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The Portuguese in Siam and Pegu

*Suthachai Yimprasert*

Abstract

After the Portuguese conquest of Melaka, the Portuguese official contact with the kingdoms of Siam and Pegu followed. Then the official relations between Melaka and Siam and Pegu were established. After this, the Portuguese came to stay in the main ports in the region, such as Ayuthaya, Pattani, Mergui, Martaban, and Pegu. However, their activities in this region suggested that they were freelance warriors fighting for fortune. Their communities were unofficial, independent from the State of India in Goa. These Portuguese became not only traders but also mercenaries and advisers in the Siamese army for using cannons and guns. In Burma, the use of Portuguese mercenaries in warfare was also prevalent. Thus, in the wars between the Mon and Burmese kingdoms, and in long wars between the kings of Burma and Siam lasting from 1548 to 1605, there were many Portuguese mercenaries who fought on every side.
The Portuguese in Siam and Pegu

It is interesting that Continental Southeast Asia, which included Siam, Pegu, Cambodia, and Champa, was an unknown land to Medieval Europe, until Marco Polo visited it in 1288. He mentioned Champa, which was invaded by the Mongols, and he even mentioned Burma which he called Mien or Amien. Yet no Europeans knew Siam or Pegu until in the fifteenth century, when Nicolò di Conti, an Italian merchant, came to the Mon kingdom at Pegu in 1435. He came from Europe to India by land and proceeded to Pegu in a Muslim ship. He was probably the first European who reached continental Southeast Asia.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was the Portuguese who reached Southeast Asia. On 11 October 1509, a squadron of four ships led by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived at Melaka. However, the relations between the Portuguese and the sultan of Melaka turned sour and there was a fight which Portuguese lost. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was able to make his escape to India, but at the cost of sixty men losing their lives and of being forced to leave his crew, Rui de Araújo, and about twenty men in the sultan's captivity. These captives became the first Europeans to learn the Malay language.

The Portuguese already knew that Melaka was an important market place between India and Maluku, and was the centre for supplying spices which were in great demand in Europe. Thus, Afonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese governor of India, decided to capture Melaka. In 1511, he led a fleet of eighteen ships and 1,000 soldiers to Southeast Asia and took the city of Melaka on 24 August of that year. After that official relations were established between Melaka and Siam, and Melaka and Pegu, and later, many Portuguese people came to stay and trade in this region.
In the fifteenth century, the Mon kingdom of Pegu flourished because its ports benefited from participation in the Indian Ocean trade, and it was famous as a source of jewelry, musk, rare wood, and lac. Barbosa described Pegu as a “Realm of great fertility and with much trade by sea in many kinds of goods”. In 1496, Santo Stefano, an Italian merchant, came there to buy rubies before continuing on towards Melaka. Later on, Varthema, who visited Asia in 1505, also mentioned that the king of Pegu still enjoyed enormous income through the sale of luxury products. After the conquest of Melaka in 1511, Binyaram, the king of Pegu, opened the kingdom to Portuguese trade.

At that time, the Siamese kingdom of Ayuthaya situated firmly the basin of the Menam and it became a major power in the region. Barros related that the kingdom was second only to China in size. In the reign of Ramathibodi II, who came to the throne in 1491, Siam was very powerful and prosperous. Thanks to its proximity to the sea, the king of Siam always engaged in maritime trade. Tom Pires mentioned that six or seven junks from Siam carried goods to China annually. The king of Siam was a powerful king, having seaports on both sides of the peninsula. The great port on the Bay of Bengal was Mergui, where the king of Siam traded with the Muslim and the Indian. When Nicolò di Conti came to Mergui he was particularly struck by the large number of elephants and the great quality of sappanwood. In the city of Ayuthaya, the Muslims had seven mosques which were presided over by Turkish and Arab priests. The capital had thirty thousand Muslim families. Rui de Araújo, one of the captives in Melaka in 1509, also wrote in his letter about Siam that before the Portuguese conquest, the sultan of Melaka had been accustomed to sending tribute to the king of Siam, but later, he stopped and for this reason Siam was at war with Melaka. The Siamese merchants had not come to Melaka for twenty-two years.

1. Official Contact with Siam and Burma

Official contact between the Portuguese and Siam was established in 1511. Even before the conquest of Melaka was complete,
Afonso de Albuquerque sent Duarte Fernandes in a Chinese junk as an envoy to Siam. Duarte Fernandes was a tailor who went to Melaka in the expedition of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and was imprisoned there. During his imprisonment, he had the chance to study the Malay language. He was well received by Ramathibodi II of Siam. The king of Siam sent with Duarte Fernandes a Siamese ambassador with some presents to Albuquerque at Melaka. The Siamese envoy was received with due honours and trade was opened between Siam and Melaka.

