

**Patani Through Foreign Eyes:
Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries**

Edited By Daniel PERRET & Jorge SANTOS ALVES

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Introduction

DANIEL PERRET & JORGE SANTOS ALVES***

1. The objectives of this publication

The history of the kingdom of Patani, on the eastern coast of the Thai peninsula along the South China Sea, has attracted scholarly interest for nearly two centuries. While the timing and circumstances surrounding its emergence remain unclear, the important economic role played by this kingdom in Asian trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the production of contemporary foreign written sources that unfortunately remain difficult to access. It is clear that these sources mainly provide information on the activity of foreign merchants. Furthermore, the impact of foreigners in Patani cannot be measured by the quantity of available sources.

Nevertheless, analyzed with scrutiny, they also provide valuable information on the history of the kingdom itself that complement indigenous sources and broaden our knowledge about this economic, religious and cultural crossroads.

The first objective of this book is to provide the original texts of a number of Iberian and Dutch sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their translations into English. Some of them are supplemented by old translations into French or German. This book also includes an important Dutch account from the beginning of the seventeenth century, of which only an English translation seems to remain. The majority of these sources are first-hand accounts of the kingdom of Patani. A third of the Iberian sources

* École française d'Extrême-Orient / French School of Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur.

** Instituto de Estudos Asiáticos/Institute of Asian Studies, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon.

presented here are unpublished and only a handful of the 25 documents have ever been published in English translation. Only one of the six Dutch sources published in this volume has been recently translated into English.

The second objective is to provide an overview of research on these two centuries of the Patani kingdom since Thomas John Newbold wrote the first lineaments of this history in his *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca* published in London in 1839.

The third objective is to offer the first real synthesis on Patani's place in the Luso-Asian networks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The fourth objective is to use the various corpora of foreign and indigenous sources published to date to try to shed new light on Patani's political, social and cultural history during this period.

2. Presentation of the sources published in this volume

a) Iberian Sources

This section begins by presenting the already published Portuguese and Spanish sources, or those written in Spanish, with some edited on various different occasions and, sometimes, even translated into English. They all constitute part of, whether in their entirety or as excerpts, the documents published in this volume.

The first is the *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (?-1583). Mendes Pinto's book is one of the first and most fascinating guides to Asia put together by a European in the pre-modern era. The *Peregrinação* is a compilation of the legacy of information and experiences built up by Portuguese, Luso-Asians and as well as Asians across a large swathe of maritime Asia available in the mid-16th century. The depth and scope of this legacy of information and experience is further compounded by the subsequent validation of the bulk of its contents by European and Asian sources. This legacy also emerges in the letters written by Mendes Pinto from various different parts of Asia, including his passage through Patani. The first edition of the *Peregrinação* was released in Lisbon (1614) and with a complete and annotated English translation of the text produced by Rebecca Catz (Pinto - Catz, ed. & transl. 1989). From the *Peregrinação*, we include here the translation of chapter 35, relative to the events of 1539 and from Mendes Pinto himself, there is an excerpt from a letter dated to 1555 and located in Macau.

In the list of Portuguese sources already translated into English, there follows a guide to the conquest of Patani by Portuguese and Spanish forces, informed by four Portuguese traders or officials, and compiled by Dom João Ribeiro Gaio (? -1601), Bishop of Malacca (1578-1601). A senior ecclesiastic dignitary, Ribeiro Gaio was a major enthusiast regarding the union of the military powers brought about by the Dual Monarchy (Portugal and Spain) within the context of the Asian geo-strategic scenario, in particular for East

Asia. In 1584 Ribeiro Gaio composed a series of plans to conquer states of the region, including Patani. The manuscript of the *Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieuves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican* makes up part of that referred to as the Boxer Codex, deposited in the Lilly Library (Indiana University).¹ This was itself for the first time translated and published in English in 2016 (Souza & Turley, eds., 2016).

Within this same documental typology, there are the reports and information gathered in the field, in Asia, but in this case never translated into English, spanning a range of different Portuguese and Spanish sources that we present here in chronological order. The first, dated to 1534, is a letter written by the Portuguese Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo whilst in Guangzhou. Vieira and Calvo were companions during a long period of captivity in Guangzhou, during a time of highly tense relations between the Portuguese and the Chinese authorities that broke out in 1521. This tension started following the death of the Emperor Zhengde (1505-1521) and would only come to a close in the 1530s, probably in 1533, with the re-establishing of trading relations.

There follows an account of the voyage of Ruy López de Villalobos, departing from Mexico in 1541 with the objective of establishing a permanent Spanish presence in Southeast Asia, in particular in the islands that he baptised as the Philippines. Villalobos was never to complete this voyage, having been taken prisoner by the Portuguese in Ambon (1544) where he was to die in captivity. This travel log was written by García de Escalante Alvarado, the expedition overseer and would have been completed following his arrival in Lisbon in 1548. There is, however, no complete or partial translation of this work into English.

In this category, we also have the *Relacion de algunas cosas particulares que vimos y entendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares*, produced by the Spanish soldier Francisco de Dueñas and dated to 1580. Francisco de Dueñas was one of the military figures accompanying the first missionary expedition undertaken by the Spanish Franciscans to China in 1579. It was on this occasion that he wrote this report that we transcribe the excerpt related to Patani (see document no. 18). Francisco de Dueñas survived this expedition and returned to Manila, where he remained until at least 1583.²

In another group of sources, we encounter some sixteenth and seventeenth century Portuguese chroniclers of Asia. We may begin with those who lived in Asia. In particular, Gaspar Correia (1492?-1563), having arrived in India in 1512, he was secretary to Governor Afonso de Albuquerque (1512-1515)

1. We would here express our most sincere thanks to Jurgis Elisonas for the provision of a photographic copy of this manuscript in 2001.

2. Ollé 2000: 96, 118.

and later occupied various administrative positions in the *Estado da Índia*, above all on the West Indian Ocean. His *Lendas da Índia*, in all likelihood written between 1551 and 1561, provides a chronicle of the main events under the Portuguese governors and viceroys through to 1550. This text particularly reveals the great capacity of Correia to observe, inquire (including of Asian informants) and describe many different Asian societies and not only the Portuguese presence in Asia. The first full edition of *Lendas da Índia* dates to 1858 and has thus far had no more than very partial translation of only a few excerpts into English.

The other overseas Portuguese chronicler that we publish an excerpt from is João de Barros (c.1496-1570) and his work *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente*, which became better known under the title of *Décadas* (Decades). João de Barros was a senior figure in the Portuguese royal administration and a tireless collector of information, objects and books (some of which were in Asian languages) about Asia that he never had the opportunity to visit. Barros was a thinker and an advocate proclaiming the “Portugality” and the expansion of the Christian faith and empire. The publication of his *Asia* began in 1552 and was only concluded after his death by João Baptista Lavanha, who published it in Madrid (1615). This work has never been fully translated into English and here we publish the translation of one part of *Década* IV, book IX, chapter XV.

More broadly divulger of the Portuguese presence in Asia, the work of Manuel de Faria e Sousa (1590-1649), *Ásia Portuguesa*, received its first publication in Lisbon (between 1663 and 1674) and has never been translated into English. From this work, we translated a short passage covering the only contents of direct and immediate interest to the history of the Sultanate of Patani and its relations with the Portuguese.

In order to complete the framework of the Portuguese overseas chroniclers, we have the religious viewpoint from the Jesuit of Brazilian origin Francisco de Sousa (1630-1713). Sousa was born in Bahia and went to study in Goa and joining the Company of Jesus. He remained in India through to his death and his *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo*, published in Lisbon in 1710, is a compilation of a great deal of the information gathered and collated by the Jesuit network spanning Asia in the seventeenth century as well as a great deal of data built up through correspondence among the priests from around the mid-16th century. There is no full or even partial translation of this work into English.

As regards the archive documents, the overwhelming majority have never before been published either in Portuguese or Spanish and never mind any translation into English. These documents are held by the Torre do Tombo National Archive and the Ajuda Library, both in Lisbon. Those already subject to publication came out in documental series published in Goa still during the Portuguese colonial period between the closing decades of the nineteenth

century and the mid-20th century under the supervision of the archive specialists Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809-1879) and Panduronga Pissurlencar (1894-1969). We refer to the *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* and the *Assentos do Conselho de Estado* respectively. As regards the remainder of the archive documents, now translated and published in English,³ they are the letters from soldiers, high ranking officers, governors or viceroys dispatched to the kings of Portugal or to other senior dignitaries in the *Estado da Índia*. Finally, we have a highly interesting copy of a letter from King Filipe III of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, written in 1637.

b) Dutch sources

Six seventeenth century Dutch sources are presented with their translation into English. The seventh Dutch source is particular in that the original text seems to have been lost. There is only one old translation into English that has already been published, which we are taking up here because of its great interest. These seven texts cover the period 1601-1632.

The earliest text is Admiral Jacob van Neck's diary, written by himself⁴ during the fourth Dutch maritime expedition to Southeast Asia. Leaving in June 1600 with six ships, the second fleet of this expedition, led by the Admiral, visited several ports in Southeast Asia. This is the first time that Dutch people have visited Patani (1601). They know that it is an important market place, where precious stones, camphor and various species of woods are available.⁵ Jacob van Neck arrived in Patani in November 1601 and left in August 1602. This manuscript is kept at the National Archives of the Netherlands in Den Haag.⁶

A German translation of this diary was published in 1606 by the De Bry brothers in a compilation of travel accounts accompanied by a volume of illustrations including four images illustrating the stopover at Patani.⁷ The following year, the same publisher released a Latin version by the same translator, Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig. A summary in English appeared in 1617, in one of the volumes of *Relations of the World* published by Samuel Purchas (p. 561-562). It was not until 1980 that the original text of Jacob van

3. With the exception of documents no. 4 and 10, published only in their original Portuguese version (Alves 1999: 253-258, 264-270), and no. 12, 13, 14, published in Thomaz 1998: 143-147, 165-171, 172-174.

4. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 93.

5. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 6, 100.

6. Den Haag archives: 1.04.01: 115. *Reisverhaal, gesteld door admiraal Jacob van Neck voor Bewindhebberen. 1600 juni 28 - 1603 juli 15 1 deel* (<http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/ead/index/eadid/1.04.01/node/c01%3A0.c02%3A1.c03%3A4.c04%3A1.c05%3A5.c06%3A1./open/c01%3A2.#c01:0.c02:1.c03:3>). The diary is written in Van Neck's hand until he arrives in Java. Then, including during his stay in Patani, he dictated the text to a secretary (Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 165).

7. Tiele 1867: 165.

Neck's journal was published.⁸ A partial translation into English by Anthony Reid of the Patani section was published in 2013. A new partial English translation of this section is offered in this volume simultaneously with the German translation by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig.

During the same expedition, a second diary was written by the *ziekentrooster* (chaplain) Roelof Roelofs.⁹ This text was first published in 1644 by Jan Jansz. in volume 1 of the VOC travel accounts collection compiled by Isaac Commelin, entitled *Begin ende Voortgang Vande Vereenigde Neederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*.¹⁰ In this edition, Roelofs's account of Patani is supplemented by notes from the translation of Van Neck's diary by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig,¹¹ as well as notes by Victor Sprinckel. Sent to Patani by Matelief in 1607, Sprinckel was posted there as head of trade for the VOC until 1611.¹² *Begin ende Voortgang* mentions a plate representing a view of Patana, a plate whose publication unfortunately seems to have been omitted¹³ for an unknown reason. This diary, without the additions, was published in 1980 by Van Foreest & De Booy, who pointed out that the manuscript is long lost. Compared to the Commelin edition, this one has several spelling differences.

A French translation was published by René-Auguste-Constantin de Renneville in 1703 in Volume Two of his collection of VOC travels accounts. This translation is generally faithful to the text published in *Begin ende Voortgang*, except for the omission of an insertion and the passage on male sexual ornamentation which is shortened. The first English translation of the section of this diary relating to Patani, based on the version initially published by Commelin, is offered here. This publication also includes the French translation of the same section published by Renneville in 1703.

8. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 167-233.

9. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 74.

10. A second edition was published in Amsterdam around 1663 by Gillis Joosten Saeghman (*Journael van de tweede reys, gedaen by den heer Admiraal Jacob van Neck, naer Oost-Indien, met ses scheepen in den jare 1600*). A number of insertions are abbreviated or even omitted (Tiele 1867: 10-11, 162-166).

11. Curiously, probably unaware that the author is none other than Jacob Van Neck, the publisher Isaac Commelin only mentions the translator of this diary. It seems that the existence of two separate diaries remained unknown until their publication by Van Foreest & De Booy (1980).

12. Tiele 1867: 165; Terpstra 1938: 31.

13. Tiele (1867: 162) mentioned that this plate is missing in all the copies he consulted. In addition, a view of Patani is also mentioned in the German and Latin translations of Van Neck's diary (Tiele 1867: 166). It is also missing, which suggests that this illustration is identical to the one mentioned in the edition of the Roelof Roelofs's diary.

The third source is an excerpt from the account of the VOC expedition led by Admiral Wybrandt van Waerwijck. This was the first trip to Southeast Asia under the banner of the VOC, a company founded in 1602. The ships of the fleet commanded by Van Waerwijck left the Netherlands in June of that year. A fleet of the expedition reached Patani in November 1603, just over a year after Jacob van Neck's departure, and left in February 1604. Wybrandt van Waerwijck returned to Patani between May 1604 and October 1605.

The account of the expedition is in fact a gathering of several diaries.¹⁴ As early as 1606, the Bry's brothers published a German translation by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig. A Latin version produced by the same translator was published the following year. Both translations only include Van Waerwijck's first stay in Patani. The Dutch text was first published in 1644 in Volume One of the collection of VOC travels accounts compiled by Commelin mentioned above. A French translation was published by René-Auguste-Constantin de Renneville in 1703 in Volume Two of his collection of VOC travels accounts. This translation is generally accurate. However, it omits the mention of the marriage of the King of Siak with the niece of the Queen of Patani. There are also three minor mistakes: one concerning the Persian of Banten, about which the original specifies that he was considered as a quasi-doctor by the *nation* (communities) of Patani, Jambi and Banten, whereas the translation by Renneville indicates that he was considered so by the Chinese; one concerning the quantity of white sugar in the cargo of the Portuguese ship *Santo António*, and a third one about the value of the Patani junk confiscated in Malacca.

This volume provides the first English translation of the section relating to Patani, based on the version originally published by Commelin. The French translation, published by de Renneville, is also included here for comparison purpose.

The fourth source is an information and instruction note given to Admiral Steven van der Hagen, who led the VOC's second expedition to Southeast Asia. The fleet left the Netherlands in December 1603. One of the ships in this fleet, the *Medenblick*, called at Patani at the end of 1605 and reported the news of the capture of the Portuguese ship *Santo António* by Admiral van Waerwijck in the city's port in June of the same year.¹⁵ This text was first published in 1865 by J.K.J. de Jonge in one of the eleven volumes of the series *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië*. The excerpt from this note on Patani is included in this volume with an English translation.

14. Tiele 1867: 168.

15. Diary of Paulus van Solt (1646, vol. II, p. 42). See also Renneville, *Recueil...*, III, 1725: 4, 85-6.

The fifth source is a mostly commercial report dated February 1626 and signed by Pieter de Carpentier (1586-1659),¹⁶ Jacques Specx (ca. 1585-?),¹⁷ Dr. Pieter Vlack and Antonio van Diemen (1593-1645).¹⁸ Intended for the company's directors in the Netherlands, this report was published in 1960, in volume One of the series *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Ostindische compagnie*. A section of this report concerns the commercial situation in Patani. It is included in this volume with an English translation.

The sixth source is the report of a mission carried out by Antonie Caen, a VOC agent,¹⁹ in Patani and Siam between July and November 1632. Caen had been sent to Patani to resolve tensions related to Patani's capture of two Siamese merchant ships en route to Batavia, and to encourage Patani to renew relations with Ayutthaya.²⁰ The section about Patani is included in this volume with an English translation.

This volume also includes excerpts from an English translation from another contemporary important source in Dutch for the history of Patani in early seventeenth century. This is the account of the Dutchman Peter Floris, whose real name was Pieter Willemsz. van Elbinck.²¹ Working for the East India Company (EIC),²² he made a stopover at Patani between June 1612 and October 1613. Floris thus stayed in Patani a little more than six years after the departure of ships from Admiral Wybrandt van Waerwijck's expedition. He left less than twenty years before Antonie Caen called at Patani. The original text in Dutch of Peter Floris' diary seems to have been lost. The British Library holds the manuscript of the original English translation made after his return

16. He sailed for Asia in 1616 as an *opperkoopman*. Appointed Raad extra-ordinaris van Indië and Director General three years later, he became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1623, a position he held until 1627 (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/decarpentier.html>).

17. After a stay in Johor, he joined the VOC in 1606 for Hirado (Japan), where he became the factory chief three years later. In 1622, he became President van Schepenen in Batavia, then Raad extra-ordinaris van Indië (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/specx.html>).

18. Recruited as an employee of the VOC in 1619, he became *opperkoopman* in 1623 and then Raad van Indië in 1626 (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/vandiemen.html>).

19. He appears in the sources under various names: Anthonio Caan, Antonie Caan, Antoni Caan. Anthonij Caen was Governor of Ternate from 1640 to 1642. Anthonio Caan was acting governor of Ambon in 1642 (https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/12311/Appendices_Bibliography.pdf?sequence=7).

20. Van Vliet 2005: 129; na Pombejra 2011: 151.

21. Moreland 1934: xii, xxxvi.

22. Floris left documents other than this account, showing that he had a real interest in local cultures (cf. Robson 2000).

to England in 1615.²³ According to J. Farrington (2001: 153), the translator was presumably a Dutchman with an imperfect knowledge of English, which would make the discovery of the original text all the more valuable.

Extracts from the English translation of Floris' account were published as early as 1625 by Samuel Purchas in the first volume of his compilation of travel accounts, *Purchas his pilgrimes*, or *Hakluytus Posthumus*.²⁴ William Harrison Moreland produced the first scientific edition of the English translation manuscript, which was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1934, an edition republished at least three times since then. A French translation, based on the publication of Purchas, was published (with some cuts) in 1663 by M. Thévenot in the first volume of his compilation entitled *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. This French translation and the original one published by Moreland are presented here for comparison purposes.

3. Other sources for the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The sources useful for the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not limited to the two corpora presented above. First, there is the corpus of Malay-language texts produced in Patani and neighbouring regions of Southeast Asia, whose manuscripts are generally identified by titles beginning with *Hikayat* or *Sejarah*. Other corpora of Asian sources relating to Patani have been identified and published at least partly: Chinese sources, Japanese sources and Ryukyu Archipelago sources in Chinese (Atsushi & Mitsugu 1969).

In addition to the European sources mentioned above, shall be added in particular the archives of the Dutch merchant companies (VOC and others), the archives of the East India Company (EIC), the accounts of agents of these companies posted or sailing in the region, such as Jeremias van Vliet in Ayutthaya or Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge, as well as the accounts of missionaries like Nicholas Gervaise.

a) Southeast Asian sources

Like most of the major coastal political entities in Maritime Southeast Asia at the time, the researcher interested in Patani's history may use local written sources that are generally grouped under the category "Malay traditional literature." These are texts in *jawi*²⁵ written before the beginning of the twentieth century by local learned people, often at the request of the rulers.

23. *India Office records*: L/MAR/A/XIII [Translation of Floris' journal, 5 Jan. 1611 – 17 Feb. 1615], cf. Farrington 2001: 153.

24. A summary appeared in 1617, in one of the volumes of *Relations of the World* published by the same Samuel Purchas (p. 562-563).

25. Malay written using Arabic characters.

Although the intellectual framework of their production differs from that of Western historical texts, they nevertheless offer local insights into various aspects of the kingdom's history.

For the period of interest here, the most famous of these texts is the *Hikayat Patani*. Composed between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, it offers a version of Patani's foundation, of the ruler's conversion to Islam, of the chronology of rulers with sometimes events or anecdotes that marked their reign, as well as various political events related to other Southeast Asia polities. Several manuscripts have been more or less documented:

– Thomas John Newbold (1807-1850)²⁶ had a manuscript in Malay in the 1830s, of which he gave the title “*Hikayat Patani*” (Newbold 1838). Entrusted to the Madras Literary Society, this manuscript has yet to be found. However, in the 1960s, a typescript Thai history of Patani was found in the possession of a retired Thai government official in Songkhla, South Thailand. The first part of this text relates the history of Patani until the end of the eighteenth century. According to David K. Wyatt, this is definitely a “translation and/or an abridgement of a Malay manuscript,” which without being identical to that used by Newbold, is sufficiently close to Newbold's version to suggest a link between both texts. Wyatt published a translation of this initial part of the text in 1967. Teeuw and Wyatt refer to this manuscript in their philological and historical study (1970).

– A Malay manuscript found in the 1960s at the Library of Congress by Andries Teeuw. This manuscript was copied in Singapore by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir for Alfred North, a Christian missionary, probably from a manuscript he collected in Kelantan and dated 1839.²⁷ This manuscript was the subject of the first real philological and historical study of the *Hikayat Patani* text. Published in 1970, it is the only one of its kind to date on a text of ancient Malay literature focused on Patani. A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, the authors of the study, consider the Library of Congress manuscript as a collection of several texts written by different authors from the early eighteenth century onwards.²⁸ The whole, organized chronologically, deals

26. A British officer in the Indian Army, he was stationed in the Straits Settlements from 1832 until 1835 and made scholarly contributions to Malay studies (Jones 1984: 134).

27. Jawi 13, Library of Congress, Washington DC. (A. Teeuw. Malay manuscripts in the Library of Congress. *BKI* 123, 1967: 519; Malay Concordance Project, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>). The Pusat Manuskrip Melayu in Kuala Lumpur (1993b: 38-40), mentions that the text is also known as *Undang-Undang Patani*. Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 51) mentions a different inventory number (Orient So. Asia 2). In addition, the same author (2006: 50) reports the existence of a manuscript of the *Hikayat Patani*, also copied by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (Abdullah Munsyi) in 1839, kept in the library of the University of Malaya.

28. *HP T & W*: 66.

mainly with the origin of the Patani rulers, the foundation of the city and its Islamisation, the origin of the great canon, symbol of the glory of Patani, the genealogy of its rulers, details and events concerning the administration of the sultanate, internal politics, the relations of the sultanate with the neighbouring region of Saiburi, with Siam, Johor and Palembang. The text of this manuscript was also published by Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (1992).

– A Malay manuscript from the Skeat collection, held at the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford University, most certainly copied on the occasion of W.W. Skeat's stay in Patani in 1899. It is entitled *Salasilah Negeri Patani* and contains 67 pages (Skeat collection, Sk. Ms. 15. *HP T & W*: 31; Ricklefs *et al.* 2014: 128).²⁹ Teeuw and Wyatt also refer to this manuscript for their philological and historical study. The KITLV in Leiden keeps what appears to be a copy (inv. no. OR.413) of the same text (Ali Hj. Wan Mamat 1985: 13).

– A Malay manuscript on 28 bamboo plates entitled *Hikayat Patani*, which was allegedly copied in 1252 H. (1836 CE). It is held with inv. no. MS20 in the Akademi Islam collections of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993c: 2). According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), this text describes in particular the Patani rulers dynasty.

– A Thai translation of the *Hikayat Patani* in manuscript form, dated 2471 BE (1928), was published as *Prawat Muang Pattani* in the series *Prachum Phongsawadan*, Samnakphim Kaona, vol. II, Bangkok, 1964: 1-29 (Muhammad Yusoff Hashim 1988: 281; Mohd Zamberi A. Malek 2006: 51, 54).

– Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50) mentions a manuscript entitled *Tarikh Fatani*, copied by Syekh Haji Wan Mustafa bin Muhammad al-Fatani around 1198 H (ca. 1783 CE), whose content would be similar to the *Hikayat Patani*. The location of this manuscript is not specified.³⁰

– The same author (2006: 15) mentions a manuscript entitled *Sejarah Patani*, by a certain Tengku Abdul Kadir Petra, supposed to predate Ibrahim Syukri's text described below.

– *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani* is a text published in *jawi* by Ibrahim Syukri in Kelantan in the late 1950s or early 1960s, probably in 1958.³¹

29. It should be noted that the same collection includes a 37-page manuscript, which is a pencil romanization of a Malay text containing a *Salasilah daripada Patani sampai ke Kelantan* (Skeat Manuscripts Box A; cf. Ricklefs *et al.* 2014: 128-9).

30. This could be the manuscript in the possession of Haji Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, a collector in Kuala Lumpur. The latter published a first romanized version in 1991. It concerns pre-Islamic Patani (cf. Perret 2004a: 10). This text has been republished recently (Mohd Shaghir Abdullah 2019: 1-29).

31. Hasrom bin Haron and Mohd Zamberi A. Malek 2002: 10. Ibrahim Syukri would be a pseudonym used by a group of nationalists (Walker 2009: 329, 331; 2013: 190).

In the mid-1990s, Pierre Le Roux (1997: 328-329) was able to collect what would be the first handwritten version of this text in Pattani. Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 51) points to the existence in a private collection of a manuscript entitled *Cetera Negeri Patani*, which would also be the basic text of *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*. In addition, the Museum of Kuala Terengganu in Malaysia keeps an incomplete manuscript on twenty wooden plates (inv. no. 89.836) which would be a version of the same text.³² Dealing with Pattani's history from its beginnings to the 1950s, the author uses a version of the *Hikayat Patani* whose manuscript does not seem to have been preserved. The original edition was republished in 2002 by Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, with a Romanized version (Ibrahim Syukri 2002),³³ while C. Bailey and J. Miksic published an English translation in 1985.

– *Sejarah negeri Patani*, a scroll of 86 folios, which was observed by Pierre Le Roux in 1993 and 1995 in the Pattani region. This document may be in Brunei today.³⁴

– *Tawarikh Raja Kota* is a text focused on a settlement located on the east bank of the Saiburi River. Although the original manuscript, compiled by Haji Abdul Rauf Bin Muhammad Dagang Agung (d. 1906), was destroyed in 1963, notes based on the text were prepared by his grandson and then translated into English by Wayne Bougas (2004: 263). The nine typewritten pages, a collection of short notes, contain several short sections relating to Patani.³⁵

Several manuscripts of a text entitled *Sejarah Patani* are listed in three institutions in Malaysia:

*** National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur:**

– MS 1072A, [*Sejarah Patani*], a 40-page manuscript that seems to have been copied in 1198 H. (1783 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993a: 4; 1993c: 82).

32. Manuscript examined by Daniel Perret and Henri Chambert-Loir in August 1995. Henri Chambert-Loir (pers. com.) for the identification of the contents.

33. For a recent state of knowledge on the author and the text, see the preface by Hasrom bin Haron and Mohd Zamberi A. Malek in this new edition.

34. On the description of this manuscript, see Le Roux 1997: 323-331.

35. A *Tawarikh Raja Kota* has also been published recently by Mohd Shaghir Abdullah (2019: 41-51). It should be kept in mind that there is another text entitled *Tawarikh*. It is the *Tawarikh Patani* which offers an account on the period before the one we are interested in here (cf. Faqih Ali & Daud al-Fathani 2012; Ismail C. Denudon 2015: 19-29). The *Tarikh Petani* or *Tarikh Fathani* provides an other version (Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah 1991).

- MS 809, *Sejarah Petani*, a 66-folio manuscript with illuminations dated 1202 H. (1787 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1990: 39; 1993c: 73; Jelani Harun 2015: 59). According to Badariah binti Ahmad (2002/2003: 4), this manuscript is incomplete. According to Jelani Harun (2015: 59), the text shows many similarities and differences with the *Hikayat Patani*. According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), the content of this manuscript focuses on the reign of Raja Biru, in particular the improvement of the irrigation system linked to the Kerisik River.
- MS 927(A), *Sejarah Patani*, a 29-folio manuscript, including some folios written on both sides, supposed to have been copied in 1230 H. (1814 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1990: 51; 1993c: 79). According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), this manuscript recounts the story of the kingdom of Patani from its foundation to its annexation by Siam.
- MS 1468A, [*Sejarah Patani*], an 8-folio manuscript (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993: 40; 1993b: 108).
- MS 2632(D), *Sejarah Patani*, a 13-folio manuscript (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 2002: 28).

*** Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur:**

- MS 181, *Sejarah Patani*, a 136-folio manuscript, some folios showing illuminations. Undated, it would be a text copied by al-Fakir Tengku Putra Almarhum Abdul Mutalib (Raja Masittah 1999: 55).
- MS 182, *Syair Negeri Petani*. It is undated according to Raja Masittah (1999: 47), while Jelani Harun (2015) mentions that it is dated 1351H (1933 CE). Copied in Patani by al-Fakir Wan Ismail, it includes 41 folios written in *jawi*. According to Jelani Harun, the content shows many similarities with the *Hikayat Patani* while being different regarding the account of a number of events, and it emphasises the conflicts with Siam.

*** Kelantan State Museum, Kota Bahru:**

- MZ (KN). 7:90, *Sejarah Patani*, a 39-folio manuscript, a copy supposed to have been made in 1250 H. (1834 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993c: 13). This manuscript was transliterated by Badariah Binti Ahmas (2002/2003), who observed that the text looks very similar to those of manuscripts MS 1072A and MS 809 mentioned above. This is a relatively confusing text insofar as the folios are clearly disorganised. There are common episodes with the *Hikayat Patani*, often more detailed in *Sejarah Patani*. Some sections are absent in the *Hikayat Patani*. Its composition is to be compared to that of *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani* insofar as *Sejarah Patani* refers, accurately or inaccurately, to Western sources (mention of Mahāyāna Buddhism (p. 33, 35, 40, 62), of Alfonso d'Albuquerque and

Mendes Pinto (p. 49); mention of the year 1561 as marking the arrival of Europeans in East Asia (p. 47); of the year 1592: Japanese official delegation in Patani (p. 58) followed by the sending of two Patani delegations to Japan seven years later and in 1606 (p. 59); mention of migrations from Sumatra to Madagascar and the Pacific (p. 62); reference to Campā mentioned in history books on Indochinese ethnic groups (p. 64); section on Śrīvijaya and Majapahit (p. 66-69), or the account of a Frenchman on the death of Raja Kuning in 1674). *Sejarah Patani* is therefore the work of several learned people, whose additions made after the date of the copy mentioned in the manuscript (1250 H = 1834 CE) make its use very problematic for the period of interest here.

In addition, the library of the Leiden University (The Netherlands) keeps a copy of the Patani version of the *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Cod. Or. 3199-3) containing 32 folios (Wieringa, ed., 2007: 26).

The same institution has a manuscript entitled *Syair Perang Johor* (Cod. Or. 1761), which contains two texts, including a 34-folio document partly dealing with the relations between Johor and Patani in the seventeenth century (Mohd Yusof Md Nor 1997).

During his anthropological research in Pattani in 1956, Thomas M. Fraser collected a story from a certain Haji Wan Jussof, teacher in the Pattani area, a fragmentary souvenir based on a manuscript destroyed shortly before (Fraser 1960: 20-29).

Other Malay texts produced outside the Pattani region provide information on Patani's history for the period of interest here, such as *Sulalat-us-Salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu*).

b) Other Asiatic Sources

For the period of interest here, English translations of nine Chinese sources providing information on Patani have been published by Geoff Wade (2004: 56-59, 67-74). These are *Da Ming today-dian* (1503), *Xi-yang chao-gong dian-lu* (1520), *Si-yi-guan-kao* (late sixteenth century), *Tsang-wu zong-du jun-men-zhi* (1581), the sailing guidebook *Shun-feng xiang-song* (sixteenth century), *Wu-bei-zhi* (early seventeenth century), *Dong-xi-yang kao* (1618), *Ming Shen-zong Shi-lu* (1630), and *Hou-jian-lu* (second half of seventeenth century). The corpus is certainly larger.³⁶

The *Tōsen* reports are Japanese sources, which provide interesting information about Patani at the end of the seventeenth century. English translations of sections related to Patani were published by Yoneo Ishii (1998 and 2004).

36. See also Wade 2013.

As early as the 1430s, the Ryukyu archipelago, which extends between Taiwan and Kyushu Island, took advantage of its tributary relations with China to bypass restrictions on international trade. People from this region operated in the South China Sea as important trade intermediaries between China, Japan and Southeast Asia. Documents from this archipelago preserve traces of this activity, especially trade missions to Patani between 1490 and 1540. These documents were translated into English and published by Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda (1969).

c) Other Western Sources

Other Western sources include of course Iberian, VOC and East India Company (EIC) records, part of which has been published,³⁷ but they remain to be systematically exploited as far as the history of Patani is concerned. Some examples are given below.

In August 1602, as Jacob van Neck was about to leave Patani, two ships from Van Heemskerck's fleet, that had left the Netherlands in 1601, arrived in Patani. A document published by Tiele in 1883 provides some additional details about Patani recorded during this stopover.

As an admiral in the service of the VOC, Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge (ca. 1570-1632) spent more than three years in Asia between May 1605 and September 1608. Trade instructions issued by the VOC directors include striking up business agreements in various places, including Patani. Matelieff conducted dealings at the Johor royal court in Batu Sawar in September-October 1606. He went to the Strait of Malacca, to Johor, Banten, the Mollucas, the Philippines, the coast of China, and the coast of Campā (October 1607). From there, he despatched the *Mauritius* with Victor Sprinckel (already mentioned above) to Patani. He himself planned to call at Patani but weather forced him to call at Pekan, the port of Pahang.³⁸ Unfortunately, Sprinckel's account on his stopover at Patani is limited to a few lines on the commercial

37. Especially, as regards the VOC, the 21 volumes of the Batavia's *Daghregisters* (Cf. J.A. van der Chijs *et al.*, ed., 1887-1928), the six volumes of *Generale missiven* concerning the seventeenth century (Cf. W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed., 1960-76), or the seven volumes of records related to Jan Pietersz. Coen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies during the periods 1618-23 and 1627-29 (Colenbrander, ed., 1919-34; Coolhaas, ed., 1952), the six volumes of correspondence of the East India Company published by F.C. Danvers and W. Foster at the turn of the twentieth century (1896-1902), the letters related to the English factory in Siam, 1612-1685 (Farrington & na Pombejra, ed., 2007, 2 vols); other seventeenth century records related to the East Indies published by W.N. Sainsbury (*Calendar of State papers. Colonial series. East Indies....*(1513-1634), - 1870-1892, 5 vols.), as well as E.B. Sainsbury, ed., *A calendar of the court minutes, etc., of the East India Company* (1635-1679), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907-1938, 11 vols., etc.

38. Matelieff 2015: 73, 79, 91-92, 95.

situation in Patani in the diary of Matelieff's expedition.³⁹ But Matelieff's reports related to this expedition, recently published in English translation by Peter Borschberg (2015), reveal other valuable information, especially on the relationship between Patani and Johor.

The Dutch Jeremias van Vliet (ca. 1602-1663) is the author of the earliest detailed and most comprehensive first hand accounts of Ayutthaya and Siam, written between 1636 and 1640. Van Vliet enlisted with the VOC and arrived at Batavia in 1629. He was quickly ordered to the trading post at Hirado, Japan, where he became familiar with the Japan-Taiwan-Siam trade. After a four-year stay at Hirado, he was called back to Batavia and immediately left for Ayutthaya in order to build a permanent trading post there. He remained in the capital of Siam until 1642 before being appointed the same year as Governor of Malacca, a position he held until 1646, the year of his return to the Netherlands.⁴⁰ Van Vliet visited Patani at least once, in February-March 1642.⁴¹ But his writings, in particular *Description of the Kingdom of Siam* (1638) and *The short history of the kings of Siam* (1640), provide information about Patani as seen from the Siamese capital. The English translations of Van Vliet's four accounts have recently been gathered and annotated into one volume (Van Vliet 2005).

Born in Paris around 1662 or 1663, Nicholas Gervaise joined the Missions Etrangères de Paris (Paris Foreign Missions) and arrived in Siam in early 1681. He studied theology at the *Collège général* in Ayutthaya and learned the Siamese language. He returned to France in 1685, accompanied by two sons of the king of Makassar.⁴² His book on the kingdom of Siam was published three years later. Gervaise has never been to Patani, but devotes two pages to it, most probably based on information gleaned in Ayutthaya.

Before to end this section on Western sources, it is worth reminding that four texts are sometimes wrongly considered as providing first-hand information on the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the seventeenth century.

The first text is the compilation of Johan Nieuhof's travel notes.⁴³ Born in 1618 in Germany, near the border with the Netherlands, Johan Nieuhof enlisted for the VOC in 1653, arrived in Batavia the following year and accompanied an embassy to the court of China in 1655-7. After a short stay in the Netherlands, he left for the archipelago again and arrived in Batavia in 1659. As an *onderkoopman* (assistant-merchant), he went to Palembang,

39. *B & V*, II, 1646: 127.

40. A biographical note on Van Vliet and a presentation of the historical context during his stay in Ayutthaya is published in Van Vliet 2005 (p. 1-32).

41. *Dagh-Register* 1641-2: 120, 135, 153-6.

42. <http://archives.mepasie.org/fr/notices/notices-biographiques/gervaise>.

43. For a recent edition, see Nieuhof 1988.

Jambi, the Mollucas, Formosa, Melaka, Coromandel, Malabar and finally to Batavia before heading back to the Netherlands in 1671. His brother, Hendrik Nieuhof, added secondary material to his notes before publication, especially the section on Patani (pp. 182-184) (Reid 1988a). In fact, this section is a rather free combination of Jacob van Neck (1601-2), Roelof Roelofsz (1601-2), and Peter Floris (1612-13) accounts offered in this volume.

The second text is the travel account of Jean Albert de Mandelslo. Born in Germany in 1616, he followed an embassy of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in Persia as a squire in 1633. In 1638, he continued his journey to India, from Surat to the Court of the Great Mogul, where he stayed for a few months before returning to Europe on an English ship.⁴⁴ All the sections regarding the regions to the east of India are therefore additions based on previous accounts. The four pages describing Patani (1727, vol. 1: 338-342) are taken from Dutch sources dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially from Jacob Van Neck's account.⁴⁵

The third document is a very curious text. It is presented as the account of the life and travels in Southeast Asia, and in particular to Patani, of a certain John Smith at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. We are told that a merchant fleet commanded by "James Neccy," merchant and adventurer living in Haarlem, Holland, having obtained a charter from the States General to trade in the East, left Haarlem in February 1600 and arrived at Patani in early 1603. James Neccy left his assistant, John Smith, who would have lived there and travelled in the hinterland for some two years before his death in Patani. John Smith is described as holding the official position of Dato' Dagang, the link between the Court and foreigners, and to have been sent on a diplomatic mission to the hinterland by the Queen in order to "reconquer" the principality of Raman. The introduction of the book states that this account was delivered to his halfbrothers in England by a sea captain. Presented in the third person, the account focuses on describing the life at the Patani Court at the time, as well as the situation in the hinterland, where John Smith reportedly spent several months.⁴⁶ Upon its release, the book was received "as a pure romance of adventure [...] If only one or two rather warm passages were excised, this work could be issued as a book for boys [...] it reminds me throughout of Daniel Defoe and his *Adventures of Captain Singleton*?"⁴⁷ Some sections on Patani's customs remind of Jacob van Neck's account, including James Neccy, the name of the fleet commander. However, everything about the hinterland is not based on any other known contemporary account. The author, who obviously

44. Chauffepié 1753: 27-28.

45. A similar example is provided by Thomas Herbert's account published in 1638. See p. 315-316 regarding Patani.

46. Hale, ed., 1909.

47. Irvine 1910. See also the review of the book in *The Spectator*, July 10, 1909: 28.

knew the northern part of the Malay Peninsula well, drew inspiration from Van Neck's account on the one hand, and from information about the hinterland in the nineteenth century on the other, to offer a deceptive historical fiction.

The fourth document includes an episode taking place in Patani that is just as fictional as the previous story. Kept in a library in Salzburg, this document is described as a copy of C.M. Fernberger von Egenberg's account (2012: 119-127) of a journey around the world between 1621 and 1628. The author is supposed to have stayed in Patani from December 1624 until February 1625. During his stay, he allegedly commanded, at the Queen's request, a troop of slaves and Christians to repel a Siamese attack. The author does not provide any original details suggesting that he actually went to Patani and the account of his easy contacts with the queen is completely unlikely when compared with previous accounts by Van Neck and Floris.

4. Historiography of Patani

At the end of nearly two centuries of research, a brief overview of the accumulation of knowledge about the history of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems useful here. Organized chronologically, it deals mostly with studies published in Latin characters.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Thomas John Newbold (1839, II: 68-71) was the first to report the existence of indigenous literature related to the history of the kingdom of Patani. He gave a brief summary of the content of a manuscript in his possession, in particular a list of rulers, and mentioned a series of events concerning Patani based on various Western sources. He also pointed to the account of Walter Henry Medhurst who, during his visit to Patani in 1830, noted the existence of "one old town a mile or two from the mouth of the river, formerly occupied by the Dutch."⁴⁸

In his *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* published in 1890, John Anderson⁴⁹ devoted several pages to the history of the factory of the East India Company in Patani (1612-1622), based on records preserved

48. Medhurst joined the London Missionary Society with the intention of working among the Chinese. He arrived in Malacca in 1817, then settled in Penang and Batavia before leaving for Shanghai in 1843 (Cf. J.J. Bonk, "Walter Henry Medhurst, 1796-1857" in <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/m/medhurst-walter-henry.php>). His account on Patani is probably to be found in "Journal of a Voyage up the East Coast of the Malayan Peninsula," a text published in the *Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the London Missionary Society* of July 1830, which we did not have access to.

49. Born in Edinburgh in 1833, John Anderson was appointed Professor of Natural Science there. He resigned the office in 1864 and was appointed Superintendent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the following year. He accompanied or led several expeditions between 1868 and 1881 (twice Western China through Burma and the Mergui Archipelago). Author of numerous papers on zoology, Fellow of many learned societies, he died in 1890 (*The British Medical Journal*, Sept. 8, 1900: 699).

in the India Office. Most of these passages focus on trade, but Anderson also provides information about the city of Patani and its rulers.⁵⁰

Visiting Patani in 1899 as part of a Cambridge University expedition, Walter William Skeat (1866-1953)⁵¹ was led unknowingly to the site of the former capital reported by Medhurst seventy years earlier. Nevertheless, he noted traditions relating to the graves of a certain To' Panjang and a gun maker named Che Long.⁵² These individuals appear in episodes of the *Hikayat Patani* that may have taken place during the period under consideration here. Skeat contributed in another way to local history studies by buying two old gold coins near Pattani.⁵³

Thanks to this initiative, it is probably Girolamo-Emilio Gerini's (1860-1913) note,⁵⁴ published in 1903, which represents the starting point of the studies on the ancient material culture of the Sultanate of Patani. This is a numismatic note concerning these two gold coins found among many others, around 1880, in the ground of a Siamese Buddhist monastery (*wat*) in the Jaring region (present Yaring, east of Pattani).⁵⁵ Gerini compared these coins with old South Indian coins known as *fanams*, the main difference being the presence of an inscription in Arabic characters on the Yaring coins.

In 1912, Phya Vijiengiri authored a chapter in Part III of the collection of Histories published by the Royal Historical Research Society of Siam dealing with the history of Pattani, including an account of the casting there of three large cannons later translated and published by C.A. Seymour Sewell (1922).

Following Sewell's publication, John Bowen, of the Royal Department of Mines at Pattani, visited the site of the old town in search of the old cannon foundry mentioned by Phya Vijiengiri and provided interesting details about its remains, while noting the discovery of coins inscribed with Chinese or Arabic characters (Bowen 1922).

50. Anderson reports for example that in early seventeenth century, English merchants learned in Japan that Patani and Hirado were sister ports (Anderson 1890: 53).

51. Posted as Assistant District Officer, then District Officer, in Selangor (1891-1897), W.W. Skeat is best known for his ethnographic work on Malays and "*orang asli*" of the Malay Peninsula (for a biographical note and his bibliography, see J.M. Gullick 1988).

52. Skeat 1901: 52-56, 1953: 26-30.

53. Skeat 1953: 73.

54. Born in Italy, G.E. Gerini arrived in Siam in 1881 and held various jobs. He was one of the founders of the Siam Society in 1904. He is known for his scholarly work on the ancient history of Siam and on the historical geography of Asia (for a biographical note, see L. Finot, "G.E. Gerini," *BEFEO* 14, 1914: 97-98).

55. In his 1871 synthesis, Millies (1871: 150) describes only one Patani coin. It is a tin coin from mid- nineteenth century.

Further numismatic discoveries in the northeastern part of the peninsula led to the publication of two new studies in the 1920s and 1930s (J.A.S. Bucknill⁵⁶ 1923; W.A. Linehan⁵⁷ 1934), which notably compare some of these finds with the Yaring coins published by Gerini.

In 1926, Jan Willem IJzerman (1851-1932)⁵⁸ published the first study on Patani based on VOC records, a very particular aspect as it focused on Dutch images trade in Patani at the very beginning of the seventeenth century.

The first scientific monograph on the history of the Sultanate of Patani was authored by Heert Terpstra (1884-1964)⁵⁹ who, in 1938, published a detailed study on the history of the VOC factory in Patani during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. To a chronological section devoted to the major events related to the history of this factory, the author adds several thematic studies, mainly on the economic context (the Chinese trade in Patani, the pepper trade, the role of the Patani factory in the VOC network, the Portuguese and the British). This study is based exclusively on Western sources, mainly VOC archives and Dutch publications. Abundantly documented, it remains a valuable study for the history of the VOC in the South China Sea.

56. John Alexander Strachey Bucknill (1873-1926) became Chief Justice in the Straits Settlements in 1914 and stayed there until 1920 when he moved to India. A keen ornithologist and lepidopterist, he became also president of the Numismatic Society of India (see <http://www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/BucknillTT.html>).

57. William A. Linehan (1892-1955) joined the Malaya Civil Service in 1916 and served in various states of the Peninsula where he stayed until 1955. He published a number of articles on local history, especially on the Pahang Sultanate (Jones 1984: 143-144).

58. A Lieutenant-engineer in the army (engineering), IJzerman took part in 1874 in an expedition on the west coast of Sumatra to identify the best route for a railway line destined for the transportation to the coast of coal recently discovered in the interior. He later held various positions in the Railway Service in Java before being appointed as director of the Railway Service in West Sumatra from 1887 until 1896. He returned to the Netherlands the following year where he started studies on the VOC, especially during the seventeenth century. Concurrently with his job of railway engineer, IJzerman played an important role in the archaeology of Java. He is the author of numerous studies published between 1886 and 1931 (for a biographical note focused on his activities in the Dutch East Indies, see F.D.K. Bosch (1932), <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/ijzerman>; for a more comprehensive biography and a bibliography, see F.C. Wieder 1934).

59. After completing his Ph.D. in Dutch literature in 1911, Terpstra taught history at the gymnasium in Hilversum until 1944, was then engaged as an historian at the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam until 1949. He published a number of studies on the history of VOC and Westerners in Asia, including one on the Dutch and the Coromandel coast in 1911 (for a list of his publications, see <https://www.dutchstudies-satsea.nl/deelnemers/terpstra-heert/>).

In 1939, Anker Rentse (1896-1950)⁶⁰ was the first to publish a typology of ancient gold coins from the northeast of the Malay Peninsula. It describes seven types, two of which are represented by coins found at Kerisik, the site of the former capital of Patani.⁶¹ He published an additional numismatic note on this corpus eight years later.

The second monograph on Patani was published in 1946 by Hsu Yun Tsiao (许云樵; Xu Yunqiao)(1908-1981).⁶² Based on publications in Thai, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages, this study in Chinese entitled *Beida nianshi* (A history of Patani) notably includes short biographical notes on pirates / merchants during the Ming dynasty.⁶³

Probably published in the late 1950s, *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*, already mentioned above, deals with Pattani's history from its beginnings to the 1950s. The author uses various Western and Asian sources, especially Malay sources. This text is interesting not only for the variants and additions in comparison to the *Hikayat Patani* published some twenty years later by Teeuw and Wyatt, but also as a local and modern perception of Pattani's history.⁶⁴ At the same time, Akira Nagazumi (1959, 1960) published two studies in Japanese on the royal dynasty and the ruling class of Patani in the seventeenth century.⁶⁵

It is necessary to mention here, of course, the *History of Patani* authored by A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, published in 1970, which, in addition to a philological study including the Romanized Malay text and an English translation, provides a rich historical commentary on many of the issues raised by the text relating

60. Born in Denmark, Rentse arrived in Malaya in 1924 and worked initially in plantation estates. He then became an officer of the Kelantan Government until the Japanese invasion when he left for Singapore and later Australia. After the capitulation of the Japanese, Anker Rentse returned to Malaya with the British Military Administration and became a civil affairs officer in Kelantan. He published a number of ethnographical and historical studies on the Kelantan region (for a biographical note, see M.W.F. Tweedie 1951).

61. Rentse 1939: 89-90. On the same site, finds of gold coins bearing the effigy of a deer (*kijang*) and inscribed in Arabic characters were reported until at least the 1980s (Welch & McNeill 1989: 38).

62. Born in China, he arrived in Singapore in 1931 where he became a teacher. In 1933, he moved to Pattani where he taught until 1938. There, he learned the Thai language and became particularly interested in the history of Pattani and the history of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia on whom he published numerous studies (for a biographical note, see Claudine Salmon 1983).

63. An excerpt from the chapter on Lin Dao-qian has been translated into English by G. Wade (2004).

64. On Syukri's place in Patani's historiography, see especially Walker (2009: 329-332; 2013: 191-195, 207-208).

65. We were not able to consult these two studies. On Akira Nagazumi, see Lombard (1988), Carey (1988).

to the period of interest here. Their historical interpretation, based on Western historical studies, as well as Malay and Thai sources, shows that the text contains many historical facts useful for understanding the history of the sultanate. Teeuw and Wyatt (1970: 289-297) consider that this text is not a royal chronicle but, on the one hand, a dynastic myth of the kingdom intended to preserve and proclaim the memory of the sultanate's prestigious origin and past and, on the other hand, a normative guide for leaders and subjects.

As regards Portuguese and even Spanish historiography it is somewhat paradoxical that there is no study focused on local history, at least on official (or unofficial) relations between the Iberian states and the sultanate of Patani. All the more so since, as we will see in the chapter "Patani and the Luso-Asian Networks (1516-1642)," the contacts between the Portuguese (official and private), as well as Luso-Asians, and the sultanate of Patani are very early (1516), regular, intense and full of interesting changes during the period covered by this book. We will therefore have to make do with a brief presentation of books, articles or theses that more or less directly refer to Patani and its relations with Portuguese, Luso-Asians and Spanish. In some cases, these are just studies that provide (in a documental appendix) Portuguese and/or Spanish archive documents partially related to Patani and which have remained unpublished until now.

As is often the case in the historiography of the Portuguese presence in Asia, and particularly in Southeast Asia, a study by Luís Filipe Thomaz is pioneering. In this case, regarding Patani, his bachelor thesis (Thomaz 1964) deserves to be mentioned, not only for the various references to the relationship between Malacca and Patani (until 1580), but also for the various Portuguese archive documents (mostly from the Torre do Tombo National Archives) that he published in his volume 2.

The monograph of L.Y. Andaya (1975) on the history of the kingdom of Johor between the mid-seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, based particularly on VOC records, provides new information on relations between Patani and Johor.

In his study on the Dutch in Siam during the seventeenth century, George Vinal Smith (1977) mentions Patani several times, based on Dutch sources, especially with regard to its relations with Siam at the time.

That same year, another monograph on Patani was published, this time in *jawi*, entitled *Patani Dahulu dan Sekarang*, authored by A. Bangnara.⁶⁶ The period of interest here is mainly based on the study by Teeuw and Wyatt, on Syukri and on Thai historians' studies. The *Sejarah Melayu dan Patani*,

⁶⁶. It is a translation of a book in Thai published in 1976 (Pattani: Adeet-Pachuban / Bangkok, Comrom Saengthian Press, 1976). Bangnara is supposed to be a pseudonym for a group of local authors (Walker 2009: 335, 337, 346; 2013: 199). Matheson & Hooker (1988: note 69 p. 11) also observe that Banganara is a place name, the modern name for Rangae or Legih (near Narathiwat). On the place of this work in Patani's nationalist historiography, see Walker (2013: 199-200, 208-209).

written by M.L. Manij Chumsai, published in Bangkok (Chaloemni) in 1974, is mentioned in Bangnara's book. We have not consulted this publication.

Also in 1977, Leonard Blussé used Dutch and Chinese sources to try to reconstruct the biography of Inpo, a Patani Chinese recruited as an intermediary by Van Warwijck to facilitate the VOC trade with China at the very beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷

Although not focused on the history of Patani, Dhiravat na Pombejra's Ph.D. thesis (1984) on the political history of Siam in the seventeenth century, notably from Dutch, French and British archives, bring new insights into the history of the relations between Patani and Ayutthaya.

In Patani, the first epigraphic studies were focused on Chinese graves. Thus, in the mid-1980s, W. Franke (1984) revealed, among others, the existence of an inscribed tombstone dated 1592 CE.⁶⁸ Still regarding the Chinese community of Patani, Wee Khoo Kock (1987: 223-25) refers to Kelantan traditions, some of which are said to go back to the end of the sixteenth century.

Patani and its surroundings also shelter old Muslim graves related to the history of the sultanate. These monuments are best known since Wayne Bougas' surveys in the 1980s.⁶⁹ In 1986, he published a study on two graves in the graveyard of Kubo' Barahom, then considered as the oldest Muslim cemetery in Patani. This cemetery is located in Ban Kru Se (Kerisik), on the site of the ancient capital of the Sultanate of Patani. The first attempts to decipher the inscriptions in Arabic were done by Othman bin Mohd Yatim and Hasan Muarif Ambariy. Bougas argues that one of the grave belongs to the first king of Patani to convert to Islam. Two years later, the same author published a monograph on Muslim tombs in the Pattani region describing the various types of materials and styles up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The site of Ban Kru Se or Kerisik, the former capital of the Sultanate of Patani, is located by the sea, along the bay, about eight kilometres east of the present city of Pattani. Considering Medhurst's account at the beginning of the nineteenth century mentioned above, it can be deduced that the importance of this historical site has been preserved over the generations.⁷⁰ However, the first research only began in the mid-1980s, with surveys conducted by Sawang Lertrit,⁷¹ which revealed in particular the remains of old kilns.

67. See the account of Wybrandt van Waerwijck's stay in Patani in this volume.

68. For a recent reappraisal of the historical importance of this tombstone, see Salmon (2006: 163-166. 2018: 303).

69. The first known report of old Muslim graves in Pattani is probably to W.W. Skeat's credit in 1899 (1953: 25-29).

70. See also Ibrahim Syukri's book (1985: 20), which shows that the site is still correctly identified by the locals in the 1950s.

71. At the time a researcher at the Institute for Cultural Studies, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani.

Further surveys were carried out in Kerisik in 1986 and 1987 by an American-Thai team led by D.J. Welch and J.R. McNeill with the participation of Sawang Lertrit. They highlight the traces of a citadel, which can be identified as a trapezoidal area of about ten hectares surrounded by a moat, as well as concentrations of shards of imported stonewares and porcelains over an area of about 90 hectares. The Chinese ceramics collected on the surface were dated between the middle of the Ming and the end of the Qing dynasties, Tang and Song dynasties ceramics being absent.⁷²

In 1990, Wayne Bougas, on the basis of his own surveys and the recording of oral traditions carried out on the site in 1988, to which he added information taken from Chinese sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from published Dutch and British sources, as well as from three local texts in Malay, published a study on the site of the sultanate's ancient capital in Kerisik. He offered, in particular, a first schematic plan of the city.

In his synthesis on Malay historiography, Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (1988: 274-319; 1992: 263-304) carries out a comparative philological study of the *Hikayat Patani* based on the manuscripts in the Library of Congress and in Oxford University, on the Thai translation published in 1964, as well as on sections from one or several other manuscripts used by Ibrahim Syukri. He also questions the historical value of the text by analyzing several episodes.

In 1993, Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek published an essay offering a historical reconstruction. For the period of interest here, he produces a factual chronological narrative combining information published at the time (Portuguese sources, British, Malay texts and studies) with opinions of various local learned individuals.⁷³

The following year, Wayne Bougas offered a synthesis of the history of the Sultanate of Patani from Langkasuka, his supposed predecessor, to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Based on previously published field data, it also relies on local sources, especially the *Hikayat Patani*, from which the chronology is derived, as well as on the main foreign sources published at the time. Bougas reflects on the Islamisation of the region, the role of foreign merchants, the political history, as well as the external relations of the sultanate (Siam and Johor). Also in 1994, the old pottery kilns located in Ban Di, southeast of the Kerisik site, were reinvestigated.⁷⁴

The same year, Pierre Le Roux (1994) completed his PhD. thesis, which brings together oral traditions that shed new light on events that probably took place during the period of interest to us here.⁷⁵

72. Welch & McNeill 1989.

73. On the place of Mohd Zamberi A. Malek's publications in Patani's nationalist historiography, cf. Walker (2013: 191, 198, 201-202).

74. Sombatyanuchit *et al.* 2004.

75. Cf. also Le Roux 1998.

It was also in 1994 that Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani published his *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*. For the period of interest here, the author claims in particular the existence of sources in Kelantan that offer another version of Patani's history from the middle of the seventeenth century.

Strangely enough, we had to wait until the 1980s and early 1990s to have Patani back, even if indirectly, on the horizon of research produced in Portugal. We are talking about a set of master's theses from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, all or almost all of which were carried out under the supervision of Luís Filipe Thomaz. They are monographs on the contacts of the Portuguese with states or regions of Southeast Asia (Siam, Maluku, Strait of Malacca) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, built on archival materials predominantly unpublished and deposited in Portuguese archives, and in which, in one way or another, allusions to Patani appear. Of course, the one in which Patani is most quoted is that of Maria da Conceição Flores (Flores 1995), since it is focused on the historical relations between Portugal and Siam in the sixteenth century. This study is a chronological and descriptive view, with a strong empirical bias, including some sections in which Patani is mentioned, although never in an autonomous way. This work by Flores has a parallel on the Spanish side in the study of Florentino Rodao, namely the one focused on the Spanish presence in Siam (Rodao 1997).

In the same cycle of Flores' historiography, although with another analytical depth, we have the works of Paulo Jorge Pinto (2012) and Manuel Lobato (1999). These works focus on the interactions, whether cooperation or conflict, between the *Estado da Índia*, some private Portuguese operators in Southeast Asia and powers, states and economic agents in this region. Both studies are predominantly based on Portuguese (and some European, mainly Spanish) documents and include brief references to Patani.

Already in 1996, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (1996), another researcher of the nouvelle vague of the History of Portuguese Expansion (also very much linked to Thomaz), although more focused on Japan, had published documentary materials, few but relevant, that focused on the first phase of Portugal's trade and diplomacy with the Chinese empire (1508-1531), and of which Patani was part.

In this same "generation" of then young historians of Portuguese expansion in Asia, but seeking a more local perspective, Jorge Santos Alves (always supervised by Thomaz, but strongly influenced by Denys Lombard) published his master's thesis (Alves 1991, 1999) on the relations between the sultanates of Pasai and Aceh and the Portuguese (1509-1580). This is a monographic study based on Malay (and other Asian) and Portuguese (and other European) sources, in which some elements of analysis and documentation related to Patani emerge.

In 1998, Yoneo Ishii published a corpus of fragments from Japanese sources (*Tōsen* reports) in English translation, which provide information on the history of the kingdom of Patani at the end of the seventeenth century.

These accounts from Chinese sailors who called at Nagasaki reveal notably that the system of female rule lasted at least until the end of the century, the severe inconvenience of its port, and shed light on long-distance commercial activities at the time.

A new intensive pedestrian survey of the site of the former capital of the kingdom at Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) was carried out in 1997 by Daniel Perret with the main objective of gathering a large quantity of imported stoneware and porcelain shards in order to get a more precise idea of the topographical extension and chronology of the site.⁷⁶ Between 1997 and 2000, he undertook archaeological research at several fortified sites in the hinterland, as well as a new survey of old Muslim tombstones, supplemented by a systematic study of Arabic inscriptions by Ludvik Kalus. Combined with information from various local and foreign sources, this research resulted in the publication in 2004 of a collective volume edited by D. Perret, A. Srisuchat and S. Thanasuk.

Daniel Perret (2004b) focuses on external factors in the form of regional dynamics at work in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which may have led to the emergence of the Sultanate of Patani. He suggests that it was on the initiative of a Chinese-Javanese-Malay core that Patani developed as an emporium where Chinese products were exchanged for products from the Archipelago.

Geoff Wade's contribution (2004) includes translations in English of a number of Chinese sources useful to elucidate aspects of the past in the coastal region on the eastern side of the peninsula, extending from Chaiya to Pahang.

The identification of more than 3,500 stoneware and porcelain shards collected during the 1997 survey on the site of the old capital at Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) reveals that they are not older than the second half of the fifteenth century and highlights a great period of importation – and thus of prosperity – between the turn of the sixteenth century, the main period of Chinese imports in Patani, and the end of the seventeenth century (Dupoizat 2004a). Results of this survey also allow to suggest a new schematic reconstitution of the plan of the capital of the sultanate by the beginning of the seventeenth century (Perret *et al.* 2004). Further archaeological research conducted in the six best-preserved fortified sites in the Pattani area between 1997 and 2000 did not reveal evidence to support the idea that the coastal site of Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) is the direct heir to a site in the hinterland of Pattani.⁷⁷

The same volume includes a study on the remains of several old pottery kilns at the eastern edge of Ban Kru Se (Sombatyanuchit *et al.*, 2004), a comprehensive and detailed catalogue of old Muslim tombstones supplemented with an essay on the possible routes for the early Islamisation of Patani, including Chinese, Middle-Eastern or Indian, and Southeast Asian networks

⁷⁶. It should be noted that all the shards collected by the American-Thai team were no longer available for study in 1997.

⁷⁷. Perret *et al.* 2004; Dupoizat 2004b.

(Perret 2004c), a study of Arabic inscriptions on old tombstones from four cemeteries, including one belonging to a king (Kalus 2004). The volume ends with an essay on the role of Patani in the long-distance trade networks of the seventeenth century (Perret 2004d), and a study of the early history of Sai (or Saiburi), a small independent kingdom located to the southeast of Patani, that was later absorbed by Patani (Bougas 2004).

In 2002, Peter Borschberg published a study about the context of one of the episodes of the Luso-Dutch hostilities in Southeast Asia, precisely the capture of the ship *Santo António* at Patani in February 1605.⁷⁸ According to Borschberg, this event marked an important shift in Patani's relations with the Portuguese and paved the way for better relations with the Dutch.

The violent conflict that has been raging in the Pattani region since the mid-2000s also has an impact on historical research. Fieldwork has become very difficult and even impossible in a number of areas. For the period of interest here, since then studies are mainly focused on Malay texts, both in terms of their content and the context of their production, as well as on the history of ethnic identities. Historiography is also enriched by new data revealed by studies on other regions in the Far East.

In 2006, Mohd Zamberi A. Malek published a state of knowledge on the texts *Tarikh Patani* and *Hikayat Patani*. The first concerns a period preceding the one of interest here. The author compares several manuscripts of the *Hikayat Patani* with each other (that of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, that collected by Skeat, two Thai manuscripts), as well as with *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* of Ibrahim Syukri. He also reflects on the authors of the *Hikayat Patani*, the authenticity of facts mentioned in the text, the relations between Patani and the Siam's rulers, the relations between Patani and Johor in the seventeenth century, as well as Malay elements in the court's culture.

It is from the moment that Jorge Santos Alves began to study and publish about the international port of Macau, in South China, that Patani entered the radar of his publications, given the close relations between the sultanate and the Luso-Asian port at least since the beginning of the sixteenth century. His doctoral thesis (Alves 2003), comparing the political, social and economic dimensions of three pivotal sultanates of the Strait of Malacca (Pasai, Aceh and Malacca-Johor) has some inevitable references to Patani. But it is his studies on Macau (especially Alves 2007, 2010, 2018) that highlight strong connections with the history of the sultanate, both from the point of view of thematic and geographical connections, as well as archival materials. The common denominator of these studies is the commercial partnership of Portuguese and Portuguese-Asian businessmen with Asians, mainly overseas Chinese, many of them established in the ports of the Strait of Malacca, as well as in Patani.

78. See the account of Wybrandt van Waerwijck's stay in Patani in this volume.

A collective volume published in 2008 (Montesano & Jory, eds.) highlights new research directions, including studies on the history of ethnic identity, in particular Malay identity (Reid 2008), as well as the political context of production of the *Hikayat Patani* (Virunha 2008).

It is also in 2008 that, based on numerous published sources and studies, Francis R. Bradley published a study on the roots of the sultanate's economic development in the sixteenth century. The author discerns three phases dominated successively by relations with the Ruykyu archipelago, the Patani-Fujian-Portuguese trade networks, and then the role of the "pirates" group led by Lin Dao-Qian. In a study published the following year, Bradley suggested a new hypothesis on the social context of the putting together of the *Hikayat Patani*: the serious political and economic crisis at the beginning of the eighteenth century prompted members of the sultanate's elite to produce a text combining oral tradition and narrative of contemporary events.

In a study presented at a conference held in Bangkok in 2009 (published in 2013) Anthony Reid emphasizes the diversity of origins of the Patani's leading figures and population from the beginning of the sultanate. He claims that this complexity is accentuated by the emergence of hybrid communities far from the stereotypes dominant from the twentieth century. The same year, Barbara Watson Andaya suggested reading in the *Hikayat Patani* the expression of remembrance sites as identity markers of the sultanate (study published in 2013).

In 2011, Nathan Porath suggested keys to the interpretation of the *Hikayat Patani* with regard to the relations between Patani and Ayutthaya on the one hand, and Patani and Johor on the other. The same year, based on numerous published sources and studies, Stefan Amirell compared the reigns of the Patani queens, concluding that the first three had real authority based on economic autonomy and ability to amass a large private fortune through foreign trade.

Among André Murteira's studies, more focused on the rivalry between Portugal and the Netherlands in Southeast Asia, stands out his doctoral thesis, which has since been published (Murteira 2012). It contains several allusions to Patani, as one of the poles of the Luso-Dutch conflict.

In 2015, Jelani Harun offered the first study on the content of the manuscript entitled *Syair Negeri Petani* kept in the library of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur. Like the *Hikayat Patani*, part of the manuscript concerns the period of interest here, in particular the reigns of the queens. The same year, Ismail C. Denudon published a historical monograph on Patani from the pre-Islamic period to the 2000s. For the period under consideration here, the text combines elements from the *Hikayat Patani* with data from foreign sources already published.

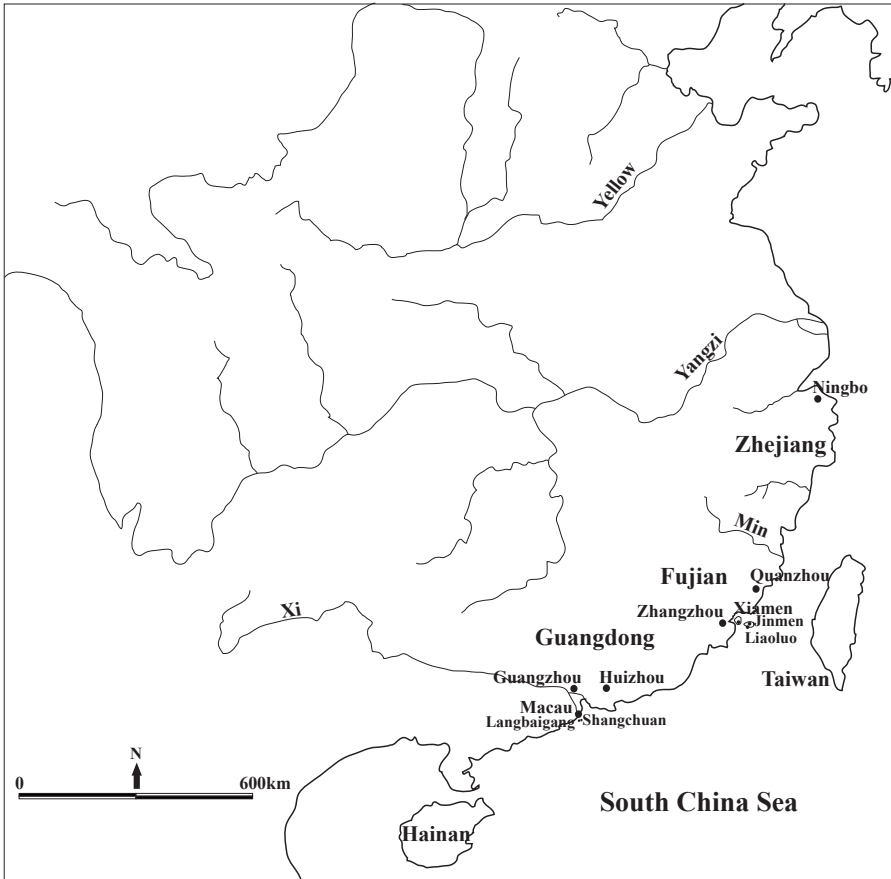
In 2018, Raja Iskandar Bin Raja Halid highlighted the function and importance of the royal musical ensemble (*nobat*) in the political culture of the sultanate.

Finally, recent studies on the history of the China coast in particular and the South China Sea in general provide new information on "pirates" who

called at Patani during the sixteenth century (Calanca 2001; Chin 2007). Piyada Chonlaworn’s (2017) most recent study thus provides a synthesis of the various sources relating to Lin Dao-Qian.



Map 1 – Main Southeast Asian place names mentioned in this volume.



Map 2 – Main place names in China mentioned in this volume

A. Patani and the Luso-Asian Networks (1516-1642)

*JORGE SANTOS ALVES**

Ever since the late fifteenth century, the port of Patani has featured on the maps of Asian maritime trade. This position steadily advanced under the protective benevolence of Siam to become a commercial pole in the multiple connections between Southeast Asia and the Chinese markets. Its strategic position, a sheltered port halfway between Java and China, attracted Asian investors and traders from various backgrounds (Chinese, Javanese, Malay, Thai, among others). Patani competed with the other ports on the Malay Peninsula (such as Pahang), but above all with those in the Straits of Malacca, such as Malacca itself, for the trade in Chinese products (like porcelains, silks or lacquers) exchanged for clove and nutmeg from Maluku, sandalwood from Timor, and especially pepper from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java.¹ Gradually, over the early years of the sixteenth century, Patani became home to an expanding community of overseas Chinese, many of whom first installed their vessels there before following with their own residences and livelihoods. On occasion dedicated to illegal trading activities with China, on others, they became privateers or pirates. The commercial and financial development of Patani would nevertheless seem to have gone relatively unnoticed by the new players and the first Europeans in the region – the Portuguese.

* Instituto de Estudos Asiáticos/Institute of Asian Studies, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon.

1. On the “founding” and development of Patani as an international trading port between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Perret (2004: 18-36; 223-226).

1. Peace and War: Sultan Ismail Syah and Portuguese Malacca (1516-1533)

After taking Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese defined their priorities as establishing strategic local and regional partnerships with Siam, Pegu, Java and China. Patani remained, almost naturally, marginal to Portuguese interests and broadly off its diplomatic and commercial radar. It was courtesy of King Manuel (1491-1521) defining means of making diplomatic and commercial approaches to Ming China that, after 1515, Patani entered, also almost naturally, onto the Portuguese political-diplomatic agenda for Southeast Asia and the China Sea.²

Hence, in late 1516, while making his way to southern China and accompanying the first Portuguese and European embassy to the Ming dynasty, Fernão Peres de Andrade made a stopover in the port of Patani. João de Barros, an official Portuguese chronicler, was very explicit about this choice: “the Port of the city of Patani [...] where there gathers many of the vessels of China, Ryukyu, and Java, and all those other neighbouring islands, as it handles a very well reputed trade [...]”³

We do not know whether the Sultan of Patani and his predominantly Chinese mercantile elite, held any real interest in the Portuguese agenda as represented by Peres de Andrade and Tomé Pires, who accompanied him as ambassador of the King of Portugal to the Chinese Emperor Zhengde (1506-1521).⁴ It is also João de Barros (and only him) who informs us how Peres de Andrade arrived at some kind of understanding (“*assentou paz*” – “settled the peace”) with “the Governor of the land.”⁵ Is Barros here referring to Sultan Ismail Syah (?-1524/1530)? Or is he instead following the usual patterns in Portuguese sixteenth century sources on maritime Southeast Asia that, whenever referring to the “governor,” he is in fact making reference to the *bendahara* or to the *syahbandar*? Whatever the answer might actually be, the agreement reached between the authorities in Patani and the Portuguese provided authorisation for Portuguese vessels to trade in this port and Patani vessels to trade in Malacca. Immediately taking advantage of this opportunity was the controversial Captain of Malacca, Jorge de Brito (1515-1517), who sent ships to trade in Patani in that same year.⁶ In addition to Brito, other Portuguese privateers began to trade in Patani, always with the Chinese

2. It is significant that the *Suma Oriental* by Tomé Pires (written in Malacca between 1512 and 1515), contains only some sparse and brief references to Patani and does not have a specific entry on the sultanate as happens with the majority of the other states and polities in the region.

3. *Barros*: III/2/6.

4. On the embassy of Tomé Pires to Ming China, see Alves (2018: 27-49).

5. *Barros*: III/2/6.

6. *Idem*.

market in their sights and probably interconnected with the Chinese interests and capital in Patani (perhaps also Malacca?). During these years, Sultan Ismail Syah of Patani was himself investing in trading with China, sending at least one of his junks to Guangzhou.⁷ There are reports from 1521 of the presence of Portuguese on Chinese junks arriving in Guangzhou from Patani as was the case with Bartolomeu Soares, who would arrive along with the ships captained by Francisco Rodrigues and Jorge Álvares⁸ who had been the first Portuguese visitor to China in 1513.

In Patani, the Chinese community was already substantial and numerous by the early sixteenth century, deeply involved in the trade ongoing with the coasts along Southern China as well as with Siam, Malacca and probably Pahang. The Xu family was leading in this community. The Xu brothers, magnates in the trade between Southeast Asia and China, were originally from Huizhou, in Guangdong province. They had already accumulated years of contacts and partnerships with various Asian commercial operators across the region, as well as with the Portuguese at least since 1509.⁹ One of these Cantonese brothers, Xu Dong or Xu Er (thus, the “Second Xu”), while having already spent time in Patani for some years, took up more permanent residence there in 1526 while turning it into the base for his commercial operations.¹⁰ Patani had become so attractive to the Chinese that it was the natural destination for the Chinese crew of a Malay (?) junk that departed Guangzhou with a message from Emperor Jiajing to the Sultan of Malacca, then exiled in Bintan, in 1523.¹¹

To a certain extent, the Chinese were also involved in the changes that occurred in the relationship between Patani and the Portuguese of Malacca in 1523. The *Hikayat Patani* totally omits any reference to this period in the political history of the sultanate. However, it suggests that the reign of Sultan Ismail Syah saw the access of Patani to military technology capable of casting heavy artillery. This all stemmed from a technology transfer that involved a Chinese trader and a Turk/Rumi counterpart (Abdul Samad).¹²

7. In 1521, at least one of the Sultan of Patani's junks had joined a fleet coming from Siam and was seized by the Chinese imperial navy off the coasts of Guangdong (*Cativos Cantão*: 32). The information in this document is however confusing; further along, it advances the claim that a total of three of the Sultan's junks were seized by the Chinese authorities.

8. *Cativos Cantão*: 32.

9. On the first Luso-Chinese commercial partnerships, see Alves (2007: 13-15). A biographical note on Xu Lada, or Xu Nan (“Third Xu”) can be found in Alves (2003: 326-328). We are grateful to Jin Guoping and James K. Chin for the information referencing the Chinese sources on this Chinese magnate.

10. Chin 2009: 124-125.

11. *Cativos Cantão*: 37 (see document 1).

12. *HP T&W*: II, 152-154. For the same period (between 1522 and 1525), we have another case of the early local casting of artillery in Panarukan (Java), also due to the

Equipped with artillery even if still rudimentary, Patani would now seem able to assume another level of importance in the ongoing geopolitics of the region and capable of allying with other regional powers, such as Bintan – where the former Sultan of Malacca ruled – and Pahang. This alliance would seem to have sought to challenge the Portuguese presence both in Malacca and in the broader region of the Straits and the Malay Peninsula in the early years of the 1520s. Pressured by this new regional situation, the Captain of Malacca, Jorge de Albuquerque (1521-1525), was forced into requesting military assistance from Goa, the seat of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. The motive was an uprising in Pahang (curiously referred to as “Pahang in China”), which was threatening to send an armada of junks (Chinese?) against Malacca.¹³ Also in 1523, and seriously worsening the difficulties of the official Portuguese presence in Southeast Asia, came the loss of the fortress/factory in the pepper port of Pasai, on the northern reaches of Sumatra. This was a heavy blow to Portuguese interests. Pasai was one of the pillars in the Portuguese triangular strategy (Malacca-Pasai-Guangzhou) to access Chinese markets and represented the key port for the supply of pepper to Portuguese vessels bound for China.¹⁴ The defeat and expulsion of the Portuguese and their local and international allies in Pasai as a consequence of the political-military expansionism of the Sultanate of Aceh, a rising star among the Malay sultanates of the Malacca Strait, meant the temporary closure of access to pepper supplies destined for China. This event threatened the survival of Portuguese trade in Malacca as well as the life in the city itself, especially due to the lack of supplies and provisions (particularly rice). Pahang seized Portuguese vessels in its port and killed their crews, Bintan laid siege to Malacca and Patani closed off its supply of provisions and goods. The new Patani policy, apparently in coalition with Bintan and Pahang, combined with the expansionism of Aceh, forced Jorge de Albuquerque into desperate

influence of experts who probably originated from the Middle East or the Near East (Alves 2007: 13-14). In this case, it would seem that the cannons were imitations of Portuguese artillery. Would this also hold for the case of Patani? In 2008, the Thai mega-production *Queens of Langkasuka* (from the original title after (before?) censorship, *Queens of Pattani*) by Nonzee Nimibutr, has a plot structured around a large calibre cannon cast by a Dutch and a Chinese during the reign of Raja Hijau, and the battle against an usurper allied to a powerful group of pirates.

13. Instruction from Jorge de Albuquerque to Bastião de Sousa, Malacca, 14/12/1523, ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-30-72 (Thomaz 1964, II). The Malacca agreement with Pahang was negotiated by Martim da Rocha in the name of the King of Portugal in 1520. Rocha was accompanied by a committee of Chinese traders who provided assistance in the negotiations. In fact this agreement never came into effect (Instruction from Garcia de Sá to Martim da Rocha to establish peace with the king of Pahang, Malacca, 15/4/1520, ANTT, CC, I-27-88, fl. 2) (Alves 1991: II, 44-47).

14. On this matter, see Alves (1999: 55-63).

measures. In order to prevent Malacca becoming isolated, Albuquerque issued an emergency plea to Goa calling for military reinforcements. In 1524, Goa dispatched a small armada led by Martim Afonso de Sousa, a veteran of the naval war in Kerala and Ceylon. Unaware of the local conditions, impatient and pressured by the private Portuguese interests in Malacca, Sousa launched naval attacks on Bintan, Kelantan, Pahang and Patani in June 1524, without even awaiting for – or perhaps running counter to – orders from the Captain of Malacca.¹⁵ This assault hit Patani harshly. The Martim Afonso de Sousa armada, after destroying various Asian trading vessels in the Strait of Malacca as reprisals for the seizure of Portuguese vessels and the death of their crews, headed onto Patani. Here, Sousa wrought tremendous destruction: he burned or sank 36 (Chinese?) junks, assailed and burned down the city. Throughout the following two weeks, he anchored in the port, capturing and destroying another 70 junks arriving from Siam and Java.¹⁶ This impressive number of junks, whether already in the port or on route to Patani from China, Siam and Java, reflects the exponential growth of the city within the framework of regional and international trade.

Various Portuguese sources related to this Portuguese attack of June 1524 put forward some very relevant information about Patani. Firstly, they provide details on the city itself, made up of constructions in wood, stone and brick¹⁷ demonstrating the highly visible extent of its growth. Secondly, they tell us that, in addition to the city, the Portuguese also torched the *dusun*, fully aware of the importance of this transition zone between the coastline and the hinterland that included plantations (“*ortas*” – orchards – and “*palmares*” – palm groves) of high relevance to secure food supply for Patani itself, and probably including cash crops for export.¹⁸

Other important information directly relate to the Sultan of Patani, even if in very contradictory terms. Some Portuguese texts recount how, on his arrival from Java in a (Javanese?) junk, Sultan Ismail Syah was captured in this Martim Afonso de Sousa’s attack, and then executed alongside several hundred individuals.¹⁹ Other sources mention that the sultan escaped death because he was in Siam at the time, on a tributary visit to King Ramathibodi II (1491-1529).²⁰ The latter may be the true scenario as no Portuguese sources (nor Malay) mention about a new sultan taking power at that time. Also uncertain is when,

15. *Barros*: III/10/2; Letter from Pedro de Mascarenhas to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1/9/1525, ANTT, CC, I-32-106, fl. 2v (published as document 4).

16. *Lembrança 1525*: 7; see also, although without any numbers: *Barros*, III/10/2; *Correia*, II, 779, 800; *Castanheda*, II, 248.

17. *Correia*: II, 800. An excerpt of this Portuguese source is published as document n°2.

18. *Correia*: II, 800; *Castanheda*: II, 248-249.

19. *Correia*: II, 800; *Castanheda*: II, 248.

20. *Lembrança 1525*: 7; *Barros*: II/10/2.

early in the following year (1525), the Portuguese sought to reopen a diplomatic channel with Patani. Moreover the extent of the destruction caused by June 1524 attack still remains to be ascertained and, more importantly, how quickly the reconstruction of the city and the restoration of its commercial life took place.

We are on firmer ground to state that the new Captain of Malacca, Pedro de Mascarenhas (1525-1526), opted in favour of re-connecting with Patani. He sent an armada against Pahang, led by Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte, but also dispatched a mission to Patani in August 1525.²¹ Its main objective was to guarantee the supply of food and provisions (especially rice) to Malacca, which might suggest that the Patani economic and commercial life quickly recovered, at least partially. At first, the diplomacy did not work out, perhaps because the Portuguese attack was still too fresh in the minds of the sultan and the population. This initial failure led Melo Jusarte to order the seizure of at least 16 junks (local and international) anchored in the port.²² Pressured by these events and, perhaps thanks to the mediation of Tun Muhammad, a Luzon trader,²³ who accompanied the Portuguese, the sultan (still Ismail Syah?) reached a peace agreement with the Portuguese and committed to the sending of substantial supplies and provisions to Malacca.²⁴

On the ground, this agreement was a success for the “frontier” diplomacy of Malacca. Within the general framework of the foreign policy of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, it was the result of the new official Portuguese policy towards Pahang and Patani, a facet of the “China policy” of the King of Portugal. After the setbacks and confrontations off the coastline of Guangdong in 1520 and 1522, King João III (1521-1557) again turned towards China. However, this time, his perspective was more pragmatic and moderate, without the conquistador attitude and militaristic spirit of King Manuel. He set this down openly in the written instructions dispatched in 1526 to Pedro de Mascarenhas,

21. Letter from Pero de Mascarenhas to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1/9/1525, fl. 2v; Letter from Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 28/8/1525, ANTT, CC I-32-101.

22. *Correia*: II, 937; *Castanheda*: II, 314. The excerpt of Gaspar Correia’s book is published as document n°3.

23. Letter from Pero de Mascarenhas to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1/9/1525, fl. 2v. An excerpt of this letter is published as document n°4. Tun Muhammad was a Luzon trader, son of the magnate Arya Rana Adiraja, from whom he inherited the office of *temenggong* in Malacca by late 1513. As did his father, he maintained trading interests with China and owned a Chinese junk that he also inherited. He collaborated very closely with the Portuguese in defence of Malacca on more than one occasion. In 1517, he managed two junks in partnership with his mother, Tun Doyam. For further details on this trader and other individuals from the Luzon community living in Malacca, as well as its China connections in the later period of the Malay sultanate and the early years of the Portuguese conquest, see Alves (2003).

24. *Correia*: II, 937; *Castanheda*: II, 314.

then still Captain of Malacca but already nominated as Governor of the *Estado da Índia*. King João III pragmatically recommended a re-connection with China while maintaining good contacts with those “lands in the kingdom of Siam and those of Patani and the others with which they [the Chinese] now do trade, sending to them my message and showing to them all my desire to achieve a manner in which you shall be able to work in order to bring about trade and based on peace and friendship.”²⁵

Patani was a key place, especially after the loss of influence in Pasai and the failed attempt to enter the pepper market in Sunda (West Java) in 1522, in order to obtain Southeast Asian spices and drugs to prepare for an eventual return to the Chinese market or even to deal directly with the Chinese junks that would pass through Malacca. Nevertheless, Patani remained free of the Portuguese military-naval and diplomatic pressure and was highly active in international markets. We know that Patani junks were trading in Banda (certainly for nutmeg and mace) in 1525²⁶ and that in late 1526/1527 at least 30 Chinese junks from Fujian (Quanzhou and Zhangzhou) arrived in various Southeast Asian ports, including Pahang and Patani.²⁷

Chinese sources highlight 1526 as the year which saw the expansion of the Chinese overseas community in Patani. In fact, one of the Xu brothers already mentioned above was an old associate of the Portuguese in the region. Originally from Guangdong (precisely from Huizhou, in the Pearl River Delta), Xu Dong (or Xu Er, thus the second brother) took up residence in Patani in 1526 before marrying a local woman. Xu Dong was accompanied by two brothers (Xu Song and Xu Zi), while another brother, Xu Nan, settled in Malacca.²⁸ In fact, Xu Dong brought his entire operational structure with him to Patani, which included a fleet made up of various junks and their respective crews (and their families?), as well as their captains and associates. Li Guangtou,²⁹ another Cantonese trader and old partner of Xu, might have been among them. In fact, looking at the importance of this operational structure, the framework was probably a kind of multinational corporation that included partnerships with Luzon traders (such as Arya Rana Adiraja) and Tamil merchants (such as Nayinar Suryadevan). Lin Jiang, another magnate and Chinese smuggler, perhaps also Cantonese, and another partner of Xu

25. Letter (register) from the King of Portugal to Pero de Mascarenhas, n/p (Lisbon?), n/d (1526), ANTT, *Fundo Antigo*, n° 875, fls. 71v-72, published Costa (1996: 82).

26. *Correia*: II, 885.

27. Letter from Jorge Cabral to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 10/9/1527, ANTT, CC I-22-80, in Alves (1991: II, 101-120 [117]).

28. On this family of Chinese smugglers, sometimes also pirates, see Chin (2009: 124-126). For further details on their partnership with the Portuguese, see Alves (2003: 326-328).

29. Chin 2009: 125.

Dong, resided in Pahang. Chinese sources mention that he became the leader of the Chinese community there from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The prosperity of Lin reached such a scale by the 1540s that he was running a fleet of more than 70 junks.³⁰ The truce between Patani and Malacca ensured the return of various junks loaded with supplies and Chinese goods to the Portuguese-dominated city in 1527.³¹

However, political, diplomatic and economic relations still had to wait for normalisation with Patani and especially with China. Perhaps this awaited the coming to power of a new sultan to succeed Ismail Syah. Sources known so far, whether local or foreign, are silent about the exact date and circumstances of the royal succession in Patani.³²

2. The Gama Effect – Patani and Portuguese Trade in China (1533-1554)

Whether or not Sultan Ismail Syah was still ruling Patani, the fact remains that relations with the Portuguese of Malacca underwent new developments in the early 1530s. They were initiated by Paulo da Gama (1533-1534), who was then inaugurating an almost two-decade-long period of Gama family control over both the captaincy of Malacca and the Portuguese trade with China. We here refer to the children of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese “hero” of its Age of Discoveries.³³ Despite having barely taken up the position of Captain of Malacca, Paulo da Gama dispatched a mission which would nowadays be termed as “economic diplomacy” to the neighbouring sultans of Pahang and Patani. The Patani mission was led by Manuel Godinho and turned out particularly successful.³⁴ This proved so much the case that when his brother, Estevão da Gama, succeeded him as Captain of Malacca in 1534, he was also able to take advantage of - and perhaps he was already aware of this before his departure from Goa - the exceptional commercial conditions that had been made possible by the return of the Portuguese to the Chinese markets, via Patani (and Pahang). Strangely enough, nothing transpired for Goa or Portugal as a consequence of this mission and its results. In fact, it was only twelve years after these events and, one could say by pure chance, that information about this mission emerged thanks to a letter of services authored by Manuel Godinho. It implies that no information circulated, via official or non-official channels, to Goa or to Portugal, about the sensational outcome of the mission

³⁰. Chin 2009: 125-126.

³¹. Letter from Pero Barriga to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 3/8/1527, in Alves (1991: II, 81-93 [92]).

³². *HP T&W*: 3-9, 11.

³³. On Vasco da Gama, the Gama family and their historical heritage, see Subrahmanyam (1998).

³⁴. Manuel Godinho to the King of Portugal, Goa, 25/10/1545, ANTT, CC I-76-118, published in Alves (1999: 261-268 [266]); *Correia*: III, 487.



Estêvão da Gama, Governor of the *Estado da Índia* (1540-1542), in Pedro Barreto de Rezende, *Relacion da Índia*, 17th cent., Department of Manuscripts (Portugais 1), Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

headed by Godinho in Patani. One can wonder whether the Gama brothers, first Paulo and then Estêvão, deliberately kept this news of the reopening of China to Portuguese commercial contacts under wraps.

If so, this might indicate how Estêvão da Gama would have found, upon his arrival in Malacca in 1534, the embryo of a commercial network that had already been established by his brother Paulo, who also remained in the city - with the office of captain-major of the sea of Malacca - until his death later that year.³⁵ In any case, it is clear that the preservation of a certain degree of discretion as regards the exploration of the routes to the markets of South China was of vital importance for the Gama family and the key to the success of their private trading network. One can therefore also understand their prudent silence about the fundamental role played by the port of Patani. It was precisely Patani, and not Malacca, that was the centre of the mercantile operations of Estêvão da Gama's network during his time as Captain of Malacca. Once again, it was only years after his departure from Malacca, as explained below, that one can penetrate the barrier of silence that surrounds the commercial activities of the Gama family in Patani.

As Captain of Malacca (1534-1539), Estêvão da Gama built up a complex and highly profitable network that included various Portuguese and Asian participants. On the Asian side, always in relation to Patani, a single name entered the inner circle of this network: a Malacca-born rich Tamil merchant called Nayinnar Melaka.³⁶

Estêvão da Gama's commercial network was located in Pahang³⁷ and, above all, in Patani,³⁸ which is quite understandable as they were privileged ports for trade with South China where a large part of the investments of this Captain of Malacca were directed. Estêvão da Gama always sent his goods to

35. It is also possible that the appointment, in 1538, of another brother of Estêvão and Paulo da Gama, Cristóvão da Gama, to the captaincy of Malacca, could likewise have been part of this strategy by the da Gama family (Letter of appointment of Cristóvão da Gama to the captaincy of Malacca, Lisbon, 12/1/1538, ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, book 49, f. 39v), published in Thomaz (1964: II, 295-296).

36. This Tamil magnate was appointed *syahbandar* of Malacca by Estêvão da Gama upon his arrival, thus ousting from his post the holder of this office at the time, the Malay Tun Muhammad (Alves 2003: 315). To all appearances, Nayinnar Melaka was the main agent in Estêvão da Gama's network that, moreover, favoured contacts with the city's Tamil community. It was rumoured, something not denied by Estêvão da Gama, that the Tamil magnate was entrusted with channelling the goods and capitals of the network towards the ports of the Malay Peninsula (especially Patani). From there, they were channelled towards the Chinese markets in association with overseas Chinese (Letter from Pero da Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 23/11/1540), cited above; Letter from Estêvão da Gama to the King of Portugal, n/d (Goa, post-1542), ff. 1v, 2, 3v, published as document no.8).

37. *Castanheda*: II, 699.

38. *Idem*.

China via Patani, where his factor would despatch them aboard junks owned by overseas Chinese. In addition, he would charge Portuguese traders resident in Malacca an additional transit tax to carry their merchandise to Patani, from where they would later be carried in Chinese junks to South China ports.³⁹

Moreover, with regard to Patani, Estêvão da Gama apparently charged Malay and Tamil merchants based in Malacca a fee for providing a military escort to their ships, which crossed the Straits en route to Patani.⁴⁰ Albeit limited, the available data reveal the intensity of the activities of this network orientated toward the Chinese markets between 1534 and 1541. There is evidence to corroborate the undertaking of at least four voyages made under Estêvão da Gama's aegis, all of them with either a departure point from or passage through Patani: Manuel Botelho in 1534⁴¹; Rui Lobo, with one or perhaps more voyages until his death in Ningbo in 1538⁴²; Cristóvão Sardinha and his associate the Armenian Tomé "Mustangue" in the junk of the Muslim Chinese trader Kiai Taijun (who dubbed himself "Kapitan Sardinha" – or "Captain Sardine"), in 1538/1539⁴³; and Manuel de Brito in 1540/1541.⁴⁴ We do not include here the voyage to China that was promised and later denied to Diogo Nunes, departing from Patani, where he had taken on a cargo of pepper, perhaps in 1539.⁴⁵ In this case, Estêvão da Gama prohibited the departure of the junk (Chinese) that was to sell both to Nunes and to their factors in Patani (João Ribeiro and Lopo Vaz Camelo) but he also denied permission for loading the junk with pepper for China.⁴⁶

Estêvão da Gama ruled the commercial operations with an iron fist and enjoyed the exclusivity on trade with Chinese ports out of Patani to the extent that, in 1534, he dispatched a man in his trust and a vital member of his business network, Francisco de Barros de Paiva,⁴⁷ on a diplomatic mission to the Sultan

39. Letter from Estêvão da Gama to the King of Portugal, n/p (Goa), n/d (post-1542), f. 8.

40. *Idem*, f. 7.

41. Letter from Pero de Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 23/11/1540, cited above.

42. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 142-143.

43. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 119-120.

44. Pero de Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 23/11/1540, cited above; *Correia*: II, 563.

45. Letter from Pero de Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 22/11/1540, *As Gavetas*, V, 26-31 [26].

46. Letter from Diogo Nunes to the Governor of the *Estado da Índia*, n/p (Malacca), n/d (post-1540), ANTT, *Fragmentos*, caixa 13, maço 13, doc. 29, fl. 1.

47. Francisco de Barros de Paiva was a Portuguese nobleman (*fidalgo*) very much involved in maritime war off the Kerala Coast, in the Straits of Malacca. In 1538 he joined the Portuguese embassy to the sultan of Bengal.

of Patani (as well as his cousin Simão Sodré⁴⁸ to the Sultan of Pahang).⁴⁹ His mission involved confirming the willingness of the sultan (already Mudhaffar Syah?) to maintain peace with Malacca and guarantee the flow of trade to the Chinese market. The signs would seem to have been positive, but Barros de Paiva and the Gama network still had to face another threat to their business: the raids of the Javanese “corsairs” along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, especially in the areas around Pahang and Patani.

Whether this Javanese pressure already existed prior to the mid-1530s due to new circumstances or whether it simply passed unnoticed by Europeans/Portuguese, still remains to be determined. However, that same year 1535, the overseas Portuguese chroniclers unanimously refer to the presence of Javanese fleets in the region. One such armada, with more than twenty large, oar-powered ships, well-equipped with artillery, carrying about 2,000 men, was captained by Arya Kadih (?).⁵⁰ Another, more powerful (with more than 60 vessels), was led by Patih Barah (?).⁵¹ No precise information is available about the origins of these Javanese fleets, but they were likely drawn from various ports of the Pasisir.⁵²

The departure of Estêvão da Gama from Malacca (following his promotion to Governor of the *Estado da Índia*, 1540-1542) momentarily removed the Gama family from the China via Patani trade. However, a few years later, two others of the Vasco da Gama sons and captains of Malacca, Pedro da Silva da Gama (1548-1552), and Álvaro de Ataíde da Gama (1552-1554), would seek to restore the private Portuguese trading networks with China.⁵³

Furthermore, in the 1540s, another Portuguese and Luso-Asian network maintained close contacts with Patani. It was led by one of the “old Asia hands,” Pero de Faria. Faria twice served as Captain of Malacca (1528-1529 and 1539-1542), and in his second tenure in the office succeeded none other than Estêvão da Gama, of whom he was one of the harshest critics of the Malacca captaincy.

48. Simão Sodré was a Portuguese nobleman (*fidalgo*), a member of the Albuquerque “clan” in Asia (he was nephew of Vasco da Gama). He served the *Estado da Índia* in several war scenarios, namely off the West India Coast, the Straits of Malacca, and finally in 1525/1526 in the Maldives.

49. Barros: IV, 9/15; *Castanheda*: II, 715; *Correia*: III, 631. The excerpt from João de Barros is published as document n° 6.

50. Barros: IV/9/15, calls him “Ericatim”; *Castanheda*: II, 715, calls him “Eriacatim”; *Correia*: III, 631 “Fracaria.” They all state that he was a Javanese Muslim.

51. Barros: IV/9/15; *Castanheda*: II, 717; *Correia*: III, 632.

52. There is a later reference to a Javanese attack on Patani. It is undated, but may have occurred in the 1580s (*Gaio Patani*, fl. 132). Published as document no. 19.

53. On this point, see Alves (1999: 60-65).

During this second tenure, Pero de Faria built a well-oiled network of private maritime trade, covering almost all of Southeast Asia and the South China Sea.⁵⁴ Patani played a central role in the commercial operations of this network. To all appearances, the organisation of Pero de Faria's network was based upon a family structure. His Luso-Asian sons played key roles in this activity: Álvaro de Faria⁵⁵ – captain-major of the sea in Malacca during the captaincy of his father and until his death in 1540⁵⁶ and, perhaps Vasco de Faria, were the most prominent.⁵⁷ Furthermore, another relative was the António de Faria de Sousa made famous in *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto. Mendes Pinto himself was a key member of the Pero de Faria network, connecting Kedah, Pahang, Patani, and ports in mainland Southeast Asia (Ayutthaya, Tenasserim and Martaban).⁵⁸ In order to guarantee the security of his commercial operations in Patani, alongside that of the Portuguese community resident there, Faria dispatched Mendes Pinto on a diplomatic mission in 1539 to the sultan, who may be Mudhaffar Syah. In Patani, Mendes Pinto had direct access to the sultan, from whom he secured the safety of the Portuguese trading community in that port.⁵⁹ Another goal of Pinto's diplomatic mission to Patani was to request the intervention of the sultan with the King of Siam to secure the release of a group of Portuguese prisoners held by a Siamese noble, the brother-in-law of the Sultan of Patani.⁶⁰

Mendes Pinto's book reveals that in the late 1530s and early 1540s, there was an approximately 300 individuals strong Portuguese and probably Luso-Asian community living in Patani.⁶¹ Part of them held strong ties to Malacca, while the

54. For further details on this network, see Alves (2010: 103-109).

55. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 103.

56. Pero de Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 25/11/1539, IANTT, CC I-66-37, published in Thomaz (1964), II, 305-315 [314]; Pero de Faria to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 22/11/1540, cited above.

57. This Vasco de Faria operated regularly from Patani, en route to China and thereby establishing the triangulation with the ports of Java (Will of António de Faria, Goa, 2/6/1548 (Freitas 1971: 163-168 [164])).

58. In Patani, Mendes Pinto came across João Fernandes Abreu, Lourenço de Góis and Vasco Sarmiento, but does not shed any light upon their possible role in Pero de Faria's network (*Pinto Peregrinação*: 148-149).

59. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 148-149; *Pinto Cartas*: 63. Pinto recorded these events in one of his letters dating from 1555, when he was already a Jesuit, about another visit to Patani, during which he was recognised and well received by the sultan. See also Faria e Sousa (III: 51-53) for a slightly different version of these same events, which nevertheless highlights the authority of the sultan over the elites of Patani, especially among anti-Portuguese factions.

60. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 115. In this reference, Pinto provides a clear description of the matrimonial connections between Patani and Siam that held deep political significance in the mid-sixteenth century.

61. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 122.

others commuted between Malacca and Patani. Between 1538 and 1542, this was the case for our already met João Ribeiro (resident factor of Estêvão da Gama's network) and Belchior Pais.⁶² Both individuals maintained good relationships with the overseas Chinese community⁶³ that also featured among the associates in the Pero de Faria network. Such associates included: Koja Ali, a Malay from Malacca,⁶⁴ who seems to have had family and mercantile ties with the Chinese community in Patani, even with a branch in Kedah⁶⁵; Nakoda Muhammad, a Chinese Muslim based in Malacca, where he operated in partnership with Tamil and Malay merchants, and with Pero de Faria's network on the Malacca-Martaban route.⁶⁶ Another case was that of the Chinese smuggler called "Quiay Panjão" (maybe a title - Kiai Panjang⁶⁷ or the "Great Venerable One") by Pinto, who explains that he was a well-established individual, with a wife and children in Patani.⁶⁸ This overseas Chinese was possibly originally from Fujian, more precisely from Liaoluo, a bay on the southern shores of the island of Jinmen (Jinmen Dao).⁶⁹ His commercial operations and piracy activities covered Southeast Asia and the Chinese coasts, particularly the provinces of Fujian (he had good *guanxi*⁷⁰ in Quanzhou), Zhejiang (Ningbo, where he would eventually die) and the Ryukyu Islands – and perhaps in Japan as well. However, the best example would once again be the Xu family that interacted with the Portuguese in general and above all with Pero de Faria, opening up his access to the porcelain production markets

62. Will of Belchior Pais, Malacca, 1/10/1542, Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto, Série H, Banco 6, livro 14, fls. 15-30 [19]. I thank Isabel dos Guimarães Sá for this reference.

63. *Villalobos*: 177-178.

64. Described by Estêvão da Gama as an "honoured Moor of Malacca" (Estêvão da Gama to the King of Portugal, n/p (Goa?), n/d (post-1542?), cited above, ff. 7v and 8). Koja Ali was executed in 1540 on the orders of the Sultan of Kedah, as a result of the political instability prevailing there at the time.

65. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 74. About the few Chinese *khojas* of Malacca and their ties with the ports in the Strait of Malacca and in China in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Alves (2003: chapter VI).

66. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 471-473, 480, 482. Nakoda Muhammad always travelled accompanied by one of his sons called "Sepetu" by Pinto.

67. The possible Kiai Panjang title, combining a Javanese element - *kiai* - and a Malay one - *panjang*, was not uncommon in maritime Southeast Asia and the South China Sea at the time.

68. *Pinto Peregrinação*: 186-187.

69. *Idem*.

70. The Chinese expression *guanxi* was and remains a core part of doing business in China. It refers to creating a network of personal ties and relationships that can also involve moral obligations and exchanging favours.

of China. In 1540, one year on from returning to the post of Captain of Malacca, he placed an order for Chinese porcelain in his own name, thus becoming the first European to do so⁷¹ but always in connection with the port of Patani.⁷²



Porcelain bowl “Pero de Faria” (1541), Jiajing Period, Museu Rainha Dona Leonor/António Cunha, Beja, Portugal (inv. PI ST/2)

The major change in the relationship between Patani and the Portuguese occurred towards the beginning of the second half of the 1540s and involved three different components:

1. Liberalisation of the private Portuguese trade in the Gulf of Bengal, in Southeast Asia and in the China Sea; a policy launched by the *Estado da Índia* under Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-1545)⁷³ and to a large extent continued by his successor, João de Castro (1545-1548)⁷⁴;
2. Establishment of the captains of Malacca monopoly over all maritime trading voyages between the city and ports in the region, subsequently

71. Matos (1992: 82).

72. See the translation of this Chinese text dating from 1548 in *Portugal Encontra a China. Testemunhos de uma convivência*, Rui Rocha (coord.) (Lisbon/Macao: Instituto Camões/Fundação Oriente, 2005): 66.

73. “Notes sent to the King on the arrival of Martim Afonso de Sousa in India and on his government” (1544) (*As Gavetas*: III, 199-234 [202-203]). This makes clear how, immediately after his arrival in Goa, Governor Sousa granted at least eight voyages to China to either persons in his trust or direct family members. On Martim Afonso de Sousa, see Pelúcia (2011).

74. The voyage between India and Patani was granted to Diogo Soares de Castro who then remained in the region during three years beyond any control from the Portuguese authorities (“Notes sent to the King on the arrival of Martim Afonso de Sousa in India and on his government,” 1544) (*As Gavetas*: III, 199-234 [202-203]).

confirmed by Viceroy João de Castro (1545-1548) – Patani entered onto this list.⁷⁵

3. Integration of Patani into the administrative structure of the *Estado da Índia* through the nomination of a resident Captain in 1545.⁷⁶

The first component saw the normalisation of a trend that had been deepening ever since 1533 – following the mission to Patani led by Manuel Godinho. It placed the right to grant trade voyages in the hands of the *Estado da Índia* leaders who then granted them to their proteges and family members, especially those travelling to the ports in south China. This liberalisation did not exclude Patani, which remained the springboard onto the Chinese markets, furthermore, probably conceding more favourable customs terms than those prevailing in Malacca and stimulating partnerships with overseas Chinese residents in the city. Patani thus strengthened its role as the incubator for Luso-Asian trade. Patani, once again, fell within the scope of a debate in Lisbon and Goa around the liberalisation of the pepper trade. According to at least three Portuguese veterans in Asian affairs, including the already known Pero de Faria, the large number of private Portuguese traders bringing pepper from Southeast Asia (Sumatra, Java, Patani, etc.) was “saturating” the Chinese market, thus drastically reducing the profit margins (by 50 to 60%). It was furthermore impossible to compete with the Chinese traders who would annually send out 12 to 15 junks loaded with pepper from Patani to China.⁷⁷ The best documented case of these private Portuguese operators is that of Diogo Soares de Castro, a personal friend of Governor Afonso de Mello who, in 1545, was able to benefit from a voyage between India and Patani. He then made Patani the base for his operations during the following three years.⁷⁸

In fact, the second component was the consecration of the official policy dating back at least to the Estêvão da Gama rule of Malacca, if not earlier. This official policy reflected the level of control, verging on a monopoly, of the captains of Malacca over the private and official Portuguese trade both in Southeast Asia and from there onto China. This situation was to be repeated in

75. *Cartas Castro*: III, 388.

76. *Couto*: 6, 1,1.

77. Report of Pero de Faria on the pepper trade, Goa, 19/11/1545, ANTT, CC 1-77-18; Report of Duarte Barreto on the pepper trade, Goa, 6/11/1545, BA 51-VII-22, fls. 141 and after; Report of Duarte Miranda de Azevedo on the pepper trade, Goa, 27/1/1545, ANTT CC 1-77-31 (all published in Thomaz 1998).

78. Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Kusima, 16/11/1545, ANTT, *Cartas de Goa de D. João de Castro*, fl. 100; Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Patani, 9/10/1546, ANTT, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, book 4, fl. 13-13v (the only dated Portuguese letter from Patani). In this letter, Soares de Castro asked for permission to send an extra ship from Patani to Bengal, and from there to Hormuz.

the late 1540s when the Gama family regained the captaincy of Malacca. Pedro da Silva da Gama served as the city's captain between 1548 and 1552, followed by one of his brothers, Álvaro d'Ataide da Gama, between 1552 and 1554.⁷⁹

In turn, the third component was absolutely new and reflected the incorporation of Patani into the Portuguese political-administrative framework in Asia. The nomination of Diogo Soares de Mello as the resident captain in 1545⁸⁰ was an attempt by the *Estado da Índia* – in an apparent contradiction to the policy of liberalising private trade – to channel the payment of customs duties by Portuguese and Chinese vessels departing in the direction of China at Malacca.⁸¹ The objective of the *Estado da Índia* was to drive the recovery of the commercial vitality of Malacca given that the city was unable to compete with Patani where the customs duties were lower or, as testified to by one Portuguese source, no duties at all were levied.⁸² Did this strategy represent a fiscal policy option chosen by the sultan, or was it a more liberal model imposed by the local mercantile elites, specifically the influential and large Chinese community? Whatever might be the case, during his stay in Patani (around twelve months),⁸³ Captain Soares de Mello sought to cushion the impact of this new aggressive Portuguese policy by maintaining a peaceful understanding with the sultan and above all guaranteeing peace with Malacca.⁸⁴

This apparently bore few lasting results. Modifications in the prevailing regional situation taking place in 1546/1547 brought about a rapid end to the official Portuguese plans for Patani. Johor's strategy designed to affirm itself as a regional political-military and economic power, and the leading heir of the Malay political tradition of Malacca led the sultanate to head a naval coalition alongside Perak and Pahang against Patani. As the Patani chronicle and the *Sejarah Melayu* are completely silent as regards these events, we can rely on the sole Portuguese sources. According to these sources, for reasons of "honour," Sultan Alauddin Syah of Johor (1528-1564), entered into an alliance with his brother, the Sultan of Perak, Muzzafar Syah (1528-1549), and the Sultan of Pahang, Mahmud Syah (1540-1555). They gathered an

79. This official or officialised practice of the *Estado da Índia* was the subject of heated legal and theological discussions by the Company of Jesus and the Portuguese and Luso-Asian private sectors most closely connected with Southeast Asia and the China Sea in the late 1560s. The trade route via Patani did not remain beyond the scope of this discussion (Alves 2000: 180-182).

80. Soares de Mello was originally appointed by the governor Martim Afonso de Sousa but he was confirmed by Viceroy João de Castro (*Couto*: VI/1/1).

81. *Couto*: VI/1/3.

82. *Couto*: VI/1/1; VI/1/3.

83. *Couto*: VI/5/1.

84. *Idem*.

armada of 300 vessels in preparation for a naval assault on Patani.⁸⁵ What these Portuguese sources mean with “offenses” and “aggressions” is not easy to identify precisely but the attack on Patani by the Johor/Perak/Pahang alliance did not materialise and the armada returned to Johor for unknown reasons.⁸⁶ Perhaps because Patani brought “satisfactions,” thus leading to a ceasefire and peace among the parties involved.⁸⁷

However, it seems difficult to separate this political-military offensive led by Johor from another undertaking headed by the Sultanate of Aceh. Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah (1539-1571) embarked on an aggressive campaign of territorial expansionism during the same period, both in the north of Sumatra and in the Strait of Malacca.⁸⁸ In 1547, Aceh launched another offensive against Malacca almost simultaneously with an attack on Perlis. Interestingly, the defeated Sultan of Perlis took refuge, perhaps via an overland route, in Patani. This decision may show that Patani was at the epicentre of important geopolitical regional readjustments. This context leads us to question whether or not it reveals a broader regional conflict extending to the major centres of production and distribution of spices and drugs in Southeast Asia, pepper in particular. This kind of “Pepper War” may also have been triggered by changes on the major consumption markets, in the Middle East, Near East and China. Hence, the expansionist strategy of Aceh may have drawn on the military and technological support as well as the political-religious approval from Istanbul.⁸⁹ Indeed, three Turkish galleys along with their crews and soldiers, including members of the elite Janissary forces, took part in the 1547 siege of Malacca.⁹⁰

In the face of this new situation, the Captain of Malacca, Pedro da Silva da Gama, ordered the tactical withdrawal of the Portuguese captain of Patani in order to keep their neutrality in this conflict.⁹¹ This move also demonstrated both diplomatic and strategic vision in allowing regional powers to fight each other while Malacca remained off the list of any external attacker.⁹² However, the 1550s saw Malacca confronted to other challenges and changes, this time brought about by private Portuguese and Luso-Asian traders in Southeast Asia and south China. These traders were desperately attempting to establish a port

85. *Couto*: IV/5/1; *Sousa*: 355 and following; *Andrada*: 278. Sousa’s text is published as document no. 16.

86. *Couto*: IV/5/1; *Sousa*: 356.

87. *Andrada* (282) is the only one to suggest such explanation, albeit without defining what he meant by “satisfactions.” Might this be a formal request for apologies from the Sultan of Patani or the payment of compensation in whatever form?

88. Alves 1999: 164-169.

89. Casale (2010: 57-59; 118-121); Alves (2015).

90. *Sousa*: 356.

91. *Couto*: IV/5/1.

92. *Andrada*: 279.

in China as a permanent base. Following failed attempts in Fujian and Zhejiang, their attention then turned to the coast of Guangdong. The time was about to come for Macau. It was a time of gradual establishment for private Portuguese and Luso-Asian interests in Macau, where a “Patani” existed, perhaps already for several decades. It was the “Patani” of overseas Chinese and other Asians who traded between Southeast Asia and Guangzhou. After 1555, it also became the Luso-Asian “Patani,” which not only survived down the following five centuries but remains until today among the placenames of Macau.

3. A Tale of “Two Patanis” (1555-1580)

In the 1550s, the Portuguese plans for Southeast Asia and the China Sea, now extending to the Japanese archipelago, turned towards searching for a permanent base along the coastal zone of China. Following the setbacks, serious to a greater or lesser extent, in Fujian and Zhejiang, the province of Guangdong appeared as the last and therefore the best alternative. After Shangchuan and Langbaigang, in the Pearl River delta (Zhu Jiang), the port of Macau (Ao Men) became steadily more important from 1555 onwards and on a more secure basis after the 1560’s.

In association with Chinese overseas merchants from Southeast Asia – in the majority arriving from Patani – the private Portuguese traders founded Luso-Asian partnerships and gradually established a permanent presence in Macau that was step-by-step becoming an international trading port. In alignment with the complacency of the provincial authorities of Guangdong and the discrete permission of the Ming court, Macau slowly but securely prospered. This urbanisation process started out in an area called *Colina do Patane* (“Hill of Pears” in Chinese toponymy) by the Portuguese. It is certainly the oldest known Portuguese placename in Macau. *Patane* is located on a hill, overlooking the inner port (almost inactive today apart from a landing wharf for fishing vessels). The *Patane* area represented therefore a strategic location, allowing for the defence of the commercial port. In addition, it sheltered its own watercourse called *Ribeira do Patane* by the Portuguese. As the oldest residential area in the city, this hill became criss-crossed by an intricate network of streets, alleys and cul-de-sacs (some of them receiving the name of Patani/*Patane*). Patani/*Patane* also sheltered the oldest fortification in the city, the *Forte do Patane* or *da Palanchica* (with no surviving remains). This zone was and is still dotted with ancient altars dedicated to ancestors and other divinities of the Chinese popular religion, as much as small Chinese temples (especially the Tou Tei temple or the *Pagode do Patane*).

This means that Patani and its business community – mostly overseas Chinese – and their Luso-Asian trading partners, were key players at the origins of the settlement of the Portuguese in Macau by 1555/1557. Gaspar Lopes, one of these private Portuguese traders, wrote in 1551 from Southern China to advise other Portuguese traders to avoid Malacca (and the monopolistic

appetites of the captains of the *Estado da Índia*) and to depart for China from Patani as “Patane is a friend until no longer able.”⁹³ Despite occasional conflictual episodes caused by blunders from some private Portuguese operators, the ongoing relationship between Patani and the Portuguese remained stable through to the mid-1560s.⁹⁴ Once again, we turn to Mendes Pinto who provides an account of an incident that he witnessed in 1555 when stopping over at Patani (in order to acquire provisions) en route to Macau. He provides some useful information on the social and political life of Patani and its relations with the Portuguese.

Mendes Pinto mentions the presence of Cām and Minangkabau communities in Patani in addition to a significant military component. He also points out the longstanding and good personal relations with the sultan, most probably Mudhaffar Syah, to the point that he was received in a private audience in the royal palace, requesting the sultan’s assistance to save the lives of several Portuguese in a commercial dispute following a revolt by the local population instigated by the Cām and Minangkabau communities.⁹⁵ It makes the information provided by Pinto all the more interesting given his direct access to the palace and to the sultan at a time he was a Jesuit priest, hence perhaps dressed as a priest (and accompanied by his sexton). This episode showing religious tolerance may also convey the reality of an extreme pragmatism adopted by the Sultan of Patani as regards other religions, specifically Christianity, whenever such attitude served his own political-diplomatic and economic objectives.

Throughout the 1560s and 1570s, Macau – where the new “Patani” was already prospering, growing and spilling over the rest of the peninsula – transformed into an international trading port. There is only very scant information on the ongoing contacts and relations between the sultanate of Patani and the Portuguese and Luso-Asians of Macau. We know the existence of direct trade between Patani and Macau but nothing as regards quantities and frequency.⁹⁶ The official Portuguese trade, under the responsibility of Macau-based operators, continued through concessions and protections issued by the governors and viceroys of the *Estado da Índia*. In 1568, on the request

93. Letter from Gaspar Lopes to his brother, n/p (South China), 14/10/1551, Schurhammer (1964: 669-673 [672]).

94. Luís de Almeida, a Portuguese Jew, en route to China, stopped over in Patani and seized a junk belonging to the city “captain” (?), killing its crew and sinking the ship (Letter from Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. to the Jesuits in Goa, Langbaigang, 23/11/1555, Loureiro (1996: 77-89 [79])).

95. *Pinto Cartas*: 63. Published as document n°17.

96. Letter from Francisco Perez S.J. to Luís Gonçalves S.J., Macao, 3/12/1564, Pires (1964: 768-777 [771]). Portuguese vessels arriving in Macau from Patani brought such precious cargoes that they stimulated the activities of Chinese pirates present along the coasts of the Guangdong province.

of Viceroy Antão de Noronha (1564-1568), the King of Portugal granted three voyages from India to Patani to his chamber-boy, Pero de Magalhães.⁹⁷

The little that we do know about the Patani-Macau contacts derives from Jesuit sources and indicates that Mansur Syah (1564-1572), the new Sultan of Patani, approached Macau. If not Malacca, Macau was a natural target for his diplomacy and commercial policy. In 1568 or early 1569, Mansur Syah sent a junk loaded with pepper to Macau (in fact, to Guangzhou, via Macau) accompanied by a letter to Belchior Carneiro S.J. (1566-1583), the city's bishop.⁹⁸ In this letter, Sultan Mansur Syah requested two things: the supervision of his junk and the sending of priests (Jesuits?) to Patani.⁹⁹ However, more than any expression of religious tolerance or a display of ecumenism on behalf of the Sultan of Patani, this outreach initiative may be interpreted as a way to counterbalance the difficult period then experienced by the sultanate, losing population and suffering military-naval pressure from Palembang.¹⁰⁰ Patani was perhaps hoping for military assistance from Macau given that Malacca was weakened due to the depth of its political-military and economic difficulties at the time. However, things came out differently. In 1570, on the request of the provincial authorities in Guangdong, a Macau armada, led by both Chinese and Portuguese forces (who the Chinese referred to as *folangji*¹⁰¹), launched a military expedition along the coastal region of Patani to attack Lin Daoquian, the famous *wokou*.¹⁰² Defeated, Lin took permanent residence in Patani just a few years later, opening up a cycle of very strong influence over the economic and socio-political life of the sultanate. This episode aligning Macau with the defence of the southern coastline of China, preventively carried out in Southeast Asian waters, may also

97. Summary of a letter from the King of Portugal to the Viceroy Luís de Ataíde, Almeirim, 17/3/1568, APO (V-2: 684).

98. On this bishop of Macau, see Soares (2015:39-43).

99. Letter from Cristóvão da Costa S.J. to Manuel Teixeira S.J., Malacca, 8/11/1569, *DocIndica* (VIII: 31-32). Father Costa even notes the expression of openness of the sultan in relation to Jesuit missionary activities in Patani. Interestingly, a few years earlier, another Jesuit mentioned the presence of Patani students at the college of the Company of Jesus in Goa (Letter from Luís Fróis S.J. to Marco Nunes S.J. in Portugal, Goa, 12(?) /12/1560, *DocIndica* (IV: 833-839 [836])).

100. *HP T & W* (1970): II, 9.

101. A term used in various Asian languages, especially in maritime Asia, from the sixteenth century onwards, to designate the Portuguese and, on occasion, Catholics in general. It derives from the Arabic *ifranji/franji* or the Persian *farangi*, passing into the Malay language in the form of *peringgi* and, in turn, into Chinese as *folangji*.

102. Wade (2013: 69). The Chinese source cited and translated by Wade provides us with the highly valuable information that the Macau armada was led by Wu Zhang, a trader (?) from Xiangshan, the Chinese district closest to Macau, and by two Portuguese (*folangji*), whose names are extremely difficult to reconstruct from the phonetical spellings in Chinese but are likely to refer to the Portuguese Jewish magnate Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro and his nephew Vicente Landeiro (Sousa 2010; Silva 2015: I: 69).

be a consequence of a growing rivalry between the trading community from Fujian and the one from Guangdong. This rivalry between Chinese traders and consortia from these two provinces was a constant factor underlying the history of Macau throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and may also have impacted on Patani during this same period.

4. Conquest, trade and diplomacy under the Queen's Rule (1584-1642)

It is not possible to ascertain whether there was any awareness in Portugal, in Goa or even in Malacca as regards the political and social turbulence ongoing in the sultanate of Patani following the death of Sultan Mansur Syah in 1572.¹⁰³ This situation persisted until 1584 during the reigns of Patik Siam and Sultan Bahdur Syah.¹⁰⁴ However, the arrival in power of a woman would certainly not have gone entirely unnoticed at least in the Portuguese circles in Malacca and in Macau as this event inaugurated a truly female dynasty on the throne of Patani that began with Raja Hijau and would only come to a close over a century later. We also do not know, but it would have been difficult to occur in practice, whether or not Patani knew about the dynastic struggles ongoing in Portugal that ended up in Spanish rule under the so-called Dual Monarchy (1580-1640).

Whatever the prevailing level of knowledge, the Dual Monarchy, which strove to unite the military-naval forces of Portugal and Spain, brought about a new paradigm in the relationship between the political hierarchy of the *Estado da Índia* and the Portuguese *Padroado* and a number of regions in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia and in the China Sea. It was a moment of great plans during which Portugal could at least dream of restoring the glory, euphoria and imperial conquest of King Manuel's reign. Some of the most warring factions of the Portuguese society, whether in Portugal or in Asia, turned back to old arguments to justify preeminence of military expansionism over commercial-maritime expansion that had taken precedence during recent decades. These demands emerged in various forms and with greater or lesser levels of realism as regards the plans for regional conquest. One of the leading figures of this warring trend was João Ribeiro Gaio (1578-1601), the Bishop of Malacca, who put forward plans verging on megalomania while still remaining within the boundaries of realism. It is in this context that the Sultanate of Aceh,¹⁰⁵ Siam and, in the case of greatest interest here, Patani were targeted in the 1580s.

103. *HP T&W* (1970: I, 11).

104. *Idem*.

105. Alves & Manguin 1997.

In his *Relación de Patane/Rutter of Patani* (1584)¹⁰⁶, Bishop Ribeiro Gaio set out how his four Portuguese informers had a good knowledge of the sultanate (António Dias, Henrique Mendes,¹⁰⁷ Francisco das Neves and João Serrão), perhaps due to their activities as traders. This rutter represents a geographic and military guide for the conquest of the sultanate by Portuguese and Spanish troops (2,000 soldiers), a formula that would again be repeated by Ribeiro Gaio in his guides to the conquest of Aceh¹⁰⁸ and Siam.¹⁰⁹ The detail and the updated nature of the information as regards the extent of the capital, its socio-economic livelihood and even religion (which we drew upon above) demonstrates the familiarity of at least some Portuguese with the city and its surroundings that would only have been possible with a great degree of freedom of circulation, observation and gathering of information. A feat we would today identify as genuine *intelligence*. The same applies to the account by Francisco de Dueñas,¹¹⁰ a Spanish military officer, which includes interesting news on Patani, in his *Relacion de algunas cosas particulares que vimos y entendimos en la ciudad de Canton / "Report on some particular things that we saw and heard in the city of Canton"* (1580). Dueñas' informers were also Portuguese, but residents in Macau¹¹¹ who maintained a continuous and regular presence in Patani (where they regularly delivered the much desired firearms ammunition). According to Dueñas, the merchants from Macau were permitted to remain in the city but did not have access to the royal palace, except on festive days when the sultan would invite the captains of the Portuguese ships for a banquet and play cards and chess with them.¹¹² Dueñas, as did Ribeiro Gaio, defended the advantages of the conquest of Patani by joint Luso-Spanish forces.

106. This rutter was previously published and translated into English in Souza & Turley eds. 2016. A new transcription of manuscript and English translation are published in this volume as document n° 19.

107. This Henrique Mendes may be the same as the one mentioned in 1591, an important new-Christian whose businesses in Asia drew the attention of King Filipe I of Portugal to the extent of ordering his immediate return to Portugal (Letter from Filipe I of Portugal to the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, 1/1591, *Livro das Monções* n° 3B (FU, Ficheiro 2, gaveta 1, divisões 6 e 720-23)).

108. Alves & Manguin eds. 1997: 102.

109. Souza & Turley eds. 2016: 500.

110. Francisco de Dueñas was one of the military figures accompanying the first missionary expeditions undertaken by the Spanish Franciscans to China in 1579. It was on this occasion that he wrote this report that we transcribe the excerpt related to Patani (see document no. 18). Francisco de Duenãs survived this expedition and returned to Manila, where he remained until at least 1583 (Ollé 2000: 96, 118).

111. In the 1580s, the viceroys and governors of the *Estado da Índia* granted a yearly trade voyage departing from Macau to Patani for a value of 1,000 cruzados, commonly sold for 300 cruzados (*LCF*: fl.97).

112. *Dueñas*: 6. Published as document no.18.

In addition to the plans for conquest and the conquistador rhetoric, the *Estado da Índia* maintained the commercial route with Patani active throughout the 1580s. The captains of Malacca continued to have, among their various and highly contested special privileges, the right to a yearly voyage to Patani alongside the opportunity to sell this right for a maximum value of 400 cruzados.¹¹³ They also kept open the diplomatic channel with the sovereigns of Patani, dispatching missions on their behalf bearing both letters and prestigious presents designed to guarantee the supply of rice and other foodstuffs to Malacca.¹¹⁴

The majority of Portuguese and Luso-Asian traders and sailors engaged in business and able to move at ease in Patani certainly did not positively perceive these plans for conquest under consideration by the more hard-line factions of the *Estado da Índia* and the *Padroado* in Asia.¹¹⁵ Isabel Ferreira, a new Christian Portuguese woman, was among them. She ended up arrested and condemned by the Goa Inquisition in 1599.¹¹⁶ These Portuguese feared an escalation in the conflict between the *Estado da Índia* and the Sultanate of Patani.

Locally, there must have been greater fear over the dynastic change in Patani and a woman, Raja Hijau (1584-1616), ascending to the throne. Most of these Luso-Asians were resident in Malacca but also in Macau, and a number of them would reside seasonally in Patani.¹¹⁷ They brought to Patani cotton cloths produced in Coromandel and looked for pepper (sourced from Jambi and Indragiri in Sumatra), rice and other provisions.¹¹⁸ However, at the turn of the seventeenth century, gold (powder or nuggets) from the hinterland of Patani seem to be the favourite item in the markets of the city,¹¹⁹ among the Portuguese and Luso-Asian traders.¹²⁰

113. *LCF*: (fl. 105).

114. *Coutre*: 155.

115. The *Padroado Real* (Royal Patronage) or *Padroado Ultramarino Português* (Overseas Portuguese Patronage) was established through an agreement between the Vatican and Portugal, starting in the mid-fifteenth century and later confirmed in 1514. According to this agreement, the kings of Portugal were entitled to supervise and administer the Christianization of the overseas territories under their domain, and to appoint the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

116. BNP, *Reservados*, código 203, fl. 409.

117. Many of these Portuguese and Luso-Asians owned slaves who were locals from Patani, some gentiles (Chinese?) and other Muslims. Between 1580 and 1602, there are at least four cases, all of them subject to processes of the Goa Index (BNP, *Reservados*, código 203, fls. 366v, 410, 498 e. 555v).

118. *Coutre*: 154-155.

119. *Erédia*: 77.

120. Lobato 1999: 279-280.

Furthermore, the risks posed by Raja Hijau taking power did not seem to have been so great especially because this period of female rule of the sultanate would seem to have corresponded to a more liberal policy under the significant political and socio-economic influence of the *orang kaya*.¹²¹ The new and looming threat was now the Dutch company (which opened a factory there in 1602) and eventually other European powers such as the English (factory opened in 1612) and the French. The arrival in the region of European rivals, able to operate on a far larger financial and commercial scale, led to a spiralling in the disputes (over the best prices, the primacy in access both to the goods and the main commercial markets, houses in the city), as well as competition for the tolerance or even the protection of the sultan and senior dignitaries of the sultanate.¹²² Perhaps because of this greater instability and competition, some Portuguese visitors or residents, opted to maintain their own security through employing a personal guard composed of Japanese mercenaries.¹²³

The alterations in the economic geography of the Strait of Malacca and Sunda (and in maritime Southeast Asia in general), the impact of the competition with the Dutch and other Europeans rivals, as well as the redefinition of the priority markets for Portuguese and Luso-Asian traders (and, on a lesser scale, the *Estado da Índia*), may have been the reasons behind Patani all but disappearing from Portuguese documents during most of the early years of the seventeenth century. An exception is the “*Santo António affair*” (1605), triggered by Raja Hijau ordering the seizure in Patani (in accordance with the Dutch) of this vessel and its extremely valuable cargo (silk, Chinese porcelain and Japanese silver) on its way from Macau to Malacca.¹²⁴ This decision understandably caused tension between Patani and Malacca as conveyed by some Portuguese and Dutch sources. However, in general, both to the queen and to the local elites (*orang kaya* and the large Chinese community), trade with the Portuguese did not seem to hold any particular interest. Many of these overseas Chinese traders had already opted to give up on Malacca for the purpose of acquiring pepper, preferring instead to visit Patani, Pahang, Indragiri and Jambi.¹²⁵ In a few cases, the Portuguese of Malacca represented a threat to their interests and commercial-maritime investments. For example, in 1615, a junk owned by Raja Hijau was seized in Malacca together with its entire cargo¹²⁶ following a spark in the ongoing naval

121. Perret 2004: 227-229.

122. *Coutre*: 155-160.

123. *Coutre*: 161.

124. On this event, see Borschberg (2002). For a general vision, with details on Patani and the Luso-Dutch rivalry in Southeast Asia in the early decades of the seventeenth century, see Murteira (2012).

125. Letter from the King of Portugal to Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, Governor of the *Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, 6/1/1591, AHU, cod. 281, fl. 141v.

126. Letter from the King of Portugal to Jerónimo de Azevedo, Viceroy of the *Estado*

conflict between the Portuguese and the Patani ruler. This event led to the seizure of at least one Portuguese vessel arriving from Macau in Patani that same year 1615.¹²⁷ The *Estado da Índia* then decided to engage in a punitive military policy and with apparently heavy consequences for Patani.¹²⁸ They led Raja Hijau to call for a ceasefire with Malacca, reaffirming her sincerity despite having at the same time welcomed European factories into her port as well as European capital.¹²⁹ These fluctuations in the relationship between Patani and the Portuguese even led the *Estado da Índia*, on the occasion of the arrival of an embassy from the Siamese King Sanpet III in 1616, to include relations with Patani on the agenda for discussion.¹³⁰ During these negotiations in Goa, Sanpet III's ambassador brought the news of Raja Hijau's death (which confirms the widely accepted chronology). He depicted her as "insane" and assured that Siam had already "substituted" her with a new and "more balanced" queen (Raja Biru), able at resuming good political and commercial relations between Patani and Malacca.¹³¹ This statement coming from the Siamese ambassador tells a lot about the strong level of Siam intervention in the political and dynastic affairs of Patani during this period. Raja Biru was already the ruler when the *Estado da Índia* confirmed the signing of a peace agreement between Patani and the captain of Malacca.¹³² This agreement was signed before April 1619, if not by late 1618¹³³ and it's an interesting piece of Euro-Asian diplomatic rhetoric. These are its most politically significant points: a) Raja Biru justifies the acceptance of Dutch and English trade in Patani with the example of Siam (a "friend" of the Portuguese), who had already accepted the Dutch and the English in Ayutthaya, dully informing the King of Portugal; b) Patani and Portuguese Malacca strengthen their defensive alliance against a possible Acehnese attack; c) Malacca is called to mediate a future peace agreement between Patani and Johor.¹³⁴ These three points of the

da Índia, Lisbon, 15/3/1616, DRI/LM (IX: 493).

127. Letter from João Caiado de Gamboa, former Captain of Malacca, n/l, n/d (post-1630), BA 50-V-34, fl. 172v.

128. *Idem.*

129. *Idem.*

130. *Faria e Sousa*: IV, 101.

131. *Idem.*

132. Warrant from the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa, 20/4/1619, APO (VI, 1175), published as document no.22.

133. A copy of this 9 articles' treaty between Malacca and Patani was first transcribed and published by Pissurlencar (1953-1957: I, 42-44), and is published and translated here as document 21.

134. In exchange for the political and military alliance with Malacca, Patani committed itself to send every monsoon foodstuff to the Portuguese (rice and all sorts of meat). No reference is made to pepper or gold. Does this suggest that pepper trade was in decline in Patani, by the late 1610s, or does it simply confirm the decline of Malacca

1618/1619 peace agreement highlight the diplomatic cunning of Patani's ruler, and her sharp awareness of the winds of change, and indeed of rapid change, blowing through the geopolitical complex of the Straits of Malacca. In fact, the Sultanate of Aceh, under the muscular leadership of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), embarked on an ambitious expansionist strategy that also extended to the trade in pepper between both sides of the Strait.

The conquests made by Aceh followed upon each other at a very rapid rate, similar to a *blitzkrieg*. The conquests of Deli and Aru, in Sumatra (in 1612 and 1613), were followed by attacks on Johor in 1613 and 1615, Pahang in 1617 and 1618 (and, once again, in 1635). Soon thereafter, Aceh attacked Kedah in 1619 and 1620,¹³⁵ and Perak in 1620. This attack on Perak was exactly the reason which brought Patani into the regional geostrategic equation and in turn involved the Portuguese. In September 1620, Sultan Mansur Syah II (1619-1627) of Perak, allied to the Portuguese of Malacca, was forced to flee his country and attempted to take refuge in Patani.¹³⁶ Whether or not Aceh retaliated against Patani at least prior to the major naval combat engaged in by the two sultanates in 1626,¹³⁷ is unknown.

With the decline of its maritime trade over the course of the 1630s, as suggested in the historiography of the sultanate, Patani would also seem to have cooled its relations with the Portuguese. Malacca itself was on the verge of conquest by Aceh as a result of the bitter and very determined siege laid by Iskandar Muda in 1629. However, it was precisely during this siege that, on the request of Pinto da Fonseca, the Captain of Malacca, the Patani ruler (perhaps already Raja Ungu) joined forces with the Sultan of Johor, Abdul Jalil Syah III (1623-1677), and his nephew to provide military support against Aceh.¹³⁸ The Patani ruler deployed a fleet of 100 sails¹³⁹ to Malacca which turned out to be decisive in the victory of the Portuguese over the Aceh forces as witnessed in some of the Portuguese historical sources almost contemporary to these events.¹⁴⁰

The gradual awareness about the shaky and uncertain situation faced by Malacca, despite the victory in 1629, forced a rethinking of the model for the Portuguese presence not only in the Strait of Malacca but also in Southeast Asia in general. The new circumstances required political-administrative and economic reforms of the *Estado da Índia*. This turning point coincided with the arrival

as a spice international trading port?

135. Alves 2000: 104.

136. Letter from António Pinto da Fonseca, captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 28/11/1620, DRI/LM (VIII:393-394).

137. Perret 2004: 230, note 30.

138. Letter (copy) from the António Pinto da Fonseca, captain of Malacca, to the Count of Linhares, Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Malacca, 11/1/1630, BA, 51-VII-12, fl. 6v.

139. Idem, fl. 7v.

140. Boxer 1990: 105-121.

in Goa of Viceroy Miguel de Noronha, the Count of Linhares (1629-1635).¹⁴¹ Linhares' action, while governing the *Estado da Índia*, strongly characterised by reformist policies, represented a palpable change in the conduct of international trade.¹⁴² He undertook a wide-reaching, multi-faceted and multi-directional diplomatic offensive but above all targeted the two central axes of maritime Southeast Asia; the Strait of Malacca and Sunda. Among the core objectives of this new diplomatic geography of the *Estado da Índia* was the securing of either the good will or the active collaboration of the Malay powers for the survival of Malacca under Portuguese rule, whether from the commercial or the military point of view or even, and even more prosaically, the supplying and reinforcing of the Portuguese positions in Makassar and Solor.

The design of this new diplomatic geography of the *Estado da Índia*, on the watch of Viceroy Linhares, included approaching or re-approaching, according to the respective cases, of the rulers of Aceh, Jambi, Palembang, Perak, Johor, Patani, Makassar, Banten and the Javanese empire of Mataram.¹⁴³ Linhares knew well how to skillfully deploy the argument that the *Estado da Índia* was an "old acquaintance," as he himself expressed it, to all these sultanates of maritime Southeast Asia, boosting the "credit and reputation of the State, which is how Empires and Powers sustain themselves." As early as June 1631, an embassy from Malacca was dispatched to the Patani ruler (still Raja Ungu or already Raja Kuning?), with a letter and gifts from Linhares.¹⁴⁴ This embassy reopened the official diplomatic channel between Patani and the Portuguese and guaranteed a renewed alliance that included the Sultan of Johor and Pahang, who remained in exile in Patani. This alliance remained active between 1633 and 1636 and, on various occasions, the Portuguese of Malacca both exchanged diplomatic missions,¹⁴⁵ or provided naval military assistance, to Patani, firstly, against the neighbouring power of Songhkla¹⁴⁶ in 1633, and then during the siege of Patani by the Siamese in 1634.¹⁴⁷ We do not

141. There is a lack of any political biography of Linhares, a veteran of Portuguese overseas administration in the north of Africa and Asia. However, Anthony Disney (1981, 1991) has been the author able to provide the greatest contribution towards knowledge about his actions as viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*. We thank João Paulo Salvado for several enlightening discussions about the life and career of Miguel de Noronha.

142. For some indications on the thinking and political actions of Count Linhares as regards the Asian states with which the *Estado da Índia* maintained diplomatic relations, see Saldanha (1997).

143. Alves 2013: 81-100.

144. Letter of services of Manuel de Araújo de Azevedo, AHU, codex 501, fl. 71.

145. Letter of services of Domingos Moreno, AHU, codex 501, fl. 15.

146. Letter of services of Miguel Quinteiro Coelho, Goa, 19/6/1648, AHU, codex 445, fl. 79v.

147. Letter of services of Manuel de Araújo de Azevedo, AHU, codex 501, fl. 72.

know the role played in this relationship between Patani and the Portuguese by the all-powerful *bendahara* Sri Paduka, of Javanese origin, who seems to have dominated the political-economic life of the sultanate at the time.¹⁴⁸ However, we do know that, around 1635, the Portuguese remained extremely attentive to events in the region, especially the conflicting triangular relationship between Aceh (during the final days of the Iskandar Muda's reign), Johor/Pahang and Patani. At the end of this same year, Aceh attempted yet another naval offensive against Johor/Pahang and Patani and managed to conquer both sultanates before the end of year. Both brothers, Raja Kuning and Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah fled and sought refuge in Malacca under the Portuguese. At the beginning of 1636, Viceroy Pedro da Silva (1635-1639), the successor of Linhares, wrote to King Filipe III of Portugal (1621-1640) informing him of the exile of the two brother sultans in Malacca and of the request made in writing (on 6 December 1635) for assistance in recovering their states.¹⁴⁹ King Filipe III provided a swift response to this request from Johor/Pahang and Patani.¹⁵⁰ The answer, however, was merely an exercise in diplomatic courtesy. The *Estado da Índia* was busy with far more pressing priorities in other parts of the Indian Ocean with Malacca living out its final years under Portuguese rule. Furthermore, even in Europe, the period of the Dual Monarchy (Portugal-Spain) was lurching towards its own end in 1640.

The destiny of the relations between Patani and the Portuguese depended on too many regional and international variables. Times had changed and, as the King of Portugal stated, little more might be done than express "displeasure" at the most recent events in the sultanate.

148. Perret 2004: 235.

149. Letter from Pedro da Silva, vice-Roy of the *Estado da Índia* to the King of Portugal, Goa, 8/3/1636, ANTT, *Monçôes*, n°33, fls. 250v-251. Published as document no. 24.

150. Letter from Filipe III, king of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637, ANTT, *Monçôes* n° 39, fl, 41. Published as document no. 25.

B. The Sultanate of Patani: Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries Domestic Issues

*DANIEL PERRET**

Most of foreign accounts dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries related to Patani primarily inform about the situation and opportunities of long distance trade in the city, and secondly about the local and regional political contexts. As such, they offer a different view on the kingdom compared to indigenous sources. However, these foreign sources also reveal information about the sultanate society and its organization. In this chapter I therefore suggest to revisit three aspects based on these foreign accounts that I try to systematically compare with indigenous sources, namely spatial features of the capital, organization of government, and social relations.

1. Spatial features of the sultanate's capital

Patani belongs to these Southeast Asian cities about which no ancient map has come down to us, especially for the period of interest here, namely the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has already been pointed out in the introduction to this volume that a picture of the city seems to have been drawn during Jacob van Neck's stay in Patani. It is mentioned in the contents of old books including the two expedition's reports known to us, but has not been found in any of the copies consulted.¹ This absence makes any information on

* École française d'Extrême-Orient / French School of Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur.

1. According to records consulted by John Anderson (1890: 138), in 1678, Samuel Potts and Richard Jennings, both agents of the East India Company, sailed to Patani where they got a plan of the place later sent to Hamon Gibbon based in Ayutthaya. We found no trace of this document in the British archives.

the spatial features of the city even more precious, whether in oral traditions or in written sources, whether local or foreign.

The two attempts to reconstruct the morphology of the old city published to date² are based on surveys carried out on the site itself, on the collection of oral traditions and examination of fragmentary data appearing in published sources, whether Malay or Dutch sources from the first half of the seventeenth century. The full text of the Portuguese rutter from the end of the sixteenth century, published here in its original language and in a new English translation, is an exceptional document.³ It is, to my knowledge, the only detailed description of the ancient capital of Patani, which has come down to us. It deserves therefore special attention and is used here as a guiding thread that I will try to corroborate with the other known data and published hypotheses. Although the year of writing of this text is unknown, the fact that it mentions a king of Patani allows us to suggest that the field data were collected no later than 1584.⁴ As will be explained below, until now 1584 is widely accepted as the year of accession to the throne of the first queen. More generally, the present publication of a corpus of foreign sources on Patani is also an opportunity to amend or supplement previous studies (see fig. 1).

A first geographical constraint is to be considered: more than four centuries separate us from the description provided in this Portuguese rutter. It should therefore be borne in mind that the current coastline and topography of the site have undergone more or less significant changes since then, making it very difficult to understand and locate a number of details mentioned in this document. It is clear however that it deals with a place corresponding to the site of Kerisik⁵ (Ban Kru Se), located some eight kilometres to the east of the present city of Pattani (fig. 2). Archaeological surveys were conducted at Kerisik during the 1980s and 1990s. I will first look at place names according to their order of appearance in the rutter.

The toponym “Chachen,” which appears only once in the rutter, is problematic. It is spelled “Aceh” in the title of the document. Its presence at the beginning of the text could result from confusion with a contemporary Portuguese rutter regarding Aceh, or could be simply a copyist’s mistake.⁶ Chachen does not

2. Bougas 1990, Perret *et al.* 2004.

3. Cf. “Portuguese and Spanish Sources,” doc. 19.

4. Jorge Santos Alves is of opinion that this document is undoubtedly to date from 1584.

5. A simple etymology, whose logic is confirmed by the Portuguese rutter, is “coarse sand, gravel” in Malay, which is also found in the forms “*kerisek*,” “*kersek*” and “*gersek*” (Wilkinson 1959, vol. 1: 361, 574). The meaning is identical for “*gersik*,” “*kersik*,” in modern Indonesian - see Pusat Bahasa (2008: 448, 684). For an etymology related to the port of Gresik in Java, see Perret (2004a: 13, 2004b: 33).

6. This text mentions Pulo Chichem on the north coast of Sumatra, whose precise location remains unknown (Alves & Manguin eds., 1997: 108).

sound Malay and does not appear in any local source. Another possibility is that it corresponds to the peninsula in the Pattani Bay, known as Tha Chi Peninsula in Thai.⁷ Let us add that in Pattani, Cha is a title, for example Tok Char – a Buddhist monk or priest.⁸ But the uncertainty being too great, I propose to leave this place-name aside from my interpretation of the document.

“Panarican” appears eight times in the rutter. This is certainly “Penarekan” in Malay, which indicates a portage, a place where a canoe can be hauled from one river to another.⁹ The document describes it as a large settlement by the sea. Despite confusing information about its position, I suggest locating this “Panarican” to the west of what is called the city of Patani in the document. Nowadays, there is a coastal district (*amphoe*) of Panare (Penarik in Malay) in the Pattani province (*changwat*), separated from the Pattani municipality (Mueang) by the Yaring *amphoe* (Jaring, Jamu in Malay).¹⁰ The shortest distance between this district of Panare and the site of the ancient capital of Pattani is about 15 kilometres. As the rutter mentions that from Panarican, the suburbs of the city of Patani are within reach of a *lombarda* gun, reach that should not have exceeded 1,500 metres,¹¹ it must be concluded that the Panarican mentioned in the rutter is not the current Penarik, but a toponym in the Pattani Bay whose use has long since disappeared. This place name was certainly linked to the custom of dragging *perahus* (small boats) across the bar.¹²

7. Wyatt 1967: 24.

8. Wilding 1979, vol. 1: 54.

9. Wilkinson 1959, vol. 2: 1172.

10. A Kampung Penareh is already reported in this area by Skeat in 1899, at the time on the coast of Jering District (Skeat 1953: 70, 169, maps p. 4 and 65).

11. The *lombarda* probably belongs to the category of siege guns, like the bombard. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the bombard was fixed on a wooden carriage. The primary use of this piece of artillery was to break down the walls of the enemy. Most bombards were made of iron and used gunpowder to launch the projectile through the air. In the sixteenth century, the firing of a Portuguese bombard was sufficiently accurate up to one kilometer (Vogt 1977: 179). See also Dunn & Kelley 1991: footnote 2 p. 53; Molander 2012: 65.

12. On a toponym “Penarek” linked to this kind of practice near the mouth of the Telubin River in Saiburi, cf. Skeat (1953: 66). Interestingly, the word “*penarikan*” also appears in the section of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* related to Hang Tuah’s arrival in Patani: “Maka kata mualim itu, ‘Inilah negeri Patani namanya’. Maka laksamana pun menyuruh belokkan perahu itu menuju penarikan lalu dilabuhnya. Maka laksamana pun turun ke sampan lalu menuju Patani. Setelah datang ke pantai, maka laksamana pun naik ke darat lalu ke bandar.” (Kassim Ahmad ed. 1993: 470). (‘The Laksamana said, “Captain, what is the name of this negeri?” He replied, “This is Pattani.” The Laksamana ordered that the ship steer a course in the direction of the harbour, and anchor there. The Laksamana disembarked and transferred into a sampan in order to be rowed into Pattani proper. When they had landed the Laksamana walked to the town.’)(Muhammad Haji Salled, transl., 2010: 426).

The toponym “Tanjung Lulo”¹³ appears seven times in the rutter, which describes it as a headland on the sandy coastline, with two bastions, including the largest in the city, and its main gate. Tanjung Lulo is certainly the Tanjung Lulup mentioned once in the *Hikayat Patani*, as a temporary burial place of a certain Kencang Handai, in a section of the text probably written shortly after 1707.¹⁴

The same toponym is located just east of the mouth of the Patani River by Teeuw and Wyatt,¹⁵ while following his surveys conducted in the 1980s, Bougas (1990: fig. 1) places Tanjung Lulo much further east, at the base of the cape north of the old town. This is also where it was reported in the late 1990s, identified with the village of Ban Tanyong Lu Lo, which has a long sandy stretch, as described in the rutter. At the end of the 1990s, this area, together with the neighbouring village of Ban Pa Re, was mainly occupied by salt and shrimp ponds (fig. 3).¹⁶

The rutter mentions that the sandy beach extends to Kuala Baça, which is none other than Kuala Bekah corresponding today to the mouth of the Patani River.¹⁷ The same place is mentioned as “Quala Buca” and “Quale Bouca” by Peter Floris (1613). Kuala Bekah¹⁸ is mentioned twice in two sections of the *Hikayat Patani*, probably written at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

13. The word *lolok* (muddy) is attested in Pahang Malay (Wilkinson 1959, vol. 2: 701), whereas *luluk* (mud), of Minangkabau origin, is attested in modern Indonesian (Pusat Bahasa 2008: 846). This meaning fits perfectly with the description in the rutter. However, the etymology that seems to be popular today is *lo’lo*, a word of Arabic origin meaning “pearl” (cf. for example http://www.sitesofconscience.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Members_member-Benefits_006.pdf), a meaning for which it is difficult to admit a historical basis in the current state of knowledge.

14. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970: 67, 140.

15. *Ibid.*: map 2. Neither Wyatt nor Teeuw claim to have conducted field surveys in Pattani, and the source(s) for the drafting of this map are not specified.

16. Perret *et al.* 2004: 83.

17. Cf. Bougas in particular (1990: fig. 1).

18. Like many old toponyms in Southeast Asia, the use of the word “*baça*” could be explained by the presence of a species of trees called *beka* in Malaysia. This is *Oroxylum indicum* (L.) Kurz, a tree which occurs below an altitude of 1,000 metres and can reach nearly 30 metres in height. The bitter bark is used for intestinal complaints. In Thailand, the root and root bark are used for diarrhoea and dysentery, while the stem bark is applied for ulcers and abscesses (Rasadah, M.A., 2001. *Oroxylum indicum* (L.) Kurz [Internet] Record from Proseabase. Van Valkenburg, J.L.C.H. and Bunyapraphatsara, N. (Editors). PROSEA (Plant Resources of South-East Asia) Foundation, Bogor, Indonesia. <http://www.proseanet.org>). Furthermore, *beka* is attested in Kedah where it refers to a petai-tree, *Dysoxylum costulatum* (Miq.) Miq (Wilkinson 1959, vol. 1: 101). Another Malay etymology is possible, *bekah* meaning “to split,” a feature that would be well suited to this now delta-shaped river mouth, and perhaps already there long time ago (*ibid.*; *bekoh* in Patani Malay - Wilding 1979, vol. 1: 27).

19. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970: 90, 130.

Skeat (1953: 51), who explored the Pattani area in 1899, noted that “formerly the town of Patani itself was called Kuala Bekah”. As can be deduced from the Portuguese source, it already marked at the time the southwestern boundary of the Patani Bay, which would mean that more than four centuries ago the cape already extended to the north of Kuala Bekah.

“Garzen / Garsen” is the most frequently mentioned toponym in the rutter.²⁰ I suggest to interpret it as the Malay word *gersek* (coarse-grained sand),²¹ then gradually transformed to become the modern *kerisik*, which has the same meaning. Kersik appears in the *Hikayat Patani*, located outside the fortified area.²² This position fits very well with the current location of Ban Kru Se (Kerisik), west of the moat of the citadel (fig. 4).²³

“Ro” appears nine times in the rutter, in the expressions “*buelta de Rro* - turn of Ro” and “*Punta de Rro* - Ro headland”. It corresponds to the modern “*aru*,” which refers to a species of tree.²⁴ “Kuala Ru” (mouth of Ru) also appears in the *Hikayat Patani* where it is described as one of the limits of dense settlement.²⁵ Furthermore, it is mentioned in Ibrahim Syukri as “Kuala Ra” with two different precisions: either as the mouth of the Gerisek River²⁶, or as a river itself.²⁷ Kuala Aru refers today to the mouth of the river to the east of the old citadel.²⁸

“Pintu Garban” is the Malay “Pintu Gerbang,” described three times in the rutter as the main gate of the citadel. It is referred to as “Pitu Karabang” in the Thai version of the *Hikayat Patani*,²⁹ and as “Puntu Gorbangh” by Floris (1613). A passage from the *Hikayat Patani* suggests that a market place and a mosque were located nearby,³⁰ while two other passages in the same text

20. With its variants “Garzen,” “Gorsen,” “Gransen”.

21. Wilkinson 1959, vol. 1: 361.

22. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, vol. 1: 111. The toponym Geresik was mentioned by Skeat (1953: 75) in 1899.

23. See, among others, the account by Bowen (1922: 103).

24. Wilkinson 1959, vol. 1: 47. It is the casuarina tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia* L., whose vernacular name is *ru laut* in Malaysia. This species is usually confined to a narrow strip adjacent to sandy coasts, from the sea level up to an altitude of 100 m (Midgley, S.J. & Sylvester, R., 1997. *Casuarina equisetifolia* L. [Internet] Record from Proseabase. Faridah Hanum, I & van der Maesen, L.J.G. (Editors). PROSEA (Plant Resources of South-East Asia) Foundation, Bogor, Indonesia. <http://www.proseanet.org>).

25. Teeuw & Wyatt 1970 eds., vol. 1: 106, 113.

26. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 42.

27. *Ibid.*: 55.

28. Bougas 1990: fig. 1, Perret *et al.* 2004: 83.

29. Wyatt 1967: 29.

30. This is what W. Bougas deduced in his map of the city (Bougas 1990: 121).

specify that it is not a basic gate, but a real door that can be closed.³¹ According to oral traditions collected on the site in the late 1980s, this gate was located west of the citadel.³² There was no visible archaeological evidence of this gate at the end of the 1990s. However, the existence of a toponym “Pintu Besar” (Great Gate) some 2.5 kilometres to the west of the royal citadel strengthens the idea that the main entrances to the city and the citadel were to the west.³³

The rutter mentions a “big and beautiful” Pintu Quidiya, a name which to my knowledge, is not mentioned in any other source. Quidiya could be an adaptation of “*chedi*” (monastery), a hypothesis on which I will return later. It may also be related to the word “*kedai*”. In Patani Malay, *keda* (= *kedai* in standard Malay) refers to “any shop or the whole shopping or market area”.³⁴

According to the rutter, Kuala Saba³⁵ (mouth of the Saba River) was located north of Panarican. This is the only old source to mention this river mouth. It was most likely a small stream that crossed the beach west of Tanjong Luluk. The inevitable topographic modifications of the coastline during the last four centuries can explain that this toponym has since disappeared.

The rutter finally mentions a gate called “Larap,” which does not appear in any other source. I have no satisfactory etymological explanation to suggest here.³⁶

The too confusing and sometimes contradictory directions in the rutter unfortunately prevent to suggest a detailed map of the city around 1580 based on this source alone.

From this document, however, we learn that the city has two main parts: the settlement of Panarican outside the walls, which extended between Tanjung Lulo and Kuala Bekah, and the fortified city. Panarican, built on the beach and on dry land, is home to foreigners, especially Chinese. This area corresponds to the present village of Ba Na (from the Malay *bandar* = city) in the Bougas map (1990: fig. 2), and to the international port in the plan of Perret *et al.* (2004: 85). Roelofsz. (1601-2) compares the suburbs of Patani with the old city of Amsterdam. Van Neck’s report (1601-2) states that the settlement on the beach extends over “half a mile,” equivalent to almost four kilometres.³⁷

31. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, vol. 1: 111, 120.

32. Bougas 1990: 120, 122-3.

33. *Ibid.*: 119. The supposed location of the Pintu Besar corresponds exactly to the western limit of distribution of sherds of old imported ceramics found at ground surface during a systematic survey conducted in 1997 (Perret *et al.* 2004: 88).

34. Wilding 1979, vol. 1: 181.

35. It must be added that in Malay, *saba bubu* is a tree whose leaves are used for medicine (Wilkinson 1959, vol. 2: 993).

36. It should be noted however that *larap* (or *larab*) in Javanese refers to a frontal ornament in gold or silver worn by an important person (Jansz. 1913: 355).

37. At that time, the length of the Dutch mile was 7,407 metres (<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocglossarium/vocoutp>).

The Portuguese rutter signals the absence of fortress there and no other known source of the sixteenth or seventeenth century mentions a defensive structure by the sea. Nevertheless, these sources being very fragmentary, it is not impossible that the earthworks planted with bamboo reported by Bougas (1990: fig. 2, 119, 127) to the north and west of Ba Na, are contemporary to the period that interests us here, perhaps built during the 1630s when Patani was in conflict with Ligor, Singgora and Ayutthaya.

The Portuguese rutter also mentions that there is no permanent building in Panarican. However Portuguese sources related to the Portuguese attack on Patani in 1524 reveal the existence of “houses of stone or bricks” in Patani.³⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that the account concerning Pero Diez (1544) uses the same expression “houses of stone and clay” about Zhangzhou.³⁹ This comparison suggests that Chinese lived in houses made of permanent materials in Patani during the sixteenth century.

Van Neck (1601-2) describes buildings made of wattle and daub.⁴⁰ We know from Peter Floris that the Dutch lodge was built of bricks and that the English and Dutch lodges were located near the bay.

The rutter repeatedly insists on the bravery of Panarican’s 3,000 men, suggesting that foreigners were the first line of defense for the city of Patani.

According to the rutter, the approximate perimeter of the fortified city of Patani was a league and a half. As the Portuguese league corresponded to 6,195 metres in the sixteenth century,⁴¹ this approximate perimeter would be about 9,300 metres. Roelofsz (1601-2) specifies that it is long but not very wide.

The rutter describes the defensive system, consisting of a ditch, 15 *braças* wide, that is about 33 metres⁴², with a depth also estimated at some 33 metres. In the 1990s, it was still possible to follow the traces of the ditch to the west and north (fig. 5), already filled at the time, while the southern ditch was still in water, extending the Kersik River towards Kuala Aru to the east (fig. 6).⁴³ The width mentioned is plausible, but the depth is completely unrealistic. Indeed, as the site lies practically at sea level, the groundwater table, whose level varies with the tide, would have appeared very quickly, even during shallow excavations.⁴⁴ The rutter adds that the ditch and its surroundings were planted with sharp stakes. However Ibrahim Syukri (1985: 19) states: “The entrance

38. See Alves in this volume.

39. Cf. “Portuguese and Spanish Sources,” doc. 9.

40. “A cheap airy [material] offering good protection against excessive heat.”

41. Jorge Alves (pers. com.).

42. The length of the sixteenth-century Portuguese *braça* was 2.2 metres. Jorge Alvès (pers. com.).

43. Bougas 1990: fig. 3; Perret *et al.* 2004: 84-85.

44. John Bowen (1922: 103), who visited the site in 1922, confirms that the moat is some thirty metres in width, while it was less than three metres deep at the time.

of the royal citadel faced the river to facilitate traffic by boat. This river was named the Papiri River, not the Parit River, as it is known today.” As the Parit River is the modern name for the moat, Ibrahim Syukri’s claim would mean that the moat not only had a defensive function, but also served as a channel of communication, the boats having access to the Pintu Gerbang.⁴⁵

According to the rutter, a high palisade of thick wooden beams⁴⁶ six *braças* high (about eleven metres) completed the defensive system of the fortified city. Van Neck (1601-2: 222) observed that the beams were closely fitted together, Roelofs (1601-2: 15) adding that the height of the rectangular roughly equal beams was comparable to that of the main mast of a ship rising from the main deck up to the top sail. This is probably more than the eleven metres mentioned in the rutter, but it is now impossible to determine which of the two estimates is closest to reality. According to these observations, this fortification was to be imposing.⁴⁷

A century later, according to a Chinese account of 1687, there was no more fortification. The city appeared at the time as a group of villages and only the person in charge of the government seems to own a residence in an “enclosure of about five to six hundred square metres made of thick wooden boards”.⁴⁸

Curiously, the rutter is the only known written source describing nine bastions with an area of about 15 square metres and a height of about 22 metres (11 *braças*). It explains that the most imposing and best armed bastion was situated near the main gate, namely the Pintu Gerbang.⁴⁹ It sheltered a very large culverin, a piece of artillery that must probably be related to the traditions of making large cannons in Patani at the time of the sultanate.⁵⁰ As it is a spying report, it is not surprising that the text focuses on the description

45. John Bowen (1922: 104) reports precisely the discovery, around 1900, of “the skeleton of an old boat” and “pieces of old fibre rope the thickness of a man’s ankle” in the moat.

46. Possibly of *kulim* wood (*Scorodocarpus borneensis*: a medium-sized to large tree, up to 40 m tall, 80 cm in diameter) mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu* as the type of wood used to build the citadel of Pasar Raja in Johor, at the time of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah (Shellabear ed. 1994: 239).

47. In the Malay peninsula, this defensive system with a wooden palisade was not unique to Patani at the time. It is reported also in Pahang and Johor, notably by Jacques de Coutre (2014: 81, 91) in 1594, as well as in a Chinese source from 1618 explaining that the city of Pahang was surrounded by a wooden wall, extending for several *li*. (Wade 2004: 68). Diogo do Couto describes wooden walls and stockade of thick poles at Johor Lama in the 1580s (Sieveking, Wheatley & Gibson-Hill 1954: 224-225).

48. Yoneo 1998: 113.

49. D. João Ribeiro Gaio’s rutter allows an interesting comparison with the fortification strategy adopted at the same period in Aceh (cf. Alves 1990; Alves & Manguin 1997).

50. On the making of cannons in Patani, cf. Sewell (1922), Bowen (1922), Wyatt (1967: 24), Teeuw & Wyatt (1970: 77-78, 224-228), Ibrahim Syukri (2002: 52-56), Wade (2004: 76-78), and Alves in this volume.

of weapons, both on the bastions and inside the citadel itself. This density in artillery also attracted the attention of Francisco de Dueñas in 1580,⁵¹ while Roeloefsz (1601-2) describes a cannon of exceptional size near the gate.

The rutter also mentions that a very wide street starting from Pintu Gerbang, crosses the citadel from west to east, dividing it into two halves. Like Panarican, the fortified town is described as devoided of buildings constructed of permanent materials.

The palatine complex, namely the courtroom (*balairung*) and the royal residence (*istana*) were probably enclosed by two wooden palisades, a space called Kota Wang in the *Hikayat Patani*.⁵² Indeed, according to the account of Van Waerwijck's expedition (1603), after having visited Dato Sirinara, the "Treasurer" of the sultanate whose residence was inside the fortified city, Van Waerwijck crosses two doors before to enter the palace.

As for the palace itself, the earliest accurate account is that of Van Neck (1601-2), who describes it as adorned with gilded panels and other wood carvings. This is probably the earliest evidence on the art of woodcarving in the northeast of the Malay Peninsula.⁵³ Caen (1632) describes the *balairung* "abundantly decorated with many gilded clothes and a velvet-trimmed dais," the queen appearing at "a large sumptuous gilded window".

Malay sources allow to complete part of the city map. I have mentioned above that the rutter mentions a wide street crossing the citadel from east to west. This configuration therefore implies the existence of two main doors. The most important, Pintu Gerbang, was on the west side. The eastern gate would be the Pintu Quidiya of the rutter corresponding to the Pintu Gajah (Elephant Gate) of the *Hikayat Patani*. It is hard to imagine that "Quidiya" is a distortion of Gajah.⁵⁴ By contrast these two toponyms agree with a third which is "Chedi" or "Kedi". The *Hikayat Patani* describes the Pintu Gajah as located a little upstream of the Kedi bridge (Jambatan Kedi) on the Parit river.⁵⁵ Ban Di, east of the Pangkalan Besar River, is today the name of a village which, according to the survey conducted in 1997, would constitute the eastern limit of the city until the seventeenth century. According to local written sources, it is here that Sultan Mudhaffar Syah based a group of Burmese and Khmer prisoners offered by Ayutthaya, prisoners described as being in charge of the

51. Cf. "Portuguese and Spanish Sources," doc. 18.

52. *HP T & W*: 96.

53. For recent studies on this topic, see Abdul Halim Nasir (1986), as well as Farish A. Noor & E. Khoo (2003).

54. I have mentioned above a possible relation with *kedai*. It should be noted in this regard that the Thai version of the *Hikayat Patani* locates Pintu Gajah by a market landing (Wyatt 1967: 23, 30).

55. *HP T & W*: 70, 77.

royal elephants, whose enclosure was located nearby.⁵⁶ This context would explain the name of Pintu Gajah. According to Ibrahim Syukri (1985: 26), *kedi* means ‘monastery’. It is not far-fetched to think that the Quidiya of the Portuguese rutter could be a distortion of Kedi. Why two names for the same gate? One was perhaps the official name, the other the popular name, or for some unknown reason, the name of the gate changed at some point.

As Van Neck (1601-2) describes the main mosque as built in brick by Chinese craftsmen, it should be deduced that its construction occurred after the completion of the survey used in the Portuguese rutter, which mentions the absence of buildings made of permanent material in the city. Roelofs (1601-2) adds details on its interior design: “richly gilded inside and the pillars artistically painted according to their traditions” with “in the middle and against the wall a *mimbar* accessible by four steps of high artistic and material value”. The section on the main mosque in Van Neck’s account suggests that it lies within the fortified area. This hypothesis seems confirmed by Floris in his description of the “Javanese slaves” revolt in October 1613. Unfortunately an episode of the *Hikayat Patani*, which takes place near the main mosque, does not allow to confirm or refute this hypothesis.⁵⁷

Roelofs (1601-2) mentions the existence of royal graves on the Seberang peninsula (“wall-enclosed plots devoted to the tombs of Kings”). He is the only one to provide this interesting information. At the end of the 1990s, there were a few old tombstones left at Kampung Dato’, probably dating from the seventeenth century,⁵⁸ but nothing that indicates the presence of royal graves. On the other hand, two decades ago, two monuments, perhaps royal tombs, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, were still visible just east of the walled city at Kubo’ Barahom in the village of Pa Re - Kampung Parit.⁵⁹ Based on the content of the inscriptions, Ludvik Kalus (2004: 193-206) has suggested that one of them could be the grave of the first sultan of Patani (Fig. 7), a hypothesis that would confirm the oral tradition.⁶⁰ Kubo’ Barahom is probably not their original location, but their major symbolic significance may have prompted the inhabitants to move them, perhaps due to geomorphological reasons (silting, erosion, etc.), out of the Seberang peninsula. Skeat’s description (1953: 25) of ancient graves on the site of the former capital in 1899 is not precise enough to state that it is the Kubo’ Barahom graveyard.

56. *HP T & W*: 81, Ibrahim Syukri 1985: 25-26.

57. *HP T & W*: 104-105.

58. See Perret *et al.*, 2004: 91-92; Perret 2004c: 170-174.

59. Bougas 1990: Fig. 3, 131; Perret *et al.* 2004: 85, 92; Perret 2004c: 160-1, 184-7.

60. Bougas 1986: 94-95.

Like all cities in the region at the time, Patani has been victim of disasters, be they fires or floods. In less than a century (1524-1613) the city of Patani is partially or totally destroyed by fire at least four times. Portuguese led by Martim Afonso de Sousa reportedly set it on fire completely, or at least several of its neighbourhoods, in 1524.⁶¹

With the agreement of the queen of Patani, in February 1605, Van Waerwijck seized the cargo of a Portuguese ship, the *Santo António*, moored in the port of Patani due to damage. The accounts of Van Waerwijck's expedition note that Japanese burned the city on April 3, 1605, destroying a large quantity of silk. It is in another Dutch account, precisely in the diary of Paulus van Solt, a merchant who took part in the second journey of the VOC to the East Indies, under the command of the admiral Steven van der Hagen, that an explanation is provided on the link between both events. In December 1605, in Banten, members of the crew of the *Medenblick*, one of the ships of Van der Hagen's expedition which stopped at Patani, told Van Solt that following the seizure of the *Santo António*'s cargo, the Portuguese there recruited Japanese to conquer the city. But lacking enough troops for such a project, they finally decided to burn the suburbs (*voor-stadt*) of the city.⁶² It is certainly the city outside the fortified settlement, the Panarican of the Portuguese rutter.

In July 1612, Peter Floris mentions that Japanese burned Patani twice during the previous five or six years. These two fires would therefore follow that of 1605. According to the *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*,⁶³ which does not cite any source, it is the warehouses of the Dutch that were targeted in 1606.

The fourth big fire known to us is that of October 1613, reported by Peter Floris. Triggered by "Javanese" on the occasion of a revolt against nobles of the city, the fire mainly affected the fortified city.

Less than a year before, in November and December 1612, the city experienced a catastrophic flood, also reported by Floris.

2. The Government of Patani (1584-1642)

The foreign sources presented in this volume provide information on the political structure and social hierarchy of the sultanate that need to be confronted with local sources. Chronologically this study is limited to the 58-year period from 1584 to 1642 because of the relative abundance of various sources concerning Patani. But it is clear that the fragmentary nature of these sources prevents to follow all the details of the evolution of the political structure of the sultanate. Moreover, the very nature of the available sources requires great caution, whether because of partial vision sometimes

61. See Alves, "Document 2" in this volume.

62. Van Solt 1646: 80. See also Alves in this volume about this "*Santo António affair*".

63. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 45.

accompanied by misinterpretations in the case of foreign sources, or because of anachronisms and various biases in local sources whose purpose is neither historical nor archival in nature.⁶⁴

My starting hypothesis is that the political structure of the sultanate comprises five main circles. The first circle includes the ruler and her close relatives, the second circle includes the high dignitaries, the third circle includes the second rank personalities and éminences grises, a fourth circle includes the population considered as indigenous, basically all those with no direct influence in the decisions of the kingdom but subjects to the laws of the sultanate, the fifth circle includes foreigners living in Patani.

a) Sovereigns and close relatives

This first circle has long attracted the attention of historians, as several queens came to power during the period of interest here. As early as 1839, according to a manuscript in his possession, Newbold (1839: 68) gave a list of eleven sovereigns of the “Patani dynasty,” the last of which a *sultana* called “Kuning or Perachu”. At the turn of the 1960s, the *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*⁶⁵ provided a genealogy without dates of reigns, including in particular four queens that are of interest to us here, successively Raja Hijau, Raja Biru, Raja Ungu, Raja Kuning, the latter being supposed at the time to mark the end of the “Patani dynasty”. This text clearly states that the first three queens were sisters and that the Siam Court gave the title of Phra Nang Cao Yang (the Queen) to each of them. This title was adopted locally as Nang Cayang. The same source⁶⁶ explains that the last queen, Raja Kuning, was the daughter of Raja Ungu.

Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, I: 11) were the first to offer a genealogy of rulers of the “Patani dynasty” with dates of reigns. About Raja Kuning, they highlighted contradictions in the *Hikayat Patani*, in which a passage indicates that Raja Kuning was a sister of the three previous queens. Also relying on indications in foreign sources, and like Ibrahim Syukri, they concluded that Raja Kuning was in fact a daughter of Raja Ungu.⁶⁷

The genealogy suggested by Teeuw and Wyatt was not seriously questioned until the publication of translations of *Tosen Reports* by Yoneo Ishii in 1998, which reveal the existence of a queen in Patani several years after the supposed death of Raja Kuning. This new element led to think that the genealogy of the “Patani dynasty” rulers, as described in the *Hikayat Patani*, was inaccurate.⁶⁸

64. See Teeuw & Wyatt’s conclusion as regards the *Hikayat Patani* (1970: 293-7).

65. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 63.

66. *Ibid.* 2002: 52.

67. Teeuw and Wyatt eds. 1970, vol. II: 239-240.

68. Yoneo 1998: 105.

More recently, Bradley (2009: 275) and Amirell (2011: 304, 306, 318) relied on the claim by Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani (1994: 26-28) that a male ruler of another dynasty (Kelantan) would have reigned in Patani between c. 1651 and 1670, to suggest that Raja Kuning's reign ended in 1651, well before the date proposed by Teeuw and Wyatt.

Here I aim at delving deeper on three issues regarding these queens: their titles, their names and the dates of their respective reigns.

Why do Muslim queens carry the title "Raja," a male Sanskrit title, rather than a Muslim title? Van Neck was clearly aware of this contradiction,⁶⁹ that he explained by the absence of a female equivalent in the language. It should be noted here that only Malay sources mention the title of "Raja" for these queens.⁷⁰ The same sources explain that Raja Ijau, Raja Biru and Raja Kuning also bore the Siamese title of "Peracau" (*Phra-cau*) while Raja Ungu bore the title of "Paduka Syah Alam".⁷¹

It should be reminded here that Raja Hijau was not the first Muslim queen in Maritime Southeast Asia. Wabîsa and Râbghisâ Khâdira ruled in Pasai, respectively at the end of the fourteenth century with the title "al-malika al-mu'azzama" and at the beginning of the fifteenth century with the title "Malika".⁷² Chronologically closer to the queens of Patani, Ratu Kali Nyamat ruled Jepara, on the north coast of Java, during the second half of the sixteenth century. At least three other kingdoms in the archipelago were ruled by queens during the first half of the seventeenth century: Sukadana between 1608 and 1622, Jambi between c. 1630 and 1655, and Aceh from 1641.⁷³

Barbara Watson Andaya (2006: 167) claims that Taj al-Alam Safiatuddin Syah (Aceh) was the first Muslim in Southeast Asia to use the feminized title of 'sultanah'. However, a numismatic find raises the question of the use of the 'sultanah' title by a queen of Patani. Indeed, Anker Rentse (1947: 18-19) described a circular gold coin with arabic inscriptions found in Kelantan, precisely at Kedai Lalat near Sungai Pengkalan Dato', probably the ancient estuary of the Kelantan river. The obverse reads "Alsultanah al-mua'dzamah" ("The great Sultanah") and the reverse "Khalada mulkaha" ("[May God] preserve Her government"). Rentse suggested that this coin was issued by

69. Van Neck does not mention the title in his account, but I assume that it is *raja*.

70. The Portuguese sources use the title *rainha*.

71. The same title was carried a few decades earlier in Aceh by Sultan Iskandar Muda's mother, Putri Raja Indra Bangsa (see Lombard 1967: 166). A few years later, the title of the first queen of Aceh, Sultanah Safiatuddin (1641-1675), also included the word "Paduka," her full title being 'Paduka Seri Sultanah Taj al-'Ālam, Safiat ad-Dīn Syāh' (Alfian 1979: 43; Sher Banu A.L. Khan 2017: 181).

72. These are the titles mentioned in their epitaphs (see Guillot & Kalus 2008: 58-59, 69, 77, 150-2, 313-4).

73. Reid 1988b: 640, Andaya 1993: 59, Sher Banu AL Khan 2017.

the Patani Sultanate, but a systematic catalogue of its coinage remains to be done to confirm this hypothesis. Provided the reading of this coin is accurate, the text is in any case very different from those of the coins issued during the reigns of the four sultanahs of Aceh between 1641 and 1699.⁷⁴ Moreover, to my knowledge, the female rulers of Sukadana and Jambi, during the first half of the seventeenth century, did not issue gold coins. If Rentse's hypothesis is true, why did this title never appear in Malay sources?

The names of the queens of Patani have received little attention so far. Like the titles, these names appear only in the Malay sources.⁷⁵ In Van Neck's account, as well as in various VOC documents,⁷⁶ this issue of name is limited to associate the term "Prataiu" with the first queen.⁷⁷ The *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*⁷⁸ states that Raja Kuning took her name from the color of her skin. Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, I: 10) explain that the use of "names of colors as names for noble persons are quite common in Malay tradition" and that the colors associated with the three sisters were the colors of the rainbow. More recently, B.W. Andaya (2006: 171) has suggested to interpret the green colour as an Islamic symbol and linked it to the position of queen.

However, I don't think that these names associated with colours should be interpreted individually, because they may reflect a system of beliefs. A first possibility is that they are related to the *katika lima* system, in which a day is divided into five periods of time, each associated with a colour and a Hindu god.⁷⁹ In that case, the colour may have indicated the time of birth of the respective queens. A second possibility is that these colours were part of an astrological/zodiacal system, in which the day of birth would be associated with a planet and a colour. An intriguing coincidence leads to suggest a third hypothesis. In Buddhism, a series of colours are associated with the Dhyāni-Buddhas and cardinal points. The centre of the system is Vairocana associated with the white colour, while interestingly the colours of the four cardinal points correspond to the names of the four queens: North is associated

74. Alfian (1979: 43) reads "Paduka Seri Sultanah Taj al-'Ālam, Safiat ad-Dīn Syāh berdaulat" on a coin issued by the first sultanah. The other inscriptions repeat the titles of the sultanah and end in the same way (*ibid.*: 44-45).

75. Without questioning the existence of queens in Patani, this observation could give rise to various speculations, including the subsequent creation of names associated with colors to suggest the continuity of a lineage.

76. Terpstra 1938: 2.

77. Aware that "Prataiu" was a Siamese title bestowed on religious personalities and princes, Terpstra (1938: 2), basing himself on archives, assumed that in Patani it was the name of the first queen. As example, in letters to J.P. Coen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Hendrik Janssen, just like Van Neck, clearly mentions "Queen Prataiu" (Coolhaas, ed., VII(1), 1952: 221).

78. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 52.

79. Skeat 1984: 545-547.

with Amoghasiddhi and the green colour; East is associated with Akṣobhya and the blue colour; West is associated with Amitābha and the red⁸⁰ colour; South is associated with Ratnasambhawa and the yellow colour. Moreover, the same colours are associated with the same cardinal points in traditional Chinese culture.⁸¹ I admit that this is a very speculative hypothesis, but it would not be inconceivable in the plural society of the sultanate at the time. In the unprecedented Patani context of female rule, such a choice could be explained by reference to the pre-Islamic past of the dynasty in order to ensure the legitimacy of the sovereign.

A comparison is necessary here with the use of the same colors designating a few decades later three princesses of the kingdom of Mataram in Java. On the one hand there are two sisters of Susuhunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-wangi (r. 1646-1677), namely Raden Aju Kalet-ing-Wungu (also called Klet-ing-Biru) and Raden Kalet-ing-Kuning,⁸² on the other hand a daughter of the same *susuhunan*, who bears the name of Raden Kleting Idjo.⁸³ It is difficult to imagine a mere coincidence, even though there is no apparent direct link between the family of these three princesses and the female rulers of Patani.⁸⁴ Official contacts took place between Patani and Mataram, since a delegation of representatives of the “Pangerans of Patani,” accompanied by representatives of the “Pangerans of Madura,” Jambi, and the King of Johor, visited Sunan Mangku Rat I in July 1655, visit during which he was offered nine cannons.⁸⁵ The previous case of the princesses of Patani may have inspired Mangku Rat I.

Only Malay sources provide the names of the queens and the succession of their reigns, but without the dates of these reigns. Based on published and unpublished sources, A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt (1970) have suggested dates for the reigns of each of them. Half a century later, the multiplication of studies combined with the publication of previously unpublished sources lead to reappraise their chronology.

In 1601/2, Van Neck stated that Raja Ijau succeeded her deceased husband,⁸⁶ and ruled for 13 or 15 years, which would set the beginning of her

80. Which would have been identified as purple in Patani.

81. Damais 1969: 83-84.

82. De Graaf (ed.), 1971: footnote 2 p. 240.

83. De Graaf 1940: 278.

84. It is worth recalling here “Document 2” presented by Alves in this volume, which mentions a trip to Java by the Patani ruler in 1524.

85. De Graaf 1961: footnote 2 p. 54.

86. Local and Western sources diverge on the identity of her predecessor. The two manuscripts of the *Hikayat Patani* studied by Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, I: 10-11, 100) claim that he was her brother, Sultan Bahdur. A document from the East Indian Company, dated about 1614, indicates that she succeeded her husband (Maxwell 1909: 80), thus agreeing with Van Neck. The *Dong-xi-yang kao*, a Chinese source from 1617,

reign between 1586 and 1589. Probably better informed, Hendrik Janssen, the Dutch factor in Patani at the time of the queen's death, reported that she ruled for 32 years.⁸⁷ However, Janssen did not specify whether these are Christian or Muslim years. Teeuw and Wyatt do not seem to have wonder about it and have retained a duration in Christian years, thus suggesting the beginning of her rule in 1584. This conclusion has not been questioned since, while the information given by Janssen could just as well be in Muslim years, which would situate the beginning of her reign a year later.⁸⁸

For the sake of simplicity, below I interpret in Christian years all the durations indicated in foreign sources concerning ages and reigns. But it must be borne in mind that this precision is never clearly stated. The account of Francisco de Dueñas, dated 1580,⁸⁹ which states that at the time the ruler of Patani was a king, supports the idea that the first queen came to power after 1580. The end of her reign is well attested in Dutch and English sources that report her death in August 1616, precisely August 28, 1616, at the age of about 65 years old, based on the accounts of Van Neck and Floris.⁹⁰

explains that during the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620) the predecessor of the first queen died of disease without leaving a male heir and that after a period of turmoil including murders, the government of the country was entrusted to a woman whose relationship to the deceased king is not specified (Wade 2004: 56). Hsü Yun-tsiao recounts Chinese traditions of Pattani and Songkhla in which, after reaching Patani in the late 1570s, the famous pirate Lin Dao-qian would have married a daughter of the king who would then have stepped aside for him. Lin Dao-qian is believed to have died shortly after amid the explosion of a cannon (*ibid.*: 75, 78). This daughter could be Raja Ijau. A letter from the Sultan of Johor to the Dutch authorities dated February 1609, raises another type of interrogation. Indeed, in this document, the sultan explains that at the request of the king of Patani, his elder brother married a daughter of the king of Patani. This woman is not named in the letter, but it seems logical to assume that she was his eldest daughter, known in the *Hikayat Patani* as Raja Ijau. The letter goes on to explain that following the rape of this princess by a younger brother of the Sultan of Johor, at a time when the king of Patani was still alive, the three protagonists, namely the two princes of Johor and the princess were murdered (see Doc VII: Letter by Ala'uddin Ri'ayat Shah III and Raja Bongsu of Johor ... *In* Matelieff 2015: 441-5). If this version of the facts is true, the eldest daughter of the king of Patani would never have ruled.

87. Terpstra 1938: 93; Coolhaas, ed., VII (1), 1952: 221. An English document (ca. 1614) corroborates this hypothesis by specifying that the queen of Patani has already ruled for about 30 years (Maxwell 1909: 80).

88. 32 years X 11 days = 352 days. That would situate the beginning of her rule in 1585.

89. Cf. "Portuguese and Spanish Sources," doc. 18.

90. Hendrick Jansz (31/10/1616) *in* Coolhaas, 1952: 221; Browne (24/10/1616) *in* Danvers & Foster, ed. (1896-1902, IV: 213), also *in* Farrington & na Pombejra, ed. (2007, I: 209); Sainsbury (ed.), 1862, I: 408. From foreign sources, it can also be inferred that she died when about 65 years old (Foreest & De Booy (ed.), 1980: 226; Floris, 1934: 72).

All known sources agree that another queen succeeded Raja Ijau. According to the account of John Browne, an EIC factor in Patani at the time, the advent of the “young queen” occurred soon after the death of the “old queen”.⁹¹ Hendrik Janssen, already mentioned above, specifies that they were sisters.⁹² The same kinship between Raja Ijau and Raja Biru is claimed in all *Hikayat Patani* manuscripts studied so far. What is striking at this stage is that we would expect the Westerners living in Patani at the time to have noticed the successive use of colour names to name the queens. The absence of the queens’ names in all the published contemporary foreign sources leads to suggest that these names may have been known and used among members of the palace inner circle only. Raja Biru became “Old Queen” at about 50 years old, as Peter Floris notes that she was about 46 years old in 1612.

Until the present publication, the end of her rule was supposed to coincide with her death situated in 1624 by Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, II: 247). It can be assumed that she ruled until at least 1623, the year the EIC factory closed down, which followed by a few months the shutting down of the VOC factory, because a change of ruler would have certainly been reported by foreign traders posted there. Several clues suggest that another queen held real power in 1629. The year 1624 suggested as the year of her death does not fit with a Portuguese source published in this volume. I will come back to it below.

In June 1629, Coen sent a letter to the Patani’s ruler whom he named Sri Paduka,⁹³ without specifying whether she was a queen. However, in the *Hikayat Patani*, Raja Ungu, the successor of Raja Biru, bears the title of Paduka Syah Alam.⁹⁴ Moreover, unlike the two previous Patani rulers, Raja Ungu clearly led an anti-Siamese policy, resulting in the attacks on Ligor and Phatthalung in 1630.⁹⁵ However we have to wait until Antonie Caen’s report of his mission to Patani in August 1632,⁹⁶ to get confirmation that a queen is in power. All versions of the *Hikayat Patani* and the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* studied to date, agree to identify Raja Ungu as a sister of the previous two queens and as the wife of the Sultan of Pahang. According to Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, I: 18) and na Pombejra (1984: 183), Raja Ungu died in 1635. However, the sources relied upon by these three authors do not appear as clear on this point, and three contemporary unpublished Portuguese documents presented in this volume shed new light on this period.

91. Farrington & na Pombejra, ed., 2007, I: 209.

92. Coolhaas, ed., VII (1), 1952: 221.

93. Colenbrander 1923, V: 540.

94. *HP T & W*, I: 107.

95. na Pombejra 1984: 163.

96. Included in the corpus presented in this volume.

Document 23, dated January 6, 1636, reports that [the previous year], fleeing his country because of an attack by Aceh [probably in October],⁹⁷ the king of Pahang had the opportunity to take refuge in Patani, where his aunt was in power, but he preferred to go to Malacca where he arrived via Muar at the end of October 1635. Document 24, dated March 8, 1636, reports that the king of Pahang fled to his sister, queen of Patani at the time, then to Malacca via Muar, where he was joined by his mother. Both write to the king of Portugal. In Document 25, a letter from the king of Portugal dated March 31, 1637, addressed to the “Rainha” of Patani, we learn that from Malacca the latter has sent a letter to the king of Portugal dated December 6, 1635, in which she explains that she has taken refuge in Malacca with her son, king of Pahang and Johor, following an attack by Aceh on her kingdom and on Pahang. It should be emphasized here that this attack on Patani is mentioned only in these Portuguese sources.

These three documents therefore mention four members of the Patani’s royal family, two of whom were refugees in Malacca between the end of 1635 and probably the beginning of 1636. They are the king of Pahang and three women described as queens of Patani, namely the aunt, sister and mother of this king.

In order to try to understand a situation completely unheard of until now, it is necessary to read anew Peter Floris. In 1612, the latter reports on the one hand that the youngest sister (Raja Ungu in the *Hikayat Patani*) of the queen of Patani was the wife of the king of Pahang,⁹⁸ on the other hand that these two sisters have not seen each other for 28 years. It can thus be deduced that this youngest sister married the king of Pahang in 1584 at the latest, the same year that Raja Ijau became queen of Patani. Another interesting detail in Floris’ account is that a daughter of this youngest sister lived in Patani with her aunts, whom he calls Old Queen (Raja Ijau of the *Hikayat Patani*) and Young Queen (Raja Biru of the *Hikayat Patani*) respectively. Peter Floris also reports that the king of Pahang and his wife arrived in Patani in July 1613 with two sons and that the couple returned to Pahang the following month, without specifying what happened to these two sons. Because of the confusing situation in Pahang following an attack by Johor in 1612, it is not impossible that both children stayed in Patani with their sister.

97. A Dutch source, dated early January 1636, reports that an Acehnese armada of about 90 sails has been seen in late November returning from of an expedition during which Pahang, Bintan and neighboring places were destroyed and many individuals taken prisoners (DR 8/01/1636: 3). The Portuguese document no. 24 (8/03/1636) gives the figure of 70 sails. Although it does not mention specifically an attack on Patani, this Dutch account corroborates the Portuguese documents.

98. This alliance and the residence of the younger sister in Pahang are mentioned in the *Hikayat Patani* (Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 91, 106-107), as well as in a Chinese account dated 1618 (Wade 2004: 69).

Before the end of 1614, Abdul Ghafur, the Sultan of Pahang, husband of Raja Ungu, as well as his eldest son, Abdullah, who remained in Pahang to rule the country following the Johor attack two years earlier, are murdered by a younger son of the sultan, who then seized the power. Then began a period of confusion during which at least two individuals claimed the power.⁹⁹ According to the *Hikayat Patani*¹⁰⁰ and the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*,¹⁰¹ Raja Ungu returned to Patani after the deaths of her husband and Raja Ijau. As seen above, this return took place before June 1629, when she was de facto ruler with the title of Paduka Syah Alam. There she probably reunited with her daughter (Raja Kuning in Malay sources), her two sons and her sister, Raja Biru, since the *Hikayat Patani* and the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* agree that they cohabited for a while. This cohabitation is probably organized as part of the “Old Queen” and “Young Queen” system reported by Floris at the beginning of the century, the “Old Queen” being Raja Biru and the “Young Queen” Raja Ungu, who ruled the sultanate since 1629 at least.

It is at this stage that the combination of the three Portuguese documents dated 1636 and 1637 makes it necessary to suggest a chronology of events different from that proposed until now. First, Raja Biru was still alive at the end of 1635, since the Portuguese document no. 23 explains that she invited her nephew to take refuge in Patani. Secondly, Raja Ungu might have taken advantage of the confused situation in Pahang to send one of his sons there to take or claim power. One can speculate that she took this initiative before returning to Patani, to ensure the continuity of the presence in Pahang of a member of the royal family of Patani. Such a decision would not have been reached until the beginning of the 1630s at the latest, since Patani’s situation afterwards became further complicated due to tensions with Siam leading to the attack on Patani in 1634. This situation fits with the combination of the three Portuguese sources: a son of Raja Ungu in Pahang at the time of the Acehnese attack (end of 1635); his aunt Raja Biru encourages him to take refuge in Patani, but he prefers to flee to Malacca; Raja Ungu, who may be in Pahang at the time of the attack,¹⁰² flees to Malacca, whence she sends a letter to the king of Portugal; in Patani, the rise to power of Raja Kuning, daughter of Raja Ungu and sister of the individual who presents himself as the king of Pahang to the Portuguese in Malacca.

According to these three Portuguese documents, there would thus be three queens of Patani in 1635. Combined with VOC documents, these Portuguese sources now allow to propose a scenario of events. It has been mentioned

99. Linehan 1936: 33-36; Wade 2004: 69.

100. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 91, 106-107.

101. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 51-52.

102. Perhaps suggested in document no. 24 (8th of March, 1636), which explains that his mother had been left behind.

above that Raja Ungu clearly led an anti-Siamese policy. She still ruled the kingdom de facto in June 1634 when the VOC fleet under Claes Bruijn reached Patani after the Siamese attack. Indeed, the latter reports that the queen of Pattani and his chief advisor, Dato Besar, persist in refusing the idea that Patani would submit to Ayutthaya.¹⁰³ The situation evolves during the following months since as early as February 1635, the queen and her council had entered into negotiations with Kedah in order to discuss the conclusion of peace with Ayutthaya.¹⁰⁴ I propose to explain this diplomatic reversal by the departure of Raja Ungu to Pahang to be with her son who may have risen to power at that time or who may be in trouble. Raja Ungu then vested the power in her daughter, Raja Kuning, as “Young Queen” of Patani.¹⁰⁵ It is unlikely that immediately after her rise to power, Raja Kuning adopted a position contrary to her mother’s vis-à-vis Siam. This diplomatic shift is perhaps an indication that Raja Kuning’s aunt, Raja Biru, took foreign affairs in her hand again. The latter would still held the position of “Old Queen”. According to VOC documents, the month of October 1635 saw the sending of a Patani delegation to Ayutthaya in order to renew official relations and the return of an embassy from Ayutthaya to Patani.¹⁰⁶ As seen above, it is probably during this same month of October that the Acehnese attack on Patani would have occurred, according to Portuguese document no. 25 (31/03/1637). In February 1636, news reached Ayutthaya that the Thai embassy had been well received in Patani, and an embassy from Patani arrived the following month. In April, King Prasat Thong received news that the “old queen” had died.¹⁰⁷

Who is this “old queen”: Raja Biru or Raja Ungu? I think it is Raja Biru, since Raja Ungu is in Malacca with her son between the end of 1635 and the beginning of 1636. What happened to Raja Ungu? The *Hikayat Patani* recounts that she died in Patani after Yang Dipertuan Besar from Johor left Patani, and she bore the posthumous title of Marhum Pahang,¹⁰⁸ while the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* situates her death in 1635.¹⁰⁹ I believe that her posthumous title indicates a death in Pahang, which would fit well with my interpretation of the events presented above and would allow to suggest that she left with her son to Pahang after taking refuge in Malacca. The date of 1635 mentioned in the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* does not agree with

103. na Pombejra 1984: 179-180.

104. *Ibid.*: 182.

105. Raja Ungu is still in Patani in June 1634, when the VOC fleet led by Claes Bruijn reaches Patani after the Siamese attack, since the queen and his chief adviser, Dato Besar, refuse the idea that Patani would submit to Ayutthaya (Pombejra na 1984: 179-180).

106. na Pombejra 1984: 183.

107. Smith 1977: 28.

108. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 113-114.

109. Ibrahim Syukri 2002: 59.

the contemporary Portuguese sources. According to Van Vliet's description (2005: 128-129) of Siam in 1638, which refers to the princess who opposed Siam, Raja Ungu died in 1638 at the latest.

According to the scenario proposed above, I deduce that Raja Kuning actually ruled Patani from March or April 1636, after having assumed the function of "Young Queen" during the second half of 1634 or at the very beginning of 1635. None of the sources presented in this volume mentions the duration of Raja Kuning's reign. It is certain however that a queen is ruling Patani in the early 1640s.¹¹⁰ It should be noted here that contemporary foreign sources contradict the text of the manuscript *Syair Negeri Patani* kept in the collections of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur, in which it is claimed that an individual from Kelantan ruled after Raja Ungu, not Raja Kuning.¹¹¹ In addition, VOC sources report that in the years before 1641, the queen of Patani married the king of Johor, who returned to Johor in late 1641 after having spent several years in Patani.¹¹² Did this king of Johor ruled in Patani during those years?

Furthermore, there is also the version proposed by Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani (1994: 26-28) claiming that, according to Kelantan sources whose details are unfortunately not provided, Raja Kuning stepped down in 1651 after having been defeated by Raja Sakti I of Kelantan, who installs one of his sons, Raja Bahar, to the throne of Patani. More generally, according to Malay sources, Kelantan would have become a major player in the political life of the sultanate of Patani during the second half of the seventeenth century. Trying to follow the precise course of Patani's political history from then on becomes all the more difficult as contemporary foreign sources, which could be used to support or contradict the Malay sources, are rare, fragmentary, and continue to omit the names of the rulers. According to Chinese sailors who frequented the port of Nagasaki and went to Patani at the end of the century (in 1675, then between 1687 and 1694), Patani has been ruled by a queen for a long time. The rulers include also a "Second Queen," while a "Third King" is in charge of governing the country.¹¹³ Is this "Great Queen" Raja Kuning? Based on the above-mentioned assumption that Raja Ungu married the sultan of Pahang in 1584, if Raja Kuning was born that same year 1584, she would be 91 years old in 1675. At this stage, I must return here to Floris's account (1612), who notes the presence of a niece alongside Raja Ijau. I think that this niece, about whom Floris unfortunately does not give an estimate of age, can only be Raja Kuning, and that if she was noticed by Floris, she was no longer

110. DR 1641-2, 02/1642, p. 120 ; 06/1642, p. 154.

111. Jelani Harun 2015: 64, 66. This version therefore differs also from the ones in the *Hikayat Patani* and the *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*.

112. DR 1641-42: 12/1641 p. 82.

113. Yoneo Ishii 1998: 105, 113, 115, 119, 120, 122.

a baby. Assuming that she was born in 1600 at the latest, she would be at least 75 years old in 1675. From these two assumptions, I think highly unlikely that the “Great Queen” of 1675 was Raja Kuning.¹¹⁴

A re-examination of the sources published until now combined with contemporary Portuguese sources presented in this volume invite to propose a new chronology of the Patani female rulers and also to re-evaluate the role of the “Young Queen” or “Second Queen” between 1584 and 1637. I have suggested above that the “Young Queen” may have the dominant role, especially Raja Ungu. We must remember here Van Neck’s account (1601), who already noted that the sister of the queen of the time held a key position in the administration of the sultanate.

It is probably this same sister who attended Raja Ijau’s audience with Jacques de Coutre (2014: 167) the following year. In 1603, Van Waerwijck included Raja Muda (the Younger Queen) in a list of VOC recipients of gifts. Nine years later, Floris noted that this Younger Queen (then about 46 years old) accompanied Raja Ijau, as well as a niece, daughter of another younger sister married to the king of Pahang. Although sparse these data show that this sister (Younger Queen), the future Raja Biru, has lived closely the experience of sovereign for at least 16 years. As for the future Raja Kuning, she was able to benefit from an experience of more than 20 years with the three sovereigns that preceded her. This long familiarity of potential heirs with power leads to suggest that the succession of queens in Patani was anticipated as soon as Raja Ijau came to power.

I sum up these reigns as follows:

- Raja Ijau (Old Queen: r. 1584 – 28/08/1616; d. 28/08/1616)
- Raja Biru (Young Queen: r. ≤ 1601 – 28/08/1616; Old Queen: r. ca. 09/1616 – ca. 03/1636; d. ca. 03/1636)
- Raja Ungu (Young Queen: r. ≤ 1629 - 1634; d. between 1636 and 1638)
- Raja Kuning (Young Queen: r. end of 1634 or 01/1635 - ca. 03/1636; Old Queen: r. ca. 03/1636 - ≥ 1642; d. ≥ 1642)

Foreign sources give the impression that queens are in charge of the foreign policy of the sultanate, including interventions in economic decisions of political significance.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, their effective authority in domestic politics seems less clear. The accounts of Van Neck and Floris note that Raja

114. According to Kelantan’s oral tradition, Raja Kuning died in 1651 off the coast of Kelantan on her way to Johor to join her husband, a brother of Johor’s Sultan, Abdul Jalil Syah III. Her presumed grave is said to be marked by a ‘batu Aceh’ in the village of Panchor, Kemumin (Abdul Razak Mahmud 2017: 109-112).

115. For example by giving permission to the VOC to trade locally (Van Neck 1601), or by giving the order to send junks to trade in Melaka in 1602 (De Coutre 2014: 167).

Ijau lives reclusive in his palace, her rare outings off the city being recreational by the sea or on the Patani River with ceremonial pomp. Far from the image of a sovereign who regularly tours her possessions to reaffirm her authority, the impression is that the queens voluntarily stand aside or are kept out of the internal administration of the sultanate. The concept of “Third King,” a male in charge of governing the country, as reported in the accounts of Chinese sailors at the end of the seventeenth century,¹¹⁶ would reflect adequately this division of responsibility. Ultimately, the fragmentary nature of the sources prevents any definitive conclusion on the subject, but it is perhaps as symbols of the existence, continuity, or even identity of the sultanate, that the power of the queens would be limited to managing political and economic relations with the outside world.

b) High dignitaries

Until now, studies on the organization of power in Patani between the end of the sixteenth century and the middle of the following century have focused on the effective power of the queens.¹¹⁷ No source published to date, local or foreign, provides systematic information on the political and administrative hierarchy, as well as the respective roles of senior officials of the sultanate. However, a careful reading of the sources, in particular those presented in this volume, allows to open some paths and even to perceive evolutions.

Van Neck’s account (1601) is the earliest precisely dated source indicating that eight individuals, including the queen and her sister, occupy key positions in the administration of the sultanate. He describes this group as a council (*raden*) whose members are called *menteri*. Thirty years later, Caen observes “mandarins” and royal advisers in large numbers on the occasion of his royal audience. The word *menteri* is also often used in the *Hikayat Patani* for high dignitaries at the time of Raja Ijau, Raja Ungu and Raja Kuning. According to Van Neck, some of these *menteri* are of Chinese origin. We also know that some of them, if not all, are ruling territories under the authority of the capital.¹¹⁸

In addition, the expression *menteri hulubalang* abounds in the *Hikayat Patani*, thus distinguishing in principle the high dignitaries of the administration from the heads of the men-at-arms. Moreover, the same text frequently distinguishes the *bendahara* from the other *menteris* of Patani, even offering a list of these *bendahara* since Raja Ijau’s reign.

It is clear that during the half-century period which concerns us here, on the one hand, the same position has been held by several individuals successively, on the other hand the same individual might have held various positions. The *Hikayat Patani* mentions appointments and promotions when a queen comes

116. Yoneo 1998: 113.

117. The most detailed and recent study is probably that of Amirell (2011).

118. DR 1641-42: 06/1642 p. 154.

to power. Although foreign and local sources mention cases of transmission of high dignitary position from father to son, this system does not seem to have prevailed at the time of queens.

Furthermore I would like to emphasise that while a number of high-ranking positions appear both in foreign sources and in the *Hikayat Patani*, I have not found any common titles of high dignitaries. This observation suggests that the queens aside, the key individuals, main interlocutors of the Western traders, differ from the main individuals in the *Hikayat Patani*. This reconstruction attempt is also complicated by the fact that foreign sources often mention a dignitary by his title without specifying his position.

* *Seri Nara*

This title is spelled in various ways in the Dutch sources (Siriniara / Siriuara / Sirinara / Sinerara), but it is certainly the title *Seri Nara*, also used in other sultanates of the region.¹¹⁹ It appears from the beginning of Van Neck's account (1601), which states that the individual concerned enjoys a high status. Van Waerwijck (1603) adds that he is a Chinese, who also bears the title of *Dato* and assumes the charge of *Rent-meester*, which I translate here by "Treasurer". Thanks to Van Neck and Van Waerwijck, we know that this position is distinct from that of *syahbandar*. At that time, it is *Dato Seri Nara* who negotiates the price of pepper with the representatives of the VOC¹²⁰ as well as taxes on goods. It is through him that the VOC gifts in kind reach the palace. In 1604, Van Waerwijck obtained from *Dato Seri Nara* a letter of recommendation for the "Mandarin" of Sineau,¹²¹ in order to get permission to trade freely there.

In 1612, after meeting the *syahbandar*, Peter Floris was taken to the *Orang Kaya Seri Nara* (Oran Caya Sirmora). The following year, the latter is tasked by the queen to lead an armada to Pahang, to bring back her sister by will or force. Floris' account also tells us that *Seri Nara* is not the *bendahara* of the sultanate.

A *Seri Nara* is mentioned in other Western sources in 1619, under the title of *Paduka Seri Nara*, spelled "Padoucka Sarinara".¹²² A "Dato Paduca Sarinara" is mentioned in VOC documents dated April 1620.¹²³ Jan Pietersz. Coen, then Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, sent a letter to this "orangcaya

¹¹⁹. This figure of *Seri Nara* may be the so called "governor" in the early sixteenth century Portuguese sources (see Alves in this volume).

¹²⁰. Roelof Roelofsz.'s account is therefore inaccurate on this point insofar as he specifies that the purchase of pepper was negotiated with the *syahbandar*. In fact Roelofsz. never took part directly in the negotiation.

¹²¹. Most likely a variant of *Chinceo*, which refers to Xuegang, the port of Zhangzhou (see glossary).

¹²². Terpstra 1938: 219.

¹²³. Colenbrander, 1920, II: 691.

Padoucka Sarinara” the following month.¹²⁴ Still in 1620, he sold a large vessel to the English to counter the commercial activity conducted by the Dutch with the Chinese in Ligor and Singgora.¹²⁵ A letter from John Jourdain, EIC agent in Patani, dated November 1622, reports the return of “Parduka Sanara” from Siam with his fleet.¹²⁶ This Paduka Seri Nara is mentioned again by Caen in 1632 (Paducca Solnara), who describes him as one of the main dignitaries of the sultanate, but here again he is not the *bendahara*.

The only Seri Nara mentioned in the *Hikayat Patani* is an aide-de-camp, (Bentara) Seri Nara Indera, at the time of Sultan Manzur Syah, described in this text as the father of Raja Ijau and her two sisters, which would situate this individual in 1584 at the latest.

It is virtually impossible that a unique individual with the title of Seri Nara remained as a Court dignitary for nearly half a century. Although it is possible that Van Neck and Caen met the same interlocutor, I can not be absolutely sure, especially since its full title varies: Dato, Orang Kaya, Paduka.

As the main intermediary of foreign merchants without being either *bendahara* or *syahbandar*, his position reminds that of Okya Phrakhlang in Ayutthaya, namely minister of trade and external affairs.¹²⁷

Van Waerwijck’s observation about his Chinese origin, as well as the letter of recommendation destined for the “Mandarin” of Chinceo, leads to suggest that he could be the famous Zhang at that time, a native of Zhangzhou mentioned in a Chinese source dated 1617. According to this source,¹²⁸ Zhang bore the title of “Dato” of Patani before Raja Ijau came to power. Back to Zhangzhou during the succession troubles in the sultanate (ca. 1572-1584), he was recalled by the queen. Zhang came back to Patani with her mentally disturbed daughter who managed to convince the queen that her father was fomenting a rebellion. Wrongly accused, he committed suicide. Informed of the false accusation, the queen had Zhang’s daughter murdered and named his son to a high position. As the year of Zhang’s suicide is not specified, I can simply infer that the event occurred between 1584, the probable year of Raja Ijau ascent to power and the end of her reign in 1616. The difference of title, namely Dato / Orang Kaya, between the year of Van Waerwijck’s account (1604) and the year of Floris’s account could signal two different individuals. Assuming on the one hand that the title of Orang Kaya is hierarchically inferior

124. Terpstra 1938: note 3 p. 218.

125. Colenbrander, 1920, II : 691; Terpstra, 1938: 219. Druiff notes that this vessel is a Brunei ship with 18 oars on each side (Coolhaas 1952: 523). The skills of Dato’ Sirinara were not limited to the commercial domain since he led an expedition against Pahang in 1613, together with Maharaja Dato’ Besar (Floris 1934: 72).

126. Farrington & na Pombejra 2007, I: 302.

127. na Pombejra 1984: 60.

128. Wade 2004: 57.

to that of Dato, on the other hand that the son replaced his father at the same position, Orang Kaya Seri Nara interlocutor of Floris could be Zhang's son.¹²⁹ It is perhaps the same individual that Caen met 20 years later, an individual having meanwhile received the title of Paduka.

For the period of interest here, the *Hikayat Patani* mentions two Padukas who held the position of *temenggung*: a Paduka Seri Rama at the time of Raja Ijau,¹³⁰ and a Seri Paduka Tuan at the time of Raja Biru and Raja Ungu.¹³¹ Neither the position, nor the full title, allow to bring them closer to the individuals mentioned in the Western sources.

* *Syahbandar*

During the period considered here, it seems that there was only one *syahbandar* position in Patani. In 1602, Van Neck notes that the *syahbandar* enjoyed a high status. He welcomes the senior merchants who are the first to get off the admiral's ship to inquire about the situation in the city. He has a police role in the port, a role appearing clearly when he sends three fugitive sailors back to Van Neck (see Roelof Roelofs.). In 1603 (Van Waerwijck), this dignitary ranks second (after the queen and before the Seri Nara) or third (after the queen and the crown princess) in three lists of gifts recipients. Present at the palace during Van Waerwijck's audience with the queen, he seemingly choose the location of the VOC lodge. It is also the *syahbandar* who, on behalf of the queen, gives a keris to a senior merchant accompanying Van Waerwijck before the departure of his ship.

Some ten years later, following the court audience on his arrival, Peter Floris was taken to the *syahbandar*, whose title is mentioned, that is Dato Laksamana. Floris explains that he is the "head of the foreigners". It is interesting to observe here that it is only after the visit to the *syahbandar* that he visits Seri Nara. As in the case of Van Waerwijck, it is with the *syahbandar* that Floris discusses the establishment of a EIC lodge in Patani. Floris' account also tells us that in 1613 he was living in the citadel, had a large number of Javanese "slaves," and owned at least one trading ship.

Although Van Neck and Van Waerwijck accounts give the impression that at the time, the main intermediary of the foreigners was the Seri Nara, it is the *syahbandar* and Dato Besar who seem to play this role in 1612. Twenty years later, according to Caen, Dato Laksamana is still one of the dignitaries of the sultanate, but it is Dato Besar who seems to be the only main interlocutor of the foreign traders.

129. In Aceh, the expression "Orang Kaya" was used to denote rank of dignity rather than title. Thus the appropriate English equivalent may well be "The Honourable" (Ito 1984: 81).

130. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 105; *HP S*: 33.

131. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 106, 110; *HP S*: 34, 37.

Neither the function of *syahbandar* nor the title of Dato Laksamana appear in the *Hikayat Patani* at the time of the queens.

* *Dato Besar*

In June 1612, it is the day after the audience at the palace and his meetings with the *syahbandar* and Orang Kaya Seri Nara that Peter Floris, together with the *syahbandar*, meets this dignitary whose full title is then Maharaja Dato Besar. Together with the *syahbandar* they discuss in particular the establishment of an EIC lodge. Floris also explains that Dato Besar, together with Orang Kaya Seri Nara, led the armada sent to Pahang by early 1613. Moreover, Dato Besar lives in the citadel with a large number of Javanese “slaves” at his disposal. Floris’ account thus provides us with evidence that Dato Besar and Seri Nara are distinct individuals.

Twenty years later (1632), Dato Besar is Caen’s main interlocutor, whose account leads to believe that he occupies a privileged position at the Court. Mentioned immediately after the queen among the recipients of VOC gifts, he was in charge, with Dato Bandara and Dato Laksamana, of the translation of the VOC letter intended for the queen. He intervenes publicly during Caen’s audience at the Court, and receives Caen’s answer to the letter of the queen. As he negotiates the price of pepper with the senior merchant of the VOC, he seems to control Patani’s maritime trade. The impression left by Caen’s account of Dato Besar as leader of the mandarins is confirmed by Jeremias Van Vliet, then VOC agent in Ayutthaya. At the time, based on information collected in Ayutthaya,¹³² Van Vliet explains that Dato Besar is the most influential “mandarin” of Patani. He regards the “late princess” and Dato Bestaar (Dato Besar) as the leaders of the faction opposed to the acknowledgment of Prasat Thong as king of Siam since 1629.¹³³

To my knowledge, no foreign source mentions the position of Dato Besar and this title is absent from the *Hikayat Patani*.

* *Dato Bandara*

In October 1613, Peter Floris mentions a certain Dato Bandara, who reside in the citadel, and managed to escape the fire caused by a revolt of Javanese “slaves”. A Dato Bandharo, “governor of Patani,” appears in the VOC sources in 1622, the year its lodge closed down.¹³⁴ Ten years later, Caen still mentions a Dato Bandara among the high dignitaries. In particular, he is responsible, with Dato Besar and Dato Laksamana, for the translation of the VOC letter to the Queen.

132. However he visited Patani in the beginning of 1642 (DR 1641-42: 153-156).

133. Van Vliet 2005: 128-9.

134. Colenbrander, ed., vol. III, 1921: 169; Terpstra 1938: 232. This figure of Dato Bandara is perhaps a stronger candidate than Seri Nara to correspond to the so called “*governador da terra*” in the early sixteenth century Portuguese sources (see Alves in this volume).

At first sight, Bandara should refer to the position of *bendahara*, but data in foreign sources are far too fragmentary to confirm this idea.¹³⁵ This position as “governor of Patani” reminds of the accounts by Chinese sailors at the end of the century who specify that the “Third King” was a male in charge of governing the country.¹³⁶

Finally, the *Hikayat Patani* provides a list of the *bendaharas* of the time that interests us here,¹³⁷ but this list does not include any individual bearing the title of Dato before the end of the 1620s.

* *Raja Kelantan*

In 1605, Van Waerwijck considered this individual, owner of at least one trading ship, as a senior dignitary of the sultanate. The *Hikayat Patani* does not mention any Raja Kelantan for the period of interest here.

* *Saudagar Raja*

Raja Kuning is assisted by a Saudagar Raja (“King’s merchant”) named Nakhoda Sandang.¹³⁸ Basically, the Saudagar Raja, a commonly mentioned position in courts of Malay sultanates at the time, was responsible for royal goods and cash to invest. He was also in charge of the trading ships sent by the sovereigns.¹³⁹ Furthermore, he generally met the visiting traders, negotiated the cargoes and prepared the audiences with the ruler. Although this information is absent in the sources, I think he was a member of the council because of his strategic role with the queen.

	1601/2	1603/4	1605	1612/13	1619/20	1622	1632
Seri Nara	X	X		X	X		X
Syahbandar	X	X		X			X
Dato Besar				X			X
Dato Bandara				X		X	X
Raja Kelantan			X				

Chronological table of dignitaries mentioned in foreign sources

135. In February 1644, the *nakhoda* Inche Manghsou (Enche Mansur?) arrived in Batavia with a missive from Dato Bendahara destined for the Governor-General (DR 1643-44: 24/02/1644). He is perhaps the Dato Bandara in earlier sources.

136. Yoneo 1998: 113, year 1687.

137. Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 132.

138. *HP T & W*: 114.

139. Thus, we know that in 1636, the sultanah sent three or four vessels to Palembang to get supply of rice (DR 19-22/03/1636, p. 45).

c) *Second rank dignitaries*

In foreign sources, several individuals appear only in VOC gift recipient lists alongside the high-ranking dignitaries discussed above.

Considering their order of appearance in these lists as hierarchically relevant, I focus first on “Dato Idoch” mentioned by Van Waerwijck (late 1603), coming after the queen, the *syahbandar* and Dato Siri Nara. “Idoch” is clearly a misspelling and I cannot suggest similar names from the *Hikayat Patani* for the period that concerns us here.¹⁴⁰

Based on contemporary accounts of other political entities in the region, I first suggest Yuda, which appears in the name of a *tumenggung* (“Yuda-Prana”) in Mataram around 1625,¹⁴¹ or in Banten at the turn of the seventeenth century (Dipati Yudanegara), similarly in the middle of the same century (Yuda Manggala).¹⁴² Another possibility would be “Ijo,” since the term is found in the name of a military officer from East Java during the 1670s, in this case K. Buta Ijo.¹⁴³

The next name in Van Waerwijck’s list is a certain “Raga Wange”. Even if again the spelling is probably faulty, it is an atypical title in the context of the Malay Peninsula – Sumatra sultanates at the time. We find “Raga” or “Raka” as a component of nobility title in Mataram, such as Dipati Jaga-Raga or Kiai Dipati Manda-Raka in the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ “Raga” could also refer to another Javanese title, *rangga*, in use especially in Mataram at the time that interests us here. One example is Rangga Pramana, a *bupati* of Wirasaba (Maja Agung),¹⁴⁵ Kiai Rangga, brother of the *tumenggung* of Tegal in the early 1620s.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, *rangga* is also used in Banten, with for example Kiai Rangga Wirapatra or Rangga Parmana.¹⁴⁷ There is a Queey [Kiai] Ranga Narita in Jambi in 1641.¹⁴⁸ Raga Wange could therefore be restored as “Rangga Wangsa”.¹⁴⁹

140. The text, however, mentions a Datuk Sagur, *bendahara* at the end of Raja Ungu’s reign and at the beginning of Raja Kuning’s reign, but it is at least twenty years after Van Waerwijck’s account.

141. De Graaf 1958: 94.

142. Pudjiastuti 1991: 97, 109.

143. De Graaf 1940: 287.

144. De Graaf 1958: 49.

145. De Graaf & Pigeaud 1977: 423.

146. De Graaf 1958: xii, 119, 146.

147. Pudjiastuti 1991: 101, 109.

148. DR 1640-41: 277.

149. More than a century earlier, Portuguese sources attributed the title ‘*ragau*’ to a high-ranking individual in the Pasai sultanate (Alves 1999: 84-86). The etymology of this title has never been clarified, but ‘*ragau*’ sounds also like a faulty spelling for a similar Javanese title.

The next name in Van Waerwijck's list is a certain "Dugga Ragni". This is again a faulty spelling for yet another atypical title in the region. Dugga could be restored as "Djaga," which is a title component in Mataram, for example Demang / Dipati Djaga-Raga at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁰

Then we find in the same list "Sirindana". To my knowledge, this title is unknown in this form in the region. "Dana" is a component of nobility title in Mataram, for example Kiai Reksa-Dana, governor of Gresik in 1610.¹⁵¹ He could be restored as "Seri Dana".

The last title that interests us here in this list is "Manchaja". Here again I read the faulty spelling of a title that could be restored as "Manca-Djaja," two components of nobility titles in Mataram at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Foreign sources also mention individuals of lower rank, such as the "Orangkaya Iuerbassa," namely the Orang Kaya Juru Bahasa, the interpreter mentioned several times in Van Waerwijck's account (1603/4). The missive brought by Van Neck by the end of 1601 is translated and read at the palace by an individual described as a "bishop". If he is the Orang Kaya Juru Bahasa, it can be inferred that he is also a high authority in matters of Islamic religion. Apart from being an interpreter, he sells pepper and distributes gifts from foreign merchants to dignitaries.

Other Orang Kaya are mentioned because of their activity as shipowners such Orang Kaya Raja Indra Muda, whose ship sails to the Moluccas (Floris, 1612), or Orang Kaya Maha Indra whose ship sails to Aceh (Floris, 1613).¹⁵² The VOC documents also mention Orang Kaya Sri Maharaja Indra, brother of Raja Kelantan, owner of a junk sailing to the Moluccas.¹⁵³

Jacques de Coutre's account, in Patani in 1602, provides a detail that could signal the existence of a female lobby with the queen.¹⁵⁴ He is indeed rescued from an assassination attempt by a non-Muslim woman named Enche¹⁵⁵

150. De Graaf 1958: 49.

151. *Ibid.*: 16.

152. Perhaps the captain of Patani whom François Martin de Vitré met in Aceh in 1602, a captain who invited him to come and load pepper in Patani (Martin de Vitré 1603: 33-34).

153. Coolhaas 1952: 217.

154. The powerful Putra Dewa at the Acehnese court around 1650, during the reign of Sultanah Safiatuddin, may be an indication of a similar pattern in Aceh (Sher Banu AL Khan 2017: 239).

155. The toponymy of Macau retains the ancient name of 'Rua da Palanchica', with the latter word being supposed of Malay origin referring to young Chinese women from Patani or Southeast Asia in general (J. Alves, pers. com). Could the titular prefix 'enche' be at the origin of Palanchica?

Tangan, whom he describes as a well-known figure in the kingdom and very influential with the queen, belonging to a family that includes also well-known ship captains.¹⁵⁶

In 1616, a letter from the VOC agent posted in Patani, indicates that Orang Kaya Siri Maha Raja Indra's wife, owner of at least one long-distance trading vessel, figures among the foremost Patani merchants, both in benzoin and in other commodities.¹⁵⁷ While the economic role of women in the region at the time is generally considered to be limited to the domestic market,¹⁵⁸ these are two examples of women entrepreneurs taking part in overseas trade.

Associating Van Neck's remark on the presence of high dignitaries of Chinese origin, the titles of second circle individuals possibly of Javanese origin in Van Waerwijck's account, as well as the mention in the *Hikayat Patani* of a Javanese *bendahara* from Mataram at the time of Raja Biru,¹⁵⁹ I suggest that the composition of the ruling nucleus of the sultanate during the first quarter of the seventeenth century would indicate a continuity with the time of the emergence of the sultanate. In a previous publication,¹⁶⁰ I indeed proposed that, considering the economic and political contexts, it was a Sino-Javanese-Malay nucleus that developed Patani as emporium during the second half of the fifteenth century. Chinese products were traded mainly against pepper, sandalwood and Moluccas' spices, secondarily against local products such as precious woods, this under the protection of Siam. It would therefore be possible to consider a continuity of this configuration over more than a century and a half, but it is clear that the balance of power between these three components fluctuated during that period. The case of Sri Nara, of Chinese origin, is interesting here. A key figure in Van Neck and Van Waerwijck times, he seems to be standing back ten years later when Floris stayed in Patani. Conversely, the Dato Besar, whose origin is unfortunately unknown, is absent from Van Neck and Van Waerwijck's accounts, whereas he appears in the foreground with the *syahbandar* at the time of Floris, before appearing as the leader of the high dignitaries in the early 1630s. Would this shift reflect a change in the balance of power between Chinese and Javanese? I have suggested in the same publication that a *bendahara* of Javanese origin monopolizes the power and trade in Patani in the 1620s.¹⁶¹

156. De Coutre 2014: 174-5.

157. Coolhaas VII(1), 1952: 217, 532.

158. Andaya 2006: 123.

159. *HP T & W*, I, 1970: 132.

160. Perret 2004b: 31.

161. Perret 2004d: 235.

3. Social Relations

The earliest Dutch account on Patani that has come down to us is that of Van Neck. It is also the richest for its descriptions and details on various aspects of social life in Patani at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. A close reading of two other contemporary accounts, those of Roelof Roelofsz and Jacques de Coutre, as well as details in later foreign sources, convey a very different picture of the social life of the sultanate compared to the one depicted in the *Hikayat Patani*. Two of these aspects have particularly attracted the attention of foreign visitors: cultural and religious diversity on the one hand, and the relationship between men and women on the other.

a) *Language Diversity*

Foreign sources offer their view of the distribution of the population by region of origin. Local sources unfortunately do not offer data to cross-check this perspective. It is certain that we must beware of a simplistic picture. In parallel with the perception of foreigners, the mixing of populations and the fluidity of identities are phenomena common to all the port cities of Maritime Southeast Asian at the time. How many languages were spoken in Patani during the period of interest to us here?

Van Neck (1601/2) notices that many languages are spoken in Patani, the most common in the city being Malay as the country's language, Siamese and Chinese. Curiously, in an addition to Roelofsz.'s diary taken from Gotthardt Artus, and consequently from the translation into Latin or German of Van Neck's diary, four languages are mentioned: Malay, Siamese, Chinese, and Patani. However, the German translation of Van Neck's diary presented in parallel in this volume clearly mention three languages, not four. An interesting remark by Roelofsz. about a Siamese monk should be noted here: this monk does not understand Malay, which suggests that many are Patani's Siamese who do not speak Malay.

The first letter of introduction of the VOC to the queen is written in Arabic.¹⁶² It is read out loud to the assembly of dignitaries, and immediately translated by a senior religious leader. Van Neck does not specify it, but it can only be a translation into Malay language. In 1612, Floris recounts that on his arrival at Patani, the first visit of an English ship, officers, including

¹⁶². It is interesting to note that Prince Maurice of Nassau's letter to Sultan Alaud-Din of Aceh, dated December 11, 1600, which is a year earlier than Van Neck's letter, is written in Spanish (Lombard 1967: 239-241).

“Chattis,”¹⁶³ boarded to translate the King of England’s letter into Malay.¹⁶⁴ Twenty years later, the official letters in romanized Malay brought by Caen are carefully transcribed beforehand by a group of dignitaries before being read aloud to the queen in the palace. It can only be a transcription in *jawi*.

The expression “Chinese language” covers the various regional languages spoken by the people coming from South China (minan = Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese). According to Van Neck, in Patani these languages are as fluently spoken as Malay.

A Portuguese source at the time of a king of Patani (1555) mentions people from Campā and Minangkabau in Patani.¹⁶⁵

The sources dating to the first half of the seventeenth century presented in this volume add Javanese, Japanese and Khmer. It is likely that Patani also sheltered a community of Acehnese speakers, especially if one accepts the existence of a Kampung Pasai as well as the role of Muslim clerics from Pasai mentioned several times in the *Hikayat Patani*.

Van Neck reports the presence of Bengal traders who trade in textiles. We know that in the sixteenth century, a large part of the merchants who operated from the two major ports of Bengal, namely Satgaon and Chittagong, were Persians, Turks, Arabs and Gujaratis.¹⁶⁶ De Coutre, who stays at Patani at the same time as Van Neck, points out that the place is visited by many Cambay traders, among others.¹⁶⁷ Concerning Turks and Gujeratis, Wybrandt van Waerwijck (1604) signals that Patani is frequented by Turks living in Ayutthaya, including Turks from Gujerat who speak Portuguese. When Floris decided to send a cargo from Patani to Makassar, he did so in association with a *khoja*

163. In Hindu social theory, “Chettiar” or “Chetti” is the name of a South Indian merchant caste. However, at an early age, the caste system in South India does not seem to have been as rigid as in North India, and the question of the origin of the term “Chetti,” indicator of caste or profession, remains. As early as the seventeenth century, it appears that the term was used quite freely by anyone engaged, in one way or another, in a commercial activity (Arasaratnam 1986: 213-214). It should be noted that European sources, particularly Portuguese ones, sometimes raise religious uncertainties in identifying some Chettis as Muslims (Alves 2001: 141-142, note 58).

164. Floris does not specify the language used in the letter, but it seems that the earliest letters from the English monarchs to Asian rulers were written in English (Gallop 1994: 27). For example, the letter sent in 1601 by Queen Elizabeth of England to Sultan Alauddin of Aceh was written in English (Lombard 1967: 241-243). On the Spanish side, a letter dated 1616 from Juan de Silva, governor of the Philippines, to Abdullah Hammayat Syah of Johor, is in Spanish (Borschberg 2010: 146). Royal Portuguese letters addressed to Malay rulers were written in Portuguese (J. Alves, pers. com.).

165. See Alves in this volume.

166. Subrahmanyam 1990: 118-119.

167. De Coutre 2014: 219.

named Ibrahim Geisart, probably a Gujarati.¹⁶⁸ Another Gujarati merchant from Patani appears in the sources a few years later, a certain Muhammad Damil.¹⁶⁹ Several indications suggest that these South Asian communities in Patani were in relation by land with other communities based on the west coast, particularly in Ujung Selang (now Phuket), as well as in Kedah. Indeed, Muslims of Coromandel, Bengal and people of Dabhol settled there from the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁰

In addition, Indian ships sailing to Southeast Asia often carried Egyptian, Armenian or Abyssinian passengers. We know, according to at least one Portuguese source from the middle of the sixteenth century, that Tamil merchants based in Melaka conducted trade in Patani.¹⁷¹ It is therefore likely that this city was home to at least a small Tamil community at the time. Later, it is probably necessary to add members of the Chulia community. They are Arab-Tamil Muslims using to trade in Johor in the second half of the seventeenth century. In fact, Gujaratis, Chettis and Chulias established real family networks, whose members combined the positions of itinerant merchants and factors.¹⁷²

To complete this list, the language spoken in the Ryukyu archipelago in the sixteenth century needs to be added, since Patani hosted Ryukyu trade missions until the 1540s.¹⁷³

By adding Portuguese, Dutch and English, it is reasonable to suggest that about twenty languages were used daily or occasionally in Patani during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

b) Religious Diversity

The foreign sources presented in this volume shed light on the diversity of places of worship and religious practices in Patani. The early 1580s Portuguese rutter (document 19) states that houses as well as mosques are made of straw and wood. However, in 1601/2, Van Neck describes the main mosque as built of permanent materials by “Chinese craftsmen”. It seems that Roelof Roelofsz. was able to have a look inside, since he describes the interior as “richly gilded inside and the pillars artistically painted according to their traditions. In the middle and against the wall there is a large chair accessible by four steps of

168. The existence of a Gujarati network with settlements along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the seventeenth century is quite conceivable, since Gujarati merchants were active in Johor from the very beginning of the seventeenth century (Das Gupta 1987: 262).

169. J.P. Coen in Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), VII(1), 1952: 58.

170. Colenbrander, III, 1921: 619 (1620); Tiele & Heeres 1895, III: 102 (1642).

171. See Alves in this volume.

172. Arasaratnam 1986: 215; Arasaratnam 1994: 41, 144 ; Arasaratnam 1995: 127, 135.

173. Atsushi & Mitsugu 1969: 177, 181, 182.

high artistic and material value. Nobody is allowed to climb up to it, except the Priests of the country who are held here in very high esteem.” The mosque built of permanent materials would then be about twenty years old when Van Neck stayed in Patani. This idea of recent construction by Chinese workers tends to corroborate a local Chinese tradition according to which the “pirate” Lin Dao-qian had mosques built shortly after his arrival in Patani in 1578.¹⁷⁴

Van Neck and Roelofs. explain that polygamy is common among Muslims. The latter adds that “they celebrate Friday with great pump,” and that “they have a loathing for strong beverages”. The account of Van Waerwijck’s expedition (1604) reports that “the Malays celebrated the beginning of their fasting month by firing guns, playing drums, shouting and yelling.”¹⁷⁵ Own observation or observation quoted from Sprinckel, Roelofs.’s text mentions the widespread ban on pork or boar consumption enforced by the Muslims. Unlike pork, the consumption of fermented drinks is not prohibited. So the queen recommends to Van Neck to avoid leaving behind drunkards at the factory. Moreover, the report of Van Waerwijck’s expedition mentions that, in 1603, Dato Seri Nara, who is Chinese, had a small cask of *arak* (palm-tree wine), delivered to the Dutch factory.

Van Neck and Roelofs. emphasise the rich decoration of the places of worship, especially with “golden idols,” that Roelofs. certainly interprets more accurately as “gilded images”. His depiction of the main image in one of the Siamese temples makes it possible to deduce that it is a statue of Buddha.¹⁷⁶ A large gilded “dragon” is placed on both sides of this image, and next to each “dragon” on one side a man and on the other side a woman, both with joined hands.¹⁷⁷ Roelofs. mentions two other places of worship with a similar main image. They are therefore also Buddhist temples.¹⁷⁸ Van Neck reports that Chinese and Siamese follow various “sects”. He describes in particular a

174. Cf. Perret (2004d: 237). According to the *Hikayat Patani*, Mudhaffar Syah, the second sultan, was advised by a certain Syeikh Safiuddin of Pasai to build a mosque so that the country becomes a truly Muslim country. He has already settled on the square in front of the Pintu Gerbang, therefore close to the future location of the mosque (*HP T& W*: 78). In Banten, tradition has it that the master builder of the construction of the minaret of the royal mosque before the middle of the seventeenth century was a Chinese Muslim known as Cek Ban Cut (Guillot 1989: 132; Guillot 2006: 449).

175. Foreigners reported the same contemporaneous tradition in Aceh to begin the fasting month with various kinds of noises (Reid 1989: 32).

176. The position of the hands – one palm down, one up – corresponds to the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* in Buddhist iconography, which portrays a Buddha extending the fingers toward the ground (right hand), thus calling on the earth to bear witness to the veracity of his/her statements (Keown & Prebish, eds., 2010: 496-7).

177. It could be a couple of donors or even founders of the temple.

178. In Ayutthaya in the 1630s, Van Vliet (2005: 155-156) similarly emphasised the rich ornamentation of the temples and the large number of images.

“Chinese” medium trance ritual performed by a young man. Its description does not allow to identify the sect, but I identify features observed by J.J.M. de Groot in South China temple festivals, specifically in Amoy (Xiamen), at the end of the nineteenth century. In particular, these young long-haired boys who recite prayers and magic formulas, brandishing knives that they stab at their cheeks or arms. As exorcists helpers, supposed to be incarnations of the heavenly militia, these *ki-tong* (boys-soothsayers) played the role of seers in certain circumstances. According to De Groot (1886: 269-270, 276, 283, 286, 288), their main role was to purge streets and public places of the presence of evil spirits and demons by frightening them.¹⁷⁹ Edmund Scott described the same kind of practices among the Chinese in Banten at the same time (1603-1605).¹⁸⁰

Despite the centuries separating these observations, I suggest that the practices described by Van Neck are not native to Patani, but were introduced from South China, especially as Chinceo, which refers to the coastal area of Fujian, the main region from China connected with Patani at the time, includes Amoy.¹⁸¹

In China itself, the attitude of the Ming administration vis-à-vis these popular practices varied from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. A climate favorable to religious teachers and healers was followed by a period of strict application of the existing laws against heterodox sects that had become a serious problem. In the early seventeenth century, officials complained about the growing number of illegal

179. Almost a century and a half after De Groot, these mediumistic performances were still reported in Chinese folk religion transcending Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism practised in Malaysia. Mediums performed mortifications and flagellations (Lee 1986: 199-200, 204). The collective ritual of welcoming the deities with spirit-mediums during the Chinese New Year, still observed among Chinese in Kelantan around 1980 (Tan Chee-Beng 1982), might well be a modern version of the practices witnessed by Van Neck.

180. “Moreover, they have amongst them some southsayers, which sometimes rage and run up and downe the streetes like maddmen, having swordes drawne in their handes, tearing their haire and throwing themselves against the ground. When they are in this franticke taking, they affirme (and other Chineses beleeve) that they can tell what shall come to passe aforehand. Whether they bee possest with the Divell or no, which revealeth something to them, I know not; but manie Chineses use them when they sende a juncke of any voyage, to know whether they shall speede well or no [...]” (Scott 1943: 175).

181. It is worth recalling here the account of Mendes Pinto (1540), who in Amoy met a junk belonging to a “Chinese corsair” of Patani, returning from the Ryukyu archipelago with thirty Portuguese on board. Having left Patani without the agreement of the sovereign, the “corsair” feared that the latter would confiscate his cargo as he had already done to others (Pinto 1991: 179-180; *Pinto Peregrinação* 2010, II: 187).

temples, monks and priests.¹⁸² Van Neck says nothing about a possible control of these practices by the royal administration. Perhaps a sign that they did not represent a danger to the political power in Patani.

Van Neck also describes a divination session in which the prediction of a major fire led the faithful to leave the city. Again, it is very likely that this was a movement introduced from South China, especially since apocalypticism and millenarianism became more prominent during the last decades of the Ming dynasty.¹⁸³ This observation reveals the presence in Patani of a Chinese folk class for whom fears of coming calamities were no strange belief, but part of the collective memory.

c) Gender Relations

The gender relations in Patani give rise to quite a lot of commentary in foreign sources, notably from the Protestants. These practices are therefore judged by very specific moral and religious considerations.

First, there is the issue of the queens. The foreign accounts of the seventeenth century offer the image of a reclusive queen in a palace from which she rarely comes out. During the audiences in the palace, the sovereign sits at a distance behind a Chinese-style red curtain but still remain clearly visible (1602 - de Coutre 2014: 166-7). Ten years later, on the Sabrang peninsula, a curtain also separates the queen from her foreign interlocutors (Floris 1612/3). Two decades later, she appears at a large somptuous gilded window, closing it as soon as she stops talking (Caen 1632). In February 1642, Van Vliet was received in audience by the queen sitting on a “gilded throne” (*vergulde troon*).¹⁸⁴ These observations seem to suggest various modes of appearance in public according to the sovereigns.¹⁸⁵ These accounts also mention that during her outings, the queen and her suite move on elephant backs or on luxuriously equipped boats.¹⁸⁶ These outings take place on the Sabrang peninsula, where the royal tombs are located, or on the Patani River.

The foreigners have very few things to tell about the activities inside the palace. According to Van Neck (1601/2), the queen is surrounded by a great

182. Seiwert 2003: 212.

183. *Ibid.*: 472.

184. *DR* 1641-42: 154.

185. That same year 1642 in Aceh, Sultanah Safiatuddin also received the VOC delegates in front of the throne. But in 1660, another VOC envoy named Balthasar Bort reported that the same sultanah spoke during the audiences while remaining invisible (Sher Banu A.L. Khan 2017: 200).

186. See Van Neck’s account. In the 1630s, the use of royal “beautiful, costly, gilded and decorated boats” occurred in Ayutthaya (Van Vliet 2005: 117, 119; na Pombejra 1984: 23-4). More generally, in the period that concerns us here, magnificently-arrayed galleys and large elephants’ processions would figure among the major expressions of magnitude in Southeast Asian courts (Reid 1989: 27).

number of women serving her at court. They seem to fall into two categories: women who probably stay at the court all their lives, since they cannot get married; women who can marry with the Queen's agreement. This second category probably includes girls of the elite from territories under the authority of the kingdom. They would be somehow considered as hostages whose fate depended on the marital strategies of the ruler in place to ensure the stability of the sultanate. A few years later, Van Waerwijck's account only reveals that the same queen (Raja Ijau) is an inveterate betel consumer and tobacco chewer. At the end of the century, none of the accounts of Chinese sailors sailing between Patani and Nagasaki mentions meetings with the sovereign. The recurring of a number of features regarding the life at the palace suggests that at least some were rumors circulating among foreigners.

The sailors interviewed in 1690 and 1694 reported that the queen of Patani is expected to strictly maintain her virginity throughout her life, therefore has no husband.¹⁸⁷ These accounts are wrong on this point. It has been mentioned above that Raja Ijau perhaps succeeded her husband, and that Raja Ungu married the king of Pahang with whom she had at least three children. As for Raja Kuning, she possibly married four times.¹⁸⁸

The Dutch are clearly struck by the contrast between the marital practices and the sexual mores of the Patani population, in particular the great freedom granted to unmarried persons, including the unmarried female servants for life of the palace. Van Neck and Sprinckel¹⁸⁹ mention the regular occurrence of polygamy among Muslims and non-Muslims. The first describes at length a case of adultery among members of Muslim dignitary families of the kingdom, a case ending with the execution of the guilty.¹⁹⁰

187. Yoneo 1998: 119, 122.

188. In 1602 in Patani, Jacob van Heemskerck had the opportunity to talk with Raja Siak, identified as the king of Johor's brother, who was there to marry (Heemskerck 2014: 289). The account of Van Waerwijck's expedition (1603) reports that the queen's niece recently married Raja Siak. I think this niece is Raja Kuning. P. Borschberg (2010: footnote 48 pp. 277-8) noted that there are divergent opinions about the family relationships of this Raja Siak, sometimes also described as an illegitimate brother of the Johor sultan or as the king's "brother-in-law". This alliance is also reported by Floris in 1612, but he speaks of it in the past, as if it were already broken at the time. According to the *Hikayat Patani*, she later married a Thai officer during the reign of Raja Biru (Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 107), a marriage confirmed by VOC sources that places this event in 1620 (Terpstra 1938: 105). Later, still according to the *Hikayat Patani*, her mother, Raja Ungu, arranged her marriage with the Sultan of Johor (Teeuw & Wyatt eds. 1970, I: 110). According to the *Dagh-Register* of 1644, she was at the time the wife of a brother of the Sultan of Johor (*DR* 1643-44, February 1644: 32). A letter from the Patani's *bendahara* to the VOC dated February 1644, mentions that the queen was expecting a child (Andaya 1975: 68).

189. In an addition to Roelofsz.'s account.

190. Van Neck does not relate the capital punishment inflicted in the case of adultery

These accounts also describe the system of temporary marriage that seems to be a common practice among foreigners in Patani, especially among Chinese, about whom Van Neck notes that they have a wife in Patani and a wife in Chinceo. Far from being specific to Patani, this practice was widespread at the time in the main cosmopolitan merchant ports of Southeast Asia.

Van Neck's account also provides interesting details regarding the history of prostitution in Southeast Asia. He explains notably that high officials of Patani are active in the prostitution market by offering their slaves whose income they appropriate.

Lastly, there are the male sexual ornamentation practices among the Siamese, reported by Van Neck and Roelofs. (1601/2). They are not the first Westerners to notice such practices in Southeast Asia, since after Nicolo de Conti's observations in Pegu at the beginning of the fifteenth century,¹⁹¹ reports accumulate during the following century. These practices have already been the subject of various historical, linguistic and anthropological comments.¹⁹² This type of ornamentation has been observed in several regions of Southeast Asia. In mainland Southeast Asia, the earliest evidence of penis inserts in the form of metal billes or small balls would go back to the second half of the fourteenth century in Chinese sources about Siam.¹⁹³ In Maritime Southeast Asia, the best known reference is the inscribed *linga* of Candi Sukuh in Central Java dated to the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁴ Other lesser-known artefacts found in Java and Bali attest to this ancient practice¹⁹⁵: a stone phallus and a statue of Śiva with an adorned phallus in two places of worship in Pejeng, Kabupaten Gianyar in Bali; a golden phallus with four balls discovered in the village of Bumisagoro very near Borobudur, Central Java. It is therefore quite conceivable that the latter artefact be dated before the tenth century CE. Such ancient artifacts incline to think that until the fifteenth century in Java and Bali, these ornamental practices were perhaps reserved for ritually-sanctioned copulations or with ritual activities related to maturity and fertility by rulers,

to the precepts of Islam. A distinction that finds its confirmation in Southeast Asia in the *Zhufan zhi*, a Chinese source usually dated 1225. Like the Dutch four centuries later, the Chinese were indeed surprised to observe the application of the death penalty in Palembang in a visibly Buddhist context (Zhao Rugua 1966: 61). Nearly a century before Van Neck, Afonso Albuquerque (vol. III, 1880: 87) noted about Malacca that "If anyone takes his wife in adultery, he may kill both of the parties [...]". The death penalty was also applied in Ayutthaya in the 1630s. Van Vliet (2015: 163) reports that "The adulterers (men or women) are, in conformity with the written laws, condemned to die and must be killed by elephants."

191. Conti 2004: 97.

192. Cf. Teesma 1991.

193. Sun 2007: 250.

194. Stutterheim 1930: 31; Reid, I, 1988b: 150-151.

195. Atmodjo 1974: 128.

dignitaries, or even by clerics. They would have lasted at least a millennium, since they are still reported in the archipelago at the end of the nineteenth century. This is the case in Sumatra, precisely in the Lake Toba region, where in 1891 Jules Claine observed small polished and cut bones placed under the skin.¹⁹⁶ Neither Van Neck nor Roelofs provide the names of these ornaments, while a few years earlier Jacques de Coutre noted the terms *bruncoles*, *brunchol* or *bunchol* during his visit to Siam in 1595.¹⁹⁷

Conclusion

The sources presented in this volume provide valuable information on the history of the Patani Sultanate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whether regarding the morphology of its capital, its inhabitants, its political organization, its economy, or social practices and religious life.

The Portuguese rutter, very probably dated to 1584, followed by Van Neck and Roelofs. accounts less than twenty years later, and then Peter Floris's account a decade later, are exceptional in this respect. The Portuguese rutter is both detailed and confusing. While most of the place names mentioned can be located, conflicting indications prevent to draw a detailed plan of the city, including its fortified system, about which this source is the only one known to mention bastions.

On the political level, the foreign sources, fragmentary but relatively abundant for the period 1584-1642, when confronted with local sources in Malay, allow to follow rather satisfactorily the succession of the four female rulers during this period. I have pointed out that only local sources name them by combining the title of *raja* with one color name for each. This practice could be a survival of a pre-Islamic system of thought. The same practice of identifying princesses by color names is observed during the second half of the seventeenth century in the kingdom of Mataram in Java. It is however not possible to ascertain that Patani influenced Mataram on this point. From a numismatic point of view, I also raised the question of the use of the title of *sultanah* by these queens, a title absent from local sources in Malay.

Thanks to previously unpublished Portuguese sources, I propose to review the dates of reign and death of three of the four queens of Patani. Foreign sources also suggest that in this political system led by the duo "old queen" - "young queen" - the real authority was not always in the hands of the "old queen". I also suggest that it is perhaps as symbols of the existence, continuity, or even identity of the sultanate, that the power of the queens would be limited to the management of political and economic relations with the outside world.

¹⁹⁶. Claine 1893: 223. See also the report by A.H. van de Pol, who accompanied Claine (Engelbert van Bevervoorde 1892: 617-618).

¹⁹⁷. Teensma (1991: 135) was especially interested about the origin as well as the distribution of these terms used in sixteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish sources.

Indications in foreign sources allow to identify individuals belonging to the second circle of power, namely the Council, and to follow their evolution over several decades in the first half of the seventeenth century. From even more minor indications, I suggest a list of individuals, including women, who seem to belong to the third circle of power. My attempts to identify these people allow to suggest the presence of individuals of Chinese and Javanese origins in both circles of power during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. I see in this diversity, in which the weight of each component seems to fluctuate, a continuity with the time of the emergence of the sultanate, insofar as, considering the economic and political contexts, it is in my view a Chinese-Javanese-Malay core who would have developed Patani as an emporium during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Like all major coastal trading places at the time in Southeast Asia, Patani was home to a cosmopolitan population. It is thus reasonable to suggest that some twenty languages were in daily or occasional use in Patani during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Foreigners staying in Patani offer very valuable information about Muslim, Buddhist and “Chinese” places of worship, especially about architecture, ornamentation and practices.

Foreigners appear surprised by the coexistence of various social practices that reflect the degree of openness of the Muslim rulers. Among these adjustments, it should be noted for example that unlike the consumption of pork which was officially prohibited, the consumption of fermented drinks was tolerated. The Dutch were clearly struck by the contrast among the Muslims between strict marital practices, in particular the death penalty in case of adultery in a context of frequent polygamy, and the great sexual freedom afforded to unmarried people. Practices whose exoticism found its most astonishing expression according to foreign visitors was the sexual ornamentation of non-Muslim men. It is conceivable that practitioners were equally taken aback by the curiosity of these foreigners, since it was, at the time, an already multi-secular tradition in Southeast Asia. In fact it survived until the end of the nineteenth century at least among a number of communities of the region.

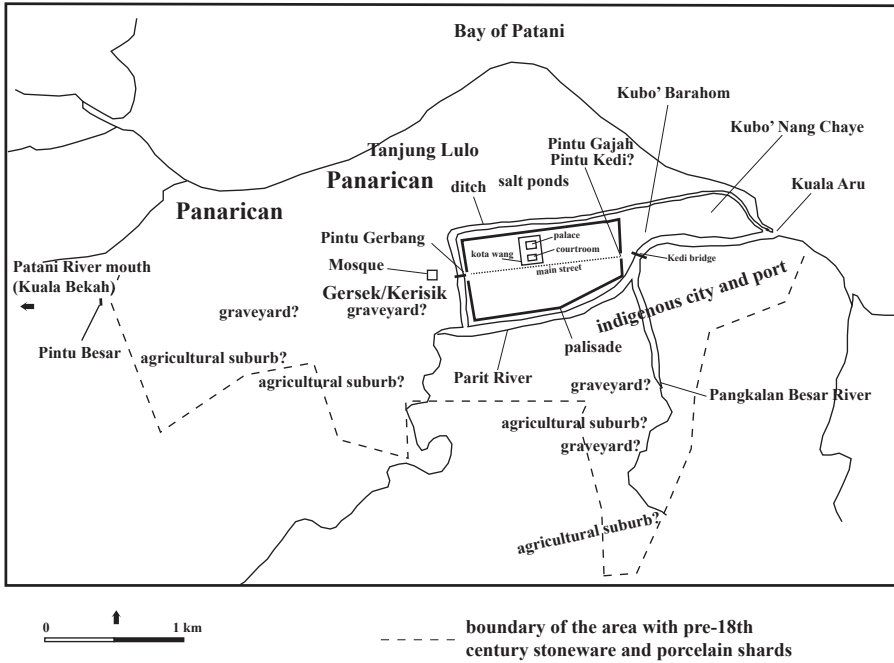


Fig. 1 – Sketch map of the city of Patani (late sixteenth – early seventeenth centuries) (adapted from Perret et al. 2004).



Fig. 2 – Patani Bay near Ban Kru Se (D. Perret, Nov. 1995)



Fig. 3 – Salt ponds, Ban Pa Re (D. Perret, June 1997)



Fig. 4 – Traditional house, Ban Kru Se (D. Perret, Nov. 1995)



Fig. 5 – North ditch (D. Perret, July 1997)



Fig. 6 – South ditch, Parit River (D. Perret, June 1997)



Fig. 7 – Tombstone at Kubo' Barahom (Fonds D. Perret-EFEO, 1999)

C. Portuguese and Spanish Sources

*JORGE SANTOS ALVES** (COMPILED & TRANSLATED BY)
WITH THE COLLABORATION OF *KEVIN ROSE*

Selected Documents

1. Letter from Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo (Guangzhou, 1534 (excerpt)
2. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (excerpt)
3. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (excerpts)
4. Letter from Pedro de Mascarenhas, captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1/9/1525 (excerpt)
5. Letter from Jorge Cabral, captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 10/9/1527 (excerpt)
6. João de Barros, *Ásia* (excerpt)
7. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, chapter XXXV
8. Letter from Estevão da Gama to the King of Portugal, (Goa?), (post-1542) (excerpts)
9. Garcia de Escalante Alvarado (excerpts)
10. Letter from Manuel Godinho to the King of Portugal, Goa, 25/10/1545 (excerpt)
11. Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Kusima, 16/11/1545

* Instituto de Estudos Asiáticos/Institute of Asian Studies, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon. We thank Pedro Pinto for the identification and transcription of some of the Portuguese documents published below.

12. Report from Pero de Faria, Goa, 19/11/1545 (excerpt)
13. Report from Duarte Barreto, Goa, 26/11/1545 (excerpt)
14. Report from Duarte de Miranda de Azevedo, Goa, 27/11/1545 (excerpt)
15. Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Patani, 9/10/1546
16. Francisco de Sousa S.J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo* (excerpt)
17. Letter from Fernão Mendes Pinto S.J. to Baltasar Dias S.J., Macao, 20/11/1555 (excerpt)
18. Relación de Francisco de Dueñas (1580)
19. D. João Ribeiro Gaio, *Roteiro de Patane* (1584)
20. Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa* (excerpts)
21. Copy of the peace treaty articles made in the fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani (1618?)
22. Permit by Dom João Coutinho, Vice-roy of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa, 20/4/1619
23. Letter from D. Álvaro de Castro to the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Malacca, 6/1/1636 (excerpt)
24. Letter from Dom Pedro da Silva, Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, to the King of Portugal, Goa, 8/3/1636. (excerpt)
25. Letter from the King of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637.

The symbol * indicates that the word (or expression) is explained in the glossary.

1. Letter from Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo (Guangzhou, 1534) (excerpt)

Source

in Rui Manuel Loureiro (ed.), *Cartas dos cativos de Cantão: Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo (1524?)*, Macao, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992: 27-81 [37-38].

22. *Os mandarins mandarão ao embaixador de Malaca que tomasse aquellas cartas e as levasse a Malaca; como lhe fosse entregue sua terra, que viesse com recado. O embaixador não quis dizendo que com aquellas cartas lhe cortarião a cabeça em Malaca, que lhe dessem licença, que queria comprar hum iunco piqueno, que queria mandar a metade da sua gente saber do seu rey, porque não sabião donde estava, porque as molheres que tomarão nos dous navios huma dizia qye era morto, outra que não; e que levarião huma carta se a podessem mandar. Partio o iunco piqueno com licença, com quinze melajos e outros tantos chins, ao derradeiro dia de Mayo de XXXIII. Chegou a Patane. Ali tomou alguns melajos e hum capado bembala. E tornou recado d'el-rey de Malaca e veio a Cantão a cinco dias de Setembro. Os chins que levou o iunco ficarão todos em Patane, que não quiseram tornar à China. A carta do embaixador dezião as forças assy:*

23. *“El-rey de Malaca está em Bintão*, cercado dos franges, pobre, desemparado, oulhando des polha menhã atée noyte por socorro d'el-rei da China seu senhor, e se lho não der, escreverá aos reis seus vasallos*

22. The mandarins ordered the ambassador of Malacca to take receipt of those letters and to bear them to Malacca; as if his land had been delivered to him, that he came only with a message. The ambassador did not wish to and stating that with those letters, they would cut off his head in Malacca; that they excuse him, that he wished to buy a small junk, and he wished to send half of his people to look for his king, because they did not know of his whereabouts, because one of the women that were taken in the two ships said that he was dead but not the other; and that they bore a letter if they could send it. A small junk did set off with permission, carrying fifteen Malays and the same number of Chinese on the very last day of May, [15]23. It reached Patani. There, it took on some Malays and a Bengali eunuch. And he received a letter from the King of Malacca and returned to Canton [Guangzhou] on the fifth day of September. The Chinese that had sailed on the junk all stayed in Patani as none wanted to return to China. The ambassador's letter did testify the following:

23. “The King of Malacca is in Bintan, surrounded by Franks [Portuguese], poor and down spirited, staring at such people from morning to night awaiting on his rescue by the King of China, his lord, and should such not be granted,

que o ajudem com gente, e que mande alguma provisão de mantimento a seu embaixador”, e cousas a estas semelhantes. Dizia mais a carta que “estando o iunco carregado em Patane, ouverão os portugueses noticias delle, e que vierão sobre elle pera o tomar; que elles se fizerão ao mar com huma trovada, e escaparão sem mais mercadoria e mantimentos, que à fome ouverão de morrer nomar”. Com esta carta entrarão em Cantão. Os mandarins os tornarão a despachar; qua ambos os embaixadores, scilicet, Tuão Mafamet e Cojacão, e sua companhia, se fossem pera Binião*, que (p.38).já tinham o junco prestes; e se não quisessem ir; lhe não avião de dar mantimentos, Dizião que se avião de hir, que os matassem e fizessem o que quisessem, que os franges tinham lá tomado tudo, que não podião ir a lugar que os não tomassem. Mais disse o linga (sic), ao tutuão*, que veo de Patane que avia nova que no anno presente ouverão de vir cem vellas de portugueses; pella qual palavra lhe derão vinte açoutes, por ousar em tal fallar. Partiu o embaixador na era de vinte quatro. Aquí ouvi dizer a huns mercadores que por se aredarem da costa de Patane forão dar nas ilhas de Borné, com tempo, e quebrarão o junco e os captivarão. Não sey se foy verdade.*

the king shall write to his subjects to help with people and to send some stocks of supplies to his ambassador”, and other similar things. The letter also stated that “with the junk loaded in Patani, the Portuguese made notice of it and did approach it in order to seize it; that it did make a great thunder at sea and [the junk] escaped but without any further goods and supplies and that the hunger there led to deaths at sea”. With this letter they entered into Canton [Guangzhou]: The Mandarins did send them away again, and both ambassadors, *scilicet*, Tun Muhammad and Khoja Hassan and their company shall proceed to Bintan, (p.38) where they already had a junk ready; and should they not want to go, then they would not be provided with supplies. They said that they were simply not able to go, that they would be killed, and they could do with them what they wanted, that the Franks [Portuguese] had taken everything, that they could not go anywhere without being taken by them. Furthermore, said the translator to the *tutuão** [*dutang*], that he had come from Patani that they had heard that in that same year there had come one hundred Portuguese sails; because of this news they gave him twenty lashes of the whip. The ambassador left in the year of [15]24. Here, I heard from some traders that once they turned away from the coast of Patani, and they went onto the islands of Borneo because of the bad weather and did break the junk and they were captured. I do not know if this be true.

2. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (excerpts)

Source

in M. Lopes de Almeida (intro. & text revision), *Lendas da Índia*, Oporto, Lello & Irmão, 1858, vol. II: 800.

(...) *Martim Afonso esteue tres mezes [em 1524], em que lhe a gente muyto adoeceo, por a terra ser doentia; em o goal tempo nunqua ousarão as lancharas* de sayr fôra, nem o Laquexemena* cometeo nenhuma guerra com Martim Afonso. Então, porque a gente lhe morria, se foy a Pão, onde no porto lhe queimou muytos junquos, em que matou muyta gente, e catiuou muyto que se lançauão ao mar; e tomo muyta preza nos junquos. E d'ahy se foy a Patane, onde tambem queimou muytos junquos, e hum muyto grande que então chegára de Jaoa, em que vinha o proprio Rey de Patane, que todos arderão. O que vendo na cidade ouverão grande medo e fogio toda a gente, leuando o que podião; ao que Martim Afonso sayo a terra, onde nom achou quem lha defendesse, em que carragerão os nauios do roubo, e puserão fogo em muytas partes da cidade, que era de casas de madeira e pedra e barro, em tal modo que toda ficou destroyda, até as ortas e pomares derrador. Com os quaes feitos muyto se tornou a restaurar a honra dos portugueses, que já estaua muy perdida.*

(...) [in Bintan] Martim Afonso spent three months [in 1524] during which many of his men fell sick as such was the sickly nature of the land; during which time they never did brave running the *lanccaran* to make their departure, nor did the *laksamana* enter into any war with Martim Afonso. Indeed, because people were dying, he went to Pahang, where in the port they had burned many junks in which many people were killed and caused many to throw themselves into the sea and he took a lot of booty from the junks. And then, heading onto Patani, where he also burned many junks and even one very big vessel that had then arrived from Java on board which there was the very King of Patani, where they all burned. And resulting in hearing great fear in the city with everybody fleeing and taking with them what they might; when Martim Afonso landed ashore, where nobody thought they might stand and defend against him, they [the Portuguese] loaded their ships with the theft and they set fire to many parts of the city, everything that was houses of wood and stone or clay, and to such an extent that everything got destroyed, even the orchards and groves were felled. Such deeds were much needed to restore the honour of the Portuguese that has already been greatly lost.

3. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (excerpt)

Source

in M. Lopes de Almeida (intro. & text revision), *Lendas da Índia*, Oporto, Lello & Irmão, 1858, vol. II: 937.

E durando assy esta guerra, Pero de Mascarenhas mandou Ayres da Cunha, Capitão mór do mar; em hum galeão com quatro fustas*, que se foy deitar na barra de Bintão*, com aue lhe de lhe deu muyto trabalho, tolendolhe os mantimentos e as mercadorias. Também n'este tempo [em 1525] chegou a Malaca Martim Afonso de Mello Juzarte*, que enuernára na ilha de Banda, o qual logo Pero de Mascarenhas apercebeo, e o mandou que fosse ó Rey de Patane, que estaua de guerra, como já atrás fiqua. O qual foy em hum galeão* em que fora Baltasar Rodrigues Raposo*, que hia n'esta viagem em hum nauio de gauea*, e Luiz Brandão* em huma carauella*, e quatro lancharas, e com boa gente; com que foy a Patane, onde no porto tomou muytos junços, em que matou e catiuou muyta gente da terra e d'outras partes, e tomou muytas fazendas, e na terra fez muyta destroyção com artelharía, e fez tanta guerra que o Rey lhe pediu pazes, offerecendose a pagar todas as perdas que tinham recebido portugueses em seu porto, e mandaria a Malaca quantos mantimentos lhe pedissem. O que Martim Afonso assentou com seus juramentos, e lhe tornou os cascos dos junços, de que alugns trouxe carregados com as mercadorias e muytos mantimentos, com que se tornou a Maalaca e ficou Patane de paz muyto segura.*

And during this war, Pero Mascarenhas ordered Aires da Cunha*, Captain-General of the Sea in a galleon with four *fustas**, that they deploy along the mouth of the Bintan river, which did give him a great deal of work, blocking all provisions and merchandises. Also arriving in Malacca around this time [in 1525] was Martim Afonso de Mello Jusarte* who had spent the “winter” off the Banda Island, and just as soon as Pero Mascarenhas knew of his arrival, he sent him to the King of Patani who was at war as I already detailed above. He departed in a galleon and with him went Baltasar Rodrigues Raposo* who embarked in a carrack with crow’s nest, and Luís Brandão* in a caravel, and four armed *lanccaran*, and with good people; with which they arrived in Patani, where in the port they took many junks and did kill or capture many people from that land or from other parts, and as well seized many commodities, and on the land did do much destruction with their artillery and made so much battle that the king did sue for peace offering to pay for all of the losses that the Portuguese had received in his port, and also promised to send to Malacca as many supplies as were requested of him. Which Martim Afonso did assent to with his oaths of promise and turned over the shells of the junks and with some loaded with goods and many supplies, and he returned to Malacca and left Patani in a very secure peace.

4. Letter from Pedro de Mascarenhas, captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1/9/1525 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-32-106

in Jorge Santos Alves, *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra. A história dos sultanatos de Samudera-Pacém e de Achém e das suas relações com os Portugueses (1500-1580)*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999: 253-258 [254].

Fl. 2. Senhor

Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte veio aqui [a Malaca] ter de Maluco num navio pequeno e determinei de o mandar sobre Pão e a costa de Patane e assim por fazer guerra a Pão e aos inimigos como para trazer alguns mantimentos de presas ou fazer arribar a este porto [Malacca] alguns juncos com eles e também a ver se poderei reconciliar com Patane Celatão*, que Martim Afonso que Deus haja fez a guerra e alevantou contra mandado de Jorge de Albuquerque. Porque são lugares de que Malaca tem muita necessidade assim para mantimentos como para despacho de mercadorias. Vai Martim Afonso no seu navio e vai com ele Baltasar Rodrigues em outro navio e um parao dos que trouxe da India e um calaluz* que leva Tun Muhammad, mouto honrado daqui de Malaca, e uma caravela que aqui trouxe Gonçalo Álvares* de Maluco, sua que me emprestou. Tudo isto, Senhor, é preciso para aquela costa porque em Pão e em Patane se podem ajuntar tantos paraus que lhe darão bem que fazer e não tenho esperança de onde ainda mais me possam vir mantimentos de que já aqui há necessidade.*

Fl. 2. Sire

Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte* did arrive here [at Malacca] from Maluku on a small vessel and I determined to send him against Pahang and the coast of Patani and thus to do war with Pahang and our enemies as well as to bring back provisions from our prey or to divert some junks to this port [Malacca], and also to see if he might reconcile with Patani, Kelantan, that Martim Afonso that God know did make war and rose up against the mandate of Jorge de Albuquerque. Because these are places that Malacca has great need of both for its own provisions and for trading its goods. Martim Afonso goes in his ship and going with him is Baltasar Rodrigues in another ship and a *perahu* that he brought from India and a *calaluz** that carries Tun Muhammad, much respected Moor from Malacca, and the carrack that brought Gonçalo Álvares* here from Maluku, his that he has loaned me. All of these, Your Highness, are needed for that coast because in Pahang and in Patani there can group so many *perahu* that will do him very well to take and I have no other hope from where else might provisions come that we are already in need of here.

5. Letter from Jorge Cabral, captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 10/9/1527 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico* I-22-80

in Jorge Santos Alves, “A Hegemonia no Norte de Malaca; Os Sultanatos de Pacém, Achém e os Portugueses (1509-1579)”, MA Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1991, vol. II: 101-120 [117].

Os juncos de Chincheo que aqui vieram [a Malaca] de deram por novas que de sua terra já partiram trinta juncos os quais vinham deles a Sunda, a Dema, a Patane e também vinham a Malaca.*

The junks from Zhangzhou that came here [to Malacca] did bring news of how some thirty junks had left their land and had set off for Sunda*, Demak, Patani, and were also coming to Malacca.

6. João de Barros, Ásia (excerpt)

Source

Da Ásia de João de Barros. Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente, Lisbon, Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973; Década IV, Livro IX, capítulo XV: 550-554.

Do que aconteceu a Francisco de Barros de Paiva em Patane, e a Henrique Mendes de Vasconcellos* na peleja que ambos tiveram com huma Armada de Jaos.

No tempo [em 1534] que D. Estevão da Gama mandou Simão Sodré a Pam a descobrir o naimo daquelle Rey, mandou tambem Francisco de Barros de Paiva a Patane com a mesma ordem de intentar se os Patanes estavam firmes na paz, que tinham com os Portuguezes. Chegado Francisco de Barros à barra de Patane, estando nella surto, o veio commeter Tuan Mahamed Capitão da Armada d'ElRey de Ujantana com algumas quarenta vélas, de quem se defendeo Francisco de Barros como Capitão esforçado que era, depois de huma larga peleja, em que lhe matáram alguns Portuguezes de vinte que tinha no navio.*

What happened to Francisco de Barros de Paiva in Patani and Henrique Mendes de Vasconcelos in the battle that they both had with a Javanese Armada*

In the time [in 1534] that Dom Estevão da Gama ordered Simão Sodré to Pahang to discover the disposition of that king, he also ordered Francisco de Barros de Paiva to Patani with the same order to establish the will of the Patanis and if they stood firm in the peace that they had with the Portuguese. With Francisco de Barros arriving at the mouth of the river of Patani, and seeking there shelter, there did arrive Tuan Muhamad, Captain of the Armada of the King of Ujung Tanah [Johor] with some forty sails against whom did Francisco de Barros defend as the dedicated Captain that he was and after a large battle in which were killed

Afastados os Mouros com muitos mortos, e feridos para tomar algum repouso, vendo-se os nossos (p. 551) tão cansados, e feridos, que tornando os Mouros a elles se não podiam defender; requerêram a Francisco de Barros, que no batel do navio se recolhessem à terra; o que não querendo elle conceder, tendo por melhor morrer em defensão do navio, elles se foram no batel à terra, e com Francisco de Barros ficáram sómente João Ferreira, e Bastião Nunes*, os ques mostrando-lhe que era temeridade aguardar mais alli os inimigos, o persuádiram a ue se fosse à terra, salvando primeiro a artilharia, e queimando o navio. Em Patane achou Francisco de Barros bom acolhimento, onde esteve, até que D. Estevão acabada a jornada de Ujantana* voltou a Malaca, e mandou Henrique Mendes de Vasconcellos* a Patane para o trazer, e mandar dalli à China hum junco a assentar o trato que antes tinham os de Malaca com o Chijs, que então estava quebrado.*

Chaegado Henrique Mendes ao porto de Patane, depois de aprestar, e partir o navio para a China, e aviar outrom em que viesse Francisco de Barros, e os Portuguezes seus companheiros, estando para se tornar para Malaca teve novas de huma armada de Jaos cosairos, de que era Capitão môr Ericatin, o qual trazia vinte calaluzes*, que remavam com duas ordens de (p. 552) remos, huns de galé, e outros de pangaio, com muita gente de guerra, artilheria, e artificios de fogo. Estes foram demandar o porto de Patane, de que sendo os nossos avisados, se fizeram à vela; mas porque Francisco de Barros não tinha toda a sua gente dentro do junco, surgiu perto da terra, esperando por ella, e Henrique Mendes se fez na volta do*

some twenty of the Portuguese that were on board. Afflicting the Moors with many dead, and wounded, and to get some respite, seeing our men all so exhausted and wounded, who turning to the Moors against those that they were no longer able to defend themselves against, they requested of Francisco de Barros that he let them make it to land in the vessel's rowboat; which he did not want to grant, taking it as better to die in defence of the ship, they went by rowboat to the land and with Francisco de Barros did stay only João Ferreira* and Bastião Nunes*, who showing that it was foolery to await the enemy there any longer, did persuade him to go to land, saving first the artillery and then burning the ship. In Patani, Francisco de Barros did receive a good welcome and where he stayed until Dom Estevão [da Gama] finished his voyage from Ujung Tanah and returned to Malacca and did despatch Henrique Mendes de Vasconcelos* to Patani to bring him back and send him then on to China in a junk to attempt [to restart] the trade that they had previously held with Malacca, which was then broken, with the Chinese.

On Henrique Mendes arriving in the port of Patani, after having hurried, he then set off for China by ship and arranging another to bring Francisco de Barros and his Portuguese companions and preparing to return to Malacca did get news of a corsair Javanese Armada led by Captain General Ericatin*, who headed twenty *calaluzes**, which were powered with two ranks of oars, some galleys and others with paddles carrying many men of war, artillery and explosive devices. They went to call on the port of Patani, where our vessels were, and they did not set their sails because Francisco de Barros did not have all of his men on board the junk, fled but close to the shore to await

mar. Os Jaos havendo vista dos nossos navios, os acommetêram repartidos em duas esquadras. Dez calaluzes porque o vento era calma, chegaram a abalroar com muito esferço o navio de Henrique Mendes, cercando-o por todas partes; mas acháram tal resistencia nos nossos, que depois de durar a peleja hum grande espaço, se affastáram os Jaos com perda de muita gente, e claluzes espedaçados, ficando tambem no navio tres Portuguezes mortos, e muitos feridos; e cahindo Henrique Mendes sem acordo de huma frêcha de peçonha, de que não tornou a si, senão depois de affastados os inimigos, polos remedios com lhe acudiram.*

Francisco de Barros com sós dezessesis Portuguezes, que tinha no seu junco, se defendeo com tanto valor de oito calaluzes que o investiram, que sem o poder entrar se affastáram delle, e com frêchas de peçonha (p. 553) , e com a artilheria começaram de novo a pelear com os nossos; e foi tanta a bombarda, que todo o navio era aberto pelos pelouros, que só na camara de poppa lhe mettêram cincoenta; e hum que foi dar em hum barril de pólvora, queimou tres homens. Os Mouros vendo o fogo, e fumo, dando grandes gritas, remettêtam ao junco para o abalroarem, cercando-o per todas partes, e pondo nelle escadas para subirem; mas Francisco de Barros, posto que ferido de huma frêchada d'erva, que lhe atravessou huma perna, com Bastião Nunes*, e o Mestre do navio, que ainda estavam vivos, fizeram tantas maravilhas com artificios de fogo, que os mais que intentáram subir foram queimados; porém se nao puderam deixar de ser entrados, se a este tempo não chegára o navio de Henrique Mendes de Vasconcellos*, que tornando em seu acordo, e refrescando o vento, dando*

them and Henrique Mendes did turn around at sea. The Javanese, having seen our ships, did then divide their force into two squadrons. Ten *calaluzes**, because the wind was calm, managed with a lot of effort to ram the ship of Henrique Mendes and surround it on all sides; but they did find such resilience in ours, who after having endured the assault over such a large area, afflicted the Javanese with much loss of life, and then the *calaluzes** did scatter, and also leaving on the ship three dead Portuguese along with many wounded; and leaving Henrique Mendes stricken and fallen by a poison arrow, which he failed to recover from until the enemies were dispelled, and medicine was administered.

Francisco de Barros and his sixteen Portuguese, who he had in his junk, stood firm with such great valour against the eight *cataluzes* that did invade him and that had the power to board and did assault him and with poison arrows and with artillery did again begin to assail ours; and such was the bombardment that the entire vessel was opened up to its insides, it was in the aft cabin that fifty did get into and in one they did put a barrel of gunpowder, and burning three men. The Moors seeing the fire and the smoke, gave off great screams, returned to the junk in order to ram it and surrounding it on every side and throwing up hooks in order to scale it; but Francisco de Barros, while injured by a poison arrow, with Bastião Nunes* and the Master of the ship, who were still alive, did do so many wonders with gunpowder charges that those who most attempted to board were burned; even while not able to stop themselves eventually getting boarded, but was it not at just this time that the ship of Henrique

todas as vélas, veio socorrer o junco; e rompendo pelo meio dos calaluzes com a artilheria, metteo no fundo tres e espedaçou outros; e dos que estavam per poppa do junco alcançou dous, em hum dos quias vinha o Capitão mór; que se salvou a nado em outro e se foi logo para terra seguido dos outros calaluzes*, e o navio trás elles, tirando-lhes muitas bombardas, e porque (p.554) em quanto Francisco de Barros pelejou lhe fugiram para terra todos os marinheiros, e nella estavam alguns Portuguezes, lhe foi forçado tornar ao porto tomar a gente que lá tinha, e prover-se do necessario para a viagem de Malaca, aonde chegáram estes dous Capitães a salvamento, encontrando no caminho outra Armada de Jaos cossairos, de que andava por Capitão Paribara*, e trazia comsigo setenta vélas, de que não foram accommettidos por levarem muito vento, e irem muito ao mar.*

Mendes de Vasconcelos*, who kept to his word, and with the winds having picked up and with all sails hoisted did come to aid the junk; and breaking straight through the ring of *calaluzes** with its artillery did sink three of them and peppering others; and those that were at the aft of the junk did hit two in one of which was the Captain General, who did save himself by swimming to another and fled immediately to shore with the other *calaluzes** and with the ship in their wake, and shelling them with many bombardments; and because while Francisco de Barros did battle all of the sailors had fled to land and with some Portuguese among them, he was forced to return to the port to pick up the people he had there and this did prove necessary for the voyage to Malacca, where these two Captains did safely reach, meeting on the way another corsair Javanese Armada, which was led by Captain Paribara*, and bringing with him some seventy sails, but with which they did not commit because they had much good wind and were well out to sea.

7. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, chapter XXXV

Source

in Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Peregrinação. Studies, Restored Portuguese Text, Notes and Indexes*, Lisbon, Fundação Oriente/Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2010, Vol. II – Restored text: 121-123.

COMO EL REY DE PÃO FOY MORTO, & QUEM O MATOU; & A RAZÃO PORQUE, & DO QUE ENTÃO NOS SOCEDEO A TOMÊ LOBO* & A MIM

Tomè Lobo se deu tanta pressa em vender a fazenda, como quem se temia do que lhe tinham certificado, & fez tão bom barato della, que em menos de oito dias as casas estauam despejadas de toda a roupa, & não querendo tomar pimenta, nem crauo, nem outra droga nenhuma que pudesse fazer pejo, a trocou somente por ouro de Menancabo*, & por diamantes que ahy tinham vindo nos jurupangos* de Laue, & de Tanjampura*, & por algumas perolas de Borneo & Solor*. E tendo ja quasi tudo arrecadado, com tenção de nos embarcarmos ao outro dia, ordenou o demonio que aquella noite logo seguinte acontecesse um caso assaz espantoso, o qual foy que hum Coja Geinal Embaixador del Rey de Borneo que auia ja tres ou quatro annos que residia na corte del Rey de Pão, & era homem muyto rico, matou a el Rey, pelo achar com sua molher, pela qual causa foy tamanha a reuolta na cidade, & em todo o pouo, que não parecia cousa de homens, se não de todo o inferno junto; vendo então alguns vadios & gente ociosa, desejosa de tais successos como aquelles, que o tempo & a occasião*

HOW THE KING OF PAHANG WAS KILLED & WHO KILLED HIM & THE REASON WHY & AND WHAT THEN HAPPENED TO TOMÉ LOBO* & TO ME

Tomé Lobo* sold the merchandise very quickly, like someone who feared what had been assured to him, & he traded them so skilfully, that in less than eight days the houses were empty of all the textiles & not wishing to take pepper, nor cloves, nor any other drug which could be a burden, he exchanged the merchandise only for Minangkabau gold & for diamonds which were brought there aboard *jurupangos** from Laue & from Tanjung Pura & for some pearls from Borneo & Solor*. And with almost everything traded, with the intention of us embarking the next day, the devil ensured that an astounding incident happened immediately afterwards on that very night, which was that Khoja Zainal, Ambassador of the King of Borneo, who had been living in the court of the King of Pahang for some three or four years & who was a very rich man killed the King, because he found him with his wife. Due to this there was such tumult in the city & among the entire population that it did not seem human, but rather was as though all of hell had descended there. There were some vagabonds &

era então muyto accommodada para fazerem o que antes co temor do Rey não ousauão, se ajuntarão numa grande companhia quasi quinhentos ou seiscentos destes, & em tres quadrilhas se vierão à feitoria onde pousaua o Tome Lobo, & abalroando as casas por seis ou sete partes, nolas entrarão por força, por mais que as nós defendemos, & na defensão dellas forão mortas da nossa parte onze pessoas, entre as quais forão os tres Portugueses que eu trouxera comigo de Malaca, & o Tome Lobo* escapou com seis cutiladas, de huma das quais lhe derrubarão a face direita até o pesçoço, de que esteue à morte, pelo que a ambos nos foy forçado largarmoslhe a pousada com toda a fazenda que nella auia, & recolhermonos à lanchara*, na qual prouue a Deos que escapamos com mais cinco moços, & oyto marinheyros, porem da fazenda não escapou nada, a qual só em ouro & pedraria passaua de cinquenta mil cruzados*. Na lanchara* nos deixamos estar ate que foy menham com assaz de afflicção, porem com boa vigia, (122) para vermos o em que paraua a grande vnião que geralmente auia em todo o pouo, & vendo que hia o negocio cada vez para pior, ouuemos por melhor conselho passarmonos daly para Patane, que pormonos a risco de nos acabarem aly de matar, como fizeram a mais de quatro mil pessoas. E partindonos logo daly, dentro de seis dias chegamos a Patane, onde fomos bem recebidos dos Portugueses que auia na terra, aos quais demos conta de tudo o que acontecera em Pão, & do mau estado em que ficaua a miserauel cidade, de que todos mostrarão pesarlhes muyto, & querendo fazer sobre isto alguma cousa, mouidos somente do zelo de bons Portugueses,*

layabouts there, who wait for incidents such as these and who saw that the time & occasion was opportune to do what they did not dare to do earlier for fear of the King. A large group of them banded together, almost five hundred or six hundred in number & they came in three gangs to the factory where Tomé Lobo* was &, attacking the houses at six or seven places, they entered them by force, even though we put up a staunch defence & during this defence eleven people were killed on our side, including the three Portuguese whom I had brought with me from Malacca & Tomé Lobo* escaped with six dagger wounds, one of which destroyed his right cheek down to the neck. Due to this he was on the brink of death and as a result we were both forced to leave the place, along with all the merchandise which were in the house & we retreated to the *lancharan*, aboard which by the grace of God we escaped with five other lads & eight sailors, however, nothing at all escaped of the merchandise, which in just gold & precious stones alone exceeded fifty thousand *cruzados**. We stayed on the *lancharan* until it was morning, greatly afflicted but staying very alert, (122) to see how the situation evolved among the people, & seeing that the matter was deteriorating increasingly, we thought it best to go from there to Patani than to risk being killed there, as more than four thousand people had been. And setting out from there immediately, we reached Patani within six days, where we were received warmly by the Portuguese living there, to whom we described everything that had happened in Pahang & the bad state to which the miserable city had been reduced. All of them expressed their great dismay &

se foram todos a casa del Rey, & se lhe queixarão muyto da sem razão que se fizera ao Capitão de Malaca, & lhe pedirão licença para se entregarem da fazenda que lhe era tomada, o que el Rey lhes concedeo leuemente, dizendo: Razão he que façais como vos fazem, & que roubeis quem vos rouba, quanto mais ao Capitão de Malaca, a quem todos sois tão obrigados. Os Portugueses todos lhe derão muytas graças por aquella merce; & tornandose para suas casas, assentarão que se fizesse represa em toda a cousa que achassem ser do reyno de Pão, ate que de todo se satisfizesse aquella perda. E daly a nove dias sendo auisados que no rio de Calantão, que era daly dezoito legoas, estauão tres juncos da China muyto ricos, de mercadores Mouros naturais do reyno de Pão, que com tempo contrario se vierão aly meter, ordenarão logo de armarem sobre elles. E embarcandose oitenta Portugueses dos trezentos que então auia na terra, em duas fustas, & hum nauio redondo, bem aparelhados de todas as cousas necessarias à empresa que leuauão, se partirão daly a tres dias com grande pressa, por se temerem que se fossem sentidos pelos Mouros da terra dessem auiso aos outros Mouros que elles hião buscar. Destas tres embarcações era Capitão mór hum João Fernandez Dabreu, natural da ilha da Madeyra, filho do amo del Rey dom João, que hia no nauio redondo, & leuaua consigo quarenta soldados, & das duas fustas* erão Capitães Lourenço de Goes, & Vasco Sermento seu primo, ambos naturaes da cidade de Bragança, & todos muyto esforçados & praticos na milicia naual. Ao outro dia seguinte chegarão estes nossos nauios ao rio de Calantão, & vendo que estauão*

wishing to do something about it, moved solely by the zeal of good Portuguese, they all went to the King's house & they complained forcefully to him of the senseless act which had been done to the Captain of Malacca & they asked for his permission to seize goods to compensate for the merchandise which had been taken from him, which the King granted them without hesitation, saying: You are right to do what you are doing, & to rob those who have robbed you, let alone [rob] the Captain of Malacca, to whom all of you are so obliged. All the Portuguese thanked him sincerely for that favour & [upon] returning to their homes decided that reprisals should be made on anything found to belong to the kingdom of Pahang until that loss had been entirely compensated. And being informed nine days later that there were three richly laden junks coming from China, belonging to Moorish merchants from the kingdom of Pahang, in the Kelantan River, which was eighteen leagues from there, which had gone there due to adverse weather, they immediately ordered that the vessels be attacked. And of the three hundred Portuguese there were at the time in that land eighty set sail, in two foists & a square-rigged ship, well equipped with all the things that were necessary for the mission on which they were venturing. They set out from there three days later in great haste, since they feared that if the local Moors heard of their plans, they would warn the other Moors whom they were going to attack. The captain-major of these three vessels was one João Fernandes de Abreu, who was born on the island of Madeira, son of a retainer of King João. The captain-major sailed on the square-rigged ship, & he took

surtos nelle os tres juncos de que tiuerão nouas, os cometerão muyto esforçadamente, & com quanto os de dentro trabalharão quanto puderão pelos defenderem, em fim não lhes aproueitou nada, porque em menos de huma hora forão todos rendidos com morte de setenta & quatro delles, & dos nossos tres somente, mas ouue muytos feridos. E não trato de particularizar aquy o que huns & outros fizerão, por me parecer desnecessario, (123) somente direy o que me parece que faz mais ao caso. Rendidos & tomados os tres juncos, os nossos se fizerão à vella, & se sayrão do rio, leuando os juncos comsigo, porque ja neste tempo toda a terra estaua amotinada, & nauegando daly para Patane com bom vento, chegarão lá ao outro dia quasi à vespora, & surtos, saluarão o porto com grande festa & estrondo de artilharia, a que os Mouros da terra não tinham paciencia. E com quanto erão de pazes & se dauam por nossos amigos, todauia trabalharão quanto foy possiuel, com peitas que derão aos regedores, & aos priuados de el Rey, para que fizessem com elle que nos acoimasse o feito, & nos lançasse fora da terra, o que el Rey não quiz fazer, dizendo, que por nenhum caso auia de quebrar as pazes que seus antepassados tinham feitas com Malaca, mas querendose fazer terceiro, & meter a mão entre nos & os tomados, nos pidio que satisfazendo os tres Necodàs senhorios dos juncos o que em Pão se tomara ao Capitão de Malaca, lhes largassem liuremente as suas embarcações, o que o João Fernandez Dabreu, & os mais Portugueses outorgarão pelo muyto desejo que virão que el Rey tinha disso, de que se elle mostrou muyto contente, & lhes agardeceo aquella boa vontade*

forty soldiers with him & [the captains] of the two foists were Lourenço de Góis & Vasco Sarmiento, his cousin, both of them from the city of Bragança, & all of them were very diligent & experienced in naval warfare. The following day these ships of ours arrived in the Kelantan River & seeing that the three junks about which they had received news were anchored there, they attacked them forcefully & even though those inside the ships did their best to defend the vessels their efforts were in vain, because in less than an hour they had all surrendered with 74 of them having perished & there were only three deaths on our side, although there were many wounded. And I will not specify in detail here what individuals did, since it seems unnecessary to me. (123) I will only say what seems relevant. After the three junks had surrendered and been captured our men set sail & and left the river, taking the junks with them, because by this time the entire land was already in tumult & sailing from there to Patani with favourable winds they arrived there the next day almost in the evening & after anchoring they fired a salvo off the port with great festivity & booming artillery, the local Moors being unable to bear this. And even though they were at peace with us & and affirmed they were our friends they nonetheless strove as much as possible, and with bribes to the governors & confidants of the King to have him order that we be punished for this feat & be expelled from the land, which the King did not wish to do, saying that in no circumstances was the peace his forefathers had signed with Malacca to be broken. However, wishing to meddle & interfere between us & the prizes, he asked us whether we would release

<p><i>com muytas palauras. E desta maneyra se cobrarão os cinquenta mil cruzados* que Pero de Faria & Tome Lobo* tinham perdidos, & os Portugueses ficarão na terra com credito & nome honroso; & muyto temidos dos Mouros. E estes tres juncos que então se tomarão, se affirmou por dito dos que vinhão nelles, que só em prata trazião duzentos mil taels, que são da nossa moeda trezentos mil cruzados*, a fora outra muyta fazenda, de que vinhão bem carregados.</i></p>	<p>their vessels of our own free will if the three <i>nakhodas</i> who owned the junks compensated for what had been seized from the captain of Malacca in Pahang. João Fernandes de Abreu & the other Portuguese agreed to the request seeing that the King was very desirous of this. He expressed his satisfaction for this act & thanked them at length for their goodwill. And in this manner, they recouped the fifty thousand <i>cruzados*</i> that Pero de Faria & Tomé Lobo* had lost & the reputation of the Portuguese gained credit & honour in the land & they were greatly feared by the Moors. And it was said by those who sailed back aboard them that these three junks which were captured at the time were carrying two hundred thousand <i>taels</i> just in silver, which are worth three hundred thousand <i>cruzados*</i> in our currency, in addition to many other merchandises, being richly laden vessels.</p>
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8. Letter from Estevão da Gama to the King of Portugal, (Goa?), (post-1542) (excerpts)

Source

ANTT, *Fragments*, Caixa 4, maço 4, doc. 30

in Jorge Santos Alves, “Três Sultanatos Malaios do Estreito de Malaca nos séculos XV e XVI (Samudera-Pasai, Aceh e Malaca/Johor). Estudo Comparativo de História Social e Política”, Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003: 389-397 [391-392].

<p><i>Fol 3. quanto a emformaçam que diz que tem de eu mandar a patane feitor a fazer minha fazemda e que nyso Recebeo muyta Perda e que os chins nam vynham a malaca pelos eu escamdalar e por eles Jrem a patane e laa acharem o meu feitor, digo que he verdade que eu mamdey a patane os deradeiros dous annos hũ feitor meu</i></p>	<p>Fol 3. Regarding the information that says that I had to send a factor to Patani to make my merchandise and that in this I took a lot of losses and that the Chinese would not come to Malacca as I scandalise them and they instead will go to Patani and find my factor there, I say that the truth is that I dispatched to Patani in the two last years my factor</p>
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com muyto pouca fazemda minha, e que em todo o tempo que laa esteue não empreguaria meus em cada hũ anno de dous mill cruzados pera cyma, e a patane vynham Jumcos que valerya sua fazemda de çem mil pera cyma, ora como se deue de presomjr que por empregar dous mil cruzados*, em que podia guanhar myll escandalyzaua os chyns pera não vyrem a malaca pois tanto sobeJo emprego na terra avya, quamto mais que sempre chyns vyeram a malaqua, e o proueyto que Vossa Alteza tiraua e pode tirar fazemdo o que he Rezam e tratamdo os como deve seraa em cada Jumco boms cem cruzados* [...]zementos, Mas eu parece me que era mais salteador de caminhos que capitão pois me [...] cousas poem, aqj esta o feitor de Vossa Alteza [e ou] tras pessoas que la estiueram, mas eu corro me [...] asemtar testemunhas [de t]aes cousas,*

E asy / [fol. 3 v.º] diz Vossa Alteza que tem por emformaçam que quando daua licemça a algũ portugues pera patane lhe levaua por ela mil cruzados, não pode ser senão que quem tall dise que me errou o nome e que quisera dizer outrem e dise a mym, porque se ouuer pessoa não digo que diser que eu lhe dey licemça por dinheiro ou por algũa cousa ou que diser que minha fazemda se levou em algũ navyo sem frete por vyage [sic] ou licemça que lhe dese, mas digo que se alguem ouuer que digua que em todo o tempo que estiue em malaca tomey a portugues ou a mouro ou a gemtyo tirando fruyta de comer valya de hũ cruzado* que por ele soo perqua todos meus seruicos, porque tão escocycerado fuy nysto que sendo custume os capitaes quando cheguam tomarem os presentes que os quelyns* que he gemte da terra lhe dão, eu Jurey de os nam tomar; e por*

with very little of my merchandise, and that in all of the time that he was there he did not employ mine in any one of the years anything upwards of two thousand *cruzados**, and from Patani came junks that valued their goods at one hundred thousand or more, as you may be given to assume that by employing two thousand *cruzados** in a way that I could earn a lot did scandalise the Chinese out of coming to Malacca such was the excess of employment in their land, so much so that the Chinese came to Malacca, and the project Your Highness did posit and may continue to do so that I do so beseech and dealing with them as if there must be a good one hundred *cruzados** in each junk [...]. However, it seems to me that I was more a road brigant than captain as [...] thing got put, here is the factor of Your Highness [and ot]her persons who were there but I shall make recourse to [...] witness accounts [about t]hese things,

And thus / [fol. 3 v.] said Your Highness that has as information that when I give permission to some Portuguese to go to Patani I ask them to pay for it a thousand *cruzados**, then this cannot but be another who said this and erred with the name and wanted to say another and instead said me because if you hear another person they shall say I do not say that I give them license for money or for anything or that they say that my merchandise was taken off in some vessel not chartered for a voyage or license attributed, but I say that if you hear someone say that in all of the time that I have been in Malacca I took the Portuguese or the Moors or the Gentiles anything but fruit to eat with at the value of one *cruzado** that by act he does lose all my services because I was so thorough in this that it being

<p><i>se eles escandalizaram e averem por grande ofensa e JmJurya, os dey a dom francisco de lima e ha vasco da cunha* sem pera mym tomar valya de hũa palha, ora quem Jsto fazia como venderia a licemça dos homeems por dinheiro.</i></p>	<p>the custom of the captains to receive gifts from the Kling, the people of the land, I swore not to take them and due that they were scandalised and did take great offence of this, I did give such gifts to Dom Francisco de Lima* and to Vasco da Cunha* without me gaining any value not even of a chaff. This said, how could I sell the permission [to travel to Patani] to the men for money?</p>
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9. Garcia de Escalante Alvarado (excerpts)

Source

Relación de García de Escalante Alvarado, Lisbon, 1/8/1548
 in Consuelo Varela (ed.), *El Viaje de Don Ruy López de Villalobos a las Islas del Poniente (1542-1548)*, Milan, Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1983: 177.

<p><i>Despues que tovimos esta notiçia se supo que estava en Ternate* un gallego, natural de Monterrey, que se llama Pero Diez*, que vino en las postreras naos de Burney, el cual vino alli en un junco de las islas de Japan. El General le inbio a hablar y a rogar le inbiase a dezir lo que avia visto; y el, como aficionado al servicio de Su Magestad, escrivio una carta y despues vino a la isla de Tidore* y de plabra conto algunas cosas como se iva acordando. Y lo que conto es que el Mayo del año passado de mill quinientos e cuarenta e quatro años, partio de Patani en un junco de chinos y allego en Chincheo, qu'es en la costa de China, y alli vio muchos lugares pequeños, las casas de cal y canto y la gente bien acondicionada, mansa y poco entremetida en las cosas de guerra; es gente muy sospechosa, tienen gran cantidad de bastiementos como los d'España, trigo, vacas, puercos, cabras, gallinas e outras aves, lo cual sacan a vender en barcos a los navios que por alli pasan, dandolo a buen presçio; [...]</i></p>	<p>Coming as we get this news, it was known that in Ternate* there was a Galician, born in Monterrey, who's called Pero Díaz*, who travelled in the later carracks of Brunei, who had got there in a junk from the islands of Japan. The General sent him to talk and requested him to set down a description of what he had seen; and he, as a devoted servant of His Majesty, he wrote a letter, and then came to the island of Tidore* and told with spoken words some of the things that he remembered. And so he told that in May of this last year, one thousand and five hundred and forty-four years, did set off from Patani in a Chinese junk he arrived to Zhangzhou, which is on the coast of China, and there did see many small places, whitewashed houses of stone and clay, and the people living in very good conditions, calm and very little interested by matters of war; this is a very prosperous people and they had a large quantity of supplies such as those of Spain, wheat, cows, pigs, goats, chickens and other birds which they could sell to the boats and ships that would pass by there, offering it at a very good price; [...]</p>
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10. Letter from Manuel Godinho to the King of Portugal, Goa, 25/10/1545 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-76-118

in Jorge Santos Alves, *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra. A história dos sultanatos de Samudera-Pacém e de Achém e das suas relações com os Portugueses (1500-1580)*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999: 264-270 [266].

Fol. 2 E assim em tempo de dom Paulo da Gama que Deus tem, capitão que foi de Malaca, determinou tanto que chegou de assentar pazes e amizade com el Rei de Patane, que está duzentas léguas de Malaca, e com el rei de Pão, que havia quinze anos que estavam de guerra com os portugueses; e havendo em Malaca setecentos homens, fui eu enlegido por embaixador aos ditos reism e assentei pazes e amizades com eles, que duram até hoje em dia, per onde foi causa de os portugueses irem à China de doze anos a esta parte como vão, e partem de Patane, e tem descoberto toda a costa da China, que dantes não se sabia mais do que Cantão; e isto foi causa pleas pazes que eu assentei, no que fiz serviço de a Deus e a Vossa Alteza [...]

Fol. 2 During the late Dom Paulo da Gama's captaincy, he ordered me, as soon as he arrived in this city to go to establish peace and friendship with the king of Patani, some two hundred leagues from Malacca. He also sent me with the same mission to the king of Pahang, due to the fact that both kings were at war with the Portuguese for some fifteen years now; although there were some seven hundred men in Malacca, I was the one chosen as ambassador to the aforesaid kings. I settled peace and friendship with them, which remain valid up to today. And because of this the Portuguese were able to go to China for some twelve years now, as they are going. They set sail from Patani, and they have discovered all China coast, and before nothing was explored farther from Guangzhou. This happened because I settled that agreement, that was a great service to God and to your Highness [...]

11. Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Kusima, 16/11/1545

Source

ANTT, *Cartas de Goa a D. João de Castro*, fols. 100-100v.

<i>Sennhor</i>	Sir
<p><i>Eu com mita [sic] ymfimda tromemta e meo alagado e morto de fome chegey a este Rio de pegui* como maJs ymteiramente stprevo ao sennhor governador na carta que lhe stprevo vera vossa merce todos os meus acometçimentos e desaventuras, beiJarey as mãos a vossa merce aJudar me sempre la com o senhor seu pay e fauoreçer minhas cousas que Crea verdadeiramente que são tamto seu seruidor que lhe mereçi ysto e muito maJs,</i></p> <p><i>Eu com aJuda de deus parto daquy pera malaqua ao primeiro dia de Janeiro porque emtão he a moução e dahy me yrey pera patane domde seruirey a vosa merçe como a meu sennhor e como eu desejo e porque toda minha esperamça esta em suas mãos lhe beyyarey lembrar se sempre de mym,</i></p> <p><i>beijo as mãos de vosa merçe</i></p> <p><i>de cosmym aos desaseis dias do mês de novembro de 1545 Anos</i></p> <p><i>seruidor de vosa [me]rce</i></p> <p><i>a) diogo soarez de castro</i></p>	<p>Battling endless storms and endless torment, and half flooded and dead from hunger, I did reach this River of Pegu* as I do here entirely convey to your Lord Highness in the letter that shall set before you all of my happenings and misadventures. I do kiss the hands of your Grace to get your assistance as has done the lord your father, and the favouring of my things that I do truly believe that I am as much your servant that I deserved all this and far much more.</p> <p>I with the help of God shall set off from here for Malacca on the first day of January because then there is the monsoon and from there I shall proceed to Patani where I shall serve your Grace as my lord and as I do thus desire and because all of my hope does lie in your hands that I do kiss to ensure they always do recall of me,</p> <p>I kiss the hands of your Grace</p> <p>at Kusima on the sixteenth day of the month of November of the year 1545</p> <p>servant of your Grace</p> <p>a) Diogo Soares de Castro</p>

12. Report from Pero de Faria, Goa, 19/11/1545 (excerpt)**Source**

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-77-18

in Luís Filipe Thomaz, “A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI”, *A Carreira da Índia e a Rota dos Estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz & Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds.), Angra do Heroísmo, 1998: 37-206 [144].

p. 144. *E quanto à pimenta que vai para a China, gasta-se na terra e não tem saca para nenhuma parte para fazer dano ao tráfego do rei nosso Senhor.*

E quanto a dizer o capítulo que gasta a China toda quanto lá pode ir, é pelo contrário. Porque por ir muita à China não se gasta e fica de um ano para o outro invernado lá. E de Malaca às ilhas de Cantão se não ganha já senão a cinquenta e sessenta por cento, porque os chineses vão todos os anos doze a quinze juncos seus a Patane e outros tantos a Sunda, em que levam muita pimenta.*

p. 146. *E arrendando o rei nosso Senhor [as viagens de comércio] ficam eles [os mercadores privados portugueses] com a esperança perdida e afastam-se de Vossa Magestade para Coromandel, Bengala, Pegu*, e Patane, que é duzentas léguas de Malaca, onde são já muitos.*

p. 144. And as regards the pepper that goes to China, it gets consumed in the land and there is no trade to anywhere, that could do no harm to the traffic of the king, our Lord.

And as regards the chapter that it is spent in China, as much as can be taken there, it is the contrary. Because going a lot to China does it is not consumed there and staying from one year to the next and wintering there. And from Malacca to the islands of Guangdong you don't earn anything less than fifty to sixty per cent, because the Chinese go every year in twelve to fifteen junks to Patani and about the same number to Sunda*, where they take on a lot of pepper.

p. 146. And betrothed to the king our Lord [the trading voyages] left them [the Portuguese private traders] with the lost hope and they do move to flee Your Majesty to Coromandel, Bengal, Pegu*, and Patani, which is two hundred leagues from Malacca, where they are already very many.

13. Report from Duarte Barreto, Goa, 26/11/1545 (excerpt)

Source

Biblioteca da Ajuda, 51-VII-22, fls. 141 and ff.

in Luís Filipe Thomaz, “A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI”, *A Carreira da Índia e a Rota dos Estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz & Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds.), Angra do Heroísmo, 1998: 37-206 [168].

<p>p. 168. Assim, Senhor na China não se gasta tanta pimenta para que o rei [de Portugal] tome este comércio. Porque tomando-o mais perderia nos direitos da alfândega de Malaca do que se pode ganhar na pimenta. Avisem-se os portugueses que estão em Patane e façam-nos vir a Malaca e o comércio da China deve ser corrente com Malaca sem fazer escalas em outra parte e isto renderá mais que mandar lá a pimenta.</p>	<p>p. 168. Thus, Your Highness, in China they do not consume as much pepper so that the king [of Portugal] may take this trade. Because in taking it what would be lost in the customs rights in Malacca would be more than won back in pepper. Notify those Portuguese who are in Patani and have them come to Malacca and the trade with China should interlink with Malacca without making stops in any other part and this shall render more than sending pepper there.</p>
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14. Report from Duarte de Miranda de Azevedo, Goa, 27/11/1545 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-77-31

in Luís Filipe Thomaz, “A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI,” *A Carreira da Índia e a Rota dos Estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz & Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds.), Angra do Heroísmo, 1998: 37-206 [173].

<p>p. 173. Mais diz Sua Magestade que a [pimenta] que for à China e a essas partes lá fará menos inconveniente ao comércio do Reino, e que lá se pode gastar toda quanta for, e que seria seu serviço. Depois de comprada a necessária para a carga deveria comprar-se mais para dar a mercadores pelos preços para levarem às suas custas à China e às mais partes acima nomeadas [Cambaia*, Ormuz*,</p>	<p>p. 173. Furthermore, Your Highness said that the [pepper] that goes to China and these parts will do there lesser inconvenience to the trade of the Kingdom [of Portugal], and that there everything that there is may be consumed, and that would be in your service. After having bought that necessary for the cargo, more should then be acquired to give to the traders for the prices levied for the costs incurred</p>
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<p><i>Baçorá* e o Mar Roxo] com partido e ganho para Sua Alteza da metade ou um terço conforme fosse mais conveniente. Certo é que a que for à China nenhum prejuizo pode fazer ao comércio do Reino. Mas é impossível gastar-se tanta pimenta na China, pois juntando-se lá tanta não se pode gastar nem metade da que há em Quedá e Sunda* e que vaia por terra ter a Patane, onde faz escala e embarcação para a China.</i></p>	<p>in taking them to China and the other parts named above [Cambay, Hormuz, Basra, and the Red Sea] and shared and earning for Your Highness a half or a third as deemed most convenient. Certainly, that which goes to China will not cause any harm to the trade of the Kingdom [of Portugal]. However, it is impossible to consume so much pepper in China as so much is gathered there that you cannot expend even a half of all that there is in Kedah and Sunda* and that travels overland to Patani, where it halts before getting loaded onto vessels bound for China.</p>
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15. Letter from Diogo Soares de Castro to D. Álvaro de Castro, Patani, 9/10/1546

Source

ANTT, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, Livro 4, fol. 13-13v.º

Senhor	Sir
<p><i>Eu cheguey ha este Patani he aচেy perdydo hum navyo que tynha mamdaado com mynha fazemda coamdo veo Garçia de Sá he alem de perder mynha fazemda toda paguey de valyas coamto tynha de feyção que Juro senhor verdade ha vossa merçe que estou tão desbarataado que nem qamysas tenho pera vestyr beyJarey as mãos ha vosa merçe pydyr hao senhor governador huuma lyçemça pera que eu poosa Jr hou mamdaar hem hum navyo deste Patani há Bengal he de Bengal a Hormuz / [fol. 13v.º] he com ho que nesta vyaagem gaanhaar hyrey servyr vossa merçe he o senhor seu pae como seu escraavo este hatryvymemto de lhe pydyr esta merçe tomey porque me lembra que me dyse vossa merçe coamdo me party que hem tudo ho que</i></p>	<p>I arrived here at this Patani and did find a lost ship that I had sent with my merchandise under the captaincy of Garcia de Sá who beyond losing all of my merchandise I paid of costs with all [the money] that I had, and I Swear my lord to the truth to your Grace that I am in such a plight that I do not even have a shirt to clothe myself, and I shall Kiss the hands of your Grace [should you] ask the governor to issue a permit that I might go and could send one ship from this Patani to Bengal and from Bengal to Hormuz / [fol. 13v.º] and that which I make on this voyage shall serve your Grace and the lord your father as if a slave to this bestowal of this mercy that I do take because it reminds me of the beneficence you showed towards me</p>

<p><i>pudese me farya merçe he porque eu sey que as ele faaz ha todo mumdo lhe bey. Jarey as mãos fazer esta ha mym he o que eu tyver voos [?] mo daes bey. Jo as mãos ha vosa merçe</i></p> <p><i>de Patani hoJe noove d oytubro de quynhemtos he coremta he seys</i></p> <p><i>servydor de vosa merçe</i></p> <p>a) <i>dyogo soarez de crasto</i></p>	<p>and that I shall do everything within my power and capacity because I know that those that do and all the world shall kiss your hands in doing this for me and ensuring that all that I have was given to me by you, my lord, I do kiss your hands in your Grace</p> <p>from Patani today the ninth of October of 1546</p> <p>servant of your Grace</p> <p>a) Diogo Soares de Castro</p>
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16. Francisco de Sousa S.J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo* (excerpt)

Source

Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa
in M. Lopes de Almeida (ed.), *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, Oporto, Lello & Irmão, 1979: 355-356, 359.

<p>42. <i>O Rey de Viantana, & por outro titulo de Bintão*, filho daquelle Mahamet, a quem o grande Albuquerque ganhou Malaca, sabendo que a fortaleza estava mal provida de soldados, & ouvindo o desbarate da nossa armada, quiz aproveytarse da occasião & ver se podia recuperar o perdido. Conduzia contra o Rey de Patane huma armada de trezentas velas entre pequenas & grandes, & sahindo com ella do porto de Andraguire, passou a dar fundo no rio de Muar* seis legoas de Malaca. Daqui lançou suas espias a certificarse, se era verdadeyra a fama do nosso destroço; & entretanto enviou hum Embayxador a Simão de Mello* com huma carta de amigo fingido, & fino treydor. Dizia que vendose obrigado e ir sobre o Reyno de Patane tomar satisfação de gravissimas injurias, & danos, com que o havião</i></p>	<p>42. [in 1547] The King of Ujung Tanah [Johor], & by other title of Bintan, son of that Mahmud, from whom the great Albuquerque won Malacca, knowing that the fortress was poorly supplied with soldiers, & hearing of the poor state of our armada, wished to capitalise on the occasion & see whether he might recover that lost. He led against the King of Patani an armada of three hundred sails among little & big vessels & leaving with it from the port of Indragiri, before dropping anchor in the river of Muar* six leagues from Malacca. From here, he sent out his spies to ascertain whether the rumours of our destruction were true & in the meanwhile sending out an ambassador to Simão de Mello* with a letter pretending friendship, & a fine act of betrayal. He said that he found himself forced to go up against the</p>
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provocado à vingança, tivera no caminho novas certas de que os Achens, depois de destroçarem a nossa armada, engrossarão (p. 356) mais o poder para escalar Malaca, & meter tudo a ferro & a fogo. (...)

(p. 359)

44. Não parou aqui a rota dos Achens, nem a vitoria dos Portuguezes. O Rey de Parles retirado a Patane sabendo da destruição dos que lhe havião usurpado, & roubado os Estados, ajuntou com summa diligencia hum esquadrão de quinhentos soldados tam valentes como rayvosos, & dando sobre trezentos Achens, que guardavão em terra os prizioneyros, meteo todos ao talho da catana. Logo muyto festival com a flor da sua nobreza se embarcou em duas fustas* dos mesmos Achens, que se não achãrão no conflito, & veyo batendo as azas pelo rio abayxo a dar os parabens aos Portuguezes, & como tambem ele triunfava na nossa vitoria, por se ver restituído ao seu Reyno pelo boa fortuna das nossas armas, com huma solmne embayxada se fez perpetuamente tributario à Coroa Lusitana.*

Kingdom of Patani to gain satisfaction for the most serious injuries, & damage and by which they had provoked this revenge, had received on the way new reports that the Acehnese, after having destroyed our armada, did reinforce their power to stop at Malacca and to destroy it completely. (...)

(p. 359)

44. The route of the Acehnese did not stop here (at Perlis) nor did the victory of the Portuguese. The King of Perlis retreated to Patani knowing of the destruction of those hat had usurped him, & stolen his States, then gathered with some careful diligence a squadron of five hundred soldiers as brave as they were furious, & coming across three hundred Acehnese, who were standing guard on shore over the prisoners, & did put them all to the butchery of the machete. There was immediately great festivity with the flowers of its nobility on board two of the fustas* of these same Acehnese, who did not find themselves in conflict, & came beating the drums down the river to give their congratulations to the Portuguese, & as they had also triumphed in our victory, on seeing the restoration of their Kingdom by the good fortune of our weapons, with a solemn embassy did they render themselves perpetual tributaries to the Lusitanian Crown.

17. Letter from Fernão Mendes Pinto S.J. to Baltasar Dias S.J., Macao, 20/11/1555 (excerpt)

Source

in Rui Manuel Loureiro (ed.), *Em Busca das Origens de Macau*, Lisbon, Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1996: 67-76 [70-71].

Aos 20 dias de Abril partimos de Pulo Timão e aos 6 de Maio chegámos a Patane, onde logo fui a terra por mandado do padre aviar matalotagem e outras coisas que havíamos mister, que de Malaca não trazíamos. E fui ver o rei e lhe levei uma beatilha muito fina e dois frascos de água rosada, o qual me recebeu com muito gasalhado, porque me conhecia de outro tempo, porque já ali for ter com um navio meu. E quando veio ao outro dia, se soube na terra como Luís de Almeida, que aí no porto estava havia dois (p. 71) dias, tomara um junco da terra, cuidando que era de Sião, que é terra dos nossos inimigos, no qual matara mais de sessenta almas e queimara o junco com muita fazenda. Com a qual nova a terra esteve quase toda alevantada, e era de maneira que não ousava a sair já de casa, porque andavam muitos mouros, champás e menancabos, fazendo muitas sevícias e jantando muita gente para dar em nós e nos matar a todos.*

E esteve a coisa de maneira que se o rei, que é muito bom homem e muito nosso amigo, não acudira, sempre nos matavam a todos quantos estávamos em terra. Todavia, houve muitos rebates e repiques e afrontas dos negros, os quais eu sofri, do que digo a Deus minha culpa mais com vergonha que com vontade, porque ainda muto atado a isto, e principalmente sobre o que dirão em coisa tão vergonhosos como é fugir: E quis Deus Nosso Senhor que

On the twentieth day of April [of 1555], we departed from Pulo Timão* and on the sixth day of May did we arrive in Patani, where I went immediately ashore on the orders of the priest to acquire provisions and other goods that there were to be had and that we had not brought from Malacca. And I went to see the king and I took him a very finely woven skullcap and two flasks of rosewater, who received me with a great deal of warmth, because he knew me from another time because I had already been there with one of my ships. And when the following day arrived, it was known in that land how Luís de Almeida, who had been there in the port two (p. 71) days earlier, had seized a junk of this land in thinking it was one from Siam, which is the land of our enemies, in which were killed over sixty souls and burning the junk with a lot of cargo. Due to this news, the land had practically all arisen and to such an extent that I did not dare to emerge from the house as there were many Moors, people from Campa and from Minangkabau making many threats and gathering many people together to go for us and kill us all.

And things were in such a state that if the king, who is a very good man and very much our friend, did not shelter us, all of those who were there in the land would certainly have slain us. However, there were many warnings,

<p><i>em este dia aviei tudo e me embarquei, e da maneira que foi o não ocnto a Vossa Reverência, só Deus sabe e eu que o passei, porque a mais companhia estava toda embarcada na caravela, senão o irmão sacristão que andava comigo ajudando-me, andando com a azagaia na mão quando acaso ia fora, porque assim era necessário por amor da gente, que andava toda alevantada.</i></p>	<p>and affronts, and offenses done by the negroes, which I did so suffer, of which I tell God of my guilt more out of shame than with any will, because I still remain very closely tied to all of this, and especially [above all] that they would say something as shameful as is fleeing. And I wanted God Our Lord who on this day overlooked everything and did protect me and to such an extent that I shall not tell Your Reverence, only God knows this and I who went through it because my company was all on board the caravel apart from the brother sacristan who walked with me, helping me, walking with his assegai in his hand when events spilled over because thus was it necessary due to these people who had all risen up.</p>
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18. Relación de Francisco de Dueñas

Source

Relacion de algunas cosas particulares quevimos yentendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares de que el padre fray agustin de Tordesillas que en la Relacion atras da quenta mas larga de toda nuestra Jornada no se quiso ocupar por ser cosas aJenas a su profesion hecha por mi el alferez francisco de dueñas (1580)

Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia Velázquez, tomo LXXV, fl. 8 and ff.

<p>Relacion de algunas cosas particulares quevimos y entendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares de que el padre fray agustin de Tordesillas que en la Relacion atras da quenta mas larga de toda nuestra Jornada no se quiso ocupar por ser cosas aJenas a su profesion hecha por mi el alferez francisco de dueñas</p> <p><i>Preguntando nosotros a los portugueses como a gente que tracta en todos aquellos reynos, que tierra era la de</i></p>	<p><i>Account of some of the things that we saw and understood in the kingdom of China, specially about the city of Guangzhou and the other particulars that the Priest and Friar Agustin de Tordesillas reports in a more detailed way of our journey in which he did not sought to concern himself for not being from his profession, done by me, the ensign Francisco de Dueñas</i></p> <p>Asking to the Portuguese, as people that trade in all of those kingdoms, what lands were there of Siam and Patani and</p>
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Zian y patani nos dijeron dos dellos que hauian estado en ambas partes que el reyno de Ziam era un reyno muy pequeño de gente muy domestica y que la cabeça del era la ciudad de Ziam , la qual esta assentada orilla de un caudaloso rio doze, o, catorze, leguas de la mar es sin comparacion mayor que la ciudad de canton esta ciudad es cercada de una muyalta y fuerte muralla, muy bien Torreada y tiene alguna artilleria de bronze toda la mayor parte de este reyno de sian y lo mejor del esta poblado por la ribera deste rio es tierra firme con la china hay de la ciudad de Canton a zian segun los portugueses nos diJeron como quatrocientas leguas Patani esta en la mesma costa y tierra firme obra de setenta leguas delante entiendese todo esto alavanda del sudueste, de la china este reyno es mucho menos que Ziam, la cabeza del es una ciudad pequeña llamada patani es muy fuerte porque tiene su asiento orilla de un rio baJo donde no pueden entrar sino nauios pequeños de baJa mar queda en seco mas de media legua todo, lama, donde se atoscan los hombres hasta la cinta Tiene por la vanda de tierra grandes pantanos de suerte que por todas partes es muy mala la entrada, demas de que tiene un castillo en un alto que señorea Toda la ciudad en el qual hay trecientas piezas de artilleria sin mas de otras docientas que Tiene la ciudad en partes necesarias para su defensa esta es gente de poca contractacion antes se ocupan en robar y saltear y assi hay grandes cosarios dellos por la mar y quando algun cosario delos de china anda muy perseguido de las armadas del Rey que tras de el andan luego se recogen a patani porque son semeJantes a ellos y assi en toda aquella Tierra no le llaman

what did they say those who had been in both parts that the kingdom of Siam was a very small kingdom of very simple people and that the head of it was in the city of Siam, that was located there on a river bank of a raging river, some twelve or fourteen leagues from the sea, and it is undoubtedly bigger than the city of Guangzhou. This city is surrounded by a very high and strong wall, with very good turrets and having some bronze artillery. The largest part of this kingdom of Siam and the largest part of this people lives by the side of this river on firm land with China. From the city of Guangzhou to Siam according to what the Portuguese say are as four hundred leagues. Patani is found on this same coast and firm land some seventy leagues across all of the expanse of the southwest of China. This kingdom is far smaller than Siam, with the head of it at a small city called Patani that is very strong because it sits up a river basin into which may only enter small Chinese sailing ships, falling dry in drought but half a league in total, mud, into which they toss the men that reach it. It has on the land side some large swamps that are all cause of great harm on entry there, and also having a castle on a vantage point that stands over all of the city and in which there are some three hundred pieces of artillery and along with another two hundred that the city has in strategic places necessary to its defence. Its people is not interested in trading, and prefers robbing and sacking, and are thus such great corsairs out there at sea and when some Chinese corsairs get closely persecuted by the armadas of the King [of China] and they run after them they then take refuge in Patani because they are similar to them and everyone calls it [Patani] a cave of thieves. In this kingdom of Patani, they do receive the

sino cueba de ladrones en este reyno de patani admiten a los portugueses a la contractacion porque eles lleuan algunas cosas que ellos an menester en especial materiales pa municiones mas aunque tractan alli y entran en la ciudad no los consienten entrar en el castillo como hazen en Ziam, porque tienen en tan confirmada el amistad los portugueses con los Ziameses que no de Jan cosa que no andan, y muchos dias de sus fiestas el rey combida a comer consigo a los capitanes de los nauios portugueses alli van y juegan con ellos al Ajedrez y tablas es gente muy conuersable y amiga de españoles. Tienen muchos templos en los quales hay congregaciones de religiosos que biuen muy pobremente salena de mandar limosna quando tienen necesidad, no toman dineros sino sola comida y no piden mas hasta que se les ha acabado aquellos biuen en mucha castidad y si alguno haze algun defecto el castigo es hechallo de la Compañia tienen en sus templos muchos idolos todas las noches a la ora que se suele tañer el aue maria salen en procesion al rededor de sus templos vestidos con unas vestiduras blancas a manera de alvas y unas estolas hechadas por un hombro que viene a cruçar por debajo del braço derecho estas estolas son largas y cortadas entres partes y dicen significan tres dioses que hay en el cielo dicen que las ponen Todas tres juntas de manera que parezca Toda una porque aunque hay tres dioses dicen es todo uno va uno delante tañendo una Campanilla al son de la qual van todos cantando leuantanse a media noche a cantar todos Juntos y lo mismo hazen al quarto del alua todo esto supimos delos portugueses y pusimos lo aqui por parecernos cosa digna de ser sabida,*

Portuguese and trade with them because they bring them things they desire and especially materials for munitions. Although they let them [the Portuguese] drop anchor there and go into the city, they do not allow them to enter into the castle as they do in Siam because they have such confidence in the friendship of the Portuguese with the Siamese that they do not allow such a thing. On many of their festivity days, the king invites the captains of the Portuguese vessels to eat with him and they go and play with them chess and cards, and this people is very amiable and friendly to the Spanish. They have many temples in which there are congregations of the religious that get by in solemn poverty but call for alms whenever they have need and take no money but only food and only they who are in great need. They have found great good in such great chastity and if anyone of them [the religious] does any wrong deed his punishment is to expel him from the congregation. In its temples there are many idols in all of the niches and at the time of the *ave maria* they go out on procession through the surroundings of the temple dressed in some white garments in the manner of the virgins and some stoles over their shoulder that comes crouching beneath the right arm. These stoles that are broad and cut into sections that they put all the three together in order to make it appear a single whole because they believe there are three gods saying you are all one. One of them [the religious] walks at the head of the procession ringing a bell to which they all then sing enthusiastically. They stand up from bed at midnight in order to sing and they do the same at 4 in the morning. We knew all this by means of the Portuguese, and we do put [write] this here because we perceive

<p><i>boluiendo pues a lo de los portugueses que tratan en Canton aunque los llaman mercaderes de malaca bien saben que son portugueses mas disimulan con ellos los gouernadores por el grande interes y tambien porque Cada gouernador que viene como no dura mas de tres o, quatro años noprocura sino ponerles alguna nueua imposicion, o, tributo y assi cada dia les van subiendo los derechos y quando piensan que estan mas adelante en su amistad lo hazen con ellos como si nunca los huuieran visto, estas cosas delos portugueses no las pussiera aqui sino lo dijeran ellos mesmos y tambien nosotros vimos algunas dellas.</i></p>	<p>this as something worthy of being known. Returning to the subject of the trade of the Portuguese in Guanzhou, they [the Chinese] call them traders from Malacca, but they are aware that they are [in fact] Portuguese, and they dissimulate together with the governors because of the common profit, and also because each [new] governor that comes (p. 7) as they only stay for three or four years they always try to impose them [the Portuguese] some new demand or tribute, and so every day they go about raising the custom duties. So when they [the Portuguese] are thinking that they are deepest in their friendship [with the Chinese governors] they deal with them as if they had never seen them before. These things of the Portuguese and what has happened here is what they themselves have said of it and also what we ourselves have seen of some of them.</p>
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19. D. João Ribeiro Gaio, Roteiro de Patane (1584)

Source

Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican

Lilly Library, *Boxer Manuscript II - Boxer Codex*, fls. 129v-133v.

Previous English translation in George Bryan Souza & Jeffrey S. Turley (eds.), *The Boxer Codex. Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning Geography, Ethnography and History of the Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2016: 485-491.

<p>Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican</p>	<p>An account written by D. João Ribeiro Gaio, bishop of Melaka, with António Dias, Henrique Mendes, Francisco das Neves and João Serrano, regarding matters in Patani and the city of Chachen and Panarekan</p>
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<i>Capitulo Primero</i>	Chapter 1
<p><i>De frente de la ciudad a la parte del oriente junto a la playa de la mar de frente de la barra esta una plazon [sic] grande que se llama Chachen y Panarican de la qual poblaçion a la çiuudad de Patane en partes abra distançia de un tiro de lombarda y en partes mas y menos. E nesta pob[l] azon biuen todos los chinas y chincheos y demas estrangeros y naturales que pasan de tres mil hombres y todas buena gente. Toda la playa de la punta de Tanjon Lulo hasta Coala Baça que es salida de la ensenada y mar para el norte es playa de arena enjuta. Y por la tierra adentro [129v] hasta la çiuudad de esta parte tambien es playa de arena y campo enxuto hasta en frente de la çiuudad de la parte del rrio de la çiuudad. Y quanto mas en frente de la çiuudad de la parte del oriente y de la mar tanto es mejor playa y mejor tierra y campo y arena enjuta. Y de la parte de la mar hasta donde llega la marea toda es basa y suelta muy alta. Y en esta poblazon no ay fortaleza alguna. Y las casas todas son de paja y cañas y no tiene rresistençia salua [sic] con fuerça de gente porque la desta poblaçion es la mejor que tiene el rrey de Patane. Y en esta playa forsosamente a de ser el desembarcadero de marea llena y en desembarcaçiones que con una plancha se llegue a tierra por causa de la basa. Mas otro desembarcadero parese mejor como abajo se trata.</i></p>	<p>Facing the city on the eastern side next to the beach, in front of the bar, is a large town called Chachen and Panarekan. From this town it is roughly the shot of a lombard to some parts of the city of Patani, and to other parts, more or less than this. And in this town live all the Chinese and people from Zhangzhou and other foreigners and natives, of which there are more than 3,000 men, all of them wealthy people. The entire coastline from the Tanjung Lulup headland as far as Kuala Bekah, which is the exit from the inlet to the sea towards the north, is a beach of dry sand. And heading inland [129v] as far as the city on this side there is also a sandy beach and dry earth as far as a point across from the city on the city-side of the river. And the closer you are positioned across from the city on the eastern side and by the sea, the better the beach and ground and the more dry sand. And on the seaside as far as the tide reaches all is marshy, loose and very deep. And in this village there is no fortress whatsoever. And all of the houses are made of straw and canes. And it has no resistance, except for the strength of the people, because the men of this town are the most valiant of all the King of Patani's men. And you must land on this beach at high tide, and in order to reach the beach, the landing must be performed with a plank because of the marshy conditions. But there is another landing-place that seems better, as is treated below.</p>
<p>Capitulo Que trata de la çiuudad de Patane y de las cosas que ay en ella</p>	<p><i>Chapter That treats the city of Patani and that which is found in it</i></p>
<p><i>La çiuudad de Patane tendra de çircuyto una legua y media poco mas o menos. Y desde la punta de Garzen hasta la de</i></p>	<p>The city of Patani is approximately a league and a half in circumference, more or less. And there is a moat fifteen</p>

Tanjon Lulo para el sur desde Tanjon Lulo hasta la vuelta de Ro a el occidente y y de la buelta de Rro hasta la punta de Rro para el occidente que son las tres partes de la ciudad tiene una caua de anchura de quinze braças y de altura que nada una fusta de marea llena la qual es echa a mano. Y tiene basa si no es por la parte del norte que es a la parte de la población de Panarican que tiene arena. Y toda la dicha caua [130r] por dentro y las orillas tienen munchas puas. Esta esta çiudad cercada toda de uigas gruesas de seis braças. Tiene esta çiudad nuebe ualuartes de tamano cada uno de setenta palmos quadrados. Y cada ualuarte destes tiene tres andamios de artilleria gruesa y menuda. Y cada ualuarte doze piezas las quales sobrepujan en la altura a los muros tres braças. Uno dellos esta en la punta de Gorsen a la uanda del norte y juega para la uanda de la mar que es para Panarican y para el rrio con sus rrebeses de luengo de los muros. Y junto al dicho baluarte para el norte esta una punta grande. Y de la dicha punta de Garsen para el sur es a la uanda de la punta de Tanjon Lulo distançia de un tiro de falcon esta otro ualuarte muncho mas fuerte y mayor que todos los otros baluartes con mas de treynta pieças de artilleria. Y entre ellas una culebrina* muy grande de mas de otras munchas pieças gruesas y porque en este lugar es la frontera por donde ellos temen la entrada. Y junto de este ualuarte para la punta de Gransen esta la puerta prinçipal de la çiudad. Y em frente della una [sic] anteparo de madera. Y este ualuarte es de la misma manera que la çerca y mas fuerte y de tres soberados. Y en todos ellos ay estançias de artilleria. Y desde este ualauarte al que queda atras estan dos*

fathoms wide and just as deep, which a foist can cross at high tide, beginning at the Kersik headland and running to the south as far as the Tanjung Lulo headland, and from Tanjung Lulo westward as far as the turn at Aru to the west, and from the turn of Aru to the Aru headland towards the west, which are the three parts of the city. It has been dug by hand and is marshy, but only on the north side, except for the part near the district of Panarekan, which is sandy. And inside all of the said moat [130r] and its banks are numerous barbs.

This city is completely enclosed by a stockade made of thick beams six fathoms tall. This city has nine bastions, each of them 70 spans square. And each of these bastions has three platforms for heavy and light artillery. And each bastion [has] twelve pieces that tower three fathoms over the height of the walls. One is on the Kersik headland, on the north side, and it commands the north side towards the sea, which is towards Panarekan and towards the river, then its turns along the walls. And next to the said bastion towards the north is a big headland. And the distance of a falcon shot from the said Kersik headland towards the south on the side of the Tanjung Lulo headland is another bastion which is much stronger and bigger than all the other bastions, with more than 30 pieces of artillery; and among them is a very large culverin, in addition to many other heavy pieces. Since the boundary runs through this place, they fear an invasion at this location. And next to this bastion towards the Kersik headland is the main gate of the city. And before it [there is a] wooden screen. And this bastion is constructed in the same manner as the

estancias de artilleria una de artilleria gruesa a rrazz del suelo con sus portañuelas y otra en el mismo andamio de los mismos muros de falcones y uersos. Y toda esta artilleria esta asentada por su horden en las dichas estancias apartada [130v] una de otra tres braças la gruesa y la menuda no tanto. Y desde el ualuarte que esta junto de la dicha puerta prinçipal que se llama Pinto Garban hazia el sur en la punta de Tanjon Lulo esta otro valuarte de la misma manera quel de la punta de Garsen. Y desde esta punta hasta la punta prinçipal ay la misma horden de artilleria q<ue> la del muro que queda atras. Y de la misma manera todo el muro de la çiudad entorno eçepto esta frontera de la puerta de Garsen hasta la punta de Tanjon Lulo que tiene mucha mas artilleria y asentada mas menudamente. Y siempre de esta parte tiene sentinela y todo el peso de la çiudad.*

Y de la punta de Tancon Lulo donde esta el ualuarte de que arriba se hizo mençion para el sur esta otro ualuarte de la misma manera distançia de un tiro de arcabuz y una puerta junto a el. Y desde el dicho ualuarte para el ocçidente esta otro ualuarte de la misma manera y distancia donde estan algunas puertas pequeñas. Y de este ualuarte al ocçidente esta otro donde ay tambien algunas puertas pequeñas que sirven a limpiar la çiudad. Y de la buelta de Rro hasta la punta de Rro no ay ualuarte alguno. Y en la punta de Rro esta un baluarte de la manera que los demas. Y junto de este para el ççidente esta una puerta. Y entre este de la punta de Rro y la punta de Garsen esta la puerta leuadisa que atras se hizo mincion. Y luego adelante esta una puerta grande hermosa que se llama

stockade, and is stronger, having three upper garrets, and in each of them there are artillery stations. And from this bastion to the one that is behind it there are two artillery stations, one with heavy artillery on ground level, with its gun-ports, and another one on the same platform of the same walls with falcons and *berços*. And all of this artillery is disposed in an orderly fashion in the said stations, all of them placed [130v] at intervals of three fathoms, the heavy and the light artillery by less than that. And from the bastion that is next to the said main gate, which is called Pintu Gerbang, towards the south on the Tanjung Lulup headland, is another bastion, constructed in the same manner as the one on the Kersik headland. And from this headland as far as the main headland, there is the same order of artillery as that found on the wall behind it, and in the same order that is found on the entire wall that encloses the city, except on the border from the gate of Kersik as far as the Tanjung Lulup headland, which has much more artillery and which is also placed closer together. And there is always a sentry on this side, which holds the concentration of the city. And one *harquebus* short to the south from the Tanjung Lulup headland where the bastion mentioned above is located there is another bastion of the same construction, and a gate next to it. And from the said bastion towards the west is another bastion of the same construction and distance from the next where there are some small doors. And from this bastion towards the west is another one where there are also some small doors that serve to clean the city. And there are no other bastions between the turn of Aru and the Aru headland. And on the Aru headland there is a

Pinto Quidiya. [131r] Delante della los muros adentro estan los palacios del rrey. Y tras dellos esta otro ualuarte como los demas y adelante otra puerta y luego junto a ella otro ualuarte de la misma manera. Y tiene esta çiuudad mas en si que esta arruada de calles y seruidumbres por las dichas puertas. Y tiene una calle prinçipal muy ancha que comiença de la puerta prinçipal que es Pinto Garuan y corta la çiuudad por medio hasta la otra parte y palacios del rrey. Las casas de esta çiuudad todas son de paja y madera y de la misma suerte son sus mesquitas. Y la casa rreal podra tener de artilleria gruesa y menuda hasta esta çiuudad mill pieças conbiene a sauer de saluajes camellos* y esferas* çinquenta pieças en que entra la dicha culebrina*. Y en la demas artilleria entran canes* falcones* medios falcones* y bersos* y mosquetos y tienen muncha arcabuseria* que se labra en la tierra muy buena. Abra ene esta çiuudad quatro mill moradores gente de guerra. Y para ella puede juntar este rrey de los labradores de fuera veynte mill hombres. Es esta çiuudad fuerte de gente rreçia y luzida cortesana afable y de guerra la qual nunca tubo con los portugueses.*

Capitulo que trata de la des-
barcaçion y caminos para la ciudad

Para yr sobre Patane ase de partir de Manila en el tiempo que atras queda declarado. Y lo mejor [131v] es al

bastion of the same construction as all the rest. And next to this one, towards the west, is a gate, and between this bastion on the Aru headland and the Kersik headland is the drawbridge that was mentioned above. And further along is another big and beautiful gate called Pinto Quidiya. [131r] In front of this gate, inside the walls, are the King's palaces. And behind them is another bastion, like the others, and beyond it is another gate, and then next to it another bastion of the same construction. And there is more to this city than what is laid out on its main streets and side streets by the said gates. And it has a very wide main street that begins at the main gate, which is Pinto Gerbang, and divides the city in half as far as the other part and the King's palaces.

All of the houses in this city are made of straw and wood, as are their mosques. And from the royal house to this city there might be 1,000 pieces of heavy and light artillery, to wit, *salvagens*, *camelos* and *esperas*—50 pieces in all, in which we include the aforementioned culverin; and the rest of the artillery comprise *cães*, *falcons*, *falconets*, *versos** and muskets. Plus, they have an abundance of high quality domestically produced harquebuses. There are in this city approximately 4,000 inhabitants who are fighting-men, and to them this King can add over 20,000 men from the peasantry. This city is strong in numbers, and the people are sturdy, robust, courtly and affable and fit for war, which they have never had with the Portuguese.

Chapter that treats the landing and the paths to the city

In order to go against Patani, it should sail from Manila at the time of year

cauo del porque en aquella costa no ay bientos de peligro siendo al cauo de la monçon. Y al prinçipio corre la armada mucho rriesgo por causa de los bientos que son muy rrezioss en aquella costa. Y la armada uendra en conjuñcion de aguas bibas para que la gente della pueda desembarcar mejor asi en la playa de Panarican como en la otra por causa de la basa. Y lo mejor es llegar a Patane e<n> la entrada de hebrero porque en el ynbierno que es nobiembre diziembre henero no se puede hazer nada. Y llegada la gente se desembarcara de marea llena. Y ase de notar que ay dos desembarcaderos el uno dellos es desde la poblaçion de Panarican para el norte hasta el rrio de Coala Saba el qual de marea llena es muy bueno y de buena playa de arena y campo sin lama alguna y el otro es al fin de la ensenada para el ocçidente de frente de la punta de Rro. Y este se halla ser mejor. Y desembarcando la gente por el primero dellos tendra alguna rresistencia de la gente de Panarican que es la mejor que el rrey tiene de guerra. A de caminar la gente para la uanda de tierra junto del estero que sale de la basa de la çuadad. Y se ba a meter en el rrio de Coala Baça. E yendo asi caminando junto al dicho estero que es para la punta de la çuadad que se llama Grasen antes que lleguen a la dicha punta pasaran el dicho estero de la otra parte que es de la parte de tierra por donde el artilleria [132r] del baularte de Grasen no les ara daño. Y asi yran marchando con el rostro a la çuadad hasta llegar a otro estero que es el de la boca del rrio. Y se torna una ves a meter en el. Y en la ysia que haze este estero puede estar toda la gente de la armada porque esta çercada del rrio y estero. Y desde el cauo della quanto mas

mentioned above, and it would be best [131v] to depart at the end of this time, because on that coast there are no dangerous winds towards the end of the monsoon; but towards the beginning the fleet would be at great risk because of the winds, which are extremely fierce on that coast. And the fleet will arrive in conjunction with “live waters” so that the people can make a better landing either on the beach of Panarekan or on the other beach because of the marsh. And the best thing is to arrive in Patani at the beginning of February, because during the winter, which is November, December and January, nothing can be done. And once the people arrive, they should make their landing at high tide. And it should be noted that there are two landing-places. The first one is north of the neighborhood of Panarekan as far as the river of Kuala Bekah. It is very good at high tide, having a good sandy beach; the ground is not mucky at all. And the second one is at the tip of the inlet on the west side in front of the Aru headland. And this one is found to be the better of the two. And if the people land at the first one, they will encounter resistance from the people of Panarekan, who are the best warriors the King possesses. The men should walk along the strip of land next to the marsh that emerges from the swamp of the city and then enter the river of Kuala Bekah. And as they walk alongside the said marsh, which is towards the headland of the city called Kersik, before they reach the said headland, they will pass the said marsh on the other side, which is the part of the land where the artillery [132r] of the bastion of Kersik will not harm them. And they should continue walking in this direction, with their faces towards the city, until they reach the other marsh

llegados al sur se puede uatir la ciudad porque por esta parte tambien es menos fuerte. Y es tomando los caminos q<ue> vienen por tierra. Y este camino se halla ser muy mejor. Desenbarcandose en la playa de Panarican donde tambien puede luego sin pasar el dicho estero caminar para la ciudad que es buen camino y sin estero. Mas por esta parte esta la puerta prinçipal que se llama Pinto Garuan. Y esta la çiudad muy fuerte y tiene muncha artilleria y mayor ualuarte. Y esta toda la fuerça de la gente porque por esta parte teme el rrey y los suyos que se a de acometer como lo hizieron los jauos quando fueron sobre Patane. Y pareçiendo mejor se disenbarcara la gente por el otro disenbarcadero de la ensenada de marea llena y con el plomo en la mano porque ay algunos bajos. E yendo ua [sic] embarcaçion delante con este auiso la podian seguir las demas que an de ser fustas y otras mas pequeñas. E yendo por la dicha ensenada para el sur vn pedaço bolueran para el occidente hasta el cauo de la dicha ensenada donde el rrio se junta con ella q<ue> se llama la punta de Rro desuiandose del artilleria de aquel fuerte de la otra parte del rrio que es al occidente se podia disenbarcar sin tener rre- [132v] sistençia. Y podran llevar toda el artilleria en las fustas* y otras embarcaçiones y asimismo mantenimeintos y todo lo demas que quisieren. Y tanto que la gente fuere disenbarcada caminara la orilla del rrio apartandose del artilleria del valuarte de los muros para el norte. Y pasaran un estero uajo. Y llegando en frente del medio de la çiudad que es donde el rrio da la buelta para la tierra que es a la puerta que llaman Larap en este lugar lo mas llegado que pudieren*

at the mouth of the river. And there they should turn once to enter it. And all the men from the fleet can stand on the island that is formed by this marsh because it is surrounded by the river and the marsh. And the further to the south from the end of this marsh you can attack the city, the better, because it is weaker on this side. And it is to be done by following the paths that go overland. And this path is found to be the best one; after you land on the beach of Panarekan, you can also walk from there to the city without passing the said marsh, because it is a good path, having no marsh. However, on this side is the main gate, called Pintu Gerbang, and here the city is well-fortified and has much artillery and a large bastion, and here there is all the force of the population, because it is at this point where the King and his men fear an attack, as for example when the Javanese came against Patani. It seems better for the men to make their landing at the other landing-place of the inlet at high tide with sounding lines in hand because of shoals. And if one boat goes ahead, watching for them, the rest can follow; these should be foists and other smaller vessels. And going through the said inlet towards the south a ways, they should come back a ways towards the west to the end of the said inlet where the river empties into it, which is called the Aru headland. By avoiding the artillery of the fortress on the other side of the river, which is on the west, you can make your landing without encountering [132v] resistance. And you will be able to transport all the artillery in foists and other vessels, together with other foodstuffs and anything else you may desire. And as soon as the people are disembarked, they will walk along the riverbank, moving north, away from the

a la orilla del rrio para la uanda de la çiudad asentarán su rreal porque el rrio en este lugar tiene de ancho un tiro de piedra. Y se puede mucho mejor uatir la ciudad que de otra ninguna parte. Y se toman aquí casi todos los caminos que bienen por tierra a Patane ecepto algunos de la parte del norte. Mas en este lugar se toman todos aquellos por donde se traen mantenimientos a la çiudad. Y también por la dicha ensenada se puede traer alguna galeota de mar llena con artilleria que entre por la boca del rrio para ayudar a uatir la çiudad. Que tenga el plan de manera que pueda nadar en poca agua. Y por esta parte parece mejor el desembarcadero a todos por donde también se puede hazer façilmente por auer en este lugar maderá pasaje del rrio con traer algunos xuncos baçios y dándoles barreno para que se embasen. Y pase la gente por ellos a la otra parte.

Capitulo del rrio de Coala Baça q<ue>
esta a la parte del norte

[133r]

De la poblaçion de Panarican al norte distançia de un tiro de falcon esta un rrio q<ue> se llama Coala Baça. Y en la banda de este rrio distançia de un buen tiro de arcabuz se mete la caua que viene de la punta de Garsen al dicho rrio de la qual esta echa inçion. Y este rrio de Coala Baça entra por la tierra adentro. Y junto del ay poblaçiones y huertas y es muy fresco y de munchas frutas y mantenimientos.

artillery of the bastion on the walls, and they will pass through a shallow marsh. And as soon as they reach a point in front of the middle of the city, which is where the river makes a turn towards the land, which is at the gate called Larap, this spot is where they should make camp, as close as possible to the riverbank on the side of the city, because the river in this location is only a stone's throw wide and you can bombard the city much better than from any other location. And almost all the overland paths that lead to Patani can be taken from here, except a few on the north side. But in this place you can take any of the paths, on which food is transported to the city. And also a sea-faring galliot can be brought through the inlet with artillery to the river to assist in the barraging of the city. It should have the map so that it can make its way through shallow water. And this side seems better to all of us for making a landing, where it can also be done more easily because there is timber in this place. You can cross the river by bringing empty junks and scuttling them so they lodge in the mud, and the people can walk over them to the other side.

Chapter regarding the River Kuala Bekah, which is on the North Side

[133r] A falcon's shot from the neighborhood of Panarekhan to the north is a river called Kuala Bekah. And a harquebus shot up the side of this river there empties into it the moat that comes from the point of Kersik to the said river, mentioned above. And this river of Kuala Bekah rises in the interior, and on its banks there are villages and orchards. And it is very cool and there are many fruits and foodstuffs.

<p>Capitulo de las cosas que ay desde el rrio de Coala Baça al de Coala Taur* hazia el norte</p> <p><i>Del rrio de Coala Baça al norte distançia de un dia de camino esta un rriacho que se llama Coala Taur* en el qual por ser pequeño no pueden nadar embarcaçiones grandes. Y por la tierra adentro ay poblaciones pequeñas de gente pobre tienen huertas y frutas poco mentenimiento.</i></p> <p>Capitulo de las cosas que estan de Coala Taur hasta el rrio de Coala Tiua* para el norte</p> <p><i>De este rrio de Coala Taur* al norte esta otro rrio que se llama Coala Tiua* distançia de mas de medio dia de camino. E en este rriacho tan bien entran solamente embarcaciones pequeñas y es mas fresco y mas poblado y fertiuar [sic] de gente pobre.</i></p> <p>Capitulo que trata del rrio de Co-ala Tiua hasta el de Sangora* para el norte</p>	<p><i>Chapter Regarding That Which Is Found between the Kuala Bekah River and the Kuala Taur River Towards the North</i></p> <p>A day's walk northward from the Kuala Bekah River is a stream called Kuala Taur, on which large ships cannot travel because it is small. And in the interior there are small villages of poor people. They have orchards and fruits, [and] few foodstuffs.</p> <p><i>Chapter regarding that which is found between Kuala Taur and the Kuala Tiua River towards the north</i></p> <p>More than half a day's walk northwards from this Kuala Taur River is another river called Kuala Tiua. And also on this stream only small vessels can travel. And it is cooler and more populated and [?] with poor people.</p>
<p>[133v]</p> <p><i>Del rriacho de Coala Tiua* para el norte distançia de un dia de camino esta otro rriacho que se llama Sangora* en el qual solamente nadan embarcaçiones pequeñas. Y ay poblaciones de gente pobre como los de arriba.</i></p> <p>Capitulo que trata del rriacho de Sangora* hasta la çiudad de Bardalu</p> <p><i>Del dicho rriacho de Sangora* al norte distancia de dos dias de camino esta un rrio grande y fondo donde entran juncos y galeras junto del qual por la tierra adentro</i></p>	<p><i>Chapter that deals with the Kuala Tiua river as far as the Sangora* river towards the north</i></p> <p>[133v]</p> <p>A day's walk northwards from the stream of Kuala Tiua is another stream called Sangora* on which only small vessels can travel. And there are villages of poor people, like those mentioned above.</p> <p><i>Chapter that deals with the stream of Sangora* as far as the city of Bardalu</i></p> <p>Two days' walk northward from the stream of Sangora* is a big and deep river on which junks and galleys can travel; upriver, in the interior, is a city</p>

<p><i>esta una çiudad que se llama Bardalu donde ay rrey sujeto al de Patane. Este rrio es muy fresco y da muchas frutas y mantenimientos de arroz y carne y es muy buena tierra y tiene buena playa y buenos desembarcaderos. Y de frente la boca del rrio para el sur distançia de dos tiros de lombarda esta una yslla muy hermosa. Y al derredor della ay surgideros muy buenos. Y adelante desta yslla por la tierra adentro ay muchas poblaçiones. Y de esta çiudad se probee la de Patane de muchos mantemientos por tierra y por mar y hasta esta çiudad llega el rreyno de Patane. Fue antiguamente del rreino de Çian. Es sercada y tiene una fortaleza.</i></p>	<p>called Bardalu where there is a king who is subject to the King of Patani. This river is very cold and gives much fruit and foodstuffs, particularly rice and meat. And the soil is very good. And it has a good beach and good landing-places. And in front of the mouth of the river two lombard shots to the south is a very beautiful island. And there are very fine anchorages all around it. And there are many villages opposite this island in the interior. And this city provides Patani with many foodstuffs by land and by sea. And the kingdom of Patani reaches as far as this city; anciently it belonged to the kingdom of Siam. It is stockaded and fortified.</p>
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20. Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa* (excerpts)

Source

Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 1947, Vol.VI: 100-101.

<p><i>Chegou a Goa a embaixada do rei de Sião, agradecido pelos beneficios portugueses. Era o assunto ter recebido uma carta de Diogo de Mendonça*, que não havia esperado a sua resposta; oferecia ao rei do Portugal o porto de Martavão*, para que ali mandasse construir uma fortaleza; seria À custa do presidio português, e armadas de remo para que se evitassem as entradas que o rei de Dua podia fazer com as suas armadas por aquela mesma parte. Esta última coisa, pelo que lhe tocava, lhe fazia oferecer aquele dispêndio. Foram os embaixadores bem agasalhados e respondidos luzida e carinhosamente pelo vice-rei D. Jerónimo de Azevedo.</i></p>	<p>Arriving in Goa came the ambassador of the king of Siam, thankful for the Portuguese assistance. The subject matter was the letter from Diogo de Mendonça*, who would not have expected his response; he offered the port of Martaban to the king of Portugal, for the construction of a fortress; he would assure the costs of maintaining that Portuguese detachment along with the rowing armadas so that they could prevent the entrance that the king of Dua might make with his armadas at that same point. This latter factor, according to what could be made out about him, had made him propose taking on such a cost. The ambassadors departed duly advised</p>
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Por maior testemunho de estimação, lhe enviou também um embaixador próprio. Este foi o padre dominicano Frei Francisco da Anunciação, experimentado nas coisas daquele reino. Partiu no princípio do mês de Maio e levava um presente conforme a quem o fazia e quem o havia de receber.

Recebeu o rei o embaixador com singulares demonstrações de contentamento. Propôs-lhe ele (segundo a sua instrução) que o Estado Português da Índia desejava entranhadamente a sua boa amizade como a (p. 101) havia tido com os seus antecessores; que procurasse domar as forças do rei de Ava, antes que se fizessem mais difíceis ao freio; que para isso se unissem as suas armas de mar e terra com as portuguesas, que logo ao princípio desta acção comessem a comerciar reciprocamente Sião e Malaca, capitulando-se para este efeito com as comodidades conveniente a ambas as nações, e que não consentisse nas suas terras os piratas holandeses.*

7. Respondeu o rei que viesse mercadores portugueses aos seus portos e, não só seriam bem tratados, mas desobrigava-os de pagar direitos das suas fazendas, tanto ao sair como ao entrar; que com as suas acudiriam os seus vassallos a Malaca, e que o deixar de o fazer havia resultado de insolências com que ali os tratavam, de que apontou vivos exemplos; que aos holandeses, ingleses e malaio admitia em seus reinos pelo singular decoro com que por eles era tratado e pelo muito que precisava deles; que, embora, admitisse o holandês, nem por isso o havia favorecido contra portugueses, antes a eles socorreu contra ele nalgumas ocasiões de que logo trouxe exemplos notórios; que já era morta a rainha de Patane e não se ressentia do muito dano

and lucidly and cherishingly answered by the Viceroy Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo.

As a greater demonstration of his estimation, he also dispatched his own ambassador. This choice fell on the Dominican priest Friar Francisco da Anunciação, experienced in the matters of that kingdom.

He set off at the beginning of May and took with him a present in conformity with those who should give and those who should receive.

The king received the ambassador with singular displays of contentment. He proposed to him (in accordance with his instructions) that the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* deeply desired his good friendship (p. 101) as had been the case with his predecessors; that they would seek to prevail over the forces of the king of Ava before they were able to make battle more difficult; that to achieve this they should unite his armies of the sea and land with those of the Portuguese, that as soon as this campaign began, Siam and Malacca would begin reciprocal trade, capitulating to this effect with the commodities convenient to both nations, and that they would not consent to Dutch pirates in their lands.

7. The king responded that Portuguese traders should come to his ports and not only would they be well treated but he would also remove the obligation to pay duties on their goods, whether on arriving or on leaving; that his subjects would take their commodities to Malacca, and that there would no longer be any of the insolences with which they had hitherto been faced, that he could identify living examples; that the Dutch, English and Malay would allow in his kingdoms out of the singular decorum with which they were treated

<p><i>que lha haviam feito armadas de Malaca porque era uma louca; que tinha agora posto ali outra mais equilibrada e assim desejava que houvesse entre ela e Maaca o mesmo comércio que com o Sião; que falecendo algum português em seu reino, se restituiria aos seus herdeiros a sua fazenda; que já por lei expressa tinha mandado que se enviasse à sua corte os portugueses criminosos para lhes ser feita inteira justiça e não estarem sujeitos a paixões de ministros apartados da sua presença.</i></p>	<p>and by the great need that they had for them; who, whilst allowing the Dutch, had not nevertheless thereby favoured them at the expense of the Portuguese, rather they had drawn support against them on some occasions which had soon turned into notorious examples; that the Queen of Patani was already dead and he did not bear any grudge for the great damage that had been done to the armadas of Malacca because she was not of a sound mind; that he had now installed another and more balanced woman ruler there and thus hoped that there was between her and Malacca the same level of trade as with Siam; that, should any Portuguese pass away in his kingdom, he would ensure the restitution of their possessions to their heirs; that already by explicit law had he ordered sent to their court the Portuguese criminals so that they would face full justice and would not be subject to passions fiercely administered by ministers distant from his presence.</p>
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21. Copy of the peace treaty articles made in the fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani (1618?)

Source

in Panduronga Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho de Estado*, Goa, Tipografia Rangel, 1953, Vol. I (1618-1633): 42-44 (https://purl.pt/37676/hg-44603-v_5_master/hg-44603-v/hg-44603-v_PDF/hg-44603-v_0000.pdf)

<p>Treslado dos capítulos das pazes que na fortaleza de Malaca se fizeram com a Rainha de Patane</p> <p><i>Primeiramente aceitação as peças que governão esta fortaleza as desculpas que por parte da Rainha de Patane se lhe dão na tomada da nao da china que no seu porto de Patane tomarão</i></p>	<p><i>Copy of the peace treaty articles made in the fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani</i></p> <p>First, the persons who rule over this fortress accept the excuses given by the Queen of Patani about the takeover of the China's carrack that in its port of Patani was taken by the Dutch. This is</p>
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os olandezes, uisto o dano que alega lhe fizeram os Portuguezes por muitas uezes depois da tomada da dita nao e as grandes perdas que se derão a todos os seus vassallos, considerando também tomar se a dita nao em tempo de outra Rainha, e de outro Bandora, pello qual respeito, são contentes o Capitão de Malaca, Capitão geral, e as mais peçoas que a governão em nome de Sua Magestade que se não fale mais nas cousas passadas, e deseião que daqui por diante seja Malaca e Patane Patane e Malaca húa mesma cousa.*

E assi também no que por parte de Rainha se diz acerca de não lansarem de Patane os olandezes vassallos rebeldes de Sua Magestade e os Ingrezes alegando que EIRey de Sião nosso amigo os consente nas suas terras e tem escrito sobre isso a Portugal, de que se espera reposta com a qual se acabará tudo com bem, concedemos que estejam os olandezes e Ingrezes em Patane ate que uenha a dita reposta de Sua Magestade para com ella se tomar em Patane E nesta fortaleza final determinação sobre a dita matéria dos olandezes e Igrezes, com a condição que S. A. diz se obriga de todos os Portuguezes.... em queles andarem, e suas fazendas estarem seguras.... do Reino da dita Rainha como à vista da sua barra...todas as perdas E danos que os Portuguezes ou suas.... na sua terra, ou a Vista, de sua barra....

Em caso que o Achem passe a Patane, são contentes os que governão esta fortaleza de a auizar, E dar todo o fauor, e ajuda que puderem como amigos e Irmãos, e de Patane sejam também obrigados mandar a esta fortaleza todos os annos no principio da monção os mais mâtimentos que puder ser, assy arros, como carnes, e toda a mais

because of the damage she claims the Portuguese did many times after the seizure of the aforesaid carrack and the great losses that were given to all her vassals, considering also that the seizure of the said carrack in the time of the other Queen, and of another Bendahara. So they are pleased, the Captain of Malacca, the Captain General, and most people who rule it in the name of His Majesty that if they no longer speak about the past things, and wish that from now on it will be Malacca and Patani, Patani and Malacca one and the same thing.

And so also in what on the part of Queen is said about not throwing from Patani the Dutch rebels, vassals of His Majesty, and the English claiming that the king of Siam our friend also consents them in his lands and has written about it to Portugal. On this one expects an answer with which everything will end well, we grant that the Dutch and the English are in Patani until the answer of His Majesty to her comes to take place in Patani and in this final fortress determination on that matter of the Dutch and English. His Highness says he respects the condition of respecting all Portuguese.... (and the ships) in which they walk and their goods to be safe.... in the Kingdom of the so-called Queen as in the sight of her bar... all losses and damages that the Portuguese or their goods have on her land, or the View of the bar....

In case Aceh comes to attack Patani those who rule this fortress will be obliged to warn and give all the favour and help they can as friends and brothers. Those of Patani are also obliged to send to this fortress every year at the beginning of the monsoon as much supplies as it can be, rice and meat, and all the most

sorte delles, assy mesmo os mandarão entre monção e monção, o que também se fará, na mesma forma estando esta fortaleza de cerco, ou com Inimigos no mar.

E sendo caso que alguma embarcação de Patane ande aleuantada contra a Rainha sua senhora, ou a furtarão, a tomarão os Portugueses, e a mandarão a dita Rainha e não a podendo tomar, saberão quem são, os que andão nella para auizarê a Rainha, e ella os mandara castigar com toda sua familia; e na forma destes capitulos se celebrão as pazes nesta fortaleza de Malaca com a Rainha de Patane, para que debaixo delas, possam uir seguras a esta fortaleza e as mais terras de Sua Magestade todos os vassallos da Rainha; e assi o possam fazer todos os vassallos de Sua Magestade e hir a seus portos da Rainha com os que uns e outros seão tratados como Irmãos.

No que toca a Raja bonso se fara todo o possiuel o que entre elle e a Rainha de Patane aja toda a paz e amizade, para que fique este caminho limpo o que temos por certo se acabará com bem, para o que daqui mandarão logo Embaixadores a Jor a auizar a Raja bonso*, para que as embarcações que ca uierem de Patane, leuem recado da forma em que se assentão as ditas pazes, e serão sempre as mais fauorauéis que puder ser para Patane.*

E que morrendo em Patane algum Português a Rainha mandara entregar seus bens aos herdeiros da pessoa que morrer, ou aos procuradores que la mandar por elles, e que o mesmo se farà aqui em Malaca, morrendo nella algum vassallo da Rainha de Patane.

E estas pazes se assentarão na conformidade destes capitulos com

variety of them. This will also happen between the monsoons, which will also be done in the same way whether this fortress is under siege, or with enemies at sea.

And if some of Patani's vessel is uprising against the Queen, or was stolen, the Portuguese will recover and send it to the queen. If they can't take it, they'll know who's on it to warn the Queen, and she'll have them punished with his whole family. Under the form of these chapters (a treaty) will be celebrated in this fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani, so that under them, they may come safely to this fortress and the most lands of His Majesty all the Queen's vassals; in the same way, so the possibility make all the vassals of His Majesty and go to the queen's ports, and one and the others will be treated as Brothers.

As to Raja Bungsu everything possible will be done so that there will be peace and friendship between him and the Queen of Patani, so that this path may be clean, which we must certainly end up in good terms; to this end, ambassadors will quickly be sent to Johor, to warn Raja Bungsu, so that the vessels that come here from Patani, take a message in the way that the said peace is settled, and will always be as favorable as possible for Patani. In case any Portuguese dies in Patani, the Queen will have its property surrendered to the heirs of the person who dies, or to the prosecutors who are send there. The same will be done here in Malacca, if any vassal of the Queen of Patani dies here.

This peace will be based on the conformity of these chapters under the condition that they would be reported to

<p><i>condição que se daria conta delas ao senhor Conde Viso Rey, para que sendo Sua Senhoria servido de estar por ellas as confirmasse. E que entretanto ficasse correndo Malaca com Patane, e Patane com Malaca na amizade antiga, E viessem a esta fortaleza embarcações com mantimentos, e outras fazendas tanto que João Cardozo, e os dois embaixadores seus companheiros chegarem a Patane.</i></p> <p><i>E per assi ficar assentado e Sua Senhoria se conformar com isso se fez este assento.</i></p>	<p>the Count Vice Rey, so that his lordship may confirmed it. Meanwhile Malacca with Patani and Patani with Malacca will remain in the ancient friendship, allowing ships to come (from Patani) to this fortress with supplies and other goods, while João Cardoso and the two ambassadors his companions, do not reach Patani. And because of all this was made a record and His Lordship would conform to it, so this register was made.</p>
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22. Permit by Dom João Coutinho, Vice-roy of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa, 20/4/1619

Source

in J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, New Delhi/Madras, Asian Educational Services, 1992, vol. VI: 1175.

<p><i>Dom João Coutinho etc. Faço saber aos que este alvará virem que por alguns respeitos que me a isso movem do serviço de S. Magestade, e bem de seus vassallos, e por assy parecer em conselho de Estado, ey por bem de confirmar, como de feito por este confirmo, e hey por confirmadas as pazes, que o Capitão geral António Pinto da Fonseca*, e as mais pessoas do governo da cidade de Malaca fizerão ora com a Raynha de Patane, por ella lhas enviar a pedir, conforme o assento e capitulações que disso se fizerão, as quaes mando que se cumprão e guardem inteiramente por todos os vassallos de S. Magestade de qualquer qualidade e condição que sejam, e não vão, nem consintem ir contra ella em cousa alguma, por quanto por este meu alvará as confirmo, como dito he. Notifico-o assy ao Capitão geral, ao Capitão de Malaca, aos</i></p>	<p>D. João Coutinho etcetera I hereby do make known to those that this charter shall come and that in some respects this drives service to His Majesty and for the good of his subjects, and by ruling of the council of state, and do well to here confirm, as in fact that this does confirm and thus duly confirmed is the peace that General Captain Antonio Pinto da Fonseca*, and the other persons forming the government of the city of Malacca, did duly make with the Kingdom of Patani, by them sent to request, in accordance with that based on the capitulations that this did make, of which I order that they comply with and store in their full entirety all of the subjects of Your Majesty in whatever quality and conditions that they be in, and do not go up against, nor attempting to counter them on any grounds whatsoever for the period in which my charter is confirmed and as hereby stated. To this end I notified</p>
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<p><i>vereadores, juixes, officiaes, e pessoas, a que o cumprimento disto pertencer, para que assy o cumpram e guardem, e fação inteiramente cumprir e guardar este alavara como se nelle contem sem duvida nem embargo algum, o qual valera como carta passada em nome de S. Magestade sem embargo da ordenação do 2º livro, titulo 40 em contrario. Salvador da Costa o fez em Goa a 20 de Abril de 1619. E eu o secretario Francisco de Sousa Falcao o fiz escrever – O Conde do Redondo</i></p>	<p>the aforementioned Captain General, the Captain of Malacca, the councillors, judges, officers and the persons to which this courtesy duly belongs so that they strive to comply and to guard and do so entirely comply and keep to this charter and as it does within undoubtedly contain no embargo whatsoever, which stands as a letter issued in the name of His Majesty and without any ordinance embargoed by the 2nd book, title 40 to the contrary. Salvador da Costa did this in Goa on 20 April 1619. And this was passed in three copies. And I, the secretary, Francisco de Sousa Falcão, did have it written. – <i>The Count of Redondo</i></p>
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23. Letter from D. Álvaro de Castro to the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Malacca, 6/1/1636 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções* nº 35, fls. 300-304.

<p><i>Fl. 301v. Depois de el-rei de Pahang perder o seu reino com pouco valor e fidelidade dos seus se retirou por um rio a Muar* e ali lhe escrevemos o capitão geral e eu mostrando-nos sentidíssimos de seu mau sucesso e lhe pedimos se viesse recolher nesta fortaleza e que lho pedíamos encarecidamente porque sabíamos que em nenhum dos portos do seu reino estava seguro. Respondeu-nos que quando se retirava de Pahang o mandaria buscar sua tia a Rainha e Patani e que ele se quisera antes vir para Muar* para dali vir a Malaca. Logo mandamos lá a Francisco Lopes Valadares com uma jalia* e outras embarcações para o acompanharem. Chegou aqui a 27 de Outubro a sua galé o fui buscar e o capitão geral e eu o recebemos nesta fortaleza com todas</i></p>	<p>Fl. 301v. After the king of Pahang lost his kingdom with little fight and lost the loyalty of his people, and retreated by river to Muar*, to where we wrote to him, the captain general and I, expressing the depth of our feelings about his bad result and we asked him if he would come and shelter in this fortress [Malacca] and we did ask with caring urgency because we knew that in none of the ports in his kingdom would he be safe. He answered that when he retreated from Pahang, his aunt the Queen of Patani wanted to fetch him, and that he instead wanted to go to Muar* and from then travel onto Malacca. We immediately sent Francisco Lopes Valadares there with a jalia* and other vessels in accompaniment. He arrived in his galley here on 27 October and the captain general and I were</p>
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as cortesias e demonstrações de amor e fidelidade que se deve a um rei que sua Majestade quis honrar com o fazer seu irmão de armas e suposto isto e a confiança que este rei faz de nós e ver no cerco passado cumprindo com as obrigações da irmandade nas armas me pareceu pedir a V. Exa. Me faça a mim mercê de lhe escrever e fazer algum favor e digo a V. Exa que se o capitão geral e eu não trabalhamos tanto em o trazer para aqui for já entregue dos seus ao Achém e depois que o fosse e ficasse isto sujeito ao Achém tudo se viraria contra nós.

Fl. 303. El-rei de Pahang me mandou dizer que ele queria vir acompanhar ao capitão geral (que morrera) e que é o que nisso me parecia, eu lhe respondi que em sua Alteza o fazer mostrava grande amor com o que o capitão geral e eu e todos os cidadãos desta cidade o amávamos. Comigo foi detrás da tumba do geral até à porta de São Paulo donde se pôs a cavalo e se recolheu, e eu fiquei continuando o enterro do geral, aqui lhe faço todos os mimos que posso e peço lhos façam hei-de trabalhar muito para o ter aqui até V. Exa querer. Em Maio mande a armada que eu entendo que sem ela não pode ser rei nem Malaca socorrida e que se for daqui daqui que o há-de levar o Achém os seus lho entregarão visto não ser ele poderoso para os libertar da guerra que lhe faz o Achém e isto é o que o Achém pretende e o que esta sua armada vem buscar havendo que como tiver sujeitos os Malaios poderá tomar Malaca.

there to greet him and welcome him into the fortress with all the courtesies and demonstrations of love and loyalty that is due to a king that your Majesty wishes to honour as one of your brothers in arms and I suppose this and the confidence that this king does place in us and seeing the past circle completed with the obligations of brotherhood in arms it did seem due to request Your Excellency do me the mercy of writing to me and making some favour and I do thus inform Your Excellency that if the captain general and I had not worked so hard to bring him here, he would already have been handed over to Aceh and afterwards what would be and occur would be subject to the will of Aceh and everything would turn against us.

Fl. 303. The king of Pahang told me to tell that he would like to come and accompanied by the captain general (who would die) and that is what this did appear to me, I did respond to him that Your Highness did show great love to him and so that the captain general and I and all the citizens of this city did so and he came with me behind the captain general's grave as far as the São Paulo gate where a horse was waiting and he did withdraw, and I continued to bury the general, here I do so with all the cares that I am able and I do beseech that they do work very hard to have him here for as long as Your Grace wants to. In May, I shall send the armada as I deem appropriate that without it he cannot be king nor Malacca relieved and that should he leave here then they shall take him to Aceh, his own shall hand him over seeing that he is not powerful enough to release them from the war that he did set with Aceh and that this is what Aceh seeks and that this his armada comes in search of as soon as he has subjected the Malays he will be able to take Malacca.

24. Letter from the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia* to the King of Portugal, Goa, 8/3/1636. (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções*, nº 33, fls. 250v. e 251

Fl. 250v. Grandes desejos trouxe sempre o Achém segundo me informam de se apoderar dos reinos de Johor, Pahang e Patani e o ano passado mandou com feito a eles uma grossa amada de 70 velas que foi a Pahang e não podendo o rei defender daquele poder se veio com sua mão que é rainha de Patani, e um primo na volta de Muar, tanto que em Malaca se soube de sua vinda, mandou o capitão geral António Pinto da Fonseca* em sua busca com duas embarcações ligeiras e grandes oferecimentos que ele aceitou porque em nenhuma outra parte que não fosse Malaca se deu por seguro recebera amor e cortesia e voltando pela mãe que lhe ficava atrás a trouxe também a Malaca onde ficam e donde escrevem a V. Magestade as cartas que serão com esta. A este rei está V. Magestade obrigado segundo me informam a amparar e favorecer com tudo com tudo o que lhe cumprir porque sempre foi amigo nosso e se mostrou este em todas ocasiões opondo-se ao Achém nosso inimigo e neste último cerco que Malaca padeceu socorreu este rei aquela fortaleza com muitos mantimentos, gente e embarcações e sua própria pessoa com grande demonstração de amor.*

Fl. 250v. Great desires had Aceh always held according to what they inform me of to master the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang and Patani and did last year in effect send to them a vast armada of 70 sails that went to Pahang and with the king unable to defend against the power that arrived did flee to his sister who is queen of Patani, and a cousin in the vicinity of Muar*, to such an extent that in Malacca, when learning of his arrival, they did send the captain general António Pinto da Fonseca* in his search in two small vessels and with great offerings that he accepted because in no other part except for Malacca could he safely receive such love and courtesy and turning to his mother who had been left behind and also brought to Malacca where they stayed and where they wrote to Your Highness letters such as this one. To this king, Your Majesty is obliged according to what they tell me to uphold and favour with everything that is his due as he was always our friend and has shown this on every occasion and standing in opposition to Aceh our enemy and in this last siege that Malacca did experience this king did assist the fortress with many provisions, people and vessels and as well as in his own person in a great demonstration of love.

25. Letter from the King of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637.

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções*, nº 39, fl. 41.

Cópia de Carta do Rei de Portugal à Rainha de Patani, Lisboa, 31/3/1637

Nobre e Honrada Rainha de Patani, Eu Dom Filipe por graça de Deus rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, daquém e dalém mar em África, da Guiné e da Conquista, Navegação e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia, vos faço saber que pela vossa carta de 6 de Dezembro de 1635, escrita na cidade de Malaca entendi como ficáveis nela com el-rei de Pahang e Johor vosso filho, por el-rei de Achém haver mandado a vossos reinos uma armada que se apoderou deles. E pareceu-me dizer-vos que me é presente tudo o que na vossa carta me representais acerca da correspondência que por vossa parte e de el-rei vosso filho se teve com Malaca, e que de vossos trabalhos e dos seus fico com desprazer e ao meu vice-rei desse estado mando encarregar que trate de vos restituir a vossos reinos e a el-rei vosso filho, como espero que se conseguirá e sempre se atenda muito a sua conservação e defesa e se mostre o agradecimento que é justo, do bem que tendes procedido. Escrita em Lisboa, a 31 de Março de 1637.

Copy of a letter from the King of Portugal to the Queen of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637

Noble and Honourable Queen of Patani, I D. Filipe by the grace of God king of Portugal and the Algarves, in these lands and overseas in Africa, in Guinea and in the Conquest, Navigation and Trade with Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, do hereby inform you that by your letter of 6 December 1635, written in the city of Malaca I understood as remaining there with the king of Pahang and Johor your son, due to the king of Aceh having sent an armada against your kingdom and did gain control of them. And I would further deem to tell you that this is all present in your letter that you addressed me about the correspondence on your own behalf and the king your son had with Malacca, and your works and your subjects had been left in a state of disgrace and I feel displeasure and to my viceroy I do hereby charge with the restitution of your kingdoms and those of the king your son, as I hope that shall be done and always closely attentive to their conservation and defence and do hereby show thanks for that which is fair, for the good with which you have proceeded. Written in Lisbon, on 31 March 1637.

D. Seventeenth Century Dutch Sources (1601-1626)

DANIEL PERRET * (COMPILED & TRANSLATED BY) WITH THE COLLABORATION OF *JEAN-CLAUDE LEJOSNE*

The symbol * indicates that the word (or expression) is explained in the glossary.

1. Journal of Jacob van Neck (1601-1602)

Source:

Journal van Jacob van Neck

in H.A. VAN FOREEST & A. de BOY (eds.), *De Vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacobs Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)*, 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, Vol. I, Linschoten-Vereeniging - Deel 82, 1980: 167-233.

Translation (German):

Gotthardt ARTUS VON DANTZIG (transl.). "Historische Beschreibung der Reyse oder Schiffart / so der Admiral Jacob von Nek mit etlichen Schiffen ausz Holland in die Orientalische Indien von 1601 biß Anno 1604. gethan [...]", in *Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien*. Franckfurt am Mayn: Johan Theodor und Johan Israel de Bry Gebrüder, Collection des Petits voyages de De Bry, 1606: 1-40 (including on Patani, pp. 29-39).

Johann DIETERICH und Johann Israel VON BRY/Gebrüder. *Eigentliche*

* École française d'Extrême-Orient / French School of Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur.

Fürbildungen aller denckwürdigen Sachen / so sich hieorn beschriebenen historien mit dem Admiral Jacob von Neck [...] in [...] Patani [...]. Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn / durch Wolffgang Richtern, 1606. In *Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien*. Franckfurt am Mayn: Johan Theodor und Johan Israel de Bry Gebrüder, 1606. Illustrations include: III. Straffe des Ehebruchsderen; IV. Zug der Königin von Patani; V. Elephantenjagt deren in Patani; XI. Ankunfft der Holländer in Pantani.

Translation (Latin):

Gotardo ARTHVS (transl.). “Historica descriptio navigationis a Iacobo Neccio cvm navibvs aliquot in Orientalem Indiam suscepta, & ab Anno 1601.... ”, in *Indiæ Orientalis, pars octava...* Ioannem Theodorvm & Ioannem Israelem de Bry, fratres Germanos, Francoforti, 1607: 13-44 (including on Patani, pp. 35-43).

Ioanne Theodorico et Ioanne Israele DE BRY. *Icones Seu Genvinæ et expressæ delineationes [...] Patane [...].* Francoforti: Wolfgangi Richteri, 1607. In *Indiæ Orientalis, pars octava...* Ioannem Theodorvm & Ioannem Israelem de Bry, fratres Germanos, Francoforti, 1607 (illustrations include: III. Delineatio pvnientivm advlteria in insvla Patane; IV. Delineatio processionis reginæ Pataniensis; V. Delineatio venationis, qva elephantes in Patane capiuntur; XI. Delineatio adventvs Hollandorvm in terram Patane).

Previous English translation:

Anthony REID (transl.). Jacob van Neck’s account of Patani in 1602. In P. Jory (ed.). *Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand*. Singapore, NUS Press, 2013: 22-30 (translation of *Journal van Jacob van Neck* in H.A. van Foreest & A. de Boy (ed.), pp. 222-231).

New English translation:

by Daniel PERRET with the collaboration of Jean-Claude LEJOSNE translation of *Journal van Jacob van Neck* in H.A. van Foreest & A. de Boy (ed.), pp. 217-231.

<p>(217) [...] het wart den 7 November [1601], als wij daer onder te rede quamen.</p>	<p>(217) [...] We arrived on the 7th of November [1601] at the anchorage.</p>	<p>(29) [...] und kamen die Holländer daselbst in den Haffen den 7.Nouember.</p>
<p>In deese stadt Patany hebben wij ons volle ladinge gecregen, als wij daer hadden gelegen, 9 maenden, 16 dagen. Eer wij hier quamen waren wij op diverse plaetsen gewaerschout, dat wij ons wachten soudon voor dbedroch van die van Patany, ende ick achte dat de Hollantse nacie* in Oost Indiën, noyt plaetse bevaren heeft, daer sij beleefder en oprechter getraceert is geweest als wij in deese stat. Doch en was deese waerschouwinge sonder reden niet, midsdien het volck van dese plaetse groote zeerovers sijn geweest, ende men seyt dat de rijckste van der stadt (218) aldaer haer rijckdomen meest door hebben vercregen, doch (soo sij seggen) en wil den Coninck nu ter tijt sulx niet langer gedoogen. Men sal verstaen dat een vrouwe in Patani regeert, die sij als of het een man waer coninck no[e]men, deur d'imperfectie van haerlieder tael, waerinne ick haer eensdeels volgen sal.</p>	<p>We received our whole cargo in this town of Patany after staying there for 9 months and 16 days. Before our arrival here, we were cautioned in various places to be wary of the malign habits of the Patany citizens, and [yet] I consider that the Dutch people in the East Indies never landed in a place where they had a more courteous and sincere welcome than in this city. Nevertheless these warnings were not unfounded as the people of this place are great pirates, and it is said that the richest citizens in this town (218) made most of their fortune from piracy. However (so they say) the King is willing to put a stop to this situation. It should be pointed out that the ruler of Patani is a woman whom the people call king [<i>raja</i>] as if she were a male, [this is due] to the shortcomings of the language they use and which I can just partly follow.</p>	<p>und haben sie in obgedachter Statt ihre volle Ladung bekommen. Nach dem sie 9.Monden und 16. Tage lang daselbst still gelegen. Eher sie dahin kamen / wurden sie an unterschiedlichen Orten gewarnet / daß sie sich wol fürschen solten / daß sie nicht (30) von denen von Patani hindergangen und betrogen würden / aber die Sach hat sich weit anders befunden / und halt ich nicht / daß ein Ort von den Holländern jemahls in Ost Indien befahren und ersucht wordē / da sie freundlicher uñ ehrlicher oder auffrichtiger weren tractirt worden / als sie in dieser Statt auffgenommen worden / jedoch diese Warnung war nicht ohne Ursach geschehen / dann die Eynwohner deß Orts etwan hiebeuor eytel Meerrauber gewesen / und saget man für gewiß / daß die reichten Leuth in der Statt daselbst ihren Reichthumb mehrer theils daher sollen bekommen haben / aber der König wölle solches heutiges Tags nicht mehr zulassen und gestatten. Allhie ist zu wissen / daß ein Weib zu dieser Zeit zu Patani das Regiment hat und herrschet / welches die Eynwohner / eben als wann es ein Mann were / wegen der Unvolkommenheit ihrer Sprach / ein König nennen / darin wir dann ihnen allhie zum Theil nachfolgen wöllen.</p>
<p>Als wij alsdaer eerst op de rede waeren gecomen, quam eender (wiens officie is de schepen te besichtigen) aen ons boort, ons vereerende</p>	<p>As we had just arrived at the anchorage, someone (whose office is to inspect the ships) came on board, offered some local fruits and</p>	<p>Als nun die Holländer zu Patani angefahren waren / kam also bald zu ihnen einer / dessen Ampt ist / die Schiff zu besichtigen / verehret</p>

<p>met eenige vruchten vant lant, seggende dat de Coninck met alle die van Patani door ons comste zeer verblijt waren. Des anderdaechs sond ick Rocus Pietersz. (die van de tael iets wist) aen landt om te vernemen na de gelegenhey van de plaetse, ende of daer oock ladinge voor ons soude weesen. Hij quam des avons weederom ende ginck des ander daechs met Ian Hoeyer weder derwaert, sonder iets te bedrijven, seggende dat den Sabandaer* met de andere principalen niet doen wilden voor ick en quam selve te lande, alsoo dat wij een present bereyden, na de maniere des lants, voor den Coninck ende Sabandaer*, die aldaer in grooten aensien is, ende gingen daechs daeraen te lande. Aencomende stonden daer bereyt twee Elefanten, die ons na tpaelys droegen, daer wij beleefdelyck werden ontfangen ende ons patent wert den grootsten vant lant in Arabische sprake voor geleesen. Ende door hunlieden bisschop* promptelijc vertaelt, die heur altesamen wel geviel; oock was ons present den Coninck aengenaem, seggende dat wij daer na ons believe onsen handel mochten drijven. Sij ordonneerden ons eenen van den principalen die met ons contract van de peper sou maken; deesen seyde dat voor die tijt in Patani niet meer als 7, oft 800 baer* en was, maer soo wij 5 ofte ses maenden wilden vertoeven, soude hij ons scheepen ten vollen laden. Doch hij hielt sijn peper int eerst soo waerdich, dat wij daer niet toe gesint en waren, maer wij werdent ten laesten noch</p>	<p>told us that the King and all Patani citizens were very pleased with our coming. The next day I sent Rocus Pietersz. (who had some knowledge of the language) ashore to collect information about the situation in this place and ask whether some goods would be available for us. He returned in the evening and went ashore again the next day with Jan Hoeyer but without doing any business. He reported that the <i>sabandaer</i>* and the other dignitaries did not want to do anything before I personally come ashore, in other words that, according to the local tradition, we prepare a present for the King and the <i>sabandaer</i>, a person who enjoys high status here. We therefore went ashore the following day. When we arrived, two elephants were waiting for us and took us to the palace where we received a courteous welcome; our letter of credence was read in Arabic language to the highest-ranking people in the country. It was immediately translated by their bishop* and found agreeable to all; the King was also pleased with our present and said that we had henceforth permission to do business here at our convenience. They referred us to one of the dignitaries to make a contract with us concerning pepper. The latter said that there was at the moment no more than 700 or 800 <i>baer</i>* available in Patani; however, if we could stay for 5 or 6 months here, he would be able to fill up our ships. The first quote he made for pepper was higher than what we were prepared to pay; however, we eventually</p>	<p>sie mit etlichen Früchten deß Landes / und saget / daß der König sampt allen Eynwohnern zu Patani gar höchlich uber ihrer Ankunfft erfreuet were. Deß andern Tags sandte der Admiral einen Rochus Petersen genannt / der die Sprach ein wenig kunte / zu lande / die Gelegenheit deß Orts zu erkündigen / ob nemlich daselbst auch Ladung für sie zu bekommen. Er kam aber umb den Abend wider / und fuhr deß folgenden Tags mit Johañ Hoyer wider zu Lande / richtet aber nichts auß / sondern saget / daß der Sabander sampt den andern vornembsten Herrn deß Orts nichts bewilligen wölten / es kame dann der Admiral in eigner Person zu Lande / derhalben dann der Admiral ein Geschenck zurichtet / nach Gelegenheit deß Landes vor den König und Sabander, der daselbst in grossem Ansehen ist / und fuhr den andern Tag hernach zu Lande. Es waren aber an dem Ufer zween Elefanten zugerüstet / die sie zu Hoff tragen solten / da sie daß sehr freundlich empfangen worden / sie zeigten ihnen ihren Paßbrieff / der den vornembsten deß Landes in Arabischer Sprach vorgelesen / und durch den Bischoff deß Orts wol verdolmetscht ward / damit sie alle woll zu frieden waren. So war auch das Geschenck dem König gar angenem / welcher also bald ihnen vergünstiget / daß sie nach ihrem Willen und Wolgefallen ihren handel deß Orts künlich uñ ganz sicher treiben möchten. Es ward auch also bald einer von den Vornembstē verordnet / der mit den Holländern deß</p>
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<p>met hem eens, want als wij vermerckten dat die dingen aldaer van langer hant wilden sij gedaen, ende dat de winter nu al begost, ende de zee niet navigabel was deur de harde winden, die daer om de tijt vant iaer waeyen, vonden wij voor goet huer monson te verbeyden, ende daerentusschen te versoeken oft wij ons comenschappen souden cunnen vercoopen.</p>	<p>came to an agreement as we realized that things take much longer here to materialise, winter time had already begun and seafaring was not safe due to strong winds at that time of the year. We thought that it would be better to stay throughout monsoon time, and we could in the meantime find out if we could sell our own merchandise here.</p>	<p>Pfeffers halben ein Contract machen solt. Dieser sagte / daß jetziger Zeit zu Patani nicht mehr als sieben oder acht hundert Baeren Pfeffer zu bekommen / aber so sie etwan die Zeit von fünff oder sechs Monden daselbst verharren wolten / solte ihnen völlige Ladung für ihre Schiffe widerfahren. Er hielt aber seinen Pfeffer anfänglich in grossen Werth / also daß sie nicht gesinnet waren ihn zu kauffen / doch waren sie endlich noch mit eynder eins / dann weil sie merckten / daß es nicht so geschwinde würde naher gehen / auch der Winter nun sich angefangen / da es ohne das gar böß auff dem Meer zufahren ist / wegen der grossen Winde / so sich umb die Zeit deß Jahrs allda mercken lassen / achteten sie es für rathsam seyn / daselbst zuerharren / und deß Moinsons zu erwarten / da es sich dann wol begeben konte / daß sie ihre Kauffmanschaft und Waaren unter deß daselbst verhandeln möchten.</p>
<p>Versochten derhalven licency om die aen lant te mogen brengen, ende een huys daer deselve (219) in bewaert mochten weesen. Dit wert ons mildelijck geconsenteert, mits dat wij de maniere vant lant mosten nacomen, ende beschencken acht personen in wiens handen bestond die principale regeringe vant coninckrijc; onder deese was de Coninck met haer suster.</p>	<p>For that purpose we requested a licence to bring it ashore and store it in some [ware]house there (219). This was kindly granted to us, provided we abode by the customs of the country and gave presents to the eight holding key positions in the administration of the kingdom, including the King and his/her sister.</p>	<p>Nach dem sie solches beschlossen / ersuchten sie den König umb ein gelegen Hauß / darinn sie ihre Waaren führen unnd verhandthieren möchten. Solches ward ihnen freundlich zugelassen / doch daß sie der Gewonheit deß Landes nachkommen / und deßwegen acht Personen / in deren Handen die gantze Regierung deß Königreichs damahls bestunde / unter welchen auch war der König und ihre Schwester / ein Berehrung thun müsten.</p>
<p>Als nu dit gedaen was, wert ons vrijheyte gegeven te copen ende vercoopen, aen wien het ons luste ende</p>	<p>With this request being met, we were free to buy from and sell to whomever we liked and found appropriate.</p>	<p>Als solches geschehen / ward ihnen Freyheit gegeben zukauffen / zuerkauffen unnd zu handthiern mit wem</p>

<p>beliefde, doch en wilden die gemene coopliden aen ons niet vercoopen, voor die principalen met ons den prijs hadden gemaect, dwelck ten laesten geschiede tot 30 van achten* de baer*, die recht eer wij daer quamen tot vijftien was vercoft. Aldus gaet met ons op alle plaetsen ende dat deur de groote menichte van de scheepen, die oorsake sijn, mette veelhey van de raelen, dat wij alles ten duyrsten moeten betalen. Sij eysten int eerste vijftich rialen*, seggende dat te Bantam* acht scheepen lagen die aldaer coften tot 60 rialen* de baer*. Wij waren wel een maent besich eer wij met hunlieden den prijs eens condon werden, dewelcke gemaect sijnde, worde onverbrekelijck tot den ende toe gehouden, dwelck ons wonder dede, aengesien de lichtvaer [dicheyt] van de Indische nacie. Tis waer dat als 2 Zeelantse* scheepen aldaer arriveerden, dat de gemeene coopliden onder malcander spraken om meer te eyschen, maer onsen contractadoor beval ons dat wij niemant een penninck meer geven souden, want hij sijn belofte quiten wilde ende ons voor de voorgemelde prijs de schepen 'vol' leveren, alsoo hij oock gedaen heeft.</p>	<p>But the ordinary merchants did not want to sell anything to us before the dignitaries had fixed the price with us. It was finally set at 30 pieces-of-eight* a <i>baer</i>*, whereas it sold at 15 when we arrived here. This is the situation we had everywhere, due to the high number of ships bringing here such a large quantity of reals that we had to pay everything at the highest price. Initially they asked for 50 reals, saying that 8 ships were in Bantam* buying there for 60 reals a <i>baer</i>*. It took us one month of negociations with the dignitaries before the price could be set; however, after it had been fixed, it remained unchanged until the end and this amazed us, knowing the fickleness of the Indian people. It should also be mentioned that, when two Zeeland* ships arrived here, the ordinary merchants talked among themselves to ask for more, but our contractor commanded us not to give a single penny more because he wanted to keep his promise and deliver to us a 'full' loading for the ships at the price agreed, which he actually did.</p>	<p>es ihnen gefiel / doch wolten die gemeine Kauffleuthe nichts mit ihnen handeln / ihnen etwas zuverkauffen / biß daß zuvor die Vornembsten mit ihnen ubereyn kommen weren / und den Kauff oder Schlag gemacht (31) hätten / welches daß endlich geschah / also daß sie ihnen geben musten 30. Realen von achten für ein jeglich Baer Pfeffer / der kurz vor ihrer Ankunfft umb funfftzshen war verkaufft worden. Also gehet es aber den Holländern an allen Orten / wegen der grossen Mänge der Schiffe / die dessen ein Ursach seyn durch die Vielheit der Realen / daß sie nemlich alles zum thewerften müssen bezahlen. Sie forderten anfänglich 50. Realen / und sagten / daß zu Bantam* acht Schiff weren / die daselbst 60. Realen für das Baer bezahlten / derhalben dann die Holländer mehr als ein Monat lang daselbst verziehen musten / eher sie mit ihnen uber eynkommen / und den Schlag machen kunte / welcher dann hernach also / wie er ein mahl gemacht / beständig biß zum Ende gehalten worden / darüber sich die Holländer nicht wenig verwunderten / in betrachtung der Leichtfertigkeit unnd Unbeständigkeit der Indianischen Nation. Es ist gleichwol nicht ohne / daß die gemeine Kauffleuthe / als sonst noch zwey Seeländische Schiffe dahin kamen / sich mit eynander zu besprechen anfiengen / sie wolten jetzunder mehr fordern / aber der Unterhändler / so den Kauff mit den Holländern geschlossen hatte / befahl ihnen / sie solten keinen Pfenning weiter geben / dann er seinem Urheiß gnung thun / und ihnen in gemeltem Tar alle beyde Schiff voll lieffern wölle / welches er dann auch gethan hat.</p>
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<p>Als nu den prijs gemaect was, te weeten tot 30 ryaelen, began men ons te leveren. Int eerste goede suyvere peper, doch cortz daerna onsuuyver goet, gelijk als men in Bantam* ontfangt. Ick beval de onsen dat sij wegen soudn nalaten ende ginck to dengeenen die met ons tcontract had gemaect, wiens naem is Siriniara*, aldaer een man van grooten aensien, versoeckende dat (aengesien ick van hem peper gecoft hadde) dat hij niet toe wilde laten dat men ons soo veel stof leverde. Deese seyde dat alle de peper van lamby* (dwelck de plaetse is daer se vandaen comt) alsoo was; ick seyde dat wij sulcke peper niet ontfangen condn, ende dat men ons (aengesien wij goet silver brachten) oock goede peper behoorde te leveren. Desen wert ten laesten qualijck tevreden, soodatt ick voor die tijt (220) oorlof nam, sonder datter iets uytgerecht wert; deese questie duyrdt daerna eenige dagen tot dattet voor den Coninck quam, van denwelcken geordonneert wert dat men de peper siften soudn, dwelcke alsoo geschiede ende wert gecontinueert totdat de 2 scheepen uyt Seelant* aldaer arriveerden, hetwelck was den 26 May, als ons noch manque[e]rde totte ladinge van ons 2 scheepen ontrent 500 baren. Wij rieden deese lieden van Seelant* dat sij de Maleyen in de gewoonte soudn houden daer wij haer al ingebrach(t) hadden, te weten de peper te wannen, waerop mij haer capitein Gerrit de Roy seer wel op antwoorde, seggende: indien hijt niet ongesift en wilde, dat andere haest volgen soudn, die het alsoo wel blijdelijck</p>	<p>As the price had been fixed, i.e. 30 pieces-of-eight, they started to deliver the merchandise. At the beginning [we received] pepper [that was] good quality and pure, but it soon became adulterated, comparable to what we were offered in Bantam*. I ordered my staff to stop loading and went to see the person who had made the contract with us; his name was Siriniara* – a person enjoying high status here. I asked him (as I had already bought pepper from him) not to tolerate that such a product with so much dust be delivered. He told me that all the pepper from lamby* (being the place it came from) was like that, to which I replied that we could not accept such pepper and (considering that we had brought good silver [money]), we should be supplied with good quality pepper. As he was getting upset about all this, (220) I took my leave without [the issue] being settled. It took some more days until the question was submitted to the King who then ordered the pepper to be sifted. That was done and the procedure continued until the two ships from Zeeland arrived on the 26th of May, at which date the lading of both our ships was still about 500 <i>baren</i> short. We advised these Zeelanders [to make sure] that the procedure we had introduced be maintained by the Malays, i.e. pepper sifting, whereupon Gerrit de Roy, their captain, explained to me that, should he refuse to take it unsifted pepper, other [people] will anyway follow soon and readily accept it. His assumption was right:</p>	<p>Nach dem nun der Kauff oder Tar gemacht war / nemlich das Baer umb 30. Realen / fiengen sie an den Holländern den Pfeffer zuliefern / welches anfänglich fein sauber Gut war. Aber bald hernach brachten sie ihnen unsauber Gut / wie man es zu Bantam* pfliget zu empfangen. Derhalben dann der Admiral seinem Volck befohlen / sie solten keinen mehr wiegen / er aber gieng hin zu dem jenigen / der mit ihm contrahirt / und den Kauff gemacht hatte / dessen Name war Siriuara, ein Mann von grossem Ansehen daselbst / an diesen begeret er / daß / nach dem er den Kauff mit ihm gemacht hätte / er nicht wolte zulassen / daß sie ihnen so unsauber Gut / und so viel Staub in dem Pfeffer liefertē. Er sagte aber / daß aller Pfeffer van lamby*, welches ist der Ort / daher die zu Patani ihren Pfeffer bekommen / also were / der Admiral sagte / er könte solchen Pfeffer nicht annehmen / dann es je billich / daß / weil sie ihnen gut Silber geben / sie den Holländern hergegen auch guten Pfeffer lieferten. Dadurch ward er endlich unwillig / derhalben der Admiral seinen Abschied von im nam / uñ nichts anbrichten konte / biß daß solches für den König kam / von welchem befohlē ward / daß sie den Pfeffer außbreutern / und mit eim Siebsäubern solten / welches daß also geschehen / ward demnach der Pfeffer außgesiebet und gefäget / so lang biß zwey Schiff auß Seeland dahin kamen / welches dann geschach den 26.Majj / als ihnen zu völliger Ladung noch etwan 500.Baeren</p>
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<p>souden willen aenvaerden, dwelck hij wel geraden hadde, want soo haest en was hij niet geladen, of den Admirael Jacob Hemskerck quam daer met 2 scheepen, die het op sulcker wijze wel ontfangen sou hebben. Nadat deese Seelantse* scheepen nu gecomen waren, mosten wij de peeper mede soo rauw ontfangen, doch wij deeden se siften op ons eygen costen, waermede wij wel 6 ten hondert verlooren, hetwelcke sal (soo God ons behouden reyse verleent) nochal proofijtelick bevonden worden. Aldus hebben wij na lanck beyden (met de hulpe des Heeren) ons ladinge in Patani gecregen.</p>	<p>[his vessels] were still far from loaded when Admiral Jacob Hemskerck arrived with two ships prepared to take up pepper that way. After the arrival of these Zealand ships, we had to accept untreated pepper too, and we had it sifted at an extra charge corresponding to a 6 % loss. Still (and provided God bless our journey), it remains a profitable business. This is how, after a long stay (and with the assistance of the Lord), we both managed to get our cargo in Patani.</p>	<p>mangelten. Die Holländer wolten den Seeländern rahten / daß sie diese Malaym wolten helffen unterhalten / so sie angefangen / und in Gewonheit gebracht hatten / nemlich / daß sie den Pfeffer säubern und sieben solten / Aber ihr Capiteyn Garrit de Roy, gab ihnen zur Antwort / daß / da er es nicht ungesäubert wolte haben / bald andere würden vorhanden seyn / die es mit grossen Freuden also würden annehmen. Welches ihm daß nicht gefehlet / sintemal bald hernach der Admiral Jacob Hemsßkirch vorhanden / und mit zweyen Schiffen daselbst angelanget / eher sie noch recht geladen hatten / der es dann der Gestaltt gerne hätte empfangen sollen / wann es noch vorhanden gewesen were. Demnach nun obgedachte zwey Seeländische Schiffe dahin kamen / musten die Holländer das ubrige / so ihnen noch an völliger Ladung mangelte / also ungesäubert annemen / doch säuberten sie denselben auff ihren eigenen Kosten / darüber sie wol 6. am hondert verlohren / und bekamen also nach langem Berzug ihre völlige Ladung allhie zu Patani.</p>
<p>Als wij nu gereet waren, hebben wij (na des lants manieren) met een present van de Coninginne oorlof genomen, ende sijn alsoo met groote vruntschap vandaer gescheyden. Sij quam selve in persone met ons spreken, dwelck voor besondere eere wert geacht; sij seyde dat sij ons volck dat wij daer lieten, voor gerecommandeert soude houden, versoeckende dat men daer geen dronckaerts maer goede luyden soude laten, hetwelck wij alsoo</p>	<p>As we were now ready, we took our leave of the Queen with the gift she has offered (according to the local customs), and thus departed in a spirit of great friendship. She came in person to talk to us, which was considered as a special honour. She said that she expected those compatriots staying in the country to be recommendable and asked us not to leave behind drunkards, but good people, and we promised to do so.</p>	<p>Als sie nun aller Dings fertig waren / haben sie nach Gewonheit und Gebrauch deß Landes / mit einem Geschenck von der Königin ihren Abschied genommen / und seynd also in grosser Freundschaftt von dañen gezogen. Sie kam in eigner Person zu (32) den Holländern / mit ihnen zu reden / welches für ein besondere Ehr gehalten wird / verhieß demnach den Holländern / sie wolte das Volck / so sie da lassen würden</p>

<p>beloofden. Doen vereerde sij mij, de Capitein van Seelant* ende Rocus Pietersz. ider een <i>cris*</i>, begeerende dat wij daerbij gedachtich soudē weesen, soo wij in zee comende eenige scheepen van Patani teegen haer vianden in noot sagen, dieselve na ons vermogen te assistieren; dit beloofden wij haer mede. Als wij nu wat van eenige vruchten gegeten hadden, die ons voorgesteld waren, namen wij bellefdelijck ons afscheyt, ende maeckten ons thuyswaert.</p>	<p>Then she offered a <i>cris*</i> to each of us - myself, the captain from Zeeland and Rocus Pietersz. - and said she hoped that we would remember that if, while being out at sea, we came across some Patani ships facing their enemies and in need of assistance, we would help them as far as possible. We also promised that. After eating some fruits presented to us, we parted with great civility and returned to our lodgings.</p>	<p>/ ihr fleissig lassen befohlen seyn / bath aber / man wolte ihr keine Trincker / sondern feine fromme Leuthe lassen / welches ihr der Admiral verheissen / deß verchret sie dem Admiral / deßgleichen dem Capiteyn auß Seeland / und Rochus Petersen, einem jeden ein Cris, welches ist ein Indianische Wehre / bath / daß sie ihrer darbey wolten gedencken / und so sie etwan auff dem Meer ein Schiff von Patani würden antreffen / daß ihrer Feinde halber in Gefahr were / solten sie demselben nach ihrem vermögen hülffe erzeigen / welches sie ihr dann auch verheissen / und demnach sie etwas von den Früchten / so ihnen fūrgestellet waren / gessen hatten / namen sie gantz ehrerbietig und sittlich ihren Abschied / und verfügten sich in das Hauß / so ihnen war eyngeräumt worden.</p>
<p>Dit gedaen sijnde, is den Admiraal Jacob Hemskerck op de rede gecomen, die wij van alle de gelegentheyt vant lant onderrecht hebben, ende ick ben oock met hem bij den Sabandaer* gegaen ende hebbe hem gerecommandeert als mijnselven. [...]</p>	<p>Some time later Admiral Jacob Hemskerck arrived at anchorage. We informed him about the situation in the country, and I accompanied him to the <i>sabandaer</i> and curry favour for him and myself. [...]</p>	<p>Nach diesem kam der Admiral Jacob Hemsbkirchen daselbst angefahren / welchem die Holländer von aller Gelegenheit deß Orts gnugsamen Bericht gethan haben. Der Admiral führet ihn zu dem Sabandar, und commendirt in ihm als sich selber. [...]</p>
<p>(221)</p>		
<p>(222) [...] Deese stadt [Patani] is de hoofstad vant coninckrijck, dwelck daerna sijn name heeft, oock den Coninck selve gelijk meest alle de omleggende landen, ende eylanden dieselve manier volgen. Sij is gelegen dicht aen den oever van der zee, ontrent een half mijl* lanck, sonder haven daer men schepen</p>	<p>(222) [...] This city [Patani] is the capital of the kingdom which received its name from it. The King also reigns also over most of the neighbouring territories and the islands having the same customs. This town is located right on the seashore; it is about half a mile in length, without any harbour where ships can</p>	<p>(33) [...] Es [Patani] ist aber dieses die Hauptstatt deß Königreichs / daß von dieser Statt den Namen hat / wie dann auch der König selber / inmassen fast alle umbliegende Landschafft unnd Insuln diese Gewonheit haben. Sie liegt aber hart an dem Ufer deß Meers / erstreckt sich ungefehr ein halbe Meil lang / ohne</p>

<p>bergen mach; de naeste rede is een cleine mijle* van der stat, vier vademen diep, van weke moddergrond. Het gebou van dees plaetse is van hout ende riet, als meest in alle die omleggende contrayen, oncostelijck, deurluchtich, ende bequaem voor de hette der sonnen. De plaetse daer den Coninck sijn paleys heeft, ende daer de machtichste van der stadt wonen, is met een hooge palissade van dichtgevoechde balcken omcingelt; de principael kercke*, ofte <i>muskita*</i> so sijn die no[e]men, is van Chineesse wercklieden seer net van roode steen* gebout. De Conincks woonplaetse is cierlijcker als van d'ander eedelen, met gulden penelen, ende andere gesneden houtwerken gewracht. Het volck van dit lant is van coleure tusschen wit en swart, niet onaengenaem, dispost van leden, seer fier van ganck, prachtich en veel van hen selven houdende, principael die van aensien sijn. Sij gaen seer geaccompagneert van dienaers en slaven; sijn sijn vriendelijck en familiar en conversatie, soowel tegens den vremden als onder malcander; in haer habijten niet seen costelijck. Haer dagelijckse exercitie is onder de vrouwen te sitten, ende haer daermede te vermaecken; comt imant haer van huer bekenden versoecken, die ontfangen sijn vriendelijck, op een sitplaetse daertoe geordonneert in den eersten inganck vant huys. Bij haer vrouwen en gedogen sijn niet dat imant comt; sijn tracteeren dengenen die haer versoecken met betel*</p>	<p>find shelter. The nearest anchorage is at a distance of less than a mile from the town, with a muddy bottom just 4 fathoms deep. The buildings of this place, as in most countries in this area, are made of wattle and daub, a cheap and airy [material] offering good protection against excessive heat. The area where the King has his palace and the powerful live in the city is surrounded by a high palisade made of beams closely fitted together. The main church - or <i>muskita*</i> as they called it - was very skillfully constructed of red stones* by Chinese artisans. The residence of the King is more attractive than those of the other nobles, being adorned with gilded panels and other forms of wood carvings. The people of this country have a complexion between white and black, rather attractive, with well-proportioned limbs, a proud gait, rather dashy and full of themselves, especially the prominent people. They most of the time have a retinue of servants and slaves; they are courteous and open to conversations, be it with strangers or between themselves. Their apparel is not very precious. Their daily activity consists in sitting among women and have entertainment with them. When one of their acquaintances appears to ask for something, they welcome him and offer a seat ready for that purpose close by the main entrance. Women are not allowed [to stay] if somebody comes [for a visit]. They offer to the visitor betel* and areca*. To prepare them, they have</p>	<p>einen Hafen / da man die Schiffe auffhalten könte / dann der nechste Anfurt unnd Hafen umb ein kleine Meil Wegs von der Statt gelegen / und die Tieffe hat von vier Klafftern eines weichen Grunds. Das Gebäu dieser Statt ist von Holz unnd Gerörig / wie gemeinlich on allen umbliegenden Orten / gantz durchsichtig und bequem gemacht für die Hiße der Sonnen. Der ort / da der König seine Hoffhaltung hat / und da die gewaltigsten der Statt wohnen / ist mit einem hohen Zaun von hart an eyinander gefügten dicken Balcken oder Hölzern umgeben. Die vornembste Kirche oder Mosquite, wie sie es nennen / ist von Chinesischen Bauleuthen gar artig und fein von gebacken Steinen gebauet. Deß Königs Hauß is etwas zierlicher / als die Häuser der andern Edelleuthe / mit übergülten Knöpfen oder Spitzen / und feinem außgeschnittenen Holtzwerck gezieret. Die Leuthe oder Eynwohner dieses Orts seyn von Farben mittelmässig zwischen weiß und schwartz / nicht unangenehm / von ziemlich feinen Gliedmassen / prächtig und köstlich / eines feinen Gangs / halten viel auff sich selbst / besonders die etwan ziemlichs Ansehens oder Würden seyn / haben viel Gesellschaft wann sie außgehen / von Dienern unnd Schlaffen / seyn sehr freundlich in täglicher Conuersation / so wol gegen den Fremdben / als unter eyinander selbst. In ihrer Kleydung seynd sie nicht fast köstlich / ihre tägliche Übung ist bey den Weibern sitten und sich daselbst erlustigen. Wann jemand von ihren</p>
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<p>en areca*. Daertoe hebben sij schoone, welgemecte doosen daer de schooteliens en al het gereetschap vandien van fijnen goude sijn; sommige silver, den cleenen van coper. Ider na sijn state, doch is bij een igelijck het tractement betel*.</p>	<p>fine and well-crafted boxes containing the small trays and all the [necessary] instruments, some being made of fine gold, some of silver, the small ones of copper. Though depending on their status, guests are always welcomed with betel*.</p>	<p>Bekannten zu ihnen komt / sie zu besuchen / so empfangen sie ihn gar freundlich an einem besondern Ort / so darzu verordnet ist / bal im Eingang deß Hauses. Sie lassen aber nicht zu / daß jemand zu ihren Weibern komt / den jenigen aber / so sie komt zu besuchen / tractirn sie mit Betele und Arecca, darzu sie dann feine Schüsseln haben / die sampt aller Zugehör von feinem Golt gemacht seyn / etliche aber von Silber / aber die geringsten seyn von Kupffer / uñ gebraucht dieselben ein jeder nach seinem Stand / aber alle Tractierung geschicht mit Betele.</p>
<p>Het gemeen volck alhier vaert veel ter zee, ende en sijn oock tot weynich ander dingen bequaem, tenwaer het lantbouwen daer sij oock toe gebruyckt worden. Van handwercken en weten sij niet, maer werter enige fraicheyt gemaect, dat is vant volck van China. Dese nacie acht ick dat met alsoo groote menichte de stat bewoonen, al d'inwoonders (223) selve soo coopliden, handwerckers, als arbeyders. Sij sijn seer naerstich om iets te verdienen en ontsien haer geen moeyten, arbeyt, noch valsheyt, dieverie, noch geen so snooden dinck om gelt te winnen. Den meesten handel wort alhier van deese nacie gedaen; oock word de meeste rijckdom bij huer bevonden. Sij hebben heele landschappen, die haer eygen toecomen ende sijn van den grootsten bij de Coninck; huer tale is daer soo gemeen als de sprake vant lant, doch soo sijn hier in deese stadt (behalven veel andere spraken) drie spraken</p>	<p>The commoners living here are a seafaring people and they are skilled for a few other things, except for farming for which they are also put to work. They know nothing about handicrafts, and the refined items [found here] are manufactured by the people of China. The latter community is widely represented in the city (223) with inhabitants who are themselves merchants, craftsmen and workers. They are very eager to make a profit and will never shy away from any difficulties, effort, fraud, theft, or any action of the sort to make money. Most of the trading here is conducted by this community, and they are the owners of most of the wealth. They possess extent territories and are among the highest dignitaries close to the King. Their language is as widely used as the native language of the country. In fact, three languages (alongside many other ones) are widely used in the city, namely Malay as the native</p>	<p>Das gemeine Volck in dieser Statt fährt sehr auff dem Meer / und seyn auch sonst nicht viel tüchtig zu andern Sachen / außgenommen / was den Ackerbau belanget / darzu sie fast gebraucht werden / was aber die Handwerker anlanget / dauon wissen sie gar wenig / wann aber etwas von lustigen Sachen deß Orts gemacht wird / so geschicht dasselbe von denen auß China, dann deren so viel zu Patani wohnen / als sonst der Eynwohner selbst mogen gefunden werde / und seyn zum theil Kauffleuthe / zum theil Handwercksleuthe / zum theil / die sonst andere Arbeit versehen. Sie seyn aber gar fleissig und bemühen sich nicht wenig etwas zuerdienen / deßwegen sie daß auch feine Arbeit / Mühe oder Pleitz sich tauren lassen / ja sie beflieissen sich aller ungetreuen Sachen / als Falschheit / Diebstals / uñ dergleichen / damit sie nur Gelt zusammen bringen mögen. Der gröste Handel wird von dieser Nation geübet / auch</p>

<p>seer gemeen, te weeten het Maleys, als naturel, de Siamse, ende oock Chineeße spracke.</p>	<p>language, Siamese and also the Chinese language.</p>	<p>wird bey ihnen der gröste Reichthumb gefunden. Sie haben gantze Landschafften die ihr eygen seyn / und seynd die Vornembsten bey dem König. Ihre Sprach ist deß Orts so gemein / als die Sprache deren / so deß Orts sonst seyn / jedoch so werden in dieser Statt / neben viel andern Sprachen diese drey am meisten geübet unnd gebraucht / nemlich die Malayesche / als die natürliche Muttersprach / die Siansche und (34) die Chinesische Sprach.</p>
<p>Deese drie talen sijn soo different, dat d'een van d'ander niet gemeens en heeft, ende principael int schrijven. De Maleyen, of die van Patani, schrijven als de Hebrewen, ofte Arabiers; van de rechtersijde beginnende ende endigen daer wij beginnen; die van Siam als die van Europa: de letter bijna Romains; die van China beginnen aen de rechtersijde, ende de regels loopen na andere toe. Deese differencie is om verwonderen, aengesien de landen soo na bij malcanderen gelegen sijn. Deese drie nacen sijn oock seer different van geloove; die van China ende Siam sijn al heydenen, groote afgooden dieners, niet van één gevoelen, maer van diverse secten; sij hebben haer tempelen aldaer in der stadt verciert met gulden afgoden, die sij sacraficie doen op diverse manieren. Sij hebben oock groote menichte van papen, principael die van Siam, die altemael int gel gecleert gaen. Die van China hebben iongelingen die profeteren, dwelck geschiet</p>	<p>These three languages are very different; in fact they have nothing in common, in particular concerning the script. The Malays, or those of Patani, write like the Hebrews or the Arabs, beginning from the right and ending where we start; the Siamese write like the Europeans and their letters are similar to the Roman letters; the Chinese write beginning on the right-hand side and the lines end at the bottom. These differences are all the more astonishing as these countries are so close to each other. The religions of these three nations are also very different: the Chinese and Siamese are heathens; they worship large idols, do not follow just one [spiritual] obedience, but various sects. Their temples here in the town are decorated with golden idols, to which they offer sacrifices in various ways. They also have many priests, - especially the Siamese - who all wear yellow clothes. The Chinese have male teenagers who act as soothsayers on the occasion of ceremonies</p>	<p>Diese drey Sprachen seynd so weit von eynander unterscheiden / daß keine mit der andern etwas Gemein hat / besonders was das Schreiben belanget / dann die Malayen, oder die von Patani schreiben wie die Jüden oder Araber von der rechten Hand zur lincken. Die von Siam schreiben wie wir in Europa fast mit Römischen oder Lateinischen Buchstaben. Die aber von China schreiben von der rechten Hand zu der lincken / doch also / daß die Zeilen oder Linien unterwärts lauffen. Und ist sich dieses Unterscheids halber wol zuerwundern / sintemal die Länder so nahe bey eynander gelegen seyn. Obgedachte drey Nationen oder Geschlechter seyn auch sehr unterscheiden / was den Glauben oder Religion belanget / dann die von China unnd Siam seynd alle Heiden / die zwar alle den Abgöttern dienen / aber doch nicht in einerley Meynung oder Gestalt / sondern sie seyn in mancherley Secten unterschieden. Sie haben ihre Kirchen daselbst in</p>

<p>met veel supperstitieuse seremonien. Sij sitten altemael op der aerden in grooter ootmoedicheyt, wat verre van den afgodt, ende hebben een groot respect op den profeterenden iongelinck, diewelcke met onbonden hare (dwelck sij lanck dragen als in ons lant de vrouwen) hem over de ooggen hangende voor het stomme beelt nederleyt, als eender die opgetogen is. Hierentusschen wert van alle die ommestaenderen gespeelt; deesen die profiteren sal, heft hem daerna op van der aerden, als een mensche die met een boose geest is beseten, vliegt heen en weder met een verdreyt gesicht en een bloot swaert in de hant, gelijk of hij hemselven ende alle die daerontrent waren vernielen wilde. Diewelcke ter aerden leggen met grooten divocien, smekende den iongelinck dat hij huer (haer) toch te kennen wil geven wat der dooden begeerte is, dewelcke na lange uytinnicheyt ten laesten weder tot sichselven comt, ende geeft huer als dan te kennen wat hem van den goden geopenbaert is.</p>	<p>fraught with superstition. They all sit on the ground in great humility, at some distance from the idol, and show great respect to the young man speaking prophecies, with his hair (as long as the hair of women in our country) loosened, hanging over his eyes, lying down in front of the dumb image, as if he were in ecstasy. Between two [episodes] all the people attending play [some music] whereas the [young] man going to speak his prophecies lifts himself off the earth¹; as if possessed by an evil spirit, then prances back and forth with his face distorted, holding an unsheathed sword in his hand, as if he wanted to kill himself and wipe out all the people within reach. Those who are lying on the ground [go on reciting] devout prayers, imploring the young man that he tell them about the yearnings of the dead. After a long period of unconsciousness,² He eventually comes to and shares with them what the gods have revealed to him.</p>	<p>der Statt gezieret mit vielen güldenen Götzen / denen sie Ehre anthun / unnd opffern auff unterschiedliche Weise oder Manir. Sie haben auch ein grosse Mänge von Pfaffen / besonders aber die von Sian, und seynd dieselben alle in gelbe Farben gekleydet. Die von China haben unter andern viel Jünglinge / die da prophezeien oder weissagen / welches dann verrichtet wird mit vielen seltzamen Ceremonien. Sie sitzen alle mit eyinander nider auff die Erden in grosser Demut / etwas weit von dem Abgott / und geben mit Fleiß achtung auff den prophezeienden oder weissagenden Jüngling / welcher mit seinem langen haar / welche sie so lang als bey uns die Weiber tragen / und ihn uber die Augen herunter hânget / für dem stummen Götzen gantz außgestreckt darnider lieget. Unter deß wird von dem umbstehenden Volck mit lauter Stimme gesungen / und auff unterschiedlichen Instrumenten gespielt. Wann solches verrichtet worden / erhebt sich derjenige / der da prophezeien oder weissagen soll / und stehet auff von der Erden / als ein Mensch von dem bösen Geist besessen / er laufft hin unnd wider mit einem abscheulichen Gesicht / unnd hat ein bloß Schwert in der Hand / und stellet sich nicht anders / als wolte er sich selbst / unnd alle so zu gegen oder vorhanden seyn / ermorden und umbbringen / welche dann mit grosser Andacht</p>
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1. Most probably meaning that he starts levitating.

2. The corresponding modern Dutch word *uysinnicheyt* implies some form of trance, delirium, frenzy.

		<p>auff der Erden liegen / unnd den Jüngling zum fleissigsten bitten / er wolle ihnen doch offenbaren unnd anzeigen / was der Götter Wille sey. Dieser / wann er ein gute Zeit lang also herrumb gelauffen / geschuermet / gewütet und getobet hat / komt er endlich wider zu him selbst / unnd gibt ihnen zu erkennen / was ihm von den Göttern geoffenbaret worden.</p>
<p>Als wij in Patani waren ende diergelijcke goodtsdienst geschiede, wert hun belast dat sij vertrecken soudon, want een grooten brant sou comen (224) die al haer huysen soude vernielen. Sij waren huer goden gehoorsaem, ende seylden vandaer, hoewel geen brant henlieden beschadicht sou hebben. De supperstitieuse afgoderie, van deese en veel andere nacies die daer frequenteren, soudon te lange te vertellen sijn; oock en hebben wij het grondich gevoelen van hen secten niet cunnen vernemen, aengesien wij de vreemde talen niet verstonden. Wat nu belangt het volck van Patani, die hebben de Mahumetse leere ende veel vrouwen, soo bijwijven als getroude, gelijk dat der Machometanen maniere is; niettemin soo houden sij swaer gerecht over het overspel, want het wort bij henlieden mette doot gestraft, principalijck bij de mogenste, ende de executie geschiet bij de vader selve, soo die van die gesondicht heeft noch bij leven is, soo niet bij de naeste vrienden. Ditselve is geschiet als wij in Patany waren van</p>	<p>While we were staying in Patani and such a [religious] service was held, they were ordered [in the revelation] to leave the town because of the imminence of a great fire (224) which would destroy all their homes. They complied with the order from their gods and they left the country [by boat], although no fire ever caused such damage. It would take too long to report about the superstitious idolatry that these people share with numerous other <i>nations</i> living there or visiting the place. Moreover, we could not collect information about the fundamentals of their sects as we did not understand the languages they use. Concerning the Patani people: they follow Mahomet's teachings, have many women, both concubines and wives, as it is common among the Mahommedans. Nevertheless, they apply severe justice in case of adultery: these people, especially the men in power, punish it by death. The sentence is carried out by the father of the culprit himself if the father of the person who committed the sin is</p>	<p>Zur Zeit / als die Holländer daselbst still lagen / ist ihnen durch ihren Jüngling / der da weissaget oder prophezeit / angekündet worden / sie solten sich von dannen hinweg machen / auß Ursach / daß ein groß Feuer entstehen würde / dadurch alle ihre Häuser solten verderbet werden. Dem gehorchten sie / und machten sich von dannen / wiewol kein Feuer außkam / dadurch sie hätten mögen beschädiget werden.</p> <p>Zwar die aberglaubische Abgötteren dieser unnd vieler anderer Volcker oder Nationen / so daselbst sich auffhalten / möchten wol zu lang werden / alle zu erzehlen / unnd haben gleichwol auch die Holländer den eigentlichen Grund dieser Secten nicht konnen verstehen oder begreifen / sintemal sie der frembden Sprachen nicht allerdings fündig waren. Was aber belangt die von Patani, dieselben haben den Mahumetischen Glauben oder Religion / unnd halten viel Weiber / so wol uneheliche als eheliche / in massen solches der Mahumetisten Gewonheit oder Gebrauch ist.</p>

<p>twee van de principaelmentery van Rijck, wiens soon ende dochter hadden bij malcander geb[o]eleert; de vrouwe getrouwt sijnde met een sone van den Sabandaer*, die dit gewaer was geworden deur een oude vrouwe, die tot sijn soons vrouwe enige copkens van goude gemaect (daer sij gewoon sijn betel* uyt te eeten) tot een present droech. Als hij haer hierop betraept hadde ende deur driegementen hadde doen bekennen watter gepasseert was, heeft hijt de vader van de dochter laeten weeten, die voort sijn dochter tot hem heeft doen brengen ende nadat sij de misdaet bekent hadde, heeft hij alle sijn vrienden doen vergaren, daer de vrouwe met veel ceremonien en tranen van oorlof genomen heeft, hetwelcke gedaen sijnde, heeft haer vader haer met sijn eygen handen verwocht, dwelck de doot was die sij had vercoren, want de maniere is dat men haer de ceure geeft wat doot sij sterven willen. Veele eyschen deurstecken te worden gelijk somwijlen als wij daer waren geschiet is, ende het staet haer vrij te kiezen, of sij in de borst, oft in de kele de dootlijcke wonde willen ontfangen. Aengaende de iongen edelman, die met haer hadde geboeleert, was int eerste verborgen doch wert daarna gevonden, ende met diergelijck seremonien van sijn eygen vader (die aldaer een van de grootsten is) deursteken; dit claechede mij dees goede man noch met grooten rouwe, als ick van hem oorlof nam om te vertrecken.</p>	<p>still alive, [otherwise] this is done by the closest friends. As we were in Patany, such a case occurred with two of the high-ranking councillors of the Kingdom, whose son and daughter had fornicated. The woman was the wife of one of the <i>sabandaer</i>'s sons. The father was informed of the act by an old woman who had made a few small golden cups (in which they usually place the betel* before consuming it) for his daughter-in-law and took them to her as a gift. After catching them in the act and, by means of threat, extracting confession about what had happened, he informed the daughter's father and the latter immediately ordered his daughter to be brought to him. After having her confess the offence, he summoned all his friends and, when they had taken their leave from the woman amid tearful farewell ceremonies, she was strangled to death at the hands of her own father. It was the kind of death that she had chosen: their custom is to let them choose the way they would like to die. Many ask to be stabbed to death, as it happened on some occasions during our stay. The women are free to say whether they prefer to receive the deadly injury in the chest or in the throat. Concerning the young nobleman who had fornicated with her, he had first gone into hiding, but he was finally discovered and stabbed to death amid similar ceremonies by his own father (who is one of the highest-ranking dignitaries). This kind man</p>	<p>(35) Nichts desto weniger aber halten sie doch ein schwere Straffe deß Ehebruchs / daß derselbe dey ihnen mit dem Tod gestrafft wird / und sonderlich bey den Höchsten und Vornembsten / und geschicht die Execution durch den Vatter selber / so fern dessen Vatter / der gesündiget hat / noch im Leben ist / wo aber nicht / so müssen es die nechste Verwandten verrichten / wie sich dann dergleichen zugetragen / als die Holländer eben zu Patani waren / mit zweyen von den Vornembsten deß Reichs / deren Sohn und Tochter mit eynderer gebulet hatten. Das Weib war vertrauet mit dem Sohn deß Sabandars, welcher durch ein altes Weib auff die Spur kommen war / daß seiner Frauen etliche Schalen von Golt gemacht / darauß sie pflegen Betele zu essen / zu Hauß getragen. Nach dem nun der Mann solche Mißhandlung an seinem Weib erfahren / hat er es ihren Vatter wissen lassen / welcher also bald seine Tochter vor sich gefordert. Und als sie ihre Mißhandlung bekañt hatte / beruffte er die gantze Freundschaft / von welchen das Weib mit vielen Ceremonien und Thränen Urlaub genommen. Welches / als es geschehen / hat ihr Vatter selbst sie mit seinen Händen erwürgt / welchen Tod sie ihr ausserwehlet und benennet hatte. Dann sie daselbst diese Gewonheit haben / daß man sie selbst erwählen unnd benennen lasset / was für eines Tods sie sterben wöllen / da dann etliche begeren erstochen zu werden / inmassen sich</p>
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	<p>was still in deep affliction and lamenting this event when I took my leave from him before departing.</p>	<p>solches auch zugetragen / als die Holländer da gewesen / und stehet inen auch frey zu erwehlen / ob sie in die Brust oder in den Halß die tödliche Wunde begeren zu empfangen. Was belanget den jungen vom Adel / so mit obgedachtem Weib gebulet hatte / derselbe war anfänglich verborgen / ward aber nachmahls gefunden / und mit dergleichen Ceremonien von seinem eigenen Vatter / der deß Orts einer von den aller Vornembsten ist / erstochen / welches obgedachter Vatter noch mit grosser Bekümmernuß gegen dem Admiral / als er sein Abschied von ihm nam / beklaget hat.</p>
<p>Aldusdanigen wreden straffe wordt in dit lant gedaen over t'overspel, niettegenstaende gebeurt het daer dickwils, midsdien de vrouwen seer oncuyt sijn.</p>	<p>Such are the cruel penalties inflicted in this country to people in case of adultery, and yet it is very common because the women are basically lewd.</p>	<p>Diese so harte Straffe wird deß Orts den Ehebrechern angethan / und ist doch / solches ungeacht / das Laster sehr gemein daselbst / auß Ursach / daß die Weiber gar unfeusch seyn.</p>
<p>Wat nu belangt de ongetroude, deese hebben groote vrijhey, want (225) over haerlieder bedrijf en word geen straffe gedaen, ten word voor geen sonde gehouden, noch en is int minste voor geen oneerbaerhey geacht. Tis een costume in Patani, dat als daer vromdelingen comen uyt andere landen om haer saken te verrichten, ofte haeren handel te drijven, dat men huer comt vragen of sij geen vrouwen en begeeren; oock comen die ionge vrouwen ende meysens haerselven genoech presenteren, daer densulcken dan uyt mach kiesn die hem aengenaemst is, midts</p>	<p>Concerning the bachelors, they enjoy a high degree of freedom because (225) there is no sanction for their actions: they are not recognized as sins and even less considered as immodesty. There is a tradition here in Patani that foreigners coming from other countries to conduct their affairs or do business are asked if they would like to meet women. There are also young women and girls who approach them and introduce themselves so that the foreigners may choose the one who is best looking to him and offer a sum of money for a given number of months. Upon agreement on the amount</p>	<p>Was aber belangt die ledige Personen / die haben deßwegen grosse Freyheit / dann auff solcher Leuthe Mißhandlung keine Straff gesetzt wird / ob sie auch für keine Sünde / ja für keine unehrliche Sach gehalten. Es ist ein Gewonheit zu Patani, daß / wann etwan frembde außländische Leuthe dahin kommen / ihren Handel daselbst zutreiben / man sie also bald fraget / ob sie keine Frau begehren / so femmen auch der jungen Weiber unnd Mägdlein gnug / die sich selbst anbieten / da dann einer ihm eine außerwehlen mag / die ihm am angenehmsten ist / und am besten gefället / mit gewisser Abrede / was er ihr für so und so viel Monat lang</p>

<p>accorderende wat hij voor seker maenden geven sal. Als sijt nu in de penningen eens sijn (die niet veel en importeren voor soo groten geryf) comt sij tot sijnen huuse, ende dient hem bij dage als sijn dienstmaecht, ende des nachte als sijn getroude vrouwe. Desen en vermacht dan niet bij andere vrouwen te verkeren ofte hij soude met het wijf heel qualijck staen, noch haer en is oock gans niet geoorlooft met andere mans te converseeren, maer houdt thuwelijck soo lange hij daer sijn residencie hout, met goede vrede ende eenicheyt. Als hij vertrecken wil, geeft hij haer het beloofde, ende scheyden alzo in vruntschap van malcanderen, ende sij mach alsdan tot haer believen weder een ander man soecken, in alle eerbaerheit, sonder opspraecke.</p>	<p>of money (which is really modest compensation for such a service) she comes to stay in his house, where she works as a daytime maidservant and behaves as a wife at night. In that case, the man is not allowed to have commerce with other women - or he would be in real trouble with the woman – and she would also be denied any permission to have dealings³ with other men; otherwise the marital relationship endures as long as he lives in this place of residence, in peace and harmony. If he wants to leave, he gives her the sum of money promised and they part amicably. From that moment, the woman may look for another man, without fearing for her honour or reputation.</p>	<p>geben soll. Wann sie dann deß Kauffs einig seyn / der nicht viel auff sich hat / komt sie ihm zu Hauß / und dienet ihm bey Tage für ein Dienstmagd / bey Nacht aber für sein Eheweib. Es mag aber ein solcher Mann mit Keiner mehr zuthun haben / so lang er daselbst sich hält / er solte sonst mit dem Weibe ubel zu maß kommen. So ist auch dem Weibe nicht zugelassen mit einem andern zuzuhalten / sondern sie müssen sich wie Eheleuthe zusammen halten / so lang er daselbst sein Wohnung hat / in gutem Friede und Einigkeit. Wann er dann begeret zuuerrensen / gibt er ihr den verheissenen Lohn / und Schenden also in Freundschaft von eynander / da sie dann ihres Gefallens ihr widerumb einen andern Mann suchen mag in aller Erbarkeit ohne einigen Anspruch.</p>
<p>Wat nu belangt dengeenen, die met weynich vrouwen niet te vreden en sijn, die hebben haer geryf meest op alle plaetsen van der stadt, well verstaende voor haer gelt want die grootste eedellieden laeten haer slavinnen, die daer bequaem toe sijn, toe gebruycken, midts dat sij de profijten strijcken. Door soo is deese maniere van hoeren daer veracht, ende en wert bij lieden van aensien niet gepleecht, midtsdien desulcke overvloet van vrouwen in haer huysen hebben.</p>	<p>For those who are not satisfied with just a few women, they can find [the women offering pleasure] in most places in the town, being understood that [they are after] their money, as the highest noblemen let their female slaves who are suitable for that [activity] offer such service, provided they can pocket the profits. All the same, this form of prostitution is held in despise here and important people do not practice it as they have a profusion of women at home.</p>	<p>Was belanget die jenigen / so mit wenig Weibern nicht zu frieden seyn / dieselben haben ihre Gelegenheit fast an allen Orten der Statt / nemlich umb ihr Gelt / dann die vornembsten Edelleuthe ihre Schlassen unnd leibeygene Mägde darauff bestellet haben / auff daß sie den Nutzen davon mögen geniessen. Aber diese gemeine Unzucht wird deß Orts gar verächtlich gehalten / und von keinen vornemen Leuthen geübet / weil dieselben überflüssig viel Weiber haben / mit denen sie in iren Häusern sich gnugsam erlustigen mögen.</p>

3. The original term used *converseren* is an understatement for a scope of activities much wider than just *talking*.

<p>In deese stad wonen Chineese coopliden, die daer getroude vrou en kinderen hebben. Diergelijcke oock in Chinceo*, vanwaer sij meest sijn, ende over en weder varen, soodat waerdat sij comen, huys, wijf, ende kinderen vinden. Het volck van Syam* is oock met veel wijven belemmert; sij sijn mede uytermaten tot oncuysheyt genegen. Sij dragen tusschen tvcl van haer manlijckheyt gulden bellen, sommige één, andere twee, enige drie, ende daer sijnder die soo groot sijn als een cleene caestbal ende seer lieflijck van geluyt, hoewel dat dit wat ongelooftijck schijnt.</p>	<p>Some Chinese merchants are living in this city, with a local wife and children. This situation also applies to Chinceo*; most of them originate from there [Chinceo]* and they frequently travel by boat between the two places so that, wherever they arrive, they find a house, a wife and children. The people of Syam* are overburdened with wives; they are excessively inclined to lust. Under the skin of their manhood, they wear little golden bells; some of them just one, others two and a few of them [even] three; some are the size of a small castball⁴ and they make a really pleasant noise, as incredible as it may sound.</p>	<p>(36) Es wohnen auch in dieser Statt etliche Chinesische Kauffleuthe / die haben daselbst ihre eheliche Weiber und Kinder / ebener massen / wie an den Orten / da sie sonst der Geburt nach daheim seyn / und finden dieselben also an beyden Orten / wohin sie kommen / ihre Weib und Kinder. Die von Siam haben auch viel Weibspersonen / und seynd uber alle Massen sehr zur Unfeuschheit oder Unzucht geneigt. Sie haben in der Rören ihrer Mannlichkeit / zwischen der Borhaut und dem Fleisch / güldene kugeln stecken / etwan eine / zwo / drey oder mehr / deren etliche gefunden werden / die so groß seyn als ein kleiner Ball / welches ich umb der Frembdigkeit willen allhie zu melden nicht umbgehen können / ob es wol ungläublich scheint /</p>
<p>Nochtans alsoo ick tselfde bij diversen gesien hebben, en heb ickt der (226) vremdicheyts wille, niet willen laeten te verhalen. Als men henlieden vraechde tot wa einde dees bellen dienden, seyden sij dat die alsoo gebelt bij de vrouwen noyt en converseerde, de rechte wellest vant bijslapen niet gesmaect en hadde, ende daerenboven seggen sij dat de vrouwen daer een onuysprekelijck wellust in rapen. Sij verhalen daer wonderlijcke vremdicheyden van, die ick om der eerbaerheyt wille nalate te seggen. De Machometanen verachten deese bellen als een dinck dat tegen de natuyre is; het en word oock van niemant anders gepleecht als van den heydenen, van den grooten soowel als van den gemeenen, ia van den Coningen selve.</p>	<p>However, although I have seen it on several people and I could not refrain (226) from reporting about it as it is so strange. When asked about the purpose of these bells, they answer that if a man equipped with such bells never had a private conversation with women never enjoyed the full sensuality of intercourse, and they add that women experience an unspeakable pleasure because of them. They tell astonishing and strange things about this [practice] but decency prevents me from relating them here. The Mahomedans hold these bells in despise and consider them as something against the law of nature; and nobody uses them except the heathens, be they prominent or common people, including the King himself.</p>	<p>Sintemal es bey unterschiedlich vielen von den Holländern gesehen worden. Die Mahumetisten verwerffen diese kugeln / als ein solch Ding / so wider die Natur ist / und sie werden von keinen andern getragen / ohne allein von den Heyden / so wol von den grösten und vornembsten / als von dem gemeinen Volck / ja von den Königen selbst / ihrer Unfeuschheit etlicher Massen zu wehren und abzubrechen.</p>

4. *Kaatsbal* in Modern Dutch, referring to the French *jeu de paume*.

<p>Dit lant van Patani word geregeert van een vrouwe, die deur afsterven van den coninck haer man, coninginne gebleven is, ende heeft ontrent 13, oft 15 iaren met haer raden (die sij mentery no[e]men) zeer vredich geregeert, soodat alle de ondersaten haer gouvernement beter vernoecht als des overleden conincks. Want alle lijftocht daer nu seer goeden coop is, die bij des conincks tijden (soo sij seggen) de helft dierder was, deur de groote exactien die doentertijt geschieden. Dese Coninginne is ontrent 50 jaren out. Sij hout haer al stadich in haer paleys onder haer vrouwen, die sij in groote menichte heeft; veele van deese omdat se in dienste sijn van de Coninginne en mogen niet trouwen, maer bijslapen bij wie het haer belieft. Andere worden ten houwelijc gegeven, daertoe versocht sijnde, ende dat men de Coningin haer wille. Men comt deese vrouwen seer seldom te sien ende alleenlijck als sij uyt vermyen gaet, d'welck om de twe[e] of drie iaren eens gebeurt, doch het geschiede tweemaal doen wij daer waren. Men deed ons weten (als dit geschieden soude) dat de Coninginne besonder aengenaem sou sijn, dat wij mede nevens anderen haer accompangeerden, dwelck alsoo geschiede. Sij was uytgaende van al de Heeren vant lant verselschapt, met wel 4 oft 5000 man van wapen, die al in troupen na haer lantswijse den breden oever bespreden, met wel 150 Elephanten daer eenige van ten strijde toegerust waren, andere des overledene Conings</p>	<p>The territory of Patani is ruled by a woman who succeeded her husband as a queen after the king had died. She has now ruled peacefully for about 13 or 15 years with her council (which they call 'mentery'), so that all the subjects prefer her way to rule as compared to that of the late king. The main reason is that all the foodstuffs are currently very cheap whereas (so they say) they were more expensive by half due to the heavy taxes imposed in those times.</p> <p>This Queen is about 50 years old. She always stays in her palace among her women, who are in great numbers. Many of them, as they are in the service of the Queen, are not allowed to marry, but they may sleep with anybody they like. Others are given as spouses if they receive a marriage proposal and if the queen agrees. These women are very rarely to be seen, in fact [this happens] only when she leaves the city for recreation, which happens once every two or three years, although it occurred twice during our stay here.</p> <p>We were told (when the opportunity arose) that the Queen would be pleased to have us accompany her [for an outing] together with other people, and all this was actually done. She came out, followed by all the Lords of the country, with 4 or 5,000 men-at-arms forming troops aligned along the wide strand, according the customs of the country, with some 150 elephants, including several of them outfitted for fighting, several others carrying the</p>	<p>Diß Land von Patani wird heutiges Tags regiert von einer Frauen / welche nach Absterben deß Königs ihres Mañes / Königin blieben ist / und hat nun fast in 14. oder 15. Jahr lang mit ihren Rächten / die sie Mentary neñen / gantz friedlich und wol geregieret / also daß alle ihre Underthanen an ihrer Regierung besser vergnüget seyn / als an der Regierung deß abgestorbenen Königs selbst / sintemal alle Lebzucht deß Orts nun mehr gar gutes Kauffs ist / da sie zuvor bey Lebzeiten deß vorigen Königs / wie sie sagen / noch fast umb ein halbes theurer gewesen / welches dann von der grossen Schatzung damahls herkommen. Es ist aber die Königin etwan funfftzig Jahr alt / und hält sich immerdar daheim in ihrem Pallast bey ihrem Frauenzimmer oder Weibern / die sie in grosser Anzahl hat. Viel unter denselben / weil sie im Dienst der Königin seyn / dörfen sich nicht in den Ehestand begeben / aber Buhlschafft mögen sie wol treiben / mit welchen es sie gelüsted. Etliche aber mögen sich in den Ehestand begeben / wann sie darzu ersucht werden / doch mit Beliebung und Erlassung der Königin. Man bekombt aber die Königin gar selten zusehen / und zwar nur allein / wann sie verreyset sich zu erlustigen / welches etwan in zwey oder drey Jahren ein mahl geschicht.</p> <p>Es geschah aber zwey mahl / in dem die Holländer daselbst waren / und that man ihnen solches zu wissen / mit Bemeldung / daß der Königin ein besonder Wolgefallen dran geschehen würde / wann die Holländer</p>
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<p>wapenen droegen, ende den meesten hoop des (227) Coningins vrouwen. Sij selve sat meede op een grooten elefant, die heel coninlijck toegerust was. Als sij nu ter geordonneerder plaetsen was gecomen, deed sij ons tot haer roepen, ende wat verre van haer, (gelijck de maniere is) neder sitten, ende spijs en dronck voorstellen. Nadat wij daer nu een tijt lang hadden geseten, versochten wij oorlof ende maecten ons thuyswaert.</p>	<p>weapons of the defunct king and the majority of (227) the Queen's suite. The Queen herself sat on a big elephant which was outfitted with royal apparel. When she had reached the designated place, she sent for us and invited us to sit at some distance from her (as it is the tradition [here]); we were offered food and beverages. After remaining seated there for some time, we asked for permission to leave and went straight back home.</p>	<p>neben andern ihr das Geleyt geben wölten / welches dann auch also geschehen / da daß die Königin mit allen Herren deß Landes / und fast in vier oder fünff tausent starck / die mit ihren Waffen wol versehen waren / sampt ungefehr 150. Elephanten / die zum theil zum Streit gerüstet waren / zum theil deß verstorbenen Königs Waffen / deßgleichen den mehren theil deß Königlichen Frauenzimmers getragen / außgezogen / sitzend auff einem grossen Elephanten / gantz königlich zugerüstet. Als sie nun an den bestimbten Ort kommen warē / ließ die Königin die Holländer zu sich fordern / und hieß dieselben an ein besondern Ort / ein wenig von ir abgescheidē / nach Lands Gebrauch nider sitzen / uñ sich mit vorgestellter Speiß uñ Tranck erlustigen. Demnach sie nun ein zeitlang also gegessen / begehrten die Holländer ihren Abschied / und begaben sich also wider nach ihren Losamenten.</p>
<p>Wij sijn daerna eens met haer te water uyt geweest, de rivier opwaerts. Sij was verselschapt met een groote menichte van roey-iachten, ende hadde ons doen weeten, dat wij niet laeten en souden mede te varen. Als men nu gecomen was daer sij des nachts blijven soude, deed sij ons tot haer, dicht aen haer galeye* comen, die cierlijck en fray gemaect was, ende sprack vriendelijc met ons, vragende wanneer wij vertrecken wilden, ende seyde als wij op andere tijden weder in Indiën quamen, Patani niet verbij</p>	<p>On one occasion, we went out with her for a boat trip up the river. She was escorted by a great number of rowing boats, and had us informed that we should not miss this opportunity to navigate with her. After reaching the place where it was planned to stay overnight, she sent for us and invited us to stay close to her beautiful and well-decorated boat. We had a friendly conversation with her; she asked when we would like to leave and told us that, when coming again to the Indies any time in the future, we should not</p>	<p>Nachmahls hat sichs auch zugetragen / daß die Königin das Wasser auffwärts spatzieren gefahren / vergesellschaft mit einer gar grossen Anzahl Rudernachē. Sie ließ es aber die Holländer wissen und sie bitten / daß sie mit ihrem Nachen sich auch herbey machen / und ihr Gesellschaft leisten wölten / welches dann die Holländer auch gethan. Als sie nun an den Ort kamen / da sie uber Nacht zu bleiben gesinnet / nahet sie sich mit ihrer Galeen / die gantz köstlich unnd fein gemacht war / zu dem Nachen der</p>

<p>wilden seylen, want men ons daer altijt (gelijck men gedaen hadde) beleefdlijck ontfangen en tracteren soude. Ende dat sij ons niet dagelijcks te hove ontboden hadde, om ons daer te vermaecken, was omdat haer (die een vrouwe was) sulcks niet betaemde. Nadat wij haer van haer goede genegentheyt t'onswaert gedanckt hadden, heeft sij ons schuyt* met overvloed van alderley spijsen ende banquet laeten versien, ende wij versochten oorlof om weder na de stad te mogen varen, om ons reyse te vervorderen, dwelck in ons believen gestelt wert. Sij is daerna de riviere opgevaren, ende duyrd wel 20 dagen eerdatsij weder quam. Hiermede wil ick de manieren ende seeden van deese verwijfde nacie met haer Coninginne Pratiâu* (dwelck haer naeme is) daer laten, daer ick (om lanckheyt te vermijden) het tiende deel niet van verhaelt hebbe, en seggen een weynich van tlants gelegenheyt.</p>	<p>just sail past Patani as we would always be (as we had been on that occasion) welcome and treated with courtesy. And that the reason why she had not invited us every day to the court for recreation was that (as she was a woman) such things were not appropriate. After having thanked her for her kindness towards us, she made sure that our <i>schuyt</i>* was supplied with a large amount of dishes and desserts of all kinds; we then asked for permission to go back to the town to continue our journey, which [decision] was left to our discretion. She then resumed her voyage upstream and it took some 20 days before she returned. I will not get into more detail (as it would be too long) about the manners and customs of this feminised⁵ nation due to Queen Pratiâu* (this being her name); but this is not even a tenth of what there is to say and I will now report briefly about the opportunities offered by this country.</p>	<p>Holländer / fieng an gar freundlich mit dem Admiral zu reden / unnd fraget ihn / wann sie wider verreysen wolten / saget daneben (37) sie wollen eynander mal / wenn sie wider in Indien kommen würden / nicht vorüber fahren / sondern zu Patani anfahren / denn man sie allezeit / inmassen jetzunder geschehen were / freundlich empfangen und wol tractiren solte. Sie bat daneben umb Verzeihung / daß sie die Holländer nicht täglich zu gaste gelaten und zu ihr beruffen hatte / denn solches auß der Ursachen unterlassen worden / daß ihr / als einer Frauen Person / ein solches nicht hätte gebüren wollen. Als nun die Holländer sich gegen sie ihrer guten Zuneigung halber zum fleissigsten bedancket hatten / hat sie iren Nachen mit grossen Überfluß von allerley Speisen zum besten versorgen lassen / und baten nachmals die Holländer umb Erlaubnuß / daß sie wider zur Statt zu fahren möchten / ihre Reyse daseibst zubefördern / welches ihnen dann zu ihrem Gefallen gestellet worden. Folgendes Tags ist die Königin weiter das Wasser hinauff gefahren / unnd ist also fast in 20. Tage lang außblieben / ehe sie wider kommen. Ich will aber hiemit die Sitten dieser Weibischen Nation beschliessen / auch von ihrer Königin Pratiâu genant / ablassen / davon ich doch den zehenden Theil kaum erzehlet habe / denn es sonst viel zu lang werden wolte / alle Sachen allhie zubeschreiben.</p>
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5. The original adjective *verwijfd* may be interpreted as 'effeminate' or 'feminised' – Feminised seems to be more appropriate in this context because of the following reference to the queen.

<p>Dit lant is seer overvloedich van lijftocht ende van seer goeden ende aengenaemen lucht, alhoewel het de middel-lynie wat na gelegen, ende die groote hitte der sonnen daerdeur wat subiect is, maer men sal weeten, dat men daer wel acht maenden geduyrende, te weten van Februario tot in tlaetste van October, de winden des middachs uytter see end[e] des nachte uyte lande heeft, met een gewenste coelte ende schoon weder. Voorts de maenden van November, December ende Januaryus, ist daer winter ende regent gestadich, met seer stercke noordooste winden, soo datter alsdan niemant bij der zee varen mach tot in Februario, dan beginnen de winden oostelijcker te waeyen, ende de regen te cesseran (228) ende word weder somer soodat de vruchten beginnen te rijpen, daer het rijckelick van begaeft is, deur de vruchtbaerheyt van de aerde, die sij ackeren en ploegen met buffels ende ossen, ende met rijs besaeyen, gelijk men met ons de tarwe ende rogge doet. Welck rijs daer oock seer overvloedich ende goeden coop is, soodat se op diverse plaetsen vervoert word. Wat belangende Indisch fruyt, is deese plaetse soo rijckelijcker van begaeft als enich contrary in Indyen, want het heeft daer een geheel iaer geduyrende alle maend een nieuwe vruchte, elck smakelijcker als ander.</p>	<p>This country has a surfeit of food and a very clean and pleasant air, although it is close to the equator and therefore submitted to the scorching heat of the sun. However, during the eight months that we spent there, i.e. from February until late October, we had winds blowing from the sea at noon and from the land at night, bringing welcome freshness and fine weather. Moreover, November, December and January are winter months, with much rain and very strong northeastern winds, so that nobody can venture at sea until February, at which time the eastern winds begin to blow and it stops raining. (228) And then it is summer again so that the fruits, which are indeed abundant here, begin to ripen. This is due to the great fertility of the land which they cultivate and plough with buffaloes and oxen, and they sow rice the same way as we do for wheat and rye. Rice is plentiful and cheap here, so that it is exported to various places. Concerning Indian fruits, this place is even more generous than any country in the Indies because there is here a sort of tree producing new fruits every month throughout the year, each one more delicious than the other.</p>	<p>Was aber die Gelegenheit deß Landes belanget / ist dasselbe sehr reich von überflüssiger Leibes Nahrung / hat auch ein sehr guten gesunden unnd angenehmen Luft / wiewol es nahe bey der mittel Lini gelegen / und derhalben der grossen Hitze der Sonnen etwas desto mehr unterworfen ist. Es is aber zu wissen / daß man daselbst fast acht gantzer Monat lang / nemblich vom Februario an / biß zu dem letzten October / den Wind im Mittage auß dem Meer / in der Nacht aber von dem Lande hat / mit einem gewünschten schönen Wetter / die andern Monden uber / als im Nouember / December unnd Januario biß in Februarium / ist es daselbst Winter / unnd regnet ohne auffhören / mit sehr starcken Nordosten Winden / also daß niemand alsdann auff dem Meer daselbst fahren kan / biß in den Februarium / da die Winde wider anfangen Öftlich zuwehen / unnd den Regen auffzuhalten / wird alsdann wider Sommer / da die Früchte anfangen zeitig zu werden / damit es dann reichlich begabet ist / wegen der Fruchtbarkeit deß Erdreichs / so sie pflügen mit Büffeln unnd Ochsen / und nachmals mit Reiß besäen / welcher deß Orts wie bey ons Korn unnd Weitzen gesäet wird / und gar überflüssig daselbst wächst / also daß er weit unnd breit verführet wird. Mit Indianischen Früchten ist dieser Ort so reichlich als sonst ein Ort in gantz Ostindien begabet / denn es daselbst durchs gantze Jahr lang alle Monden neue Früchte gibt / deren je etliche lieblicher von Geschmack seyn als die andern.</p>
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<p>Wat nu belangt dagelijckse spijsje als vlees ende vis, is daer seer veele. Ossen, stieren, buffels, cabrieten, sijnder in groot menichte, hoenderen sijnder soo overvloedich dat se bij duysenden vandaer gevoert worden, ende men en vernemt geen verminderinge. Daer sijn oock gansen, ende enten sijnder soