-yüeh-pen* should be transcribed as *Ittiphon* rather than as *Itsupun* as suggested earlier by Kobata.

The Law of the Three Seals on the Phra Khlang

After a slump of decades following the initial vigour with which Siamese tributary fleets were frequently dispatched to China, a resurgence of maritime trade appeared around the time when King Intharacha, alias Nakhon In, ascended the throne in 1401.²²⁾ This development is probably to be ascribed to this king's relatively peaceful reign, which is in sharp contrast with that of some of his predecessors who had been occupied with waging wars with neighbouring countries in order to consolidate the newly established realm.²³⁾ It is, in fact, in the reign of this king that Cheng-ho made his first visit to Ayuthaya in 1407. To his son King Boroma Trailokanat, it is generally believed, Ayutthaya owes its constitution and codification of the centralized and functionally differentiated administrative system which was to determine the fundamental forms of government of Siam for the subsequent five centuries.²⁴⁾ Today we are able to see the detailed structure of this system, admittedly with later modifications, from two legal documents preserved in the *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang* (hereafter abbreviated *KTSD*) or the *Law of the Three Seals*, namely, the Law of the Civil Hierarchy and the Law of the Military and Provincial Hierarchies, respectively. The titles of the Phra Khlang officials are enumerated in the former.²⁵⁾ In the following, *Tamnaeng* or

grade of office held by the officials are given in English translation when necessary.

I.

(1)	Okphaya <i>Sithammarat Dechachadiammatayanuchit Phiphitratanaarachakosathibodi Aphaiphiriya Barakaramaphahu</i> (Minister in charge of the Phra Khlang)	[Sakdi]na	10,000
(2)	Phra <i>Phiphatkosarat</i>	“Palat Thunchalong”	1,000
(3)	Khun <i>Phinitchairat</i>	“Palat Nangsan”	800
(4)	Khun <i>Raksasombatchambamroe</i>	Sak lang dika hai chai	800
(5)	Khun <i>Racha-akon</i>	“Khonitrachakan Banchi Klang”	800
(6)	Khun <i>Thepharat</i>	“Samuha Akon”	600
(7)	Khun <i>Yisansapphayakon</i>	“Samubanchi”	600
(8)	Khun <i>Thiphosa</i>		800
(9)	Khun <i>Thanarat</i>	in charge of distributing stipends	600
(10)	8 “khunmün” rank officials under the supervision of <i>Siracha-akon</i>		300
(11)	13 “khunmün” rank officials under the supervision of Khun <i>Theppharat</i>		300
(12)	Khun <i>Sombatbodiklongchanasut</i> 4 “khunmün” rank officials		600
(13)	Khun <i>Kaeoayat</i>	Thanai <i>Kosa</i>	600
(14)	Khun <i>Akson</i>	“Samian Tra”	600

II.

(1)	Phra <i>Chularachamontri</i>		1,400
(2)	Khun <i>Rachasethi</i>	“Palat” in charge of “Khaek Prathet Chawa”, Malay and English	800
(3)	Luang <i>Rachamontri</i>	“Caho Tha” (harbour master) in charge of “Khaek Prathet Angkrit”, Yuan, Farang	800
(4)	Mün <i>Phinitwathi</i>	Interpreter	300
(5)	Mün <i>Sisongphasa</i>	– do –	300
(6)	Mün <i>Satwathi</i>	– do –	300
(7)	Mün <i>Samretwathi</i>	– do –	300
(8)	Mün <i>Thipwacha</i>	English Interpreter	300
(9)	Mün <i>Thepwacha</i>	– do –	300
(10)	Luang <i>Nonthaket</i>	“Chao Tha” (harbour master) in charge of “Phromathet”	800
(11)	Mün <i>Sachawacha</i>	Interpreter	300
(12)	Mün <i>Satwathi</i>	– do –	300

III.

(1)	Luang <i>Chodukrachasethi</i>	“Chao Krom” (Director of the Department)	1,400
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(2)	Luang <i>Thepphakdi</i>	“Chao Tha” (harbour master) in charge of the Dutch	600
(3)	Khun <i>Thongsu</i> (通事)	Chinese Interpreter for a Commis- sioner (?)	600
(4)	Khun <i>Thongsamut</i>	– do –	600
(5)	Khun <i>Worawathi</i>	French interpreter	300
(6)	Khun <i>Rachawadi</i>	Interpreter for “Kapitan”	300
(7)	Khun <i>Raksasamut</i>	– do –	300
(8)	Khun <i>Wisutsakhon</i>	Interpreter for a junk’s captain at the river mouth (?)	400
(9)	Captain of a large junk with a beam wider than 4 <i>wa</i> (Chinese, “ <i>khaek</i> ”, English)		400
(10)	Captain of a small junk with a beam of 3 <i>wa</i> plus		200
(11)	“Chun-chu” (船主) ²⁶⁾	junk captain	200
(12)	“Ton-hon” for a large junk	navigator	200
(13)	“Ton-hon” for a small junk	navigator	100
(14)	“La-ta” (刺達) of a large junk	chief accountant	200
(15)	“La-ta” (刺達) of a small junk	chief accountant	100
(16)	“Pan-chu”	shipwright	80
(17)	“Tai-kong” (舵工) “sai”	left steersman	80
(18)	“Tai-kong” (舵工) “khwa”	right steersman	80
(19)	“Chin-teng-thao sai”	left deputy-accountant	50
(20)	“Chin-teng-thao khwa”	right deputy-accountant	50
(21)	“A-pan” (巫班)	main mast officer	50
(22)	“Chong-kwa” (總管)	general affairs officer	50
(23)	“Tek-kho”	cargo officer	50
(24)	“A-küing” (押工)	carpenter	50
(25)	“Iaokong” (香工)	worshipper	30
(26)	“Toa-liao” (大僚)	rear mast	30
(27)	“Sam-pan” (杉板)	front mast	30
(28)	“Chomphu”	(?)	30
(29)	“Thao-teng” (頭掙)	anchorman	30
(30)	“Hu-tiao”	depth-measurer	30
(31)	“It-sian” (一仟)	[large-sail-man]	25
(32)	“Yi-sian” (二仟)	[second-sail-man]	25
(34)	“Sam-sian” (三仟)	[third-sail-man]	25
(34)	“Chapkathao”	sweeper	25
(35)	“Bia-pan”	cook	25
(36)	18 “Chin-teng”	“servants” attached to “chun-chu”, “la-ta”, and “pan-chu”	25
(37)	7 “Nai rong”	(?)	25

IV.

(1)	Phra <i>Siphiphatratanakosa</i>	3,000
(2)	Luang <i>Ratanakosa</i>	800
(3)	Khun <i>Phibunsombat</i>	600
(4)	Khun <i>Sawadikosa</i>	600
(5)	Mün <i>Sombatbodi</i>	300
(6)	Mün <i>Thanarat</i>	300
(7)	Khun <i>Khlang</i>	“Chao Krom”, Director of the “Khlang Pa Chak” 600
(8)	Khun <i>Sikhongyot</i>	“Chao Krom”, Director of the “Khlang Pa Chak” 600
(9)	Mün <i>Phithaknawa</i>	“Palat Krom”, Deputy 400
(10)	Khun <i>Wisutsombat</i>	“Chao Krom”, Director of the “Khlang Wangchai” 600
(11)	Mün <i>Phibunsombat</i>	“Palat Krom”, Deputy 400
(12)	Mün <i>Chainawa</i>	“Palat Krom”, Deputy 400

The above list of the Phra Khlang officials is found in Section 11 of the Law of the Civil Hierarchy of the authoritative Thammasat Edition of the *KTSD*. From the preamble placed at the beginning of this Law we obtain A.D. 1466 as the date of its promulgation²⁷⁾ and King Phra Boromatrailokanat as its legislator. If the original law was promulgated, as the preamble indicates, in A.D. 1466, then the body of the text must have undergone alterations or interpolations in later periods. One example is its reference to the English and the French who were to reach Ayutthaya only after the seventeenth century and, therefore, the mention of whom is an impossibility in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, this legal text might still be fruitfully used in comparison with our knowledge of the Ayutthayan administration of external affairs in the fifteenth century obtained from the Ryukyuan sources. We have mentioned earlier that a Siamese dispatch dated 1480 was written in the name of *Hsien-lo-kuo Li-pu Shang-shu* or the Minister of *Li-pu* or the Board of Rites of the Country of Siam. This Chinese term might safely be taken as referring to the *Phra Khlang*. A problem then arises as to how to reconcile *Wu-pa-lo-ma-ho Sa-t'o-lieh*, the royally given title found in the *Rekidai Hōan*, with the one in the Law of Civil Hierarchy, namely *Ohphaya Sitthammarat* . . . ²⁸⁾, since neither of the two identifications proposed earlier for this ministerial title in the *Rekidai Hōan* resembles *Sitthammarat*. This discrepancy might be ascribed to either the inappropriate identification of the title or to a change in titles in the course of time. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that our Ryukyuan sources refer to a title such as *kosa* which is not infrequently found in the names of the *Phra Khlang* officials including *Phiphatkosarat*, *Thiphkosa*, *Ratanakosa*, and others. In addition, the fact that the term *chao-tha* is mentioned in our text as being attached to certain royally given titles suggests that an office with such a name was already in existence. This supports, it seems to me, the alleged date of promulgation of the

relevant portion of the Law of Civil Hierarchy. The identification of “*chung-jen*”, “*ch’ang-chê*”, and “*ch’ang-shih*” might better be left for later scrutiny. Here suffice it to say that these terms at least suggest the probable involvement of senior officials of the Ayutthayan government in external trade in mid-fifteenth century.

The *Phra Khlang* at work

The *Rekidai Hōan* provide us with information on the *Phra Khlang*’s intervention in business transactions at the port of Ayutthaya and on the probable date of its introduction in the second decade of the fifteenth century. A travel report of a Ryukyuan envoy to Siam with a date of A.D. 1425 recorded in one of the Ryukyuan dispatches to Ayutthaya is relevant.²⁹⁾

In the 17th year of Yung-lo [1419], the commissioned envoy, Araka, and others boarded three ocean-going ships and proceeded to the country of Hsien-lo [Siam], carrying some gifts. After they had presented the gifts and returned to our country, they reported that they had heard from local officials [of Siam] that their gifts were insufficient. The porcelains [which they had taken with them] were, they further stated, traded only under government supervision, and no private purchase of sapanwood was permitted, with the result that they had to supplement their ship money [the fund to defray the cost of their voyage] . . . In view of this information, we have increased our gifts since Yung-lo 18 [1420], and we have dispatched Envoy Kakihana, Interpreter Ryo Fuku and others aboard seagoing ships, which have until now traversed scores of thousands of *li* over the sea . . . despite the fact that we proceed to your country taking presents, we are made increasingly subject to official supervision by your local officials in the sale of our porcelains.

永樂十七年間、蒙差使者阿乃佳等、坐駕海船三隻、齎捧禮物、前到暹羅國。奉獻事畢、回國告稱、蒙所在官司言稱、禮物短少、以致官買磁器。又禁約、本處不許私賣蘇木。俱蒙官賣、要補其船錢…… 今後去船、禮物加感、禮物奉獻以表遠意。敬此外除、自永樂十八年至今、加感禮物、遣使佳期巴那、通事梁復等、坐駕船隻、經涉海洋、動有數萬餘里……及至到彼、除將禮物交進外、蒙所在官司、仍行官買磁器更甚。³⁰⁾

The intervention about which the Siamese officials complained in the sale of the porcelains brought by the Ryukyuan merchants is called in the Chinese text “*kuan-mái*” 官買 or “official purchase”. We know from the above account that in the years A.D. 1419 and A.D. 1420 the Ayutthayan port officials exercised their right of preemption for such coveted articles as Chinese porcelains imported by the Ryukyuan merchants. In the procurement of such favoured Ayutthayan products as sapanwood, on the other hand, the same merchants were placed under the strict control of government officials who claimed exclusive right to sell these

commodities to visiting foreign merchants. This monopolistic sale is termed in our text “*kuan-mâi*” 官賣 or “officials sale”. The extent to which these restrictive measures bothered the Ryukyuan merchants might be gauged by their repeated appeals to the King of Siam for exemption from this practice. In order to show their overt discontent, it is recorded, the Ryukyuan once stopped sending their ships to Siam in A.D. 1424.³¹⁾ Despite these appeals, however, there is little indication that the Ayutthayan government sought to abolish the practice as is seen from the dispatch of 1442, which continues to request “that the local officials do not interfere with the visitors and impose government control on their trade, which would result in losses not suffered in previous years. We request your sympathy for the hardships which the men from afar encounter in their voyages.”³²⁾ We read in a report of a contemporary observer of the seventeenth century that the practice then persisted in an even more systematic form.³³⁾

When, then, was this practice of “*kuan-mâi*” and “*kuan-mâi*” introduced to Ayutthaya? Before answering this question, however, let us have a glimpse at Ayutthayan-Ryukyuan relations first. One of the purposes of the Ryukyuan trade with Siam was the procurement of tropical products, pepper and sapanwood in particular, which were eventually to be brought to China as tribute. This is clearly stated in the *Rekidai Hōan* in which is found such a cliché as 應備進貢大明御前 “in order to make proper preparations for the presentation of tribute to the Great Ming Court”.³⁴⁾ Ryukyuan tributary relations with China were started when King Satto 察度 (1349?–1395) sent his brother to the Ming Court in A.D. 1372. Details of the tributes in early years are not known except that sulphur and horses were included in the tributary list. But from the last decade of the fourteenth century, pepper and sapanwood began to appear among the Ryukyuan tributes to China in addition to the above mentioned sulphur and horses.³⁵⁾ This fact implies that the Ryukyuan had by then successfully established contact most probably with Siam which was to become one of the largest suppliers of these tropical goods to the Ryukyuan in subsequent years. As to the history of Ryukyuan-Ayutthayan relations we have, in the *Rekidai Hōan*, the following two accounts:

(1) We also note that over the period from Hung-wu [1368–1398] to Yung-lo [1403–1424], [i.e.] from the time of our royal great-grandfather through grandfather and father down to this day, we have frequently dispatched our envoys to take our gifts to present to your country. Over past years we received your affection, and we kept in mind that the world is one family. As we received the precious gifts and hospitality you extended to us, people coming to you from afar, [and because you] were always ready to further our trade from official control, we were deeply touched indeed.³⁶⁾

參照自洪武永樂年來、曾祖及祖王先父王、至今遞年累遣使者、齎捧非儀、前詣歸貴國、奉獻、蓋多年矣。荷蒙貴國親愛、懷念四海以爲一家、累蒙回惠珍貼、及寵愛遠人、常復從容貿易、竝無官賣之事、切思感戴之甚。³⁷⁾

(2) This country [Ryukyu] has dispatched envoys since the periods of Hung-wu and Yung-lo, sending some local products to present [to you =the Siamese King] and fitting out two or three ships each year for their voyage.³⁸⁾
 本國自洪武永樂年以來、使遣驅馳獻土宜、其歲航海二三舟。³⁹⁾

“Our royal great-grandfather” (曾祖) and “grandfather” (祖王) refer to Satto 察度 (1350–95) and Bu’nei 武寧 (1395–1406), respectively, while “father” 先父王 means Shishou 思紹 (1406–21) who founded the First Shou Dynasty. These accounts seem to support our earlier assumption that the Ryukyuan trade contact with Siam must have started in the last decade of the fourteenth century. Incidentally, *T’ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu* records the incident that a certain Siamese envoy bound for Ryukyu was given assistance, when shipwrecked off Fuchien Province in 1404, by the Chinese authorities who appreciated the friendly relationship existing between Ryukyu and Ayutthaya as being “a laudable affair of barbarian countries” (番邦美事). This account also suggests that at least by A.D. 1402 trade relations between Ryukyu and Ayutthaya had been well established.⁴⁰⁾

Conclusion

From the above review of the *Rekidai Hōan* documents relating to Siam we may now conclude that, starting probably in 1370s, the Siamese Kingdom of Ayutthaya came to participate actively in East Asian trade with China, in the form of tributary missions and with Ryukyu which was in need of tropical products such as the pepper and sapanwood of Siam for her eventual tribute to China. One of the Ryukyuan documents implies that in and around A.D. 1419, a system of official intervention in the import and export trade at Ayutthaya known in the *Rekidai Hōan* as *kuan-mái* and *kuan-mái* seems to have been introduced by the Siamese government, and this intervention continued to cause trouble to the Ryukyuan traders for many years to come. In A.D. 1419 Ayutthaya was under the reign of King Boromaracha II.⁴¹⁾ During his reign Siam greatly extended her territory to the east by expelling the Khmer from their capital of Ankor in A.D. 1432 and to the north by incorporating the former kingdom of Sukhothai in A.D. 1438. Boromaracha II was then succeeded by his son King Boromatrailokanat who is known to this day for his far-reaching administrative reform crystallized in the Laws of Civil Hierarchy and of Military and Provincial Hierarchy preserved in the *KTSD*. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the wealth accumulated by the royal trade monopoly exercised at the port of Ayutthaya was effectively spent for the consolidation of the Kingdom of Siam.

Notes

- 1) Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, Tokyo.
- 2) 「[洪武三年八月辛酉] 遣呂宗俊等詔諭暹羅國。」 *T'ai-tsu Kao-huang-ti shih-lu* 太祖高皇帝實錄 *chüan* 55.
- 3) Wood believes that King Boromaracha sent an embassy to the Emperor of China shortly after ascending the throne, whereas Fujiwara maintains that it was not Boromaracha but his nephew Ramesuen who, then still on the throne, made the first response to the Imperial overture. See Fujiwara Riichiro 藤原利一郎, 東南アジア史の研究 *Tōnan Ajia-shi no kenkyū* [Studies on the History of South-East Asia], Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1986, pp. 4–11. Also see W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam*. Bangkok, 1933. pp. 70–71.
- 4) G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Coming of the Portuguese*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1981. p. 477.
- 5) Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit, Sino-Siamese Trade 1652–1853*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977; Jenifer W. Cushman, “Fields from the Sea: Chinese Junk Trade with Siam during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries”. [Ph.D. Thesis: Cornell University, 1975]
- 6) Dhiravat Na Pombejra, “Crown Trade and Court Politics in Ayutthaya During the Reign of King Narai”, in: J. Kathirithamby-Wells & John Villiers (eds.), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity, Rise and Demise*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990. pp. 127–142.
- 7) Sarasin, for example, asserts that it was not until the Ch'ing period that the political, economic, and social implications of Siamese maritime trade with China were fully manifested. See Sarasin *op. cit.* p. 1.
- 8) John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1890. p. 253. This statement is also quoted by William Skinner. p. 9.
- 9) For the *Rekidai Hōan*, see Atsushi Kobata, “Rekidai hōan ni tsuite” 歴代寶案について [On the *Rekidai Hōan*], A. Kobata, *Nihon Keizai-shi no Kenkyū* 日本經濟史の研究 [Studies on Japanese Economic History]. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1978. pp. 581–600.
- 10) Kobata, *op. cit.* p. 585.
- 11) English translations of these MSS are printed in Atsushi Kobata & Mitsugu Matsuda, *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries*. Kyoto, 1969. [privately published]. In the present paper their translations are used with modifications, if necessary, which shall be so indicated.
- 12) Kobata & Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 93.
- 13) We follow the numbering of Kobata & Matsuda.
- 14) Kobata & Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 75 n.
- 15) Kobata gives this title the same translation, “the Senior Minister” as he gives for *Ch'ang-chê*.
- 16) Kanjun Higaonna, *Reimeiki no Kaigai Kōsushi* 黎明期の海外交通史 [External Relations in the Dawn of a New Era]. Tokyo: Teikoku Kyōikukai Shuppanbu, 1941. p. 227.
- 17) Kobata & Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 87.
- 18) Kobata & Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 84.
- 19) Higaonna, *op. cit.* p. 227.
- 20) In the Law of the Civil Hierarchy, it is given with the rank of *Mün* in stead of *Okhun*.
- 21) Kobata has just overlooked it, whereas Higaonna takes *kou* as a part of Thai title, which seems unlikely.
- 22) The Luang Prasoet Version of the Ayutthayan Chronicle dates his enthronement in C.S. 771 or A.D. 1409/10, where the *Royal Authograph Version* assigns it to the year C.S. 763 or A.D. 1401/2. (See, Leonard Andaya [tr.] *The Short History of the Kings of Siam*. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1975. p. 62, n.) The veracity of the latter may be support by an account in the *Ming Shih-lu* in which the name of the reigning king of Ayutthaya in the second year of Yung-lo (1402) is given as *ch'ün-ying-to-lo-ti-la* 昭祿羣膺哆囉諦刺, which is usually identified with King Nakhonintha-racha. (See

- also Fujiwara, *op., cit.* pp. 45–46)
- 23) Sanga Kanchanakhaphan, *Prawat Kankha Thai* [A History of Thai Commerce] Bangkok: Ministry of Commerce, 1943. p. 91.
 - 24) H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1965. p. 70.
 - 25) The numbering preceding each title is by the present writer. Romanization of Thai titles is done here only in a simplified transcription. Some important Sanskritic titles are given in Thai followed by transliteration in Roman at the end of this paper. Royally given titles (*rachathinnanam*) are italicized. For the *Law of the Three Seals*, see Yoneo Ishii, “The Thai Thammasat” in M. B. Hooker (ed.), *Laws of South-East Asia, Volume 1: The Pre-Modern Texts*. Singapore: Butterworth, 1986. pp. 143–157.
 - 26) The following Chinese transliterations are hypothetical and are based upon the list of Chinese crews recorded in *Zōho Ka-i Tsūshō-kō* 增補華夷通商考 (1709) of Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 vol. 2 and *Zōho Kaitei Bakufu-jidai no Nagasaki* 增補訂正幕府時代の長崎 (1913).
 - 27) As for this date, see Phiphat Sukkhathit, “Sakkarat Chulamani” (On the Chulamani Era), in *Silpakon*, Vol. 6, No. 5. p. 561.
 - 28) Incidentally this latter is also found in an early 17th century Siamese document preserved in the Japanese archives in which the same title appears as *Wu-ya Hsi-t’an-ma-la Tai-k’u* 握雅西漂麻喇大庫 This is obviously a transcription of *Okya Sithammarat* . . . followed by a Chinese translation of *Phra Khlang* (the Great Warehouse). Official correspondence addressed to Sakai Tadayo [Member of the Shogun’s Council of Elders] dated A.D. 1623 in *Gaiban Tsūsho Vol. 16*.
 - 29) Document No. 1 in Volume XL of the *Rekidai Hōan*. See Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* pp. 55–57.
 - 30) *Rekidai Hōan*, Vol. 40, Document No. 1.
 - 31) Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* p. 55.
 - 32) Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* p. 78.
 - 33) See, for example, Simon de la Loubère’s account of “the Barcalon”. Simon de la Loubère, *The Kingdom of Siam*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986. pp. 93–95.
 - 34) Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* pp. 58, 68, 69, 70.
 - 35) Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, *Chūsei Nantō Tsūkōbōekishi no Kenkyū* 中世南島通交貿易史の研究 [A Study on the South Islandian Trade in the Middle Age] Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1968. pp. 265–267.
 - 36) Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* p. 56.
 - 37) *Rekidai Hōan*, Vol. 40, Document No. 1.
 - 38) Kobata & Matsuda, *op., cit.* p. 67.
 - 39) *Rekidai Hōan*, Vol. 40, Document 13.
 - 40) 暹國與琉球修好、是番邦美事」*T’ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu* 太宗文皇帝實錄 chūan 34.
 - 41) According to the widely accepted Luang Prasoet Version of the Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya, the year 1419 falls in the reign of King Intharacha, father of King Boromaracha II. However, it is recorded in *T’ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu* that the demise of the former and the ascension by his son to the Siamese throne was reported to the Ming Court in A.D. 1416. Here we follow the Chinese account. 「永樂十四年五月壬辰朔、暹羅國王昭祿群膺多羅諦刺卒、其子三賴波磨刺札的賴遣使奈世賢等告訃。」(*T’ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu* 太宗文皇帝實錄)