At the end of 1511, Albuquerque sent another more formal embassy to Siam led by António de Miranda de Azevedo. He was accompanied by Manuel Fragoso who was to stay in Siam and prepare for Albuquerque a written report on all matters of merchandise, dress, customs of the land, and of the location and depth of the harbours. This embassy travelled to Tenasserim by sea and then journeyed overland to Ayuthaya. The king of Siam gave the embassy a cordial reception. When António de Miranda went back to Melaka, Manuel Fragoso stayed in Ayuthaya for two more years and took his report to Goa in person. These missions put the friendly relations between Portugal and Siam on a sound footing. The king of Siam took the first step by sending a junk with a cargo of rice together with his embassy and António de Miranda. The embassy from Siam arrived in Melaka in 1513. Rui de Brito Patalim, captain of Melaka, received the ambassador very well. Then, he sent three junks to Siam, which he hoped would return laden with “rice, benzoin, lac and any other goods of that land”.

The Portuguese annoyed the king of Siam in 1516 when Jorge de Brito, the captain of Melaka, attacked the city of Kedah without any apparent motive. Previously Kedah had been an enemy of the sultan of Melaka, so it had no quarrel with the Portuguese. Rui de Brito wanted to take it only because he thought that it would be easypicking, but it was not. Moreover, the city was presumably a vassal of Siam. The news of the king’s discontent reached Melaka. So, in 1518 Aleixo de Meneses, the new captain of Melaka, dispatched Duarte Coelho as an envoy to Siam, because he had been a member of António de Miranda’s embassy.
thus he had a wide experience in Siamese affairs. The captain of Melaka sent with the ambassador a letter and presents from Dom Manuel in return for the presents given by the king of Siam which António de Miranda had taken to Lisbon.

The objective of this embassy was to confirm the agreement, made by Miranda de Azevedo, which assured that the king of Siam would give the Portuguese facilities to settle and trade in Siam, special privileges, and permission to spread their faith, in return for Portuguese supplies of guns and munitions for the Siamese army. The king of Siam was also to send merchants to Melaka, which was to continue Albuquerque’s policy that aimed to replace Muslim merchants who left Melaka after the Portuguese conquest. Influenced by the good understanding he had with the Portuguese ambassador and thinking of the future benefits of Portuguese assistance in warfare technology, the king decided to forget the attack on Kedah. Barros related that,

(The king of Siam) swore the cause of peace and friendship that Duarte Coelho had agreed with him, in honour of our religious he erected a huge cross of bread with arms of this country at the foot in the most importance place of the city, in memory of and as a testimony to the peace he had sworn, and with which the king had remained very pleased.

Contrary to expectations, the growth of official trade between Siam and Melaka did not come about, except in some special cases such as when the Portuguese at Melaka suffered food shortages as happened in 1523. The captain of Melaka found it necessary to send ships to Siam in order to meet the needs of their community. It seems that the Portuguese came to the conclusion that Siamese goods were not sufficiently lucrative for the royal trade which was based on spices. Besides this, Melaka could find easier sources for rice in Pegu and Bengal. Hence, the royal contact was abandoned and Melaka sent no more official envoys to Ayuthaya.

Similarly, when the Portuguese first came to Southeast Asia, their relations with the Mon kingdom of Pegu were generally friendly.
At Melaka, in 1511, the merchants from Pegu had been the first to surrender to Albuquerque. Thus, after conquering Melaka, Albuquerque sent an emissary delegation led by Rui Nunes to Pegu as a sign of friendship. In response, Binyaram, the king of Pegu, sent an emissary to Cochin in 1514. The Portuguese motive to contact Burma was the trade of gems and other precious stones. Santo Stefano, who had visited briefly in 1490, leaving behind his laconic memoir of Ava as a place “in which grow rubies and many other precious stones”. Besides precious stones, Pegu was important for the export of three commodities, silver, rice, and lac. Official contact with Pegu, initiated by Albuquerque, aimed not only to procure rice for Melaka, but also lac. For example, in the fleet that left India for Lisbon in 1517, lac was the second cargo by weight, exceeded only by pepper.

However, Portuguese contact with Pegu was given a rude shock in 1516, following the piratical behaviour of Henrique de Lema, a captain who came to Pegu. The Portuguese were expelled briefly from Martaban and Cosmin. Then, in 1519 another Portuguese diplomatic delegation led by Antônio Correia came to make a commercial trade agreement with Pegu and ask for permission to set up a factory at Martaban for providing Melaka with rice. Consequently, many private Portuguese came to settle down at this city. Cesare Frederici, who came to this city in 1567, related that he found “ninety Portugals of Merchants and other base men”. The Portuguese factory at Martaban lasted until 1613, when it was closed by King Anaukpetlun of Ava. As a result of the contact, the name 'Pegu' first appeared on a European world chart in the Lopo Homem-Reinels Atlas compiled in 1519.

2. Private Portuguese in Siam

Although the Portuguese authority at Melaka neglected Siam, their individuals did not. Duarte Coelho Pereira, the official ambassador to Siam in 1518, had traded at Ayuthaya in 1516. He went with the fleet of Fernão Peres de Andrade which was headed for China. But unfavourable winds forced the fleet to turn back to Melaka. Duarte
Coelho did not want to write off his investment, so he requested a trading voyage to the kingdom of Siam instead. He was permitted to come to Ayuthaya, where he stayed several months and made a considerable profit. Other Portuguese requested and obtained permission from the authorities to trade in Siam in the following years. Most of these licences must have been purchased from the captains of Melaka, who sold their traditional rights to make trading voyages to different ports in Asia to third persons. The captain of Melaka frequently lacked means and interest to undertake the voyages himself and preferred to obtain profit by putting them up for auction.

Besides the authorised merchants, private and unauthorised merchants came to Ayuthaya from 1515 onwards. Mostly they came from the lower class and wanted to try their luck in Ayuthaya. A Portuguese community was set up at Ayuthaya probably from these years. It was situated on the southern side of the city outside the city’s wall, but near a big market. It was not strange that the king of Siam allowed the establishment of this community because previously he had allowed the establishment of a Muslim community as well. Through this community, the Portuguese merchants and mercenaries appeared in the kingdom. It was known that some of them were on board a Siamese ship around 1520.

Later, the Portuguese merchants realised that besides local products they could also acquire Chinese goods in Ayuthaya, because the Siamese merchants were able to trade in Chinese ports in return for tributes paid by the king of Siam to the Chinese Emperor. The possibility of acquiring Chinese goods there made Ayuthaya more attractive for the Portuguese. After the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan in 1543, the voyage to Siam became even more lucrative because Siamese goods such as deerskins, lead, and sappanwood found a ready market in Japan. The trading vessel normally left Melaka laden with Bengal textiles and cowries from the Maldives, which were exchanged in Siam for sappanwood, lead, deerskins and other clothes that they could sell for highly priced Japanese silver.
The Siamese monarchs welcomed the Portuguese with open arms because they were always interested in trade that would bring luxury goods to their kingdom and profit to the king’s treasury. They also needed to acquire knowledge of Portuguese warfare techniques, especially the employment of guns and artilleries. Their policy bore fruit as, by exerting some pressure and offering generous rewards, they often managed to persuade the merchants to take up arms and fight in the ranks of the Siamese army.\(^{30}\)

Some Portuguese freebooters served in the Siamese army too. Barros informed that one Portuguese man, Domingos de Seixas, was employed by the Siamese army for twenty-five years. He came from a good family and was in Tenasserim in 1523 to purchase supplies for the fortress of Pasei. It happened by chance that a Portuguese pirate vessel was in the region at the same time and that it captured a richly laden ship belonging to the governor of Tenasserim. The governor, who was very angry, arrested Domingos de Seixas with his seventeen Portuguese companions as a reprisal. They were transferred to Ayuthaya, where they were taken to see Ramathibodi. The king drafted all the men into his army but gave them high rewards, especially Domingos de Seixas whom he appointed a captain.\(^{31}\) Domingos de Seixas stayed in Siam until 1547, when he went with the king into war with Chiengmai.

The first time that the Siamese army had firearms and a Portuguese battalion was as early as 1515, when Ramathibodi went to war with Chiengmai. They defeated the Chiengmai army on the banks of the Mewang river at Lampang. At that time, one of Ramathibodi’s sons was fighting in the army of the sultan of Bintang who fortified an army at Muar, a city not far from Melaka, to give trouble to the Portuguese. Hence, the Portuguese stormed this stronghold, capturing sixty cannons and many guns, and taking some prisoners. Among these prisoners was the Siamese prince, whom the Portuguese treated with honour. The prince was sent back to Ayuthaya and the king of Siam sent a junk full of foodstuffs as a present to the Portuguese.\(^{32}\)

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Siam was not only powerful, but also prosperous. Trade was brisk and there were about
three hundred Portuguese in Ayuthaya who took their junks to Melaka filled with Siamese products such as rice, tin, ivory, benzoin, indigo, sticklac, timber, dyewoods, and sappanwood. These products were also taken overland to Tenasserim and Mergui, then distributed in the Coromandel and Bengal, where the Portuguese had settlements. During this time of prosperity, canals were dug, agriculture improved, and military service was reorganised. Wars with Chiengmai and Cambodia resumed now and then.\textsuperscript{33}

At that time, the king of Siam allowed the Portuguese to trade not only at Ayuthaya but also in the other ports in his kingdom, namely Mergui, Ligor, Kedah, and Pattani. Apart from Ayuthaya, the port of Pattani was an interesting place for the Portuguese because it was also flourishing with a considerable Chinese trade in silk and porcelain. Even when the Portuguese authority in Melaka lost interest in Ayuthaya, it maintained its trade link with Pattani. The port of Pattani was on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. It had its own sultan, but paid tribute to the king of Siam. Barreto de Resende reported that “This kingdom of Patane is governed solely by a woman in accordance with a very ancient custom”.\textsuperscript{34} Chinese merchants had come to trade there for a long time. The proximity of Pattani to China was attractive to the Portuguese merchants because it reduced navigational risks and increased profits. Portuguese ships could bring spices to sell there for the Chinese market and get a good price for them.

Thus, Manuel Falcão, a Portuguese merchant, set up an unofficial factory at Pattani in 1516, but the situation turned sour in 1524 because Jorge de Albuquerque, captain of Melaka, attacked Muslim vessels at the port of Pattani. In 1525, Pêro de Mascarenhas, the new captain of Melaka, sent Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte with a fleet to Pattani. The sultan of Pattani did not welcome the Portuguese, so Martim Afonso de Melo decided to use force and compel the sultan to make a peace treaty.\textsuperscript{35} This peace did not last long, and in 1533, Paulo da Gama, captain of Melaka, sent Manuel Godinho on another mission to Pattani, which finally established peace.\textsuperscript{36} Trading at Pattani was so good for the Portuguese that a report in 1538 related that there were three hundred Portuguese there.\textsuperscript{37}
3. The Portuguese mercenaries in the regional wars

Later on, both the Mon kingdom at Pegu and Siam encountered the same menace, the rising power of King Tabinshwehti of Taungoo. Tabinshwehti became king of Taungoo in 1530, when he was only sixteen years old. He wanted to conquer Pegu, so he made careful preparations by collecting arms and men. He was able to launch his first attack in 1534. Pegu was subdued in 1538, and Tabinshwehti moved his capital from Taungoo to this city. At this time the Portuguese were participating in the wars of Burma. The viceroy of Goa sent a fleet led by Fernão de Moraes to trade in Pegu in 1538. This fleet helped the Mons to fight with the army from Taungoo, but was defeated and Fernão de Moraes was slain in the battle.38

According to Mendes Pinto, in 1542 he was sent to arrange a peace treaty with Sawbinya, the king of Martaban who held the remnants of the Mon kingdom after Pegu was sacked by the Burmese. However, the king of Taungoo attacked Martaban in 1541. This time not only a Portuguese trading fleet from India helped Martaban to fight but also a group of mercenaries helped the Burmese side. Mendes Pinto related that when Tabinshwehti attacked Martaban, he engaged seven hundred Portuguese with their ships under João Caeiro, who brought musket and light artillery, probably the first that were seen in Burma.39 However, the puny Portuguese artillery was useless against ramparts, backed up by earthworks. He could not even get near the water side of the town because it was defended by seven Portuguese ships and a hundred men under the rival adventurer Paulo de Seixas, a native of Óbidos. The first Burmese attack was repelled, with the army of Taungoo suffering heavy losses.40

However, at the end of a seven month siege, Martaban was suffering from a shortage of everything. Sawbinya of Martaban had to ask for peace. To this, the king of Taungoo replied that he would accept nothing but complete submission. The besieged lord would not agree and tried to induce João Caeiro to let him go secretly in exchange for half of his treasure. He sent Paulo de Seixas with a letter to meet with
Caeiro. When Caeiro heard that the king of Martaban had treasures enough to fill several ships, he wished to assist the escape, but his officers did not agree, so he had to refuse the request. Finally, the king of Martaban allowed Paulo de Seixas to depart with some rewards before the city was sacked.  

In 1546 Tabinshwehti invaded Arakan with a group of Portuguese mercenaries led by Diogo Soares de Melo, a convict Portuguese who was called o gallgo. This man was a former noble who had been involved in several homicides in Portugal and banished to India, probably in 1534. In 1540 his patron and another noble quarrelled over an unmarried woman. Soares’s boss killed his rival and was executed by the governor. However, Diogo Soares was able to flee from Goa, and set up a pirate band with twenty men off Malindi where he committed many robberies. In 1542, when Martim Afonso de Sousa was on the way to India to be a new Portuguese viceroy, he stopped at Malindi, met Diogo Soares who he pardoned him and took him to Goa. Yet for some obscure reasons, he went to Burma and served under Tabinshwehti.  

The Portuguese helped Tabinshwehti not only with the knowledge of firearms, but also navigation. The Burmese, who came from the highlands, were not at all seafaring, yet the king of Arakan had a great naval power. Tabinshwehti built many ships for this war and two Portuguese ships went with him to attack Sandoway, a city in southern Arakan. However, King Mengbeng of Arakan, who was also assisted by the Portuguese mercenaries, put his defences in good order and thwarted the Burmese advance. Tabinshwehti went back to Pegu, while Diogo Soares left Arakan to serve in the Portuguese army against the sultan of Atjeh.  

Later, Mendes Pinto recounted that he went to Siam in 1548. He explained that when King Chairacha of Siam (r. 1534-1547) launched a retaliation raid against the kingdom of Tuparahos in 1545, he had a hundred and sixty Portuguese in his ranks led by Domingos de Seixas. He also told the story about the war between Ayuthaya and Chiengmai which probably occurred in 1546. The king of Siam sent a high noble
to ask the Portuguese to voluntarily join his army, as his personal guards. In exchange, the king agreed “many liberal promises and expectations of high wages, favours, honours, and above all, permission to build churches in his kingdom”. Out of 130 Portuguese at Ayuthaya at that time, 120 men went with Chairacha and helped him to win the war over Chiengmai.

When Chairacha returned to Ayuthaya, he was poisoned by Lady Srisudachan the queen who had committed adultery with Okhunchinarat, a petty noble, and got pregnant. His son, Yodfa came to the throne at the age of eleven in 1547, so his mother, Srisudachan, became regent. King Yodfa was poisoned in June 1548, and Srisudachan raised Okhunchinarat to the throne, but in July 1548 both of them were killed by Okyapisanulok (the governor of Pisanulok), a high-ranking noble. Tienracha, a younger brother of Chairacha, was invited to the throne and was proclaimed as King Mahachakapat (r. 1548-1569). Okyapisanulok was titled “Mahathamraja” and was given a royal princess to marry as a reward. During this time of misery, Domingos de Seixas left the kingdom of Siam and returned to Portugal. He died without glory in a Lisbon hospital. Before his death, he passed on his knowledge of the kingdom to Joao de Barros, the chronicler.

When King Tabinshwehti of Taungoo heard about the events in Siam, he decided that it was the right time to conquer Ayuthaya. In April 1548, he left Martaban to go to Siam, taking a huge army, horses and elephants. Diogo Soares de Melo returned from Melaka and joined the Burmese army with five other Portuguese captains and 180 men. The Burmese army arrived at Siam in June 1548 and besieged Ayuthaya for three months. The Siamese side was assisted by fifty Portuguese led by Diogo Pereira, so the Burmese met with strong resistance. Tabinshwehti attempted to bribe Diogo Pereira to betray the Siamese cause but his offer was rejected. In October 1549 the king of Burma learnt that Thaminhtoarama, a Mon leader, had raised the standard of rebellion in Pegu. So he abandoned the siege of Ayuthaya and went back to crush the rebellion; 280 Portuguese died in the battle.
Gonçalo Falcão and António Ferreira were the other important Portuguese mercenaries who served the king of Taungoo and were mentioned by Mendes Pinto. Gonçalo Falcão was a “well-born gentleman of good blood whom the heathens called Crisna Pacau, meaning flower of flowers”. He arrived in Burma around 1530, then came to serve Tabinshwehti. He was left at Martaban by the king of Taungoo on royal business. According to Pinto, however, it was he who informed the military governor of Martaban that Mendes Pinto was the envoy sent from Melaka to make friendship with the former king of Martaban in order to fight against Tabinshwehti. As a consequence, the junk on which Mendes Pinto had travelled from Melaka was seized, all its cargo appropriated, and Pinto, the captain and the crew, were arrested. Nevertheless, João Caeiro rescued Pinto and let him leave Martaban. Antonio Ferreira was a native of Bragança and became the commander of a battalion of foreign mercenaries at Pegu. He received a high salary of twelve thousand cruzados from the king.

After returning from Siam, Tabinshwehti consorted with a young Portuguese and fell from kingly virtue. This man, a nephew of Diogo Soares de Melo, was an adventurer who had set out from Melaka with a fleet to attack Atjeh but was defeated. He fled with the remaining junk and 300 men to Martaban whose lord sent him under arrest to Pegu. He rose to high favour through his skills in firearms. Tabinshwehti went hunting with him and in admiration gave him a royal maid to be his wife. The Portuguese man taught his bride to cook Portuguese dishes for the king to eat and supply the king with liqueur. Tabinshwehti became a confirmed drunkard. Later in 1550 he was assassinated by a Mon noble who was the governor of Sittaung. This noble was, then, raised to the throne as a Mon king of Pegu, taking the title of Smimsawhtut. Diogo Soares de Melo was forced to surrender, and to save his life and that of his men he swore to serve the Mon king from then onwards. However, he had committed a crime against a rich Hindu merchant and his daughter in the time of Tabinshwehti, and forced the girl to strangle herself. This time, the girl’s father came forward and called for justice. Diogo Soares was arrested by Smimsawhtut and was stoned to death by the people in 1551.
Bayinnaung, Tabinshwehti’s brother-in-law, led the Burmese army in an invasion of Pegu and defeated the Mon. He became the new Burmese king of Pegu in 1553. He was helped by a group of Portuguese mercenaries. In the reign of Bayinnaung, the Portuguese were permitted to live in Pegu with their property and all their gifts, and, later, they were allowed to build a factory at Syriam in 1560. Bayinnaung was one of the most capable kings of Southeast Asia. He conquered Ava in 1555 and spent the years from 1556 to 1562 defeating all the Shan states and Chiengmai.

Then in 1563 Bayinnaung turned again to Siam. The reason for the war was elephants, because Mahachakapat, the king of Siam, possessed some white elephants. Bayinnaung, who claimed he was superior, asked for those elephants but the king of Siam refused to give them up. He went to Ayuthaya and defeated the Siamese in 1564. Siam had to give him the white elephants he wanted, and Mahachakapat had to go to Pegu in captivity. The son of the king of Siam, Phramahin was raised to the throne to rule as a vassal. Now Bayinnaung was very powerful, as Cesare Frederici, who came to Pegu in 1567, related that the king had twenty-six crowned kings at his command, and “this King of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land for people, dominions, gold, silver, he farre exceedeth the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength”.

However, King Phramahin did not totally surrender to the Burmese. Mahachakapat was ordained as a monk and went from Pegu back to Ayuthaya on a pilgrimage. Arriving at Ayuthaya he flung off his robes, and Siam stopped to send the tribute to Pegu, and tried to make friends with the king of Vientiane to fight the Burmese. This time, there were also two Portuguese Dominican missionaries who came from Melaka to Siam. They were Sebastião de Canto and Jerónimo da Cruz, who arrived in Siam in 1566 to propagate the Christian religion. However, they were attacked by the Muslims in Ayuthaya; friar Jerónimo da Cruz was killed and friar Sebastião de Canto was slightly wounded. On hearing the news, the king of Siam immediately ordered the culprits to be punished, but friar Sebastião begged him to pardon
them, which raised him even more in the esteem of the monarch.\textsuperscript{61} Then, the head of the Dominicans in Melaka sent another friar to Ayuthaya as a replacement. These two friars perished in the war with Burma in 1568.

Again in 1567, Bayinnaung assembled a huge army and besieged Ayuthaya for twenty-one months.\textsuperscript{62} This time, he had on his side Mahathamraja, the lord of Pisanulok, who was at odds with Phramahin. During the siege, Mahachakapat died in January 1569. At last, Bayinnaung took Ayuthaya in August 1569. The Burmese army destroyed, and depopulated the city. Many Portuguese were taken as prisoners to Pegu, and one of these, Antônio Toscano, was able to escape to Goa in 1579.\textsuperscript{63} Bayinnaung dethroned Phramahin and took him back to Pegu, but he died on the way. Mahathamraja was crowned by the Burmese as a new subjugated king of Siam. He reigned in Ayuthaya until 1590.

For the next fifteen years, Siam lived restively as a vassal of Burma. The king of Cambodia took advantage of its plight by attacking Siam from the east seven times from 1570 to 1587. However, the attacks from Cambodia gave Siam the pretext to rebuild the army and erect fortifications. The task of gradually rebuilding military strength was left primarily in the hands of the young Naesuan or Phranareth, the crown-prince of Siam. Until 1581 when Bayinnaung passed away, the accession of Nandabayin in Pegu marked the beginning of a lengthy effort on the part of Siam to break away from Burmese rule and regain independence.

Naesuan officially threw off his allegiance to Burma in 1584, when King Nandabayin was involved in the war with the rebellious prince of Ava. Although Nandabayin sent armies to attack Ayuthaya several times, the invasions were resisted by Naesuan who displayed great courage and possessed military tactics. The most important humiliation was the battle of Nongsarai from 1592 to 1593, when Nandabayin sent a big army to invade Siam, led by Uparaja, the crown-prince. Uparaja enlisted with him all the Burmese vassals, and some of the Portuguese merchants who were trading at Martaban.\textsuperscript{64} The Burmese were defeated and Uparaja lost his life in the battle.\textsuperscript{65}
In this war, two Portuguese mercenaries were to be found on the side of Naresuan. At this moment, the king of Siam became the strongest monarch in the region. He conquered Cambodia in 1593, invaded Burma in 1596, and conquered Chiengmai in 1598. Finally he sacked Pegu and destroyed the Burmese kingdom of Nandabayin in 1600. He built his own empire covering Siam, Chiengmai, Cambodia, Pegu, Martaban, and the Shan State. Nevertheless, when he died in 1605, the new king stopped extending the kingdom, and the war between Siam and Burma stopped as well.

Naresuan's successors continued to place their trust in the Portuguese. King Ekathosarot (r. 1605-1610) held a certain individual called Tristão Golaio in great esteem and showered him with rewards. The right-hand man of King Songtham (r. 1610-1628) was one Cristóvão Rebeclo, a renegade who fled from Cochin after committing several crimes. It seems that the Siamese monarch placed his complete trust in this Portuguese man and appointed him as the captain of his private guard. However, the military service rendered by the Portuguese at this time was not so necessary as it had been before, because there were many Japanese exiles fleeing from the political reunification that was taking place in their own country. The Japanese also possessed a sound knowledge of firearms so they replaced the Portuguese mercenaries in Siam. Even in the war of Nongsarai in which Naresuan defeated Uparaja of Burma, the Japanese mercenaries had already appeared. There is a report which mentions that in 1656, there were Portuguese men who helped Phranarai to mount the throne of Siam, so this ruler remained always grateful to the Portuguese.

In 1593, when Naresuan conquered Cambodia, he captured some missionaries and brought them to Siam. The most important of these was friar Jorge da Mota, who won the friendship of the king. At his request, all missionaries and the Portuguese that were captured in Cambodia were released. The king allowed Jorge da Mota to come to his palace and granted him many privileges, even one of wearing the "high hat". However, his partner, friar Luís da Fonseca was murdered, because he had converted the wife of a Japanese merchant in Ayuthaya.
When the husband came to know about it he was so infuriated that he went to the church and killed the priest at the altar on 21 March 1600. After this event, Jorge da Mota did not want to carry on his mission in Ayuthaya. Not long after, he escaped for Melaka in the Spanish ship of Joan de Mendoça.

After the escape of friar da Mota, father Belchior da Luz came to Martaban, which was now under the power of Naresuan. The governor of the city sent him to the king, with whom the priest found favour. However, he left Siam in 1602 and went to Arakan where he died in 1603, drowned in a river. In the reign of King Songtham, at the request of Tristão Golaio the mercenary, the head of the Jesuits at Goa sent father Baltasar Sequeira to Siam in 1606. He was the first to lead a Jesuit mission to Siam. He built a church dedicated to São Paulo.

However, it should be noted that the Portuguese State at Goa was not interested in Siamese affairs, and always employed a pro-Burmese policy, due to the friendly relations that the Portuguese had always had with Pegu. The Portuguese authorities frequently expressed willingness to help Pegu in the war with Siam. It was only in 1598 when the kingdom of Pegu fell under the invasion of the king of Arakan and the prince of Taungoo, that the Goan authority lost its ties with the Burmese.

In March 1615, the ambassador of King Songtham of Siam arrived at Goa to ask to renew commercial relations, and offer to let the Portuguese build a fortress at Martaban to block the expansion of King Anaukpetlun of Ava. The viceroy of Goa was pleased to restore the contact because he wanted to get the Dutch out of Siam as they had set up a factory at Ayuthaya in 1612. Francisco da Anunciação, a Dominican friar, was appointed as an envoy to Siam. The embassy, which left Goa on 3 March 1616, reached a new trade agreement between Siam and Goa. However, they could not agree on the other issue, because the Portuguese did not want to become involved in the affair of Martaban for the sake of war with the Burmese. On the other hand, the king of Siam told the envoy that he never favoured the Dutch
against the Portuguese but could not exclude them because they helped him to withstand Burmese pressure on land and sea.\textsuperscript{72}

Understanding that Portuguese authorities in India lacked the will to ally themselves with Siam against Ava, the king of Siam made one last effort by sending a new embassy to Goa in 1617 with the express purpose of travelling to Lisbon, where the Siamese envoys would contact the Portuguese king directly. However, while the Siamese mission waited in Goa for the necessary licence from Portugal to make the voyage to Europe, the Siamese ambassadors fell ill and the viceroy, the Conde de Redondo, immediately took the opportunity to send them back to Ayuthaya without offence to Songtham’s sensibilities.\textsuperscript{73} The Portuguese viceroy changed his attitude because the king of Ava sent an envoy to Goa and asked to restore friendship as well. Thus the Portuguese decided to be neutral in the Siamese-Ava conflict. After the failure of this embassy, the king of Siam understood that the Portuguese had little means to maintain their position in the East, and he chose to develop good relations with the Dutch instead.

In 1640, King Prasartthong of Siam (r. 1629-1656) sent an envoy to Melaka to renew relations with the Portuguese, but at that time, Melaka was besieged by the Dutch, so the envoy went to Macao. The captain of Macao, Lobo da Silveira sent Francisco de Aguiar Evangelho as an envoy to Siam in return, and thus started trade between Macao and Siam. Then missionaries from Macao came to Siam as well.\textsuperscript{74}

When, the first French missionaries arrived in Ayuthaya in 1662, they reported that eleven Portuguese missionaries were there, four Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Franciscans and three secular priests, and they had in their charge 2,000 Christians. The Portuguese community in Siam were largely mestiços and located outside the city walls on the banks of the river.\textsuperscript{75} The community was called baan português (Portuguese village) and it was also the Christian quarter of the city, because it was situated near the church of São Paulo. The community stayed there until the fall of Ayuthaya following another Burmese invasion in 1767.
Notes


3 Hernani Cidade (rev.) Ásia de João de Barros (Later quoted as Barros) Segunda Década, livro iv, capítulo iv, p. 182.


8 Barros, Terceira Década, livro ii, capítulo v, p. 75.


11 Carta de Rui de Araçêjo a Afonso Albuquerque, 6 de Fevereiro de 1510, in CAA, (Cartas de Afonso Albuquerque) vol. iii, p. 6.


15 The report disappeared. Joaquim de Campos thought that it might be lying in the Archives of Torre de Tombo in Lisbon with many others not yet published. See Joaquim de Campos, “Early Portuguese Accounts of Thailand”, in The Siam Society, vol. iii (1959), p. 215. However, it is certainly that the document was lost.

16 Carta de Ruy de Brito a Affonso de Albuquerque sobre cousas de Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514. in CAA., vol. iii, pp. 216-217.

17 ANTT, Gavetas, n° xv maço 21, maço 16, Carta de Afonso Lopes da Costa ao Rei D. Manuel, 15 de Agosto de 1518.


19 Barros, Terceira Década. livro ii capítulo iv, p. 74

20 Maria da Conceição Flores, op.cit. pp. 33-34.

21 Carta de Rui de Brito a Affonso de Albuquerque sobre cousas de Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514, in CAA, tomo iii, p. 218.


24 F. R. Luís Filipe Thomaz, De Malaca a Pegu ; Viagens de feitor português (1512-1515) , Lisboa : Instituto de Alta Cultura, Centro de Estudos Históricos), 1966. pp. 18-19.

25 Samuel Purchas (col.) Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes. vol. x, (Glasgow : James MacLehose and Sons), 1905. p. 118.


28 Maria da Conceição Flores, *op.cit.*, p. 81.


35 *Lendas da India*, vol. ii, p. 937.

36 ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, parte 1, maço 76, n.118, Carta de Manuel Godinho a el-Rei Dom João III, 25 de Outubro de 1545.


Cayeyro”. His name was not mentioned by any of the Portuguese chroniclers of the period. Only a letter written from Baçaim on 24 December 1548 by Simão Botelho, the financial superintendent of the Portuguese India, informed that he had taken possession of thirteen to fourteen thousand padaus left by João Caeiro on his death. See Fernão Mendes Pinto. The Travels of Mendes Pinto. (Later quoted as. Peregrinação), tr. by Rebecca Catz, (Chicago : University of Chicago Press), 1989. n. 4, p. 601.

40 Ibid., p. 313.

41 Ibid., pp. 313-315.

42 ANTT, Coleccão São Lourenço, tomo 1, fol. 305-308v, Carta de Martim Afonso de Sousa para o conde de Castanheira, 13 de Fevereiro de 1534.

43 Gaspar Correia. Lendas da India. vol. iv, pp. 154, 226.

44 Mendes Pinto called him Diogo Soares de Albergaria and related that he came to Asia in 1538 and became a pirate who had to flee from Goa when Governor Estêvão da Gama issued a warrant for his arrest. He went to Burma and rapidly rose up to power under Tabinshwehti. He received a high income and was given the title of “the king’s brother and the governorship of Pegu”. See Peregrinação, p. 412.

45 C. G. Harvey, op.cit., p.158.

46 The kingdom of Tuparahos is the kingdom of Srisatananakahuta or Lanchang, this kingdom is situated in nowadays Laos.

47 In fact, Mendes Pinto described that he himself went in this war with the Portuguese army. His detail was that shortly after his arrival in Ayuthya the King of Chiengmai, allied with the “Timocouhos, Laos, and Goes” attacked the Siamese city of Quiteruan, killing 30,000 men, among them Oya Campimper. The Siam army consisted of 400,000 men of whom 70,000 were foreigners. See Peregrinação, p. 400.
Pinto called this high ranking noble “combagako, the governor of the kingdom” which may be Ogyakalahom, a high rank in Siamese nobility.

Ibid.


Thaminhtoarama, called Xemindoo in Portuguese, was a son by an inferior wife of the former king of Pegu and had been a Buddhist monk. In 1549 he threw off his religious robes, incited the people to rebel, and took the title of Smimhtaw.

Peregrinação, p. 419.

Ibid., p. 325.

Ibid., p. 326.

Ibid., p. 367.


Peregrinação, pp. 427-430.


Samuel Purchas (col.) *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*. vol. x, p. 125.


David K. Wyatt, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-95.


Antônio Bocarro (parte i, p. 120) gives the detail that the Burmese Prince was shot dead in the battle.

Maria da Conceição Flores, op.cit., p. 113.

Antônio Bocarro. op.cit. parte i, p. 185.

Maria da Conceição Flores, op.cit., p. 113.

José Jœlio Gonçalves gives the number of 1,500 Portuguese helping Phranarai, but this amount is maybe an exaggeration. See José Jœlio Gonçalves, Os Portugueses no Sião, p. 447.

Luís de Sousa, História de S. Domingos. vol. iv, pp. 413-414.

Ibid., pp. 415-417.

Antônio Bocarro. op.cit. parte ii, pp. 523-526.

ANTT, Livro das Monções, livro 11, fol. 144-145, Carta regia parao conde viso-rey sobre as embaixadas que lhe enviaram de Siã o e Avã, 17 de Janeiro de 1618, e resposta a esta carta, 8 de Fevereiro de 1619.

Luís de Sousa, op.cit. vol. vi, p. 324.