

# JAPANESE MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN AYUTTHAYA, 1600 – 1630

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“...Phra Sena Phimuk mounted on bull elephant Phop Trai and in command of a corps of five hundred asa Jipuun...”.

*The Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*

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It is a common fact that the Japanese Age of “Red Seal Ship” or “Shuinsen” has made the significant contribution to the relations between Japan and Southeast Asian countries in general and with Siam in particular. For long, trading relations was mostly focused by historians, both Thai and Japanese and there was a little attention was paid to Japanese military role in the Siamese political life in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The situation should be changed because of the fact that Japanese was one of the first and dominant foreign communities established in Ayutthaya by the early 17<sup>th</sup> Century and the importance of their military involvement undoubtedly contributed to shape not only Thai political order to some extents, but also to the Siamese military power at that time in a competitive perspective with their neighboring polities. This paper will concentrate on Japanese military involvement in the Ayutthaya Court in the period in which European influences on Siam were standing outside of its borders and Japanese found great favor in the Siamese King’s eyes than any foreigners in his kingdom. By these means, the paper comes up with main argue that Japanese military engagement should be seriously considered as a significant factor involving Siamese military conflicts and political interaction for more than three decades.

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## **Introduction to the issue**

The emergence of the Japanese maritime trade with Southeast Asia in the period so-called “Red Seal Ship”, 朱印船- Shuinsen, was closely involvement with an animated chapter of Southeast Asian economic history in the pre-modern period.<sup>2</sup> Japanese merchants, warriors, officials... with their silver, cargoes, weapons, and tributary gifts, for the first time frequently flowed toward Southeast Asia.<sup>3</sup> The increase of Japanese overseas settlements in many seaports namely Hoian, Manila, Ayutthaya, Patani... introduced not only economic exchange but also cultural and political interaction with local population and administration. Among those, one of the earliest and most significant is Baa Yiipun, the

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<sup>2</sup> Anthony Reid (ed.). 1993. Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief, Ithaca: Cornell University Press; A. Reid. 1999. Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books

<sup>3</sup> For Japanese age of “Red Seal Ship”, see Wakita (1991). “The Social and economic consequences of unification”, in John Whitney Hall (ed.). The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 4. Early Modern Japan. Cambridge University press, pp. 96-127; Ishii Yoneo (ed., 1998). The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: Translations from the Tosen Fusetsu-gaki, 1674-1723. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore; Yoko Nagazumi (1999). Ayutthaya and Japan: Embassies and Trade in the Seventeenth Century, in Kennon Breazeale (ed.). “From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya’s Maritime Relations with Asia”, The Foundation for the Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbooks Project

Japanese settlement in the southern outskirts of the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya.<sup>4</sup> In the 1600-1630 period of time, it is estimated that there were about 800 Japanese settlers in Ayutthaya and the number reached at peak in 1620s, the height of its prosperity, by 1500 persons.<sup>5</sup> Japanese undoubtedly has a tremendous role to play to provoke relations between Siamese and outside world, both economically and politically for more than three decades. The dominant scholarship focuses more on those aspects, however does not bring to the reader a comprehensive way of interpretation how significant Japanese was in Ayutthaya. Many researches recently concentrated on military exchange in Southeast Asia in the pre-modern history in which the region was regarded as one of the advanced centers in the world engaging with the weapon exchange and military technology interactions long before the coming of European overwhelming influences. Of this context, more attention should pay to Southeast Asia in the pre-colonial period in general and to Siamese in particular because of its strategic cosmopolis in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a Venice of the East.<sup>6</sup> By these means, this paper will focus on the Japanese military engagement in Ayutthaya, 1600-1630 with their remarkable and ambitious chief, Yamada Nagamasa who once regarded as a hero of the two countries.

### **An “Age of Commerce” in Southeast Asia and the Japanese “Red Seals Ship”**

One of the most influential ideas in Southeast Asian History in recent decades obviously has been Anthony Reid’s Age of Commerce thesis, which sees as a commercial boom and the emergence of ports cities as hubs of commerce over the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, which in turn spurred political, social and economic changes throughout Southeast Asia.<sup>7</sup> Since its wide introduction, the thesis undoubtedly offers an

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<sup>4</sup> Ishii, Yeneo. 1998. *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: translations from the Tôsen Fusetsu-gaki, 1674-1723*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 1; Nagazumi. 1999. *Ayutthaya and Japan*, p. 96

<sup>5</sup> Reid, Anthony. 1980. *The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 11. 2 (Sep., 1980), pp. 235-250; Khien Theeravit (1988). “Japanese-Siamese Relations, 1606-1629”, in Chaiwat Khamchoo and E. Bruce Reynolds (eds.), *Thai-Japanese Relations in Historical Perspective*. Asian Studies Monograph No. 041, Innomedia Co., Ltd. Press: Bangkok, p. 20

<sup>6</sup> Garnier, Derick. 2004. *Ayutthaya: Venice of the East*. Bangkok: River Books

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Reid (1988/ 1993). *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2 vols, New Heaven: Yale University Press; Victor Lieberman (1995). *Review: An Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia? Problems of Regional Coherence- A Review Article*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (August, 1995), pp. 796-807; V. Lieberman 2003. *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830, Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-21; John Norman Miksic. 1996. *Archaeology, Ceramics, and Coins: A Review of A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce. Volume Two: “Expansion and Crisis”*. New Heaven: Yale, 1993, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Volume 39 Number 34, tr. 287-297

overwhelming influence on historians and whoever paying attention on pre-colonial Southeast Asia, especially Southeast Asian economic history.

Of this regional context, Siam steadily became one of the Southeast Asian commercial crossroads at that time where received a variety of foreign groups of merchants, missionaries, warriors...<sup>8</sup> Ayutthaya soon came up with new advantages, especially its strategic geographical position that allows to become an important international seaport in Southeast Asia. The Siamese capital city in 1617 was estimated of 200,000 people,<sup>9</sup> one of the biggest economic and population centers at that time in the region, a cosmopolis where east and west could meet together, where international trade boomed and where foreigners looked for their own dreams of prosperity and wealth.<sup>10</sup>

In the late- sixteenth and-early-seventeenth-century mainland Southeast Asian political framework, Ayutthaya was forced to defend itself against numerous attacks by Burmese since 1549. By 1569, after a complex series of campaigns, the Burmese succeed in capturing and sacking the Siamese capitals and left Ayutthaya. Within a few decades, notwithstanding, the destruction had been repaired. Ayutthaya's military power had been revised, and conditions were favorable for a renewal of its former greatness. This renewal was brought about by king Naresuan (1590-1605) who defeated Burmese and brought Cambodia under Ayutthaya's control for at least fourth time. Wyatt in his words, described Naresuan as "one of those rare figures in Siamese history who, by virtual of dynamic leadership, personal courage, and decisive character, succeed in Herculean tasks that have daunted others before them".<sup>11</sup> By controlling a large territory and restoring Ayutthaya's maritime trade, the kingdom step by step came back its prosperous way. Ekathosrot, who succeeded Naresuan in 1605, enjoyed the fruit of his brother's military genius. He believed that a country could be strong only if it had powerful friends. Therefore, the new king not only cemented friendly relations with foreign states but also did all in his power to promote trade. He welcomed foreign traders, particularly the Japanese, Portuguese, Dutch, and

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<sup>8</sup> Andaya, Leonard Y., 1992. "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaption in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800", in Tarling, Nicholas (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, p. 346

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Reid. 1993. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. 2: Expansion and Crisis, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, p. 71

<sup>10</sup> Charnvit Kasetsiri. 1976. *The Rise of Ayutthaya...* ; Chris Baker. 2003. *Ayutthaya: Rising from Land or Sea?* *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp. 41-62; Ishii, Yoneo 1993. "Religious Patterns and Economic Change in Siam in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Anthony Reid (ed.). *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, New York, p. 181

<sup>11</sup> Wyatt. 2003. *Thailand: A Short History*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, pp. 86-90

English, granting them the privileges of residence, protection and trade.<sup>12</sup> This economic and political development in Ayutthaya properly suited the interests of the Japanese, who were simultaneously encouraging foreign trade and desirous of friendship with a powerful and wealthy Southeast Asia polity like Siam.

For Japanese socio-economic and political framework, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century witnessed significant changes that connect the kingdom with the most part of Asia-pacific and the world.<sup>13</sup> During this time, the continuous civil wars which had wracked Japan were coming to an end, and many of the lords/daimyo began to devote their energies to overseas trade. The development of domestic economy and the growth of towns gave birth to a wealthy class of traders who also began to invest in international commerce. The first Tokugawa Shogun, Ieyasu, encouraged foreign trade as a means of strengthening the finances of the Shogunate. Japanese ships carrying the shogun's red seal increased in numbers in Southeast Asia, and they were welcomed by local rulers because they bore personal letters and gifts from the Shogun himself. Between 1600 and 1635 more than 350 Japanese ships went overseas under the Red Seal Ship permit system. They called into around nineteen ports, including Đại Việt, Cambodia, the islands in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, and Luzon in the Philippines. A measure of the importance of this Japanese trade was their export of silver. Between 1615 and 1625 as estimate 130,000-160,000 kilograms of silver was sold, amounting to 30-40 percent of the total world output outside Japan.<sup>14</sup> Following these red seal ships was influx of Japanese settlers overseas who established Japanese quarters in many Southeast Asian cities and once were especially prominent.

### **The Establishment of Japanese Community in Ayutthaya**

Ayutthaya offers a strategic geographical position of locating halfway on the route between China and India which was predestined to become a hub for international trade. Such an advantage foreign merchants settle their own community for trade. By reviving again as an entrepôt between east and west, the city became yet more cosmopolitan. At the same time, to the east, the Tokugawa Shogunate imposed peace on Japan and persuaded the

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<sup>12</sup> Wood, W.A.R. 1933. A History of Siam. London, p. 159

<sup>13</sup> Cullen. L. M. 2003. A History of Japan, 1582-1941: Internal and External Worlds. New York: Cambridge University Press

<sup>14</sup> Iwao Seiichi. 1976. Japanese foreign trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Acta Asiatica, 30 (1976), p. 10

western daimyo to turn away from warfare to trade.<sup>15</sup> By these means, the capital city offers potential political and economic framework for foreigners who desired to make business in Southeast Asia. Besides, the king's attitude towards foreigner as mentioning above is regarding as another crucial advantage. Foreign merchants, adventurers, warriors and mercenaries were always the most welcome in Ayutthaya by the kings who wanted to make sure that trade benefit would strengthen state revenue and kingdom's army force were helped to promote.

Ayutthaya as the most favor destination for Japanese merchants and crews in Southeast Asia undoubtedly offers a best opportunity for them to establish settlement and conduct business. The exact period when the Japanese first began trading with Ayutthaya and settling there, is still a matter of speculation. It is known, however, that in 1570, when the Spanish took possession of Manila, twenty Japanese were living there and the Japanese were trading at Melaka at least by the first half of the 1580s. They would have been especially welcome at that time, given the partial depopulation of the Ayutthaya kingdom and the shortage of manpower after the 1569 Burmese conquest. Moreover, Japanese fighting men may have been recruited by the young warrior-prince, Naresuan, who was seeking every possible means of strengthening the defense of the kingdom against repeated Burmese invasion during the mid-1580s and early 1590s.

Trade relation between Japan and Siam emerged between 1600 and 1635 as Japanese merchants were encouraged by Shogun administration. Many are in the belief that the Japanese were especially prominent in Ayutthaya, and by the late 1620s, the trade between Siam and Japan was probably greater than Siam's total trade with other nations. Japanese sources indicated that between 1604 and 1616, some thirty –six Japanese Ships issued with the official Red Seal permit were destined for Siam, the highest number authorized for any single country in those years.<sup>16</sup>

Number of Japanese Red Seal Ships to Southeast Asia, 1604-1635<sup>17</sup>

	Annam	Tongking	Cochinchina	Champa	Cambodia	Siam	Luzon
1604	4	3		1	5	4	4
1605	3	2		1	5		4

<sup>15</sup> Baker, Chris, Dhiravat Na Pombejra, Alfons Van Der Kraan and David K. Wyatt. 2005. *Van Vliet's Siam*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, p. 3

<sup>16</sup> Andaya, B.W. 1992. *Interactions with Soutside World...*, p. 351

<sup>17</sup> Li Tana. 1998. *Nguyễn Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Ithaca N.Y: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, p. 62; also see Iwao Seiichi, *Shiun-sen Boeki-shi no Kenkyu*, Ko Bun Do, Tokyo, 1958, p. 107

1606	2	1		1	3	4	3
1607	1			1	4	4	4
1608	1			1	1	1	
1609		1	1		1	6	3
1610	1		3		1	3	2
1611	2		3			1	2
1612		1	3		1	2	1
1613		1	6		1	3	1
1614		1	7		2	3	4
1615			5		1	5	5
1616		1	4				1
1617		2	5			1	1
1618		3	7		2	1	3
1619		3	1				1
1620			5		1		2
1621		1	2		1		4
1622			1			2	2
1623		2	2	1	2	3	1
1624		2	2			1	2
1625		1			1	2	
1626						1	
1627			1		1	2	
1628		2	2		2	3	
1629			1		1	1	
1630						1	2
1631		1	1		1	1	
1632		2	3		4		2
1633		3	2		1	1	
1634		3	2		2		
1635			1		1		
Total	14	36	70	5	44	56	53

Japanese and Siamese adventurers and merchants laid the groundwork for the relations between Edo and the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya during 1605-1629. It is due to this group of people that Siam became known to Japan. There is no historical record as to how and when the first Japanese settled in Siam although Gunji Kiichi, a Japanese Historian, stated in his research in 1942 that the first Japanese residence in Siam during dates from the end of Tensjo Period (1573-1591).<sup>18</sup> Besides, other sources provide with evidence of the Japanese appearance in Ayutthaya little by little. Many samurai of the Osaka party who had lost their status due to defeat in the battles of Sekigahara and Osaka, turned to trade and adventure, leaving to settle in such distant places as Dai Viet, Manila,

<sup>18</sup> Kiichi, Gunji. 1942. *Jushichi seiki ni okeru Nitai kankei* [History of Intercourse Between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century], Tokyo, p. 529-536

Cambodia, and Siam.<sup>19</sup> During the reign of king Ekathosrot (1605-1610), it is reported that there were a large number of Japanese settlers in Siam, and that they were well receiving by the king, especially who served as bodyguards and in military force.<sup>20</sup>

It is clear that during the reign of King Songtham (1610-1628), because of the friendly and warm national intercourse between Siam and Japan, the Japanese settlers in Siam were well treated both by the king and his officials.<sup>21</sup> Historians have not much sources related to Japanese communities in Siam in general and in Ayutthaya in particular as those mentioned on Dutch, French, and Portuguese in several decades later, but some remained tales suggest that how welcome Japanese were at this time in Siamese court. The story that two merchants, Taki and Ota, were received at the Siamese court indicates the favorable Siamese attitude toward the Japanese.<sup>22</sup> These men are believed in relating to the story on their return to Japan. Also news of Yamada Nagamasa's fame and successful career received wide circulations in Japan and, as a consequence, many adventurers in search of wealth and fortune and as ambitious as Yamada, soon found ways of getting to Siam. As a result of these sources of inspiration, the influx of Japanese merchants, sailors, warriors... to Siam and other Southeast Asian seaports increased significantly. It is said that the Japanese population in Ayutthaya during the reign of King Ekathosrot and King Songtham must have risen considerably. In addition, the Siamese rulers seem to have frequently sought the aid of bold and skillful Japanese samurai to suppress revolts among their tributaries. Hence, the number of Japanese served in Siamese military force play the most important part among the others. By the early of seventeenth century, it is estimated that there were about some 800 Japanese settlers in Ayutthaya,<sup>23</sup> and the number reaches to 1500 by 1620s, at the heyday of Japanese community in Ayutthaya. It is also said that the head of *Nihonmachi* or Japanese community was a Japanese who was chosen by its people and approved by the Siamese king so that intra-community problems were usually settled by the inhabitants and their leaders.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Also see Kanichi Asakawa. 1909. *The Japanese in Siam*, New Heaven, p. 1; Sansom, G.B. 1943. *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (London, 1943), p. 413

<sup>20</sup> Wood. 1933. *A History of Siam*, p. 159

<sup>21</sup> For national relation between Ayutthaya and Japan, see Khien Theeravit. 1998. *Ayutthaya and Japan...*

<sup>22</sup> Theeravit. 1988, cited from J.M. James, *A Short Narrative of Foreign Travel of Modern Japanese Adventurers*, *TASJ*, VII (1879), pp. 203-204

<sup>23</sup> Theeravit. 1988. *Japanese-Siamese Relations, 1606-16229*, p. 20, see Shujio Watanabe. *The Japanese and the Outer World*, *Japanese Magazine*, XIX (June 1929), p. 347

<sup>24</sup> Iwao, Seiichi. 1995. *Nanyo Nihonmachi no Kenkyu*. Tokyo: Iwanamo Shoten, p. iii, see Polenghi, Cesare, *Samurai of Ayutthaya*, p. 23-24

Unlike Dutch, Portuguese and English settlements in Ayutthaya that can be seen easily nowadays,<sup>25</sup> it is hard to identify exactly the location that Japanese Community used to settle over four hundred years ago. As what we know from Dutch description, at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, most of these foreigners lived in villages built on land assigned by the Siamese kings, and located outside the city walls,<sup>26</sup> where, for a number of reasons, was believed that foreign settlements would be taken care and kept an eye by local countrymen, to diminish the risk of latent rebellion and also to create a buffer zone between potential invaders and the city. These locations were quite stability in the seventeenth century and by this mean that helps to relocate of Japanese village basically confirmed the position given in some two maps dated 16866 and 1693 as well as in some others contemporary sources.<sup>27</sup> Going upstream the Chao Phraya reached Ayutthaya at its southeast corner. On the west bank, thus south of the city there was the Portuguese quarter, and, continuing westward, the Chinese, Malay, and Cochin-Chinese quarters. Continuing clockwise, to the west and the north of the city there were for the most part Siamese dwellings, and on the east more Chinese. Coming down, on the east side of the Chao Phraya were the Dutch enclave and factory; from 1612 to 1625 there was the British settlement, and finally the Nihonmachi, the quarter reserved for the Japanese.<sup>28</sup> Prof. Charnvit, bases upon newly archaeological evidence, implies that the Japanese came to Ayutthaya to settle in the reign of King Maha Thammarach after 1589. The final form of the Japanese settlement extended for one kilometer along the Chao Phraya River on the south east bank and extended 500 meters back. The first settlement consisted of a few warehouses to store and collect exports goods to be shipped to Japan. It was surrounded by three canals and the River and up to 1,500 people are reported to have lived here at the peak of its existence.<sup>29</sup> The place is believed that was repeatedly burned down for several times, 1622, 1630, 1633, and finally was destroyed totally by Burmese invasion in the end of seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup>

In early seventeenth century, Japanese community is much powerful and wealth in comparison with other foreign settlements as its leader, Yamada became high-ranking

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<sup>25</sup> Garnier, Derick. 2004. Ayutthaya: Venice of the East. Bangkok: River Books

<sup>26</sup> Smith, George Vinal. 1977. The Dutch in the Seventeenth century Thailand. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, p. 75

<sup>27</sup> Baker, Chris, Dhiravat Na Pombejra, Alfons van der Kraan, David K. Wyatt. Van Vliet's Siam, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books; Polenghi, Cesare. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 23

<sup>28</sup> Polanghi, Cesare. 2009. Samura of Ayutthaya, p. 23

<sup>29</sup> Charnvit Kasetsiri and Micheal Wright. Discovering Ayutthaya. 2007, p. 153

<sup>30</sup> Polenghi, Cesare. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthya, note. 5, p. 71



official and military leader in Siamese Court and Japanese merchant played a controlled role in Ayutthaya's foreign trade relation. Since 1630-1635, as Japanese Tokugawa pursued "closed door" policy and Japanese settlers were no longer in favor of Siamese King Prasat Thong, Japanese community engaged with a tremendous challenge. After his massacre toward Japanese settlements in Siam, King Prasat Thong later changed his attitude and pursued a more lenient policy toward the Japanese, attempting to induce them to return to the country. Some 70 or 80 responded, in fact, and were allowed to settle in the Ayutthaya. They were given land and special privileges, and again enjoyed the right to appoint their own headmen.<sup>31</sup> In a further effort by the king in order to promote trade exchange and encourage more Japanese merchants come back, in 1635, Prasat Thong sent an embassy headed by Okkhun Sri Phakdi to Japan in an attempt to restore the former friendly relations with Shogunate. Unfortunately, the ambassador failed in his mission because the Japanese refused to receive him. Later Siamese kings, such as King Fachai (r. 1655-1656), and especially King Narayana (r. 1656-1688), made several attempts, but also failed.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, Japanese community in Siam could not develop bigger and had no more significant role to play again as they did in the past several decades.

### **Japanese Service in the Siamese Military Force**

Japanese in Siam have a significant economic and political, and military role to play. This is partly because they engage with the two important arena of Siamese society comprising foreign trade and military force that could easily make their influence on political life. In fact, most of Japanese who began reaching to Ayutthaya around the turn of seventeenth century fell into two groups of merchants and warriors. They both departed from Japan in hope of finding a new potential way of life or wealth from trade or serving Siamese kings. In fact, the influx of Japanese migrants expanded since volume of trade between Ayutthaya and Japan increased substantially. During a period of 30 years, Japanese-Siamese trade relations (before Japanese imposed a policy of isolation in 1633), 56 Japanese ships came to Ayutthaya, an average of two ships a year. Likewise, there were a good number of Siamese junks going to Japan. The booming trade attracted more Japanese settlers to the kingdom. Besides, it is said that another factor promoting Japanese

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<sup>31</sup> Baker Chris, Dhiravat Na Pombejra, Alfonds Van Der Kraan, David K. Wyatt. 2005. *Van Vliet's Siam*, p. 137

<sup>32</sup> Theeravit, Khien. 1988. *Japanese-Siamese Relations, 1606-1629*, in Chaiwat Khamchoo and E. Bruce Reynolds (eds.), *Thai-Japanese Relations in Historical Perspective*. Bangkok: Innomedia Co. Ltd. Press, p. 34

migrants to Ayutthaya was the persecution of Christians in Japan. Japanese Christians converts enjoyed more religious freedom in Ayutthaya. In 1627, a Portuguese Jesuit at Ayutthaya recorded that he gave Holy Communion to a congregation of 400 Japanese Christians.<sup>33</sup>

Among Japanese population in Ayutthaya, the number served in the military forces or as bodyguards was always in significance. A record in 1645, for instance, shows that there were four hundred Japanese Christians in the Japanese enclave in 1624 and four year later, the number was informed that “six hundred soldiers”.<sup>34</sup> Other sources were likely more reliable is the Royal Chronicle also offers that there were already five hundred Japanese in Ayutthaya in 1593 when Siam was deeply and violently engaging in wars with Burma, and they were for the most part adventurers or mercenaries.<sup>35</sup> Contemporary sources were not enough for us to imply the exact number of Japanese who were employed as king’s bodyguards and the other served as auxiliaries in the Siamese army. The origin of Japanese bodyguards and mercenaries mainly comes from the ronin or warriors who had lost their lords in the civil wars, especially after being on the losing side in one of last great battles of sengoku period.<sup>36</sup> As a matter of fact, such *ronin* (wandering and masterless samurai) existed, and it is plausible that many of them had to emigrate in order to find elsewhere their lost honor, or, perhaps more realistically, to eke out a living. Hence, it was these men, who thanks to their superior material skills, were promptly enrolled in the Siamese army and helped Ayutthaya came to victory in the never-ending wars that it involved in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The very first significant involvement of Japanese into Siamese army is that the battle of Mong Sarai in 1593, under the leadership of king Naresuan and his brother Ekathotsarot. A number of several hundred Japanese *asa* joined Siamese army and the Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya described in detail how an army of 100,000 ready to take on the Burmese included: “*Phra Sena Phimuk* (the Siamese title given to the Japanese military leader in Ayutthaya) mounted on bull elephant Phop Trai and in command of a corps of five

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<sup>33</sup> Charnvit, Kasetsiri & Michael Wright. 2007. Discovering Ayutthaya, p. 152

<sup>34</sup> Cardim, Antonio Francisco. 1645. Relation de ce qui s’est passé depuis quelques années, jusques à l’an 1644 au Japon, à la Cochinchina, au Malabar, en l’isle de Ceilan, & en plusieurs autres isles & royaumes de l’Orient compris sous le nom des provinces du Japon & de Malabar, de la compagnie de lesvs, Paris: M. & J. Henvalt, p. 175, see Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 24

<sup>35</sup> Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 25

<sup>36</sup> Charnvit Kasetsiri & Michael Wright. 2007. Discovering Ayutthaya, p. 153

hundred *asa Jipuun*”.<sup>37</sup> Other sources describe the Japanese squadron in the Siamese army “with their arms of iron, their dauntless courage and their sharp swords, they could not stay idle even for a moment. And when they fought with their blades drawn, their boldness could not be understood at all but by the reckless and abandoned”.<sup>38</sup> Their style of fighting and the braveness bringing along that made their enemies in overwhelming fear. “The brave and bold [Japanese] were so feared [...] that the crying boy stops his cry for terror if he would be informed of the [Japanese] invasion”.<sup>39</sup>

On the subject of Japanese warrior-led military exploits in the name of Ayutthaya, sources are once again contradictory. Pre-1945 Japanese texts on particular narrate improbable campaigns in which Japanese general helped the Siamese army keep the Burmese at bay and defeat other enemies of the kingdom.<sup>40</sup> This circumstance, to some extent is understandable. The Japanese fighting skills and their braveness offer advantages in the Southeast Asian warfare’s style with elephants and enemies of less than a hundred thousand.<sup>41</sup> Many raise question of the key role that the Japanese played in the battles of Siamese army.<sup>42</sup> To be fairly, however, their military role should be recognition for what they contributed and sacrificed for Siamese wars for nearly three decades. There are countless legendary tales, even some actually passed, but hundreds of Japanese soldiers were in reality and dedicated for Siamese history. It is clearer, notwithstanding, that a group of Japanese warriors, numbering around 500-600, formed the royal bodyguard as we know that they were used to in the case of emergency, for instance, in 1624 as well as their pivotal role in the events following the death of king Songtham in 1628.

It is a common fact that the more instable politics Ayutthaya engaged with in the early seventeenth century, the more opportunities were presented themselves for Japanese warriors. Kings of Ayutthaya have their own reasons for maintaining foreign bodyguards inside palaces and in Siamese army force as well, as mentioning above. This character can be seen as a unique among other polities in Southeast Asia who always take a look at foreigners with un-trusted eyes. Considering how conflicts in the region were endemic, Ayutthaya rarely wasted potential talent, no matter where it was coming from. Early

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<sup>37</sup> Cushman, *The Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, 2000, p. 128

<sup>38</sup> Theeravit, Khien. 1988. *Japanese-Siamese Relations*, p. 38

<sup>39</sup> Takegoshi, Yosaburo. 1940. *The Story of Wako, Japanese Pioneers in the southern Regions*, trans by Watanabe Hedeo, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, Ltd, p. 47

<sup>40</sup> Polenghi. 2009. *Samurai of Ayutthaya*, p. 34

<sup>41</sup> See more in Charney, Michael. 2004. *Southeast Asian warfare, 1300-1900*, Leiden and Boston: Brill

<sup>42</sup> Polenghi. 2009. *Samurai of Ayutthaya*, p. 35

sixteenth century, for example, king of Siam had witnessed the Portuguese superiority in warfare, in 1516, only a few years right after they captured the city of Melaka a treaty was signed promptly regarding firearms.<sup>43</sup> King Chairacha, in 1534 hired one hundred and twenty Portuguese who would serve as palace bodyguards.<sup>44</sup> Over the following decades, foreign bodyguard was a constant presence in Siam. After the Portuguese it was the turn of the Japanese, who were in charge of the bodyguards also during Nagamasa's days in Siam, and they, in return, were flowed by Cham and Malay. Apart from bodyguards, Ayutthaya army featured squadrons of *asa*, auxiliary troops formed by foreigners residing in Siam who fought alongside the local military. Portuguese, Japanese, Dutch were among the significant contributors for this group. Based on Ayutthaya Chronicle, it was informed of the Japanese *asa* that were involved deeply in the great battle in 1593.<sup>45</sup> In return, Kings of Ayutthaya conferred military and aristocratic title to Japanese (and Dutch, Persian... as well),<sup>46</sup> for instance, Japanese military leader under the reign of king Naresuan, who leading a squadron in the crucial battle of Nong Sarai was bestowed on title of *Phra Sena Phimuk*.<sup>47</sup> Japanese warriors took a number of 300-600 in the Ayutthaya Royal bodyguards for these three decades. Although their responsibility is that to protect the kings, of course, records also show how they involved with riots at Ayutthaya's Royal palace. The ultimate evidence comes from the fact that the Japanese, over a span of a little more than fifty years, were engaged to some extent in the three thorny royal successions that were characterized by coups and violence in 1612, 1628-30.<sup>48</sup>

Contemporary westerners witnessed that they wielded considerable influence in Siam politics by their own military function. There are numerous records on the subject of riots fomented by the Japanese in Ayutthaya. Of what promote Japanese to Ayutthaya, it appears obvious that the Japanese warriors were among the most resolute fighters in the region. Besides, their remarkable fighting skills, the fact that they were immigrant-adventurers without a motherland to return probably added determination and

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<sup>43</sup> Pombejra. 2001. Siamese Court life in the Seventeenth Century As Depicted in European Sources, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, p. 169

<sup>44</sup> David K. Wyatt. 2003. Thailand: A Short History, p. 76

<sup>45</sup> Cushman, Richard D. 2000. The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya: A Synoptic Translation, edited by David K. Wyatt. Bangkok: The Siam Society; Prince Damrong. 2001. Our Wars With Burmese: Thai-Burmese conflict 1539-1767. Bangkok: White Lotus

<sup>46</sup> Pombejra. 2001. Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth..., p. 182; Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya: Yamada Nagamasa, Japanese Warrior and Merchant in Early Seventeenth-Century Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, p. 22

<sup>47</sup> Cushman. 2000. The Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya, p. 128

<sup>48</sup> Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 35

unpredictability to their character. Many Europeans who were in Siam early seventeenth century witnessed or reported their exploits were indeed impressed. Van Vliet suggests that how Japanese “practiced great impudence and violence” and describes the relief of Siamese when the most of these “desperate bold and treacherous” men ultimately left Ayutthaya.

“As the influence of Japanese increased considerably, their natural pride and impudence grew so great that at last they dared to attack the palace and to seize the king in his room. They did not let him free again from their tyrannic hands before His Majesty had sworn that he would never again remember the harm done to him nor take any revenge and that he would take the Japanese in his service as soldiers and as bodyguards to the end of his life. These promises remained in force, by which the rogues not only enjoyed the usurped advantages but they also practiced great impudence and violence against the natives and against the foreign traders. But fortune, which usually gives her favorites bitter compensations made the Japanese incur the ruling king’s disgrace to such a degree (notwithstanding they had assisted His Majesty very much in usurping the crown) that His Majesty, for fear of ambitious conceptions and treason (which from their impudent talk was very near) and for punishment of their disloyal deeds against the legal princes and heirs of the kingdom, has killed by trick and by force many of the Japanese, has driven the rest of them out of the country (to the gladness of the inhabitants), and in doing so His Majesty freed and cleared Siam of them”.<sup>49</sup>

Another record, also by a Dutchman, admiral Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, who had met a *wako* junk off China, wrote in 1607 of the Japanese that they were “*a very determined race, for when they see that they will be overwhelmed by Chinese, they cut open their bellies rather than fall alive into the hand of their enemies and be tortured to death*”. Besides, Don Pedro Bravo de Acuna, the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines, writing in 1605 to his king, observed how Japanese “were brave men, who have little fear of death and are fond of going to the wars; their character is most cruel and ferocious, and they are bandits by nature”,<sup>50</sup> and they, the Japanese could make the kingdom tremble when they passed (La Loubère, 1688).

The riot at the Royal Palace in Ayutthaya in 1611 is probably the very first military trouble that Japanese brought into Siam court. Some two versions of this story, Dutch and

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<sup>49</sup> Chris Baker, . . . ., 2005. Van Vliet’s Siam, p. 137

<sup>50</sup> Boxer, C.R. 1967. The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 267-8

Thai are presenting themselves differently. First source in the need of examining is the one written by the Dutch merchant Peter Floris, who was employed by the English East India Company. He must have had fresh news, since his ship, the *Globe*, arrived in Ayutthaya in August 1612. According to his report, a group of 280 Japanese “Slaves” had stormed the Royal Palace to extract revenge upon four Siamese noblemen who had killed their master. After the presumed culprits were slaughtered on the spot (an exploit that we should now have no problem to believe as true), the Japanese allegedly obtained a promise of non-belligerence from the “young king” who was forced to sign a document with his blood. Once their immunity was certified, the Japanese performed some more random violence and left with a great treasure.<sup>51</sup> There is also a Thai source, compiled in the early Bangkok period, that seems to reflect the popular view of history as understood by people who lived in Ayutthaya during its last days. In this account, King Songtham is called “Tilokkanat”, who was described as a very scholarly man, devoted to the study of Buddhism.

“At that time, there was a group of Japanese traders brought a vessel with trade goods to sell in Ayutthaya. A senior official (*ammat*), who was dishonest man, claimed falsely that the king had instructed him to buy various things. When the Japanese sold him the goods, he gave them copper money (*ngoeng daeng*), and they accepted it without having time to examine it. After the official had gone, the Japanese traders brought the money out to examine it, saw that it was all copper money and become angry, they said that the king of Ayutthaya was not acting justly and was using copper money. They thus sent four skilled servants to enter the palace with concealed weapons. King Tilokkanat [Songtham] was holding an audience and relating the Buddhist sculptures to the *bhikkhus*. The Japanese entered and, when they got in, they pulled out their weapons and were going to cause harm. But the profound Buddhist merit of King Tilokkanat prevented all four of them from pulling out their weapons. Officials attending the audience, seeing that the culprits had given themselves away, seized them, searched and found the weapons, King Tilokkanat then gave orders and asked them himself why they were concealing weapons and had come to do harm. The four Japanese then told the king:

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<sup>51</sup> Floris, Peter, 1967, *His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe 1611-1615*. The Contemporary translation of his Journal (edited by W. H. Moreland). Nendel/ Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprinted Limited; also Polenghi, 2009, *Samurai of Ayutthaya*, p. 37

Your Majesty used a senior official to bring copper money to buy things from the master of our junk. The Junk master was angry and said that His Majesty was not acting justly and was using copper money. He thus had us come to cause harm to His Majesty.

King Tilokkanat then issued introductions for an enquiry and to arrest the dishonesty official and question him. The truth was discovered: He really had taken copper money to buy things from the Japanese. The king thus gave good money to the junk master and released the Japanese without punishment”.<sup>52</sup> This is only reference in the text to the Japanese in Ayutthaya during thus reign. They are not mentioned earlier in the popular history. This version of the story, however, gives them a role as “the wronged party” in the transaction. Possibly this story evolved to “soften” the true nature of the violence that took place in the palace during the assault of the Japanese “Slavers”. It is likely that 280 Japanese “slavers” above were a part of the king’s royal bodyguards who revolted in order to punish these four Siamese noblemen because of killing their master.

#### **Yamada Nagamasa as a Military Leader in the Siamese Court**

Among Japanese who served as a militant in Ayutthaya during 1600-1630, there is not a shadow of doubt that Yamada Nagamasa was the most dominant influence. After arriving in Siam in 1612, Yamada was rapidly well-known among both Siamese court and foreign traders as a remarkable warrior-trader who was headman of Japanese population in Ayutthaya, ministry of Siamese court and chief of Japanese merchant, as well as, to some extent, controlled Siamese foreign trade.

Yamada arrived in Ayutthaya during the period of instability at court in part caused by some of his countrymen. However, he was not mentioned in any contemporary documents during the first ten years or so that he spent in Ayutthaya. It is only assumed that during this period he learned the languages, found a companion, and started to climb the ladder of officialdom in the local Japanese community. In Yamada’s early days, the leader of the Nihonmachia was a man called Kii Kyuemon who from 1610 had succeeded Arima Sugihiro, thought to have been the first official head of the community. Kii Kyuemon probably took the responsibility until 1619 or 1621. The year 1619 is the last time he is mentioned in the source. The year 1621 was in fact as Yamada wrote to Hidetada and his asides to introduce the forthcoming Siamese embassy and himself as the official head of the Japanese in Ayutthaya. From this injunction, it appears that Yamada came to power at the

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<sup>52</sup> The translation provided by Kennon Breazeale, see Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 38

beginning of his second decade in Siamese which as we will see, was full of events that are adequately documented by various sources.<sup>53</sup> Actively engaged with diplomatic, trade and military affairs, Yamada step by step has an increasing role to play to connect diplomacy relation between Ayutthaya and Japanese Tokugawa as well as in Siamese court. In return of his efforts, Siamese king bestowed Yamada with the high official rank of *okphra*, and the title of *Okya Sena Phimuk*.<sup>54</sup> Playing as an indispensable link between Ayutthaya court and Japanese Tokugawa diplomatic relationship, Yamada was recognized by Japanese authority as one of King Songtham's ministers and by which, he has stronger economic involvement, especially ambition to control Siamese foreign trade, that in the end partly leads him in trouble. In a 1629 letter, Dutch trader, Schuten observed further that "The Japan trade, of which the principal goods are deer skins, can bring more benefit to the Japanese than to the Dutch Company, because without the Japanese, especially the above-mentioned opra, we cannot make a contract for the annually purchase of deer skins".<sup>55</sup>

The rapid expansion of the Japanese community and their acquisition of a large share of the Siamese-Japanese trade became matter of concern to the European rivals. This process undoubtedly comes up with the trader's role of Yamada as a leading Japanese trading network in Siam. The most handicap in this process may be for the Dutch, who had received permission to establish a trading house in Ayutthaya in 1608. The head of the Dutch company's trading house in Ayutthaya, Joost Schouten, expressed his alarm in a 1629 letter to the Dutch governor general in Batavia:

"Almost every year one or two Japanese junks come to Ayutthaya, together with the junk of the opra [okphra] – the head of the Japanese residents – in order to defend themselves against pirates. Owing to the succession of the present king, the opra has increased his wealth and power considerably, to the extent that he will be send a junk with 1,000 piculs [about 56.8 tonnes] of sapan wood and 500,000 deer skins to Japan this year, provided either by his own capital or that of his colleagues. If he is successful with this voyage, not only will the Japanese residents take over the trade, but also any efforts by the [Dutch] company to restore its trade with Siam would be made in vain".<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 42

<sup>54</sup> Nagazumi. 1999. Ayutthaya and Japan..., p. 97. The rank of *okya* (*phraya* in modern Thai) was held by the senior ministers of the Thai Court. The rank of *okphra* (*phra* in modern Thai) was one level lower.

<sup>55</sup> Nagazumi. 1999. Ayutthaya and Japan..., p. 97

<sup>56</sup> Utrecht Rijksarchief (Utrecht State Archive): R. 64. Familie Hijdecoper 621. Letter. Joost Schouten to Governor General and Batavia Council, 1 April 1629, see Nagazumi. 1999. Ayutthaya and Japan: Embassyies and Trade in the Seventeenth Century, p. 96



As a military leader, Yamada also took in charge as commander in chief of Japanese squadron in Ayutthaya's royal bodyguards and Japanese soldiers in Siamese army. The first primary source that described Yamada as involved a military action was in 1624 when he led a group of soldiers both Siamese and Japanese attack a Spanish Ship on Chao Phraya as it captured Dutch crews and cargos. The news of Spanish capture quickly reached King Songtham, who was very fond of his Dutch partners. He immediately sent an emissary, asking the Spanish to release the captives and cargo. Don Fernando de Silva, the Spanish captain, bluntly refused to comply. It was an act of overconfidence for which he would soon pay dearly, as Songtham unleashed "a numerous fleets of boats" that descended the river and attacked the Spanish. Once attacked, the Castilians turned to their artillery, but to no avail, as "there were so many hostile boats that they covered the water". Heading the attack was the Japanese guards, which quickly stormed the two ships. Don Fernando de Silva fought for dear life but was slaughtered together with most of his countrymen. In this battle, Tsuko Ichiran described Yamada "acted bravely in applying a new and special technique in assaulting the enemy ship".<sup>57</sup>

After the incident, Yamada became increasingly favor of king Songtham who offered him as a minister and military leader of the Ayutthaya court. He had by then 600 – 800 Japanese soldiers under his direct command, Japanese historian, Iwao even wrote that Yamada was commending 800 Japanese and 20,000 Siamese soldiers.<sup>58</sup> In view of his eminent position, Yamada was made to swear fidelity to the dying king and to help in doing whatever necessary to put his son on the throne. In this context, Yamada was however subordinated to Phya Sriworawong, who had been chosen by Songtham to become the regent for the young prince, and was *se facto* the second most powerful man in Siam. This was the beginning of a two-year conflict that ended with dreary consequences not only Yamada but also for the Whole Japanese community in Siam. The Dutch merchant, Van Vliet described in detail how Yamada used his power to manage conflict in Siam court in 1628.

"This was done, the aforementioned Oija<sup>59</sup> swearing a solemn oath promising to help to put the King's son on the throne; and in order to give proof of his affection, Senaphimocq

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<sup>57</sup> Iwao. 1958. (translator), Jeremias Van Vliet's *Historiael Verhael der Sieckte Ende*, 1640, [Including an introduction by the translator, and 17<sup>th</sup> Century letters written by Dutch, British and Portuguese], Tokyo: Tokyo Bunko, p. xxiii, see Polenghi. 2009. *Samurai of Ayutthaya*, p. 48

<sup>58</sup> Wood, W.A.R. 1959. *A History of Siam*, p. 170; Iwao, 1958, *Jeremias van Vliet's...*, p. xxiv

<sup>59</sup> Oija Senaphimocq or Okya Senaphimuk is Yamada's title

secretary lodged a good number of his armed Japanese in and around Palace. Oija Calahom (who was more fearful of the King's death than of his recovery) sought to enlist the support of Oija Senaphimocq and his Japanese in order with their help, to advance to the throne the Prince, His Majesty's brother. But at the meeting, Senaphimocq (instructed by Oija Sijworra Wongh/ Phya Sriworawong, the future king Prasat Thong) cunningly used words which, while promising nothing, nevertheless did not extinguish all hope that a time of need, the Japanese would render assistance".<sup>60</sup>

There is not a shadow of doubt that Yamada deeply involved with the political instability in Ayutthaya in 1628-1630. King Songtham died in December 12, 1628. His place was taken by his son, who was fifteen years old, and an apprentice Buddhist monk. He took the name of King Cetthathirat. As in almost every other succession of the period, the changing on the throne was the occasion for some setting of accounts. Phya Sriworawong took the opportunity to get rid of some of the people who constituted obstacles on his climb to the throne, and a widespread killing of nobles followed the enthronement of the young king. Yamada clearly disliked such bloodbaths, as proven by an interesting episode described by Van Vliet.<sup>61</sup> Soon after Cetthathirat was made king, Phya Sriworawong was promoted to the rank of Chao Phya Kalahom Suryawong. He now can completely control over the young king and come to power by himself at any time. Before that, he has to deal with the two other potential rivals, one was Songtham's brother, called Sri Sin who was serving as a monk and the other, of course, Yamada.

In a display of cunning skill, Sriworawong managed to pit the two men against each other by convincing Yamada that, in order to keep the promise made to Songtham on his deathbed, Sri Sin had to be eliminated since he was a potential usurper of the throne the late king wanted to reserve for Cetthathirat. Yamada then defeated Sri Sin and became a remarkable military leader at Ayutthaya court with much of power. This also means that the fear of Yamada by Sriworawong now become more reliable than ever before, as a last obstacle between him and throne. Killing Yamada in Ayutthaya was out of the question, as the wrath of the Japanese there would have probably destroyed Sriworawong, who at this point still need them as allies. That is partly because Sriworawong offered Yamada "King of Patani" to keep him and his strong army away from Ayutthaya and lead them go to war

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<sup>60</sup> Chris Baker, . . . ., 2005. Van Vliet's Siam, p. 261

<sup>61</sup> Chris Baker, . . . ., 2005. Van Vliet's Siam, p. 263

with local revolt. Thus, Yamada would have had to prove he was a worthy monarch by annihilating this “bandit”. Ipso-facto, the Japanese left Ayutthaya in August or September 1629, and by January 1630, Yamada had ousted his enemies and had settled in Ligor with 300 Japanese and 3-4000 Siamese troops.<sup>62</sup> In the meantime, Sriworawong had done a quick job of deposing and killing the young king and came to the throne as King Pasat Thong. And Yamada died later that because of his wound in the course of conquering Patani, however, the dead is also in the belief that as a result of King Pasat Thong’s order to poison him. The dead of Yamada thus marked an ended dot for an animated chapter of Japanese in Ayutthaya. Their community was destroyed and settlers were killed by the new king who in fear of their military strength.

## **Conclusion**

Although Japanese came to Ayutthaya years before 1600, it has to wait until the age of “Red Seal Ship”, they were particularly dominant in Siam among other foreign communities. Taking part in the Siamese military campaigns and the royal bodyguards almost the whole period between 1600 and 1630 Japanese made their appearance in some most significant events in the kingdom, even captured Siamese king and engaged with political instability.

The deep engagement of Japanese in the Siamese political life is obviously unexpected by the Siamese nobles and other foreigners in Ayutthaya. Van Vliet once observed that King Pasat Thong drove the Japanese out of the country “to the gladness of the inhabitants... the great men in the country and the nobles were very glad of this, as they have always suspected to Japanese for their desperate, bold, and treacherous attempt to make the King a prisoner”.<sup>63</sup> In the late 1620s, as their influence in Siam reached at peak, it is also a time when Siamese political circumstance in chaos. Japanese settlers therefore involved in an unexpected situation of struggle for power in Siamese court in which, they, to certain extent, became political instrument in the process Prasat Thong ascended the throne. Yamada and his troops were in use to defeat Prasat Thong’s political rivals and to pacify rebellions in the south. Nevertheless, for what they dedicated in Ayutthaya for more

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<sup>62</sup> Polenghi. 2009. Samurai of Ayutthaya, p. 57

<sup>63</sup> Theeravit Khien. 1988. Japanese-Siamese Relations, p. 38

than three decades, the Japanese in Siam should be in memory not only as merchants, but as warriors./

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