

## BEFORE AYUTTHAYA FELL: ECONOMIC LIFE IN AN INDUSTRIOUS SOCIETY

### Markets and Production in the City of Ayutthaya before 1767: Translation and Analysis of Part of the *Description of Ayutthaya*

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ABSTRACT—A document found in the early twentieth century and probably dating from the late eighteenth contains a detailed description of Ayutthaya before its fall in 1767. This article presents an English translation of the sections of this document about the economic life of the city, along with annotation and analysis. Unlike the image from the chronicles or from foreign visitors, this document shows late Ayutthaya as an industrious and commercial city, probably with a growing population and increased consumption.

In the seventeenth century, Ayutthaya became one of the major maritime ports of Asia, serving principally as an entrepôt between the trade of the Indian Ocean to the west and the South China Sea to the east.<sup>1</sup> European visitors to the city in this era were impressed by the density of streets and canals on the island, riverbank settlements spilling out over the water, and settlements of the proverbial “forty nations” on the opposite banks on all sides.

Yet the European visitors’ descriptions of the city are disappointingly laconic.<sup>2</sup> They note the exotica—the large number of monasteries, the use of waterways for transport—but give little information on the city’s character and why exactly it was so large and impressive to their eyes. Much greater detail is found in a description of the city that is believed to have been reconstructed from the memories of inhabitants who survived the sack of 1767. The essay in the first part of this article examines what that description tells us about the economy of the city. The second part of this article presents a translation of the relevant sections of the document, with a consolidated list of place names (appendix A, pp. 67–68) and a fold-out map of Ayutthaya that shows locations of markets and craft settlements (appendix B, p. 69).

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*; Kathirithamby-Wells and Villers, *Southeast Asian Port and Polity*; and Breazeale, *From Japan to Arabia*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a good summary in Sternstein, “‘Krung Kao’,” 98–104.

## PART ONE

### The text and the city that it mirrors

In 1925, a detailed description of the city of Ayutthaya was discovered among manuscripts bequeathed to the Wachirayan Library by Prince Naret Worarit, the seventeenth son of King Mongkut, who had had a distinguished official career including stints as ambassador to London and Washington. The text was printed in 1926, and then again in 1929 under the title *Athibai phaen thi phranakhon si ayutthaya* (Description of Ayutthaya<sup>3</sup>) with the addition of a preface by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and extensive annotations by Phraya Boranaratchathanin (Phon Dechakup), who since 1898 had been governor of Ayutthaya and pioneer of the first archeological and historical investigation of the old capital. This edition has been reprinted several times, including as Phraya Boran's own cremation volume in 1936 and as volume 63 of the *Prachum phongsawadan* [Collected Chronicles] in 1956, 1979, and 1999. In 1937, another version of the manuscript with extra pages on the end was found in the old Bangkok palace, and the addendum was printed in 1939 under the title *Phumisathan krung si ayutthaya* (Geography of Ayutthaya). In that same year, two slightly more detailed versions of the same text were found in two bundles of documents from the palace libraries. The "Note on the *Testimonies* and the *Description of Ayutthaya*" that follows this article in this edition of *JSS* clarifies the relationship between these versions.

Prince Damrong contributed a preface to the *Description* in which he suggested that "on examination, the author was born when Ayutthaya was the capital, but authored the book in the Bangkok era."<sup>4</sup> Winai Pongsripian suspects the text might have been compiled on royal command in the First Reign to assist with the planning of Bangkok.<sup>5</sup>

Phraya Boran used the *Description* along with evidence from his site investigations to draw a map of the old city in 1927. This map was updated and extended by Sumet Jumsai in 1967, and more recent versions have been made by Sujit Wongthes for *Matichon* newspaper, Winai's team, and webmasters using

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: describing the map of the great city of Ayutthaya. This is translated as *Description of Ayutthaya*, rather than using the term "map" as that would sow the false impression that the original included a graphical map, and create confusion with the map drawn from the *Description* by Phraya Boran in the 1920s. It is not clear when the Thai title was given to the document, but may be quite recent as the term *phaen thi* does not appear in the Three Seals Law or the Ayutthaya chronicles.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Damrong's preface to the 1929 edition of *APA*, 32.

<sup>5</sup> Preface to Winai, *Phanna phumisathan*, and personal communication.

Google Earth.<sup>6</sup> The original document, however, has no drawn map, only verbal description.

The present essay focuses on the sections of the *Description* that contain listings of markets and commercial areas in the city and its outskirts off the main island. These listings are evidently incomplete. They include fresh markets on the island, but not those in the outer settlements. The account of craft settlements begins very systematically in its account of the areas to the north, but becomes more ragged as it circulates the city clockwise. There probably should be an account of craft settlements inside the city to match that outside; several production sites are mentioned in other parts of the text, such as a silk workshop in the northwest of the island, several production areas associated with markets, and others hinted in the names of localities (see below). Even though incomplete, these listings allow some conclusions about the economy of late Ayutthaya.

## Population

There are two indications that the population of Ayutthaya increased in the eighty-odd years between the foreigners' maps and descriptions of the 1680s and the city's fall.

On the "French Engineer's Map" drawn in 1687 (and several maps descended from this original), a tract of approximately 800 hectares in the southwest is marked as "Quartier Champêtre" (rustic area) and another of approximately 1,000 hectares on the eastern side is marked partly as "Quartier fort Champêtre" (very rustic area) and partly as "Quartier Champêtre."<sup>7</sup> Kaempfer probably was referring to these areas when he noted that certain parts of the city were "thinly inhabited, particularly on the West side on account of its remoteness, and towards the South by reason of the morassy ground. ...in those parts there are abundance of empty spaces and large gardens behind the streets."<sup>8</sup> By the time of the *Description*, those areas had been heavily encroached upon. In Phraya Boran's reconstruction of the waterways, based on the *Description* and his site archaeology, a lattice of canals had been dug in the southwestern tract, suggesting an attempt at drainage. The only hint of these canals on any of the European maps from the seventeenth century is on Kaempfer's map, where they are much less extensive. Also two markets that appear in the *Description*

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<sup>6</sup> Sumet's map is reproduced in Sumet, "The Reconstruction," and (much larger) in Sunait, *Burengnong*, between pages 32 and 33; Sujit's version can be downloaded from [www.sujitwongthes.com/outlineofthaihistory/2010/08/แผนที่ภูมิสถานอยุธยา](http://www.sujitwongthes.com/outlineofthaihistory/2010/08/แผนที่ภูมิสถานอยุธยา); the version on [www.thaigoogleeearth.com](http://www.thaigoogleeearth.com) has disappeared but I can supply a copy of the kmz file; there are several maps based on the data in Winai, *Phanna phumisathan*; Patrick Vandenberg has used the *Description* and other data to construct maps and descriptions on [www.ayutthaya-history.com](http://www.ayutthaya-history.com).

<sup>7</sup> Thawatchai, *Krung si ayutthaya*, 78.

<sup>8</sup> Kaempfer, *Description*, 42–43.

and several *wat* that appear in related documents and whose ruins were identified by Phraya Boran are sited within this “very rustic area.” In the “rustic area” to the east, there is no sign of canal building, but at least four markets and several *wat* mentioned in the *Description* fall within the formerly rustic area.

Of course that might signify relocation of settlement. People might have moved from more remote areas off the island. The remodeling of the palace at the end of the seventeenth century shifted the *sala luk khun nai* (the Government House of the day) and several other functions from the northeast of the palace to its western side, possibly increasing the desirability of the city’s southwest as residence for people working in the palace.

The second hint of increased population is on the water. In the *Description*, boats and rafts that serve as both residences and shops line both banks of the rivers, several rows deep, around the southern half of the island plus some two to three kilometers southwards down the Chaophraya River to Rian Island. “By estimate, around the city of Ayutthaya the number of rafts used as both dwellings and shops is around twenty thousand—certainly no fewer” (see the translation in Part Two). None of the seventeenth-century European visitors noted such dense occupation of the waterways even though the densest part was precisely around the port and the European settlements. Gervaise described the river in detail and commented on the general density of population on land without ever mentioning the floating settlements. Kaempfer noted the “Suburbs and Villages, some of which consist of inhabited ships...containing two, three, or more Families,” and sketched several examples, but does not comment on the number.<sup>9</sup> Choisy made several trips along the waterways around Ayutthaya, wrote lyrical descriptions of the scenery, and mentioned “rows of wooden houses on piles” along the banks several times, but never described floating residences.<sup>10</sup> La Loubère described houses in some detail without mentioning houseboats. Forbin, Tachard, and Chaumont were equally mute. No European visitor hints at the number and density recorded in the *Description*. Not one of the several maps and paintings of the city from the seventeenth century shows a single boat or raft moored along the rivers. It is hard to imagine that the extent of residence on the water found in the *Description* would have evaded the attention of all the seventeenth-century European visitors.

Working from the maps and observations of European visitors in the seventeenth century, Anthony Reid has estimated that Ayutthaya’s population at the time was in the range of 150,000 to 200,000.<sup>11</sup> Twenty thousand floating residences could have been home to a hundred thousand people. It is not possible to make

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<sup>9</sup> Kaempfer, *Description*, 49–51.

<sup>10</sup> Choisy, *Journal of a Voyage*, 169, 172.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2:69–73.

quantitative estimates, but the encroachment on the “rustic” areas of the island and the probable increase in floating residences suggest some increase in population.

### **Cosmopolitanness**

Seventeenth-century European maps of Ayutthaya, especially that of Courtaulin and its descendants, show many settlements of non-Siamese (European, Japanese, Mon, Chinese, Malay, and Cochinchinese). With the exception of a Chinese market quarter in the southeast of the island, all of them are off the island. In the *Description*, Europeans are mentioned only as seasonal long-distance traders, and Japanese appear only in the name of their old settlement to the south of the city. Still, the *Description* presents a cosmopolitan picture of both the island and the outskirts.

Lao appears as the name of a market to the north of the city, and a street to the west of the palace. “Old Lao,” meaning long-time settlers, appear as hawkers of live birds living on the opposite bank in the northwest.

Mon appear as boat traders bringing coconuts, salt, and mangrove wood; as makers or sellers of brass and other metal ware; and in the name of an adjacent fresh market, beside Wat Mahathat.

Cham appear in a colony weaving high-quality mats to the south of the city; as cloth makers in a colony below the city wall on the western side; and as traders in the main port area.

Vietnamese are found in the name of a *wat* and in a village of *yuan thale*, perhaps meaning Vietnamese who arrived by sea.

Several settlements of “Khaek” are mentioned. Some have a qualifier showing they come from the peninsula, Java, or other parts of the archipelago. None is explicitly from Persia or Arabia. Around a kilometer south of the palace is a major area of Indian settlement, called the Great Khaek Village with a main street named Brahman Village Road. Farther east, there is a Brahman shrine close to the Great Swing with a market close by where Khaek, probably Indians, sell bangles and other jewelry.

To the west of the island is a settlement of Pattani Khaek who weave silk and cotton cloth. Khaek from Jawa and Malay appear among the raft-borne traders on the southern side of the city, selling betel, rattan, attap and other thatching leaves. Possibly in the same area, a colony of unidentified Khaek settled below the city wall make anchor ropes and other articles from coconut husk. Unidentified Khaek also appear among the traders living around the main port, and “Old Khaek” are among the bird hawkers settled off the island to the northwest. To the north of the city is a settlement of Indians making incense sticks and scented cosmetics.

People described as *chao thale*, sea people, which may mean the sea nomads known as *chao-le* or Moken, sell fish and seafood from a settlement below the city wall on the southern side.

By far the most prominent settler community is the Chinese. On his visit in 1685, Tachard recorded that “The Chinese are the greatest Traders there, and besides the Commodities of *China* deal also in those of *Japan*.”<sup>12</sup> Since then, as Sarasin Viraphol and others have described, trade between Ayutthaya and China had significantly increased,<sup>13</sup> and the number and importance of Chinese settled in Ayutthaya had expanded in parallel. A Chinese held the post of Phrakhleng overseeing trade in the early eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Three hundred Chinese mounted a failed attempt to seize the palace in the early 1730s. In the early stage of the Burmese attack in 1765, a Chinese with the official rank of Luang led three thousand Chinese in an ineffective sortie.<sup>15</sup>

In the seventeenth-century European accounts, the main Chinese commercial settlement was in the southeast, behind the port, where the main thoroughfare was called Chinese Street and the city gate called Chinese Gate. In the *Description*, this market stretches over half a kilometer along Chinese Street, which is lined with “Chinese brick shops on both sides” selling “all kinds of goods from China, including food and fruit” (see translation, p. 63). This market has also expanded to the east and merged with the Three Horses Market behind Diamond Fort.

A second major Chinese settlement is found at Chinese Village on the opposite bank of the river to the southwest at the mouth of the Ironwood or Khun Lakhonchai Canal. Here, too, are “many Chinese shops in brick buildings, selling more Chinese goods than Thai goods.” In addition, “actress-prostitutes have established four halls behind the market where they provide men with sex for hire” (see translation, p. 52). The reference to actresses as well as the canal’s name (Khun Lakhonchai, perhaps Mr. Theatre-owner) suggest this was also an entertainment area.

A third market also called Chinese market is found beside the Brahman quarter south of the palace mentioned above.

Besides these markets, there are several colonies where Chinese are engaged in specific kinds of production. In four places beyond the island there are Chinese settlements with distilleries making liquor. Two of these also raise pigs, and one also manufactures dried rice-noodles. In other settlements off the island, Chinese forge axes and dye indigo cloth. These off-island Chinese settlements are not concentrated in any single area but are scattered around.

On the island, close to the main Chinese market, there are Chinese settlements making sweets, noodles, barrels, water jars, rattan furniture, and metal ware. In the

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<sup>12</sup> Tachard, *Voyage*, 266.

<sup>13</sup> Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*; Dhiravat, “Ayutthaya at the End of the Seventeenth Century,” 259–262.

<sup>14</sup> According to the chronicles, he failed miserably as an army commander in an attack on Lawaek because he was “timid—not brave and tough—and cowardly in warfare.” Cushman, *Royal Chronicles*, 397, 402.

<sup>15</sup> Cushman, *Royal Chronicles*, 481–482.

northeast, Chinese make and sell rattan furniture. In front of Wat Mahathat, Chinese run a flea market for secondhand goods. Three Chinese shrines and two temples are mentioned. To the south of the island the house of Jaosua Chi (the name suggests a big Chinese merchant) is prominent enough to be mentioned as a landmark. The market alongside this house is not explicitly described as Chinese but the mention of “a long row of sixteen two-storey brick houses with shops in the lower storey and living quarters above” suggests Chinese-style shophouses.

The city’s economy is robust enough to attract traders and craftsmen from other parts of Asia to migrate and settle.

### **The economic hinterland**

The city draws a wide variety of products from the hinterland including foodstuffs, building materials, cloth, and metals, as well as “forest goods” probably mostly destined for export.

Foodstuffs come mostly from close at hand. Paddy is brought by boat from places along the waterways no more than 60 kilometers distant from the city to the north and west. Fish and other seafood, both fresh and dried, are brought from Phetchaburi and elsewhere by “sea-folk traders” of no specified location. Coconuts and salt are brought by Mon, probably also from Phetchaburi and other coastal areas of the upper peninsula as they also bring a type of mangrove wood which grows well in that tract. Sugar is brought by Chinese, Khaek, and Cham “from the south” which probably means the Gulf coast, again especially the upper peninsula, where sugar palms are common. In sum, the food supply comes from the riverine paddy tracts immediately north and west of the city, the sea of the upper Gulf, and the sugar palm groves and salt pans of the upper-peninsula coastal tract.

Building materials are sourced in part from the same areas—food traders from the Gulf coast also bring some timber, rattan, and leaves used for thatch—but others come from much farther afield. Traders described as “Khaek from Java and Malayu” bring an especially pliable form of rattan, cadjan and attap leaves for thatching, along with “island betelnut,” perhaps a prized variety as it is worth transporting over such a distance.

Cloth, forest goods, metals, and other specialized products come from farther away, brought by two sets of seasonal traders. The first of these come by boat down the tributaries of the Chaophraya River system. The towns of origin mentioned—Phitsanulok, Phetchabun, Sawankhalok, Tak, Rahaeng—are all on the northern fringe of the Chaophraya plain, close to the hills. The boats bring mainly forest goods including lac, beeswax, benzoin, timber, rattan, tobacco, hide, and oil. Phetchabun acts as a concentration point for iron and other metals from the mines in the Dongphayafai range. There is no mention of goods from farther north, but towns like Phitsanulok might act as staging points for such goods. These traders

come in the high-water season (September–October) and operate from anchorages around the southern arc of the city.

The second set of seasonal traders come by cart from the east, arriving in the “third or fourth” month, February–March, meaning they leave their home region after the rains and take a couple of months to reach the city. This trade is so well-established that the traders have cooperatively built permanent accommodation that, judging from the sequence of the listing, is to the east of the city. The cart traders from Khorat bring many kinds of cloth, various products from deer, and forest goods. Most likely, Khorat acts as the staging point for goods from the Isan plateau. Cart traders from Battambang also bring cloth and forest goods but also tin and gems, probably from the Pailin region. Battambang clearly acts as a staging post for goods from farther away as the products transported include silk from Vietnam.

The list of goods from these places include several items that were collected as *suai* tax after the respective regions had come under Bangkok control in the nineteenth century. Apparently they were earlier acquired by trade.

Unfortunately there is no indication of what goods these traders took back from Ayutthaya.

Long-distance marine traders also arrive seasonally during the monsoon. They include Chinese, Khaek, and Farang. The Khaek come from the peninsula, Jawa and other islands of the archipelago, and western India (Gujarat, Surat, and “Khaek *thet*,” which might mean the Malabar coast). There is no mention of the east coast of India or of Persia and Arabia. Among the Farang are mentioned French, Dutch, Spanish, and English, but also some colonial settlements: Farang Losong who are probably Spanish from the Philippines; black Farang who may be Portuguese from Timor; and Langkuni Farang who may be British from Ceylon.<sup>16</sup> They do not trade from their craft but rent or buy shops inside the city walls. Unfortunately no products are specified, except in the case of the Chinese junks that bring cloth and small household articles such as tiles, pots, bowls, brassware, and metal tools.

## Production

The city produces a wide variety of goods.<sup>17</sup> The *Description* lists around forty craft settlements on the outskirts of the city. A similar listing for the area inside the walls is missing, but around ten production areas are mentioned in passing. There is no indication of scale. Some places are described as *rong*, probably small workshops.

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<sup>16</sup> Thanks to Winai Pongsripian for these identifications.

<sup>17</sup> Working with this same document, Phetrung Thianpiurot counted 24 categories of goods and 373 articles; see Phetrung, “Talat kap withi chiwit.”



The greatest density of craft settlements appears to be north of the city, although that might be an illusion of reporting. The listing starts in this area in a systematic style, but subsequently becomes more ragged. Although specific villages or quarters specialize in a particular craft or narrow range of goods, there is no zoning. For example, metal smiths, saw yards, and noodle makers are found in various quarters. In the northern quadrant, the range of products includes oils, construction timber, household metal ware, liquor, earthenware pots, aromatics, cosmetics, paper and books, red lime, and tiles.

The largest category of settlements is of those processing foodstuffs. They mill rice, press oil from several types of seed, brew and distill liquor, manufacture noodles, and make several varieties of sweets, mostly of Chinese origin.

The next largest category includes settlements related to house construction. Several settlements specialize in particular house components including timber posts; beams and joists; wall panels of wood, woven bamboo, or woven leaves; tiles of various designs; and nails and other metal fixings.

Many other settlements make household articles for everyday use including rattan or wooden furniture; trays, tables, and salvers; knives, axes, and other metal implements; earthenware pots and jars; and metal and brass bowls and other receptacles. Several other articles are listed as sold in the city markets, though it is not clear whether they are made in the city or elsewhere. They include mattresses and other bedding, cradles, woven mats, various kinds of basketwork containers, teeth polishers, and flints and torches for lighting.

A handful of settlements makes toys for amusing children, including fish and insects crafted from paper and fiber for hanging on infants' cradles; puppets; and earthenware images of horses and elephants.

Cloth is imported from a wide range of sources including Gujarat, Surat, China, Japan, Khorat, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Few settlements produce cloth locally; those that do seem to produce something special or exotic—Pattani Khaek weave cloth in floral patterns, while Chinese dye with indigo; one settlement paints and prints floral designs on plain cloth; and another is described as Cham, although its products are not specified. A silk workshop in the northwest is mentioned in passing.

However, there are some hints that household production of cloth was significant—two localities specialize in selling parts for spinning wheels; another retails hand-gins for cotton; another sells heddles for looms; and several markets have thread or yarn available for sale.

Various other articles of personal adornment are sold in city markets, though again there is no indication whether they are made on site or elsewhere. They include silver jewelry, bangles, girdles, belts, and cosmetics.

Some production centers are related to the city's function as a port. One village on the island specializes in making fishnets, while another makes lead weights and other gear for fishing. The city has several boatyards, detailed elsewhere in the *Description*, where boats are both built and stored for the king. Probably there were other boat builders since small craft were the main means of transport around the city. The builders are not mentioned, but some of their suppliers are. One settlement specializes in making ribs and other specific timbers for boat building. Another produces oil for caulking and other chandlery. A Khaek settlement specializes in anchor ropes (and possibly chains, too). Potteries make various storage jars that are bought by long-distance traders for storing ship-born export goods. Other settlements make barrels and chests that may in part have been sold to traders.

Several settlements produce articles related to religion and ritual. One makes incense sticks along with other aromatics and cosmetics. Two localities make coffins, and one is cited as making various other articles for cremations. On the island is a colony that specializes in making Buddha images from gold, silver, brass, and other metals. Another produces gold and silver leaf, probably used to affix to images as an act of worship. Two settlements catch fish and birds that are sold for people to buy and release for making merit at festival times. In addition, two markets specialize in monks' robes and other monastic requirements; a third makes various ritual items; another specializes in monk's fans; another sells small votive images; and two localities prepare betelnut and other items for ordinations and other ceremonies.

Finally, a few settlements make goods required for the administration, festivity, and ritual display characteristic of a capital city. Across the river from the palace is a workshop for making elephant howdahs. Along the riverbanks are several boatyards for building royal barges. To the northwest is a production site for *sa* paper and accordion books. On the island are quarters where books and the white-clay powder used in writing on them are sold. One quarter specializes in selling a wide variety of musical instruments, although there is no indication where they are made. One market specializes in the retail of fireworks for cremations and public celebrations, while there is a Fireworks Village in the south of the island where possibly the fireworks are made.

These settlements suggest several sources of demand. First, the city's function as a port creates demand for boat-building, chandlery, and various storage containers. Second, the city's function as a capital creates demand for writing materials and gear for processions and public entertainments. Third, the city's function as a religious center creates demand for monastic equipment and ritual articles. Fourth, the large population generates demand for food, clothing, housing, and household equipment.

## Domestic market

The marketplaces and craft centers appear to be catering to a relatively wide market. Exotic items owned to display wealth and status were probably either imported or manufactured in specialist craft workshops inside the palace. A dozen or so such workshops, which are mentioned elsewhere in the *Description*, made ritual gear as well as everyday items used by the royal family (and probably by the high nobility, too). The markets and craft centers in the city catered to consumers below this high elite.

The cloth market is especially intricate. Around thirty-five different varieties are mentioned. They range from the elaborate silk *sompak* worn for royal audience, through several varieties of imported silk, to “freshwater cloth,” a cheap patterned textile. Cloth is of course a necessity, but there is evidence of similar complexity and segmentation in more discretionary markets. Consider the range of betel and tobacco containers found in a market just south of the palace: “betel bags in wool and silk; betel bags in patterned cloth used on royal service, only by men;...wool pouches for betelnut embroidered in gold and embellished with glass; ordinary betel pouches; pouches for tobacco embroidered in gold embellished with glass; ordinary tobacco pouches; and pan leaf holders in various colors” (see translation, p. 62). Varieties of betelnut, girdles, *talum* salvers and other articles display a similar range.

Seventeenth-century European observers related that ordinary homes were virtually bereft of any possessions, and even the mansions of the great nobles were surprisingly bare.<sup>18</sup> The Europeans who arrived in Bangkok from the 1820s onwards made no similar observations, and sometimes were impressed by the ostentatious possessions of the nobles. The *Description* suggests that this shift towards a more consuming society had taken place in late Ayutthaya.

Perhaps the increased presence of Chinese in the city was partially responsible for this change. The accounts of the two largest Chinese markets emphasize that the goods on sale were more of Chinese rather than local origin. The sweets and noodles manufactured in the city are mostly Chinese varieties, made by Chinese settlements. Chinese raise pigs and sell pork, not known in the traditional local diet. One craft colony makes and sells tables and chairs, items of furniture unknown in traditional Thai homes. Perhaps such goods were initially imported or produced for the resident Chinese but gradually found a wider market among others.

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<sup>18</sup> La Loubère, *New Historical Relation*, 29–30 on houses and 34 on furniture; Kaempfer, *Description*, 26 on Kosa Pan’s house and 44 on noble houses in general; Gervaise, *Natural and Political History*, 97–99.

## Nomenclature

The *Description* tells something about the city through its nomenclature. The foreigners' accounts view the city as an entrepôt and a royal capital. The chronicles present the city as the domain of the king, and as the setting for royal events—rites, celebrations, succession struggles. But the *Description* offers a very different angle.

Strikingly, most localities are named after their trade or production. Certainly, there are several exceptions. Some are named after their landmarks (Wat Krut Village, Sharp Corner Fort Village), some after their present or past inhabitants (Chinese Village, Great Khaek Quarter, Japanese Village), some perhaps after people from the past (Jao Phrom, Nang Iyan), and some probably recording past events (Tiger Crossing, Three Horses Quarter). But by far the majority of Ayutthaya's localities are named after their commercial function.

The word *pa* (ป่า), which normally means forest, has a local meaning in Ayutthaya as a prefix for a product or function (and is translated as Quarter). The range of Ayutthayan vicinities named in this way including Silver Quarter, Gold Quarter, Lead Quarter, Iron Quarter (two), Wood Quarter (two), Cotton Quarter, Lime Quarter, Coconut Quarter, Noodle Quarter, Oil Press Quarter (two), Banana Leaf Quarter, Charcoal Quarter, Medicine Quarter, Green Cloth Quarter, Pink Cloth Quarter, Patterned Cloth Quarter, Tray Quarter, Flask Quarter, Potters' Village (two), Attap Quarter, Bench Workshop Village, Howdah Workshop Village, Mattress Quarter, Book Quarter, White-clay Quarter, Fireworks Village, and Drum Quarter. The names of some *wat* also contain hints of local economic activity: cattle and buffalo (in areas possibly once used as grazing), banana, kite, gold, sweet making, red cloth, gong workshop, and cotton.

## Conclusion

All descriptions of old Siam detail the systems of *corvée* and slavery, suggesting a society where much labor is diverted to government work and personal service for the nobility. Most visitors to Ayutthaya, both European and Persian, were bent on portraying an oriental despotism that smothers personal enterprise. La Loubère, for example, claimed that “there is no Person in this Country that dares to distinguish himself in any Art, for fear of being forced to work *gratis* all his life for the service of this Prince.”<sup>19</sup> Yet, these visitors would sometimes also note the dynamism of the market. La Loubère himself observed, “The most general Professions at *Siam* are Fishing for the Common People and Merchandize for all those that have wherewith to follow it.”<sup>20</sup> Gervaise claimed, “The Siamese are not

<sup>19</sup> La Loubère, *New Historical Relation*, 69.

<sup>20</sup> La Loubère, *New Historical Relation*, 71.

by nature very industrious people,” but then praises the quality of construction work, decorative arts, textile making, and medicine. The *Description of Ayutthaya* presents the city as a center of manufacture and trade that celebrates the variety of its commercial life through its place names (see appendix A).

The short-lived explosion of European writing on Siam in the 1680s has tended to cast a shadow over the remaining eight decades of the city’s life. Yet the *Description* suggests that the city expanded in size and activity in this later period, particularly through the settlement of Chinese bringing new products and consumer habits. While the *Description* gives no reliable measure of scale, the sheer number of markets, the variety of products on sale, and the sheer ordinariness of much of it (toys, cigarette lighters) suggests that a large number of people were engaged in the market economy on a daily basis.

## PART TWO

### In translation:

### Markets and craft production in the *Description of Ayutthaya*

TRANSLATOR’S NOTE—Three different versions of the manuscript *Description of Ayutthaya* exist: *KLHW*, *KWPS*, and *APA* (see bibliography). *KLHW* and *KWPS* are almost identical. *APA* is an abbreviated version, with a few variations from the longer versions. The following translation includes only the passages on markets and production—about one third of the total document. Notes based on Phraya Boranratchathanin’s annotations in *APA* are identified by (B). Notes based on Winai Pongsripian’s annotations in *Phanna phumisathan* are identified by (W). The headings do not appear in the original texts but were added in printed versions. All the bracketed numbers (w1, etc.) have been added here for plotting the accompanying map (appendix B, a fold-out map on page 69). On the map, bracketed numbers at the edge indicate locations slightly outside the borders of the map, and those with query marks cannot be located.

### Floating markets

There are floating markets on the river around the city, four of large size: (w1) at the whirlpool<sup>21</sup> of Bang Kaja in front of Wat Jao Phanangchoeng; (w2) at the mouth of the Cham Canal behind the Khaek mosque;

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<sup>21</sup> Meaning the disturbed water where the rivers encircling the city merge at the southeast corner of the island in front of Diamond Fort (Pom Phet).

(w3) at the mouth of Crying Wood Canal;  
 (w4) at the mouth of Wat Doem Canal below the shrine of Jao Pun Thao Kong  
 —in total, only four primary floating markets.

### Land markets outside the city

There are markets on land outside the city, some in the area below the walls, some on the opposite bank. Considering only the area falling between the four main customs posts<sup>22</sup> of the four compass points around the city and the riverbanks opposite the city, plus the space below the city walls, there are thirty markets:

- (o1) in front of Wat na Phrathat<sup>23</sup> behind the Bang Luang<sup>24</sup> customs post;
- (o2) the Lao Market above Wat Khuha Sawan;<sup>25</sup>
- (o3) the market along Namya Canal;<sup>26</sup>
- (o4) the Fish Market beside the causeway;
- (o5) in front of Wat Khae down to Wat Saphan Kluea;
- (o6) at the ferry landing of Wat Nangchi in front of the Portuguese settlement;<sup>27</sup>
- (o7) at Wat Phichai in Alms Bowl Village;
- (o8) at Wat Janthanaram<sup>28</sup> behind Wat Kluai;
- (o9) behind the Dutch emporium beside Wat Mu;
- (o10) at Wat Sing in front of the Japanese building;
- (o11) at Wat Thong on Lai Song Road;
- (o12) at Wat Tha Rap in front of the house of Jaosua Chi—here there is a long row of sixteen two-storey brick houses with shops in the lower storey and living quarters above; at the entrance to this market is an iron forge, a shoe workshop, and a maker of red pipe tobacco;

<sup>22</sup> These posts are detailed elsewhere in the document: to the east at Khao Mao Village, to the south at Bang Tanaosi Village, to the west at Pak Khu Village, and to the north at Bang Luang/Lang Village.

<sup>23</sup> Called Wat Mahathat in *APA*. Phraya Boran thought this was a mistake as the only monasteries known to be close to the customs post are Wat Dao Khanong and Wat Chang. However, 200 meters south of Wat Dao Khanong along the old course of the canal there are ruins of a fair-sized *wat* with a surviving Standing Buddha image. This might be the *wat* mentioned. The variation in names between *APA* and *KKLHW* might indicate that an original manuscript was damaged at this point and copyists guessed at the names. Locally the ruins are now referred to as Wat Tha Yak (ท่ายักษ์), possibly meaning the monastery of the big landing (for the customs post).

<sup>24</sup> Usually known as Bang Lang.

<sup>25</sup> วัดคูหาสวรรค์, “monastery of the heavenly cave;” probably at the end of Lotus Pond Canal. (B)

<sup>26</sup> Now known as Wat Borrommawong Canal (as it leads to that monastery), around 1 kilometer north of Hua Ro up the Lopburi River.

<sup>27</sup> There is no record of a Portuguese settlement around here. In *APA*, this part of the manuscript is marked as damaged. Possibly copyists of the other version misread the damaged portion.

<sup>28</sup> วัดจันทนาราม; on the railway below Alms Bowl Canal Bridge, locally called Wat Prasat. (B)

- (o13) at Wat Khian in Lime Village on Lai Song Road;
- (o14) at Chinese Village at the mouth of Khun Lakhonchai Canal, actress-prostitutes have established four halls behind the market where they provide men with sex for hire; this market is large, with a Chinese shrine behind it, close by boat or by land, and sells more Chinese than Thai goods;
- (o15) at Kuan Lotchong<sup>29</sup> Village Market;
- (o16) at Wat Thamma ferry;
- (o17) at Fort Village<sup>30</sup> by the Pak Khu Customs Post;<sup>31</sup>
- (o18) at Mahanak Canal headland on Teachers' Road;
- (o19) at Wat Khun Yuan<sup>32</sup> in Salapun;
- (o20) at Crying Wood Canal behind the royal boathouse;
- (o21) from the frontage of Wat Takrai down to the frontage of Wat na Phramen;
- (o22) beside Wat Khwai and Wat Wua<sup>33</sup> on Potters' Village Road;
- (o23) at the Iron Quarter behind Khmer Wat Servants' Village;
- (o24) at Wat Krut;
- (o25) on Patterned-Cloth Canal beside Wat Pa Daeng behind Wang Phak Jao Lao;<sup>34</sup>
- (o26) beside Howdah Workshop Village in front of Wat Kuti Thong;
- (o27) at Wat Rong Khong;
- (o28) in front of Wat Pa Khonthi;
- (o29) in Iron Village at Herd Landing;
- (o30) at Wat Maphrao beside Sea Vietnamese Village;
- in total thirty<sup>35</sup> major markets on land around the city.

### Commercial areas outside the city

On both banks of the rivers around Ayutthaya, subjects and other people make various things for sale, and conduct various kinds of trading in many settlements, communities, and villages.

<sup>29</sup> บ้านกวนลอดช่อง, meaning mixing a kind of sweet.

<sup>30</sup> บ้านป้อม, Ban Pom, meaning Jampaphon Fort; on the west side of the river below the Lat Canal fork.

<sup>31</sup> The western customs post, 1.5 kilometers up the present-day Chaophraya River by the fork of the Lat or Mahaphram Canal.

<sup>32</sup> On Phraya Boran's map called Wat Khanun (ขนน) Yuan, "monastery of the Vietnamese jackfruit;" now Wat Phromniwat.

<sup>33</sup> วัดค้าย, buffalo; วัดวัว, cattle; in *APA* this is วัดค้ายวัว, Wat Khai Ua or "monastery of the cattle camp."

<sup>34</sup> รังพักเจอลาว; perhaps, temporary palace of the Lao lord.

<sup>35</sup> *APA* says thirty-two but has the same list.

(c1) In Samphani, they crush and extract sesame oil, chaulmoogra oil, *samrong*<sup>36</sup> oil, and bean<sup>37</sup> oil for sale. One village makes walls for dwelling houses and bridal halls with bamboo, some with cadjan leaves, some with boards, made to order and for retail. One village smelts iron into mortars and pestles for sale, and has a forge for beating knives, machetes, and various decorative shapes, both for hire and for retail. All three villages are in Samphani vicinity.

(c2) At Potters' Village they make rice pots; curry pots, large and small; skillets; grills for *khanom khrok* and *khanom bueang*;<sup>38</sup> stoves; wick lanterns; torches; candle holders; flower trays;<sup>39</sup> beeswax candles for offering at the start of the Rains Retreat; earthenware bowls; and spittoons.

(c3) At Tile Village they make wife-husband tiles, turtle-scale tiles, hooked tiles, and corrugated tiles<sup>40</sup> for sale.

(c4) Lime Hall Village has braziers to make red lime for sale.

(c5) Chinese at Ban Khao Luang have set up a liquor distillery.

These five villages are in the district of Thung Khwan Island.<sup>41</sup>

(c6) At Khat Island Village, they cast lidded bowls for medicine and brass lime-pots, and make footed trays, and swan-tongue<sup>42</sup> wooden spatulas for lime for sale.

(c7) At Wat Krut Village they make large *nang loeng* jars<sup>43</sup> to hold liquids for sale.

(c8) At the village beside Wat Thorani,<sup>44</sup> they saw planks from bombax and *ulok*<sup>45</sup> wood for sale.

(c9) At the village beside Wat Phrao, Indians<sup>46</sup> and Thai make fragrant powder and oil, *krajae*<sup>47</sup> scented water, *krajae* incense sticks, *kradat*<sup>48</sup> incense sticks, and perfumes for sale.

<sup>36</sup> ส้าโรง; *Sterculia foetida*, a type of chestnut, also called bastard poon tree, hazel sterculia, or wild almond.

<sup>37</sup> ถั่ว, *thua*, which could mean many kinds of nut or bean.

<sup>38</sup> Two forms of small rice-flour pancakes.

<sup>39</sup> ฟานพุ่ม, *phan phum*, a tray for holding a cone-shaped floral display.

<sup>40</sup> กระเบื้องลูกฟูก, *krabueng luk fuk*; wave-shaped tiles which hook together.

<sup>41</sup> เกาะทุ่งขวิณ, north of the city and west of Lotus Pond Canal.

<sup>42</sup> สन्हงส์ (สन्हงษ in *KWPS*, not in *APA*), a copying mistake for สิ้นหงส์.

<sup>43</sup> นางเล็ง, "large ladies;" large storage jars for liquids.

<sup>44</sup> Unidentified; but from its position in the sequence, it may be Wat Ngiu, just east of the junction of Lotus Pond Canal and the Lopburi River.

<sup>45</sup> *Hymenodictyon orixense/excelsum*, a tree with a grayish timber called bridal-couch tree, or mountain sage.

<sup>46</sup> พรหมณั, *phram*, Brahman; here probably meaning Indians.

<sup>47</sup> กระแจะ, *krajae*; a tree, *Ochna integerrima*, that grows in the north and northeast of Thailand. The wood and bark were steeped to produce a fragrant water applied to the skin. The term is also used for more complex skin preparations made by dissolving a powder containing *krajae*, sandalwood paste, musk, and saffron.

<sup>48</sup> กระดาด, *Alocasia maero-rhiza*; giant taro, pai, elephant's ears.



(c10) Herd Landing Village has braziers for forging iron nails and cramps,<sup>49</sup> large and small, for sale.

(c11) Flask Village makes and sells earthenware spittoons, flowerpots, candle-holders, stoves, and various dolls in the shape of elephants and horses.

(c12) At the village beside Wat Rong Khong along the road in front of Chaophraya Jakri's house, women traders buy raw bananas to ripen and boil for sale.

These seven villages are on Thung Kaeo Island.<sup>50</sup>

(c13) Nang Loeng Village, Royal Document Translation Hall Village<sup>51</sup> make *khoi* paper,<sup>52</sup> black books, and white books for sale.

(c14) At Thanu Ek Canal Village<sup>53</sup> by the elephant enclosure, the villagers have set up sheds, shops, and rafts for selling forest bamboo, *sisuk*<sup>54</sup> bamboo, and *ruak*<sup>55</sup> bamboo, posts big and small, core timber,<sup>56</sup> beams, and joists.

(c15) Ram Thewa Village specializes in metal bowls, large and small, for sale.

(c16) The village beside Wat Phichai makes puppets,<sup>57</sup> covered trays, two-level pedestal trays for sale.

(c17) At Nang Iyan<sup>58</sup> Village on the bank under the city wall, they saw teak to make house walls, prefabricated wall-boards, and all wall sections<sup>59</sup> ready-made for sale.

(c18) At Wat Namwon Village, Chinese have set up a forge to make iron-headed house axes, and *palu*<sup>60</sup> axes for sale.

(c19) At Rice Canal-Mouth Village, Chinese have set up a distillery and raise pigs for sale.

(c20) At villages on Betel Garden Canal, Chinese have set up distilleries, raise pigs for sale, and make dried *senmi* noodles for sale.

<sup>49</sup> ตะปลิง, *tapling*, a metal clamp for joining wood.

<sup>50</sup> เกาะทุ่งแก้ว, north of the city and east of Lotus Pond Canal.

<sup>51</sup> Na Loeng in *KLHW*, Nang in *APA*. Probably this means Wat Nang Loeng near Wat Tum and Wat Satsada (north of Wat Phukhaothong), and probably this means that people working in the Translation Hall (inside the palace) live here and make paper. (B)

<sup>52</sup> Paper made from the bark of the ช้อย tree, *Streblus asper*; sometimes called *sa* paper, used in making accordion books.

<sup>53</sup> ชนนอก, first arrow, in *KLHW*; ฉนุ (เวก) in *APA*. Perhaps a canal beside or in front of the elephant enclosure. (B)

<sup>54</sup> สีสุก, "ripe color."

<sup>55</sup> รวก, *ruak*; a light, thornless bamboo.

<sup>56</sup> ไม้แก่น, *mai kaen*, hard inner wood.

<sup>57</sup> หุ่น, *hun*; could be other kinds of models.

<sup>58</sup> บ้านนางเอียน; mentioned in the chronicles and Palatine Law. Outside the wall opposite the current site of the railway station. (B)

<sup>59</sup> เครื่องสับฟาสารวด, *khruelang sap fa samruat*, sections of walls constructed from many small pieces of wood or bamboo.

<sup>60</sup> ปะลู่, *palu*, probably ปูลู่, ปูลู่, *pulu*; an axe with a head for both chopping and scraping.

(c21) At Sugar-Palm Sweet Village, villagers act as agents for sale of boats and barges.<sup>61</sup>

(c22) At Oil Press Village they make red and white beeswax, and extract sesame oil for sale

(c23) At Salt Canal Village, villagers have set up rice mills to mill rice for sale to liquor distillers and Chinese junks.

(c24) At Japanese Village, inhabited by Thai who have built houses behind the Japanese buildings, villagers act as agents selling ribs for boats and junks, large and small, and sell *kongkang* wood<sup>62</sup> to people who make teeth polishers.

(c25) At the village outside the wall at the corner by Sarapha quarter, Chinese dye and sell indigo cloth.

(c26) In Attap Quarter, cadjan leaves, rattan, sap-torches, *yang* oil, and ship's caulking cotton are sold from shops and rafts. Boats with a beam of eight or ten cubits transport attap to sell here.

(c27) In the settlement beside Wat Khun Phrom, local villagers paint and print flower designs on white foreign<sup>63</sup> cloth and patterned freshwater cloth<sup>64</sup> for sale. Several houses make and sell coffins for the dead using *ulok* wood.<sup>65</sup>

(c28) Kayi Landing Village outside the city wall is an old Khaek settlement where Khaek plait coconut husk into anchor ropes from one *sen*<sup>66</sup> long to thirty fathoms or even as long as fifty fathoms for sale to captains of sloops and junks.<sup>67</sup> They also plait coconut husk into cigarette lighters to sell to nobles and people who need to use them and make merit.<sup>68</sup>

(c29) In Thai Khu Village, Cham weave and sell *lantai* mats<sup>69</sup> of large and small size and also *samuk* punnets.<sup>70</sup>

(c30) At Flat Landing Village people act as agents for sale of *phaniang* water pots with ears<sup>71</sup> that Chinese, Khaek, French, English, Dutch, and Portuguese traders buy for holding indigo and lime.

<sup>61</sup> เรือเถาเรือฟ้าง, *ruea phuang*; a boat with no propulsion, towed by another. Maybe *ruea thao* is the tug. In *APA* it is เถา, *phao*.

<sup>62</sup> กงกาง, *kongkang*; *Glossocarya premnoides*, a mangrove wood used in making charcoal.

<sup>63</sup> เเทศ, *thet*, probably from India.

<sup>64</sup> ผ้าลายน้ำจืด, *lai nam juet*; cheap, pale-colored, patterned cloth. (W)

<sup>65</sup> ไม้อุโลก; *Hymenodictyon orixense*, a white wood.

<sup>66</sup> 40 meters.

<sup>67</sup> *APA* says they “forge anchor chains 30 fathoms long for sale to Surat and English captains.”

<sup>68</sup> This sentence ends และทำบุญ, *lae tham bun*, “and make merit,” which may mean they include them in alms given to monks; but may be a copyist's mistake.

<sup>69</sup> ลันไต้, a high-quality soft mat made from a type of rattan.

<sup>70</sup> สุ่มก, a small basketwork container.

<sup>71</sup> พระเนียงหู, *phaniang hu*, a type of water jar.

(c31) At Oil Press Village behind Wat Phutthaisawan they extract sesame oil and *luk mai*<sup>72</sup> oil for sale.

(c32) At Choeng Chakrai Village outside the city wall, villagers have set up halls and shops to sell posts of *teng* and *rang* wood,<sup>73</sup> as well as wooden floor-joists and tie-beams, forest bamboo, *ruak* bamboo, and *lai* wood<sup>74</sup> from Amphawa.

(c33) At Lime Village beside Wat Khian they make red lime for sale.

(c34) At Phra Kran Village,<sup>75</sup> villagers who catch anabas<sup>76</sup> and sucker catfish<sup>77</sup> go around hawking some of the fish and bring the rest by boat to sell. Around the Songkran festival, city folk buy them to make merit by releasing them.

(c35) At the village beside Wat Lotchong, Pattani Khaek weave silk cloth, cotton cloth, and *pha muang*<sup>78</sup> for sale in plain and in flower patterns.

(c36) The village in front of Wat Ratchaphli and Wat Thamma makes coffins from teak and *ulok* wood along with various crematory articles for sale.

(c37) At Sharp-Corner Fort Village, old Khaek and old Lao catch and kill crakes and weaverbirds to go around hawking. They also catch pink birds, chestnut munia, brick-red birds, *krathin*<sup>79</sup> birds, and weaverbirds to keep alive in cages and go around selling them for city folk to release at Songkran festival time.

(c38) At the sharp corner of the river in front of Wat Phukhaothong below the shrine of Jao Nang Hin Loi, Chinese have set up distilleries and raise pigs for sale.

### Visiting traders

(t1) People from Phitsanulok in the north transport sugar syrup, tobacco, cotton, beeswax, and various northern goods<sup>80</sup> in large swing-tail<sup>81</sup> boats that they moor to sell from the front of Wat Kluai to the mouth of Ko Kaeo Canal and a little below. Mon with large boats of six to seven fathoms beam transport ripe coconuts, olive mangrove<sup>82</sup> wood, and white salt to moor and sell.

(t2) At Cart Hall Village<sup>83</sup> there are two large *sala* with five rooms where carts from Nakhon Ratchasima and Battambang stay during the third and fourth months.

<sup>72</sup> Same as *samrong*; see (c1) and footnote 35.

<sup>73</sup> เต็ง, *teng* (*Shorea obtusa*, the Siamese sal tree); and รัง, *rang* (*Shorea siamensis*, a dipterocarp).

<sup>74</sup> ไม้ลาย, *mai lai*, perhaps “patterned wood;” but probably a genus.

<sup>75</sup> บ้านพระกราน, *ban phra kran*; unidentified.

<sup>76</sup> ปลาหม้อ, *pla mo*; *Anabas testudineus*.

<sup>77</sup> เกาะ, *ko*, island; but APA has เกราะ, probably ปลาตกเกราะ, which is *Hypostomus*, sucker catfish.

<sup>78</sup> ผ้าม่วง *pha-muang*, silk woven with stiff yarn in dark colors (blue, purple, or green), made locally; but the most popular (and probably original) type came from China.

<sup>79</sup> Not a genus, just “brown.”

<sup>80</sup> In APA, “northern cotton goods.”

<sup>81</sup> เรือท้ายแกว้ง, *ruea thai kwaeng*.

<sup>82</sup> แสมทะเล, *saem thale*; *Avicennia Africana*, which grows around Ban Laem, Phetchaburi. (W)

<sup>83</sup> บ้านศาลาเกวียน, *ban sala kwian*. Unknown, but the sequence suggests it is to the southeast, which would be the direction where people from Khorat and Battambang would arrive.

The carts from Nakhon Ratchasima transport various goods such as lacquer, beeswax, birds' wings, checkered cloth,<sup>84</sup> lotus-stem<sup>85</sup> cloth four spans wide, gold-thread,<sup>86</sup> peeled-lotus and sesame-seed patterned cloth, deer hide, deer sinews, dried meat, lac, silk, benzoin, tin, rhino horn, and various forest goods. Khmer with carts from Battambang transport bastard cardamom, cardamom, silk, benzoin, lac, tin, rhino horn, *phum*<sup>87</sup> silk cloth, Vietnamese silk, *thong phrai*,<sup>88</sup> red gems, and other goods that come from the Khmer region. If Khorat and Khmer people bring goods to sell in such large numbers that the cart *sala* are not enough to accommodate them, huts have to be built for them to live around that area. The *sala* were built with donations from the traders. They contributed to build them and to repair them thereafter. In the season, various carts and traders come there. Villagers make various foods and sit at stalls to sell as an occasional market.

(t3) In front of three monasteries—Wat Samo, Wat Khanun, and Wat Khanan—people from Ang Thong, Lopburi, Mueang In, Mueang Phrom, Mueang Sing, Mueang San, and Mueang Suphan<sup>89</sup> take paddy by boats, large and small, to moor and sell there. Villagers around those three *wat* have set up mills to mill the rice for sale to people of the capital and to liquor distillers. In the “junk season” they mill rice to sell as provisions for the Chinese on junks.

(t4) Boats from the region of Rahaeng and Tak, and hawk-tail boats from Phetchabun Nayom<sup>90</sup> transport lac, benzoin, thick iron wire,<sup>91</sup> Lom<sup>92</sup> and Loei iron, Namphi<sup>93</sup> iron, torches,<sup>94</sup> rattan *chan*,<sup>95</sup> *yang* oil,<sup>96</sup> hill tobacco, hide, rhino horn, and goods according to the nature of this place and that. The boats moor to sell from the mouth of Betel Garden Canal right up to Wat Jao Phanangchoeng.

<sup>84</sup> ผ้าตราง, assumed to be a contraction of ตาตราง.

<sup>85</sup> สายบัว; possibly a mistake for ลายบัว, *lai bua*, “lotus pattern.”

<sup>86</sup> เก็บทอง, *kep thong*; maybe a mistake for เย็บทอง, *yep thong*, “sewn with gold.”

<sup>87</sup> ปูม; a fine, floral-patterned silk made by *ikat* weaving, originating from Gujarat where it is known as Patola silk. It came to Siam from Cambodia and was used by the king to present to nobles as a mark of rank.

<sup>88</sup> ทองพราย, *thong phrai*, perhaps “sparkling gold;” probably an alloy of some sort.

<sup>89</sup> Instead of this list of places, *APA* has “from the vicinity of Wiset Chaichan.” Mueang In is now Inburi. Other names convert in the same way.

<sup>90</sup> นายม, formerly a twin town of Phetchabun, now a tambon 25 kilometers to the south down the Pasak River.

<sup>91</sup> เหล็กหางกุ้ง, “shrimp-tail metal,” a thick kind of iron wire, as distinct from a thin type, เหล็กหนวดกุ้ง, “shrimp-whisker” metal.

<sup>92</sup> Probably Lomsak.

<sup>93</sup> A mine in Uttaradit, believed to have a protective spirit that ensures swords made with metal from the mine render their owner invulnerable and invisible to their enemies.

<sup>94</sup> ใต้; but ไต in *APA*.

<sup>95</sup> หวายชัน, same in *APA*; possibly torches made from oily rattan.

<sup>96</sup> From the ยาง tree, *Dipterocarpus alatus*, gurjun.

(t5) At Kaja Whirlpool Village, Chinese, Khaek, and Cham anchor boats from the south with beam of three fathoms or ten cubits<sup>97</sup> and sell sand sugar, gravel sugar, sago, big and small seed, sulfur, red sandal, *takha rattan*,<sup>98</sup> cadjan and pandan leaves, and various things from the south.

(t6) Around there are rafts where Thai, Chinese, Khaek *thet*,<sup>99</sup> and Khaek Cham traders sit in stalls and rafts to sell various goods on the city side of the river, from the mouth of Suwanthararam Canal down to the frontage of the Rear Palace,

(t7) and on the opposite bank from the boundary of Wat Jao Phanangchoeng to the boundary of Wat Phutthaisawan, and beyond sporadically along to the frontage of Wat Chai Watthanaram.

(t8) Many traders' rafts are moored on the western side of the river in rows all along from the mouth of Ironwood Canal to the frontage of Wat Khaek Takia<sup>100</sup> and beyond to the boundary of Wat Kut Bang Kaja opposite Wat Jao Phanangchoeng.

(t9) On the east side rafts are moored in rows from the end of Rian Island<sup>101</sup> up to Tiger Crossing Landing,<sup>102</sup> and crowds more up to the boundary of Wat Jao Phanangchoeng. By estimate, around the city of Ayutthaya the number of rafts used as both dwellings and shops is about twenty thousand—certainly no fewer.

(t10) In the monsoon season when the wind blows junks to the city, Chinese junk traders, Khaek sloop merchants, Farang clipper<sup>103</sup> traders, Gujarati Khaek traders, Surat Khaek, Khaek from Java and Malayu, Khaek *thet*, French, Farang Losong,<sup>104</sup> Dutch, Spanish, English, black Farang,<sup>105</sup> Langkuni Farang,<sup>106</sup> and island Khaek,<sup>107</sup> merchants in charge of junks, sloops, and clippers sail up and drop anchor at the end of the canal.<sup>108</sup> They carry goods up to deposit in buildings that they have bought or rented inside the walls of Ayutthaya, and open shops to sell goods according to type and language.

<sup>97</sup> ๓, *wa*; a fathom is around 2 meters. สอก, *sok*; a cubit is 50–60 centimeters. Each of these two expressions means around 6 meters. *APA* has 11 cubits.

<sup>98</sup> *Calamus tigrinus*, a low-quality cane used in furniture making.

<sup>99</sup> Possibly from western India, the Malabar coast. (W)

<sup>100</sup> ตะเกีย, *takia*; possibly derives from “Turk.” (W)

<sup>101</sup> เกาะเรียน, *ko rian*, 3 kilometers south of the city down the Chaophraya River.

<sup>102</sup> ท่าเรือข้าม, *tha suea kham*, 2.5 kilometers south of the city down the Chaophraya River.

<sup>103</sup> สลุป, *slup*, derived from Dutch and old French words for a small sailing vessel; กำปั่น, *kampan*, probably from a Tamil word, referring to a large seagoing sailing ship. (W)

<sup>104</sup> ฝรั่งเศส, derived from Chinese pronunciation of Luzon, referring to Spanish from the Philippines (W). Here *APA* also has ฝรั่งเศสเกาะ, *farang mak ko*, either “betel island” or Macao.

<sup>105</sup> Possibly from Timor, then under Portuguese rule. (W)

<sup>106</sup> Unidentified, possibly from Ceylon.

<sup>107</sup> From parts of the Indonesian archipelago other than Java. (W)

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps meaning Ban Thai Khu, which appears below (c40).

(t11) In front of the Shell Landing Gate, sea folk<sup>109</sup> traders moor boats to sell mussels, horse mussels, sea crabs, horseshoe crabs, and some grilled and fresh sea fish.

(t12) Khaek Jawa and Malay traders transport goods from the south including island betelnut, *takha rattan*,<sup>110</sup> cadjan and pandan leaves in boats with beam of ten cubits or three fathoms. They anchor and sell at the mouth of Cham Canal.

(t13) From the south, people from Yisan Village, Headland Village, Bang Tabun Village, and Bang Thalu Village<sup>111</sup> in Phetchaburi transport shrimp paste, fish sauce, salted crab, threadfin,<sup>112</sup> snapper, mackerel, and grilled stingray in boats with beam of six or seven cubits that they moor to trade around Wat Jao Phanangchoeng.<sup>113</sup>

(t14) People from Sawankhalok and the northern cities transport various goods in large swing-tail boats that they moor to trade along the river and in the large canal of Wat Mahathat<sup>114</sup> during the high-water season.

The total number of commercial sites outside the city wall is fifty-two.<sup>115</sup>

### Markets in the city

Within the walls of the city of Ayutthaya, there are various commercial and market areas, including fresh markets operating morning and evening,<sup>116</sup> and permanent markets in certain places, making a total of sixty-one markets.

(f1) At Earth Gate market in front of the palace is a fresh market.

(m1) At Boundary Landing there is a market selling betelnut and pan leaf, *samat betel*,<sup>117</sup> *song suai betel*,<sup>118</sup> and *miang*, wrapped for ordination ceremonies. There are also shops where they steam rice and make curry for selling to travelers coming and going and to those on royal service.

(f2) In this vicinity there is a fresh market called the Market in Front of Wat Tra.

<sup>109</sup> ชาวทะเล, *chao thale*.

<sup>110</sup> ตะค้า, *takha*, a pliable rattan used for binding.

<sup>111</sup> Ban Laem, Yisan, Tabun (ตะบูน, *Xylocarpus granatum*, cannonball mangrove), and Thalu (given as หลู่, Lu in *KLHW*, but Thalu in *APA*) are on the coast in the north of Phetchaburi and the adjacent part of Samut Songkhram.

<sup>112</sup> *Eleutheronema tetradactylum*.

<sup>113</sup> This location does not fit with the clockwise order. It may be a mistake for Wat Phutthaisawan.

<sup>114</sup> Probably Mahanak Canal running from the northwest corner of the city towards Wat Phukhaothong.

<sup>115</sup> In the original, the craft settlements and visiting traders are interleaved in a single listing. Here they have been separated, following Winai in *Phanna phumisathan*. The count of fifty-two covers both types.

<sup>116</sup> ตลาดของสดเช้าเย็น, *talat khong sot chao yen*. This term is used throughout this section, but henceforth is rendered in English simply as “fresh market.”

<sup>117</sup> หมากสมัด. Unknown. Not in *APA*.

<sup>118</sup> หมากของตรวย, possibly “in a beautiful wrapper.”

(m2) Lead Quarter Road market sells fishnet weights, weights and hooks for prawn, and other lead articles, along with cotton, white thread, red thread, and green thread.

(f3) There is also a fresh market at Lead Quarter Road.

(m3) On Coconut Village Road, shops sell peeled ripe coconut, soft coconut, baked coconut, and coconut husk.

(m4) On the road in the Yellow-Cloth Quarter there are shops selling triple robes, *jiwon* and *sabong*,<sup>119</sup> yellow and white, of various types.

(m5) On Drum Quarter Road, there are shops selling *thap*<sup>120</sup> drums, *thon*<sup>121</sup> drums, *rerai* pipes, *pikaeo* flutes, *jangnong*, *phlia*,<sup>122</sup> *khloi* flutes, and chests of *ulok*, *tabaek*,<sup>123</sup> and jackfruit wood for keeping cloth, as well as paper elephants and horses, cradles, spirit houses, *jawet*<sup>124</sup> inscribed with divine images, bamboo mats, and dolls of barb fish and water-skaters made from palm fiber.<sup>125</sup>

(m6) Along Sweet Quarter Road, locals make sweets and sit in shops to sell *chamot* sweets,<sup>126</sup> cartwheel sweets,<sup>127</sup> three pals sweets,<sup>128</sup> touchstone sweets,<sup>129</sup> crunchy sweets, and stamped sweets.

(m7) On Salver Quarter Road, shops sell *talum*<sup>130</sup> salvers with mother-of-pearl, *talum* salvers with glass and shiny mother-of-pearl, *talum* salvers in gold pattern, lacquer trays, ordinary trays, and betel trays.

(m8) On Charcoal Quarter Road there are shops for fruit, orange, banana, and various inner garden and outer garden goods.

(f4) There is also a fresh market at Charcoal Quarter.

<sup>119</sup> *Jiwon* and *sabong* are two of the three robes worn by a monk.

<sup>120</sup> Probably from *tabla*, an Indian hand drum.

<sup>121</sup> A single-faced drum; the word probably comes from the Indian drum, *tholak*.

<sup>122</sup> จังหน้อง, *jangnong*, usually จ้องหน้อง, and เพลี้ย, *phlia*, simple blown instruments rather like a Jew's harp.

<sup>123</sup> ตะแบก, *tabaek*, *Lagerstroemia calyculata/cuspidate* (Lythraceae).

<sup>124</sup> จะเรีจ, *jawet*; a small sheet of wood carved or painted with the shape of a deity, placed in a shrine.

<sup>125</sup> Probably they are dolls made to hang on infants' cradles. ใบลาน, *bailan*, is the fiber of the *Corypha umbraculifera* or similar palms, used in making palm-leaf manuscripts.

<sup>126</sup> ขนมชะมด; coconut rolled in sugar, coated with flour, and fried.

<sup>127</sup> กงเกวียน, *kong kwian*; paste made from green or yellow beans, flour, palm or coconut sugar, coconut milk, and duck's eggs, shaped like a wheel and deep-fried.

<sup>128</sup> สามเกลอ, *sam kloea*; casings made from a paste of flour, beans, and coconut milk are stuffed with grated coconut, pressed together in threes (often colored in three colors), and deep-fried.

<sup>129</sup> หินฝนทอง, *hin fong thong*; a round sweet with a dimpled top filled with some grated coconut, named for similarity to a goldsmith's touchstone.

<sup>130</sup> ตะลุม, *talum*; a footed tray or salver, generally used for display.

(m9) At Borikan Market in front of Wat Mahathat, shops sell Tenasserim mats, Khaek mats, monk's eight articles,<sup>131</sup> and items for ordination and *kathin* presentation including almsbowls, bowl slings, brooms, palm-leaf fans, and pedestal bowls.

(m10) On Silver Bowl Quarter Road, there are shops selling bowls, *jok* metal cups, *talap* caselets, ornaments of silver and black nielloware, wrist and ankle bangles, lotus hairpins,<sup>132</sup> *krajap-ping*,<sup>133</sup> chili ornaments, *khunphet* linga,<sup>134</sup> gold chains and breastchains, *khi rak*,<sup>135</sup> and wire.<sup>136</sup>

(m11) On Gold Quarter Road, there are shops selling gold leaf, silver leaf, and *nak*<sup>137</sup> leaf.

(f5) There is a fresh market at Goldbeaters' Road.

(m12) Medicine Quarter Road has shops selling foreign and Thai medical substances of all kinds.

(m13) At the western end of Chikun Bridge, Khaek sit in shops selling wrist and ankle bangles, hairpins, rings, *maklam*-head rings,<sup>138</sup> *luk kaeo* rings, bead rings, and all kinds of ornaments of brass and lead.<sup>139</sup>

(m14) On Pink Quarter Road there are shops selling pink-cloth girdles, girdles of wrinkled chicken-skin silk, silk from Kai-eng and Pakthao,<sup>140</sup> ordinary girdles, and ordinary printed cloth.

(m15) At Wood Quarter and Iron Quarter, adjacent areas on opposite sides of the road, in one portion there are shops selling silk *khruai* robes,<sup>141</sup> five-colored silk pieces, Lao silk, Khmer silk, and Khorat silk. On one side of the road, shops sell knives, machetes, axes, hoes, spades, large machetes, topping machetes,<sup>142</sup> nails, fastenings, bow drills, augers, and various sharp metal goods.

<sup>131</sup> อัฐบริวาร, more usually อัฐบริวาร, *atthaborikan*; consisting of a food bowl, lower garment, outer robe, shoulder scarf, razor, needle, girdle, and water filter.

<sup>132</sup> ปิ่นชั้น, *pinsan*; a hairpin with a lotus decoration in gold and jewels.

<sup>133</sup> กระจับปิง *jap-ping*, a protective ornament on a chain or cord tied around an infant girl's hips.

<sup>134</sup> A wooden phallus worn as a protective device.

<sup>135</sup> ชีร์ก; probably raw lac for making lacquer.

<sup>136</sup> *APA* also has *phop* footed cups, waist chains, bangles, hairpins, topknot pins, and chili charms.

<sup>137</sup> นาก, an alloy in various blends of gold, silver, iron, zinc, and copper with an appearance similar to silver, known among European traders as *tutenague*, from a Marathi word.

<sup>138</sup> มะกล่ำ, *maklam*, is a plant with red berries, so possibly this is a ring with a cluster of red stones.

<sup>139</sup> *APA* also has กระดิ่งทองเข็ง, *kradueng*, metal clappers, and *kong choeng* (unknown).

<sup>140</sup> Kai-eng is Kaifeng, a textile center in Henan province, northeast China. Pakthao may also be a Chinese textile center, but is unidentified.

<sup>141</sup> ครุย, *khruai*, a light robe worn as a sign of office, especially on ceremonial occasions.

<sup>142</sup> พร้าหวดคีตะตัด, *phra huat sisa tat*, "head-slashing machete;" a large knife for cutting the tops of bamboo, for example. (W)



(f6) There is a fresh market called Twins Market in the Na Khu Bridge quarter.

(m16) On Mattress Village Road shops sell mattresses, palliasses,<sup>143</sup> cushions, pillows, mosquito nets, curtains, *ta-thong* cloth,<sup>144</sup> eel-innards cloth,<sup>145</sup> and *phakhaowa*.<sup>146</sup>

(m17) In Green Cloth Quarter behind the jail there are shop selling green shirts; white shirts; red and pink shirts; Japanese shirts; *chik-ok* (split-chest) shirts; headcloths; leggings in various colors;<sup>147</sup> betel bags in wool and silk;<sup>148</sup> betel bags in patterned cloth used on royal service, only by men, for keeping betel to eat; wool pouches for betelnut embroidered in gold and embellished with glass; ordinary betel pouches; pouches for tobacco embroidered in gold embellished with glass; ordinary tobacco pouches; and pan leaf holders in various colors. Merchants there bring cloth from the Khaek and Cham of Wat Kaeo Fa and Wat Lotchong to sell at shops in the market, which is called Betel Bag or Green-Cloth Market.

(f7) On Talaengkaeng<sup>149</sup> Road there is a fresh market called the Market in Front of the Jail.

(m18) On the road in front of the Shrine of the Lord of Darkness,<sup>150</sup> there are shops selling heads and skeletons of spinning wheels for cotton.

(m19) At the top of Silversmiths Village Road,<sup>151</sup> there are shops selling hand-gins for cotton,<sup>152</sup> lacquer, and birdbeak stones to spark fire.

(f8) At the end of the road there is a fresh market in front of the Royal Warehouse,<sup>153</sup> all part of the same market.

(m20) On White-clay<sup>154</sup> Quarter Road beside Wat Phra Ngam there are shops selling white-clay powder made from old marble, and white, yellow, and black white-clay powder.

<sup>143</sup> เมาะ, *mo*, a child's mattress, loosely stuffed with kapok. (W)

<sup>144</sup> ผ้าตาโถง, *pha ta thong*, probably a cloth with large checks. (W)

<sup>145</sup> ผ้าใต้ปลาไหล, *pha sai pla lai*. In *KWPS*, last word is *mai*, making it silk fish-innards cloth. Unidentified.

<sup>146</sup> ผ้าขาววา, more usually *phakhaoma*. Originally it was a Persian term for a waist-sash, adopted into Thai and distorted in sound; now a general-purpose cloth, often used for bathing, but formerly of higher quality and status.

<sup>147</sup> In *APA* the leggings are green and white, some of velvet.

<sup>148</sup> In *APA*, the bags are of velvet.

<sup>149</sup> ตะแลงแกง, "four ways;" a crossroads close to the center of the city, also used as the execution ground. Currently it is the junction of Pa-tong and Pa-thon roads.

<sup>150</sup> พระกาฬ, *phrakan*; one of the guardian spirits of the city. Sometimes he is identified as an assistant of *phra yom*, Yama, the god of death, and sometimes as *phra yom* himself.

<sup>151</sup> *APA* has: in Silversmiths Quarter and beyond in Yellow-Cloth Quarter and Coconut Quarter, in front of Wat Paphai, and beyond in the quarter in front of the Phrakhlang's house.

<sup>152</sup> หีบฝ้าย, *hip fai*, tool to extract seeds from cotton fiber.

<sup>153</sup> พระคลังสินค้า, *phrakhlang sinkha*, a warehouse for royal trade goods.

<sup>154</sup> ดินสอ, *dinso*, a powder made from white clay, used in writing and also applied to the body like talcum for cooling and whitening.

(m21) On Fishnet Village Road there are shops selling nets, flax cradles, cotton-thread cradles, heddles,<sup>155</sup> and wire.

(f9) There is a fresh market in Great Khaek Village by Wat Am Mae, called Chinese Market.

(m22) On Brahman Village Road in front of Wat Chang there is a big market selling *krabung* wicker baskets, *trakra* baskets, *kalo* (round and thin wicker) baskets, *khru* (dammar-varnished bamboo) buckets, rope, woven mats, and all kinds of basketry.

(m23) On Chikun Road there are shops selling various fireworks, along with distilled and fermented liquor.

(f10) At the *sala* beside the giant swing is a big fresh market called Giant Swing Market in front of the old Brahman shrine.

(m24) On Krachi Road craftsmen make Buddha images of gold, silver, and *nak*, and cast with brass or bronze in Buddha-Making Market.

(m25) On Khanom Jin<sup>156</sup> Road, Chinese shops and workshops make *khanom bia*, *khanom ko*,<sup>157</sup> *jan-ap*,<sup>158</sup> and dried *khanom jin*.

(m26) On Wat Noi Village Road by Chinese Gate there is a market called the Chinese Gate Market selling brass-plated and mercury-plated<sup>159</sup> goods.

(m27) On Nai Kai Road from the foot of Chinese Gate Bridge along to the foot of Nai Gai Gate Bridge is a major market. There are Chinese brick shops on both sides of the main road. Thai and Chinese sit at shops selling goods from junks—brassware, white gold, tiles, pots, bowls, *phrae*<sup>160</sup> silk of various colors of Chinese type, and silk of various colors, and metal tools. All kind of goods from China, including food and fruit, are displayed for sale in shops in the market.

(f11) There is also a fresh market selling pork, duck, chicken, sea fish, freshwater fish, crab, and various shellfish of many types and descriptions. It is the biggest market in the city, called the Great Market of the Tail of the City, in the Nai Kai Quarter.

(m28) On Three Horses Road from the foot of Nai Kai Bridge eastward to the corner of the city known as Sarapha Corner, Chinese have set up workshops to make *jan-op* and dried Chinese sweets of various types. Chinese craftsmen make and sell wooden barrels with collars of wood or metal, large and small, of various

<sup>155</sup> เพลด้ายตะกอ, *ple dai tako*; the part of a loom for separating threads in the waft.

<sup>156</sup> Given here as จีบ, *jip*, but on the next line and in APA as *jin*; a type of noodle.

<sup>157</sup> ขนมเป็ยขนมไก่; two similar types of flapjack, the first with stuffing and the second without.

<sup>158</sup> จันอับ, *jan-ap*; “chow chow,” a Chinese sweet made with flour, bean, sesame, sugar, and oil, left to dry to a brittle texture.

<sup>159</sup> ปรอด, possibly ปรอท, *prot*, mercury.

<sup>160</sup> แพร, originally a term for Chinese silk, later used for silk in general.

types, that city folk buy for various uses. They also make *nang loeng* water jars and various metal articles for sale, and beat metal in various shapes to order for city folk.

(f12) There is also a fresh market at the back of the market from the head of the metal workshop up to the tunnel gate<sup>161</sup> at the ferry landing across to Wat Jao Phanangchoeng. This Chinese market in the Three Horses Quarter is called the Little Market and is connected to the Big Market in Nai Kai quarter.

(m29) On Field Quarter Road by Wat Kho<sup>162</sup> and adjacent Wat Krabue, from olden times Mon, Burmese, and Khaek slaughtered ducks and chickens for sale in great quantities. When King Borommakot<sup>163</sup> ascended the throne, crowned as the thirty-second king of Krungthep Mahanakhon Bowon Thawarawadi Si Ayutthaya, he took pity on animals of the world that had to die, and commanded the enactment of a law forbidding slaughter of ducks and chickens for sale by those who believed in Buddhism, but allowing non-believers to slaughter according to the fate of the animal. This market is called Wat Ngua Khwai market.

(f13) On Jao Jan Gate Road is a fresh market called Jao Jan Market.

(f14) At the Tower of the Jewels of Victory, there is a fresh market.

(m30) In Bench Workshop Road behind the Tower of the Jewels of Victory, Chinese make and sell tables, benches, and chairs woven from rattan.

(m31) Around Wat Fang near the Janbowon Palace<sup>164</sup> there are shops and workshops making and selling heads and skeletons of spinning wheels, and chests for cotton.

(f15) There is also a fresh market called the Wat Fang Market.

(f16) On Earth Gate Road at the Janbowon Palace there is a fresh market called the Front Palace Earth Gate Market.

(f17) At the Elephant Landing Gate of the Janbowon Palace there is a fresh market called the Front Palace Elephant Landing Market.

(f18) On Wat Song Road there is a fresh market.

(m32) At Sand Landing, shops sell *sompak* cloth,<sup>165</sup> cloth with *phum* silk borders, Gujarat patterned cloths, *yammawat* lower-cloths,<sup>166</sup> bordered *sompak*,

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<sup>161</sup> ประตูช่องกุต, *pratu chong kut*; a slit in the wall large enough for someone to walk through. The only surviving example, at the southwest corner beside Wat Jin and opposite Wat Phanangchoeng, is four cubits and one span wide and over five cubits high. (B)

<sup>162</sup> In *APA* called Wat Ua.

<sup>163</sup> Reigned 1733–1758.

<sup>164</sup> Often called the Front Palace, now known as Chan(dra)kasem.

<sup>165</sup> สมปัก, a form of lower-cloth especially for nobles attending audience, generally made by seaming two narrow strips together resulting in a cloth much larger than normal, around 160 centimeters wide, and requiring a special and more elaborate form of wearing with pattern showing on both ends.

<sup>166</sup> ย้ามะหวาด, a printed cotton from Ahmedabad. There are several explanations of the origin of the name, including a distortion of Ahmedabad, a Persian word for a wool fabric, and an old Thai term for purple dye.

striped *sompak*, and prostration cloths, big and small. When officials have no time to fetch a cloth to change, they have to buy here to enter in audience.

(f19) There is also a fresh market known as the Nobles' Landing Market.

(f20) At the eastern end of Elephant Bridge there is a fresh market in front of Wat Khlong.

(f21) At the western end of Elephant Bridge there is a fresh market.

(m33) Behind Wat Nok and in front of Wat Phong there are shops of Thai and Mon selling bowls, trays, salvers, big and small, and all kinds of brassware.

(f22) There is also a fresh market called Mon Market.

(m34) In front of Wat Mahathat is a *sala* with five rooms where women vendors come to sell secondhand<sup>167</sup> knives, machetes, axes, and small metal goods. Chinese sit in rows in front of the *sala* to exchange various things. This market in front of Wat Mahathat is called Exchange Market.

(f23) The Inner and Outer Customs<sup>168</sup> Quarter has a fresh market known as Jao Phrom Market.

(m35) On Book Quarter Road from Wat Phraram up to the city pillar shrine and in front of Wat Lao and Wat Pa Fai, there are shops selling books of white and black paper.

(f24) Along the canal behind Wat Rakhang there is a fresh market.

(f25) On Ramhei Bridge Road to the east there is a fresh market called Ramhei Market.

(f26) At the mouth of Tho Canal to the west, from the frontage of Wat Bowon-photi<sup>169</sup> beside the wall of the silk workshop along to Trumpeter Village, there is a fresh market known as Yot Market.

(f27) At Goose Gate Road there is a fresh market.

(f28) Beyond Yot Market there is a fresh market called the Corner Market.

(f29) On the road in front of Satkop Gate<sup>170</sup> there is a fresh market.

(f30) Along one bank of the canal there is fresh market called Lem Market.

(f31) In front of Wat Sing is fresh market called Lion's Head Market.

(f32) In front of Wat Ket beside the Mahachai granary<sup>171</sup> is a fresh market called Head Granary<sup>172</sup> Market.

<sup>167</sup> ชำรุด, *chamrut*, "damaged."

<sup>168</sup> In this quarter were the offices of the internal and external customs departments.

<sup>169</sup> In APA given as Wat Braphok (บระโปก) and corrected on the manuscripts to Woraphoti (วรโพธิ).

<sup>170</sup> Spelled variously as สัตคบ (APA), สัตรกบ (KKLHW), สัตกบ (KKLWS). Phraya Boran (APA, 51, note 26) notes that in the chronicles it is called ทายกบ, *thai kop*, "rear of the frog."

<sup>171</sup> Along the canal between Wat Suan Luang and Wat Sopsawan, now in the army depot. (B)

<sup>172</sup> หัวฉาง, *hua chang*.

(m36) On Lao Village Road there is a market called the Flower Market selling sundries and fresh flowers.

(m37) On Iron Quarter Road at Wat Pa Fai there is a market selling sundries and metal goods, knives, and machetes.

(f33) There is also a fresh market called Head of Road Market.

(m38) On Victory Palace Road, smiths make brass bowls, big and small.<sup>173</sup>

(f34) There is also a fresh market, called the Victory Palace Market.

(m39) On Chakrai Yai Road, people buy bamboo and make walls of houses for sale, and there are shops selling Surat patterned cloth, white cloth and *chalang* cloth.<sup>174</sup>

(f35) There is also a fresh market called Patterned-Cloth Market.

(m40) On Fan Quarter Road they make and sell fans from sugar palm leaves, both round and flat, big and small.

(f36) There is also a fresh market called Fan Village Market.

(f37) On the road at the foot of Khun Lok Bridge, in front of Wat Kaeo Fa, there is a fresh market called Khun Lok Market.

(f38) On the road at the foot of Kaeo Hua Phai Bridge, there is a fresh market called Hua Phai Kaeo Bridge Market.

There is a total of twenty-one markets with shops, and forty fresh markets, making a grand total of sixty-one markets within the city walls.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> In *APA*: they buy copper to make brassware, and hammer bowls, large and small, for sale.

<sup>174</sup> Possibly cloth from Thalang, Phuket.

<sup>175</sup> The list names sixty-seven places of which twenty-seven are fresh markets alone, twenty-nine have shops alone, and eleven have both shops and fresh market.

## APPENDIX A

## Translation of place names

Part of my argument is that place names reveal the self-image of the city. Hence, many have been translated in the article and are given here in original form. Quarter (ป่า, *pa*), village (บ้าน, *ban*), and vicinity (ย่าน, *yan*) are used seemingly interchangeably. *Wat* names should perhaps be translated in the same way, but are more awkward.

- Alms Bowl Village, บ้านบาตร, *ban bat*  
 Attap Quarter, ป่าจาก, *pa jak*  
 Bench Workshop Road, ถนนโรงเกี๋ยง/เตี๋ยง, *thanon rong kriang/tiang*  
 Betel Bag Market, ตลาดถุงหมาก, *talat thung mak*  
 Betel Garden Canal, คลองสวนพลู, *khlong suan phlu*  
 Book Quarter, ป่าสมุด, *pa samut*  
 Boundary Landing, ท่าชัน, *tha khan*  
 Canal-End Village, บ้านท้ายคู, *ban thai khu*,  
 Cart Hall Village, บ้านศาลาเกี๋ยง, *ban sala kwian*  
 Cham Canal, คูจาม, *khu jam*  
 Charcoal Quarter, ป่าถ่าน, *pa than*  
 Chinese Village, บ้านจีน, *ban jin*  
 Coconut Village, บ้านมะพร้าว, *ban maphrao*  
 Crying Wood Canal, คลองคูไม้ร้อง, *khlong khu mai rong*  
 Drum Quarter, ป่าโพน, *pa thon*  
 Earth Gate, ประตูดิน, *pratu din*  
 Elephant Landing, ท่าช้าง  
 Fan Quarter, ป่าพัด, *pa phat*  
 Field Quarter, ป่าทุ่ง, *pa thung*  
 Field Quarter, ป่าทุ่ง, *pa thung*  
 Fishnet Village, บ้านแห, *ban hae*  
 Flask Quarter, ป่าโคณฑี, *pa khonthi*  
 Flat Landing, ท่าราบ, *tha rap*  
 Gold Quarter, ป่าทอง, *pa thong*  
 Goldbeaters' Road, ถนนตีทอง, *thanon ti thong*  
 Green-Cloth Quarter, ป่าผ้าเขียว, *pa khiao*  
 Herd Landing, ท่าโขลง, *tha khlong*  
 Howdah Workshop Village, บ้านโรงกูป, *ban rong kup*  
 Iron Quarter, ป่าเหล็ก, *pa lek*  
 Ironwood Canal, คลองตะเคียน, *khlong takhian*

Khmer Wat Servants' Village, บ้านเขมรโยมพระ, *ban khmen yom phra*  
 Lead Quarter, ป่าตะกั่ว, *pa takua*  
 Lime Sala Village, บ้านศาลาปูน  
 Lime Village, บ้านปูน, *ban pun*  
 Lotus Pond Canal, คลองสระบัว, *khlong sa bua*  
 Mattress Village, บ้านฟูก, *ban fuk*  
 Medicine Quarter, ป่ายา, *pa ya*  
 Nobles' Landing, ท่าขุนนาง, *tha khun nang*  
 Oil Press Village, บ้านสกัดน้ำมัน, *ban sakat namman*  
 Patterned-Cloth Canal, คลองผ้าลาย, *khlong pha lai*  
 Pink (Cloth) Quarter, ป่า (ผ้า) ชมพู, *pa pha chomphu*  
 Potters' Village, บ้านทำหม้อ, *ban tham mo*  
 Rice Canal, คลองเข้าสาร, *khlong khaosan*  
 Salt Canal Village, บ้านคลองเกลือ  
 Salver Quarter, ป่ากรียบ/เตียบ, *pa kriap/tiap*  
 Sand Landing, ท่าทราย  
 Sea Vietnamese Village, บ้านญวนทะเล, *ban yuan thale*  
 Sharp-Corner Fort Village, บ้านป้อมหัวแหลม, *ban pom hua laem*  
 Shell Landing, ท่าหอย, *tha hoi*  
 Silver Bowl Quarter, ป่าขันเงิน, *pa khan ngoen*  
 Silversmiths' Village, บ้านช่างทำเงิน, *ban chang tham ngoen*  
 Sugar-Palm Sweet Village, บ้านขนมตาล, *ban khanom tan*  
 Sweets Quarter, ป่าขนม, *pa khanom*  
 Teachers' Road, ถนนบัณฑิตย, *thanon bandit*  
 Three Horses Village, บ้านสามม้า, *ban sam ma*  
 Tile Village, บ้านกระเบื้อง, *ban krabueng*  
 Trumpeter Village, บ้านชาวตร, *ban chao trae*  
 Victory Palace, วังชัย, *wang chai*  
 White-clay Quarter, ป่าดินสอ, *pa dinso*  
 Wood Quarter, ป่าไหม, *pa mai*  
 Yellow-Cloth Quarter, ป่าผ้าเหลือง, *pa pha lueang*



APPENDIX B. Map of Ayutthaya, showing locations of markets and craft settlements



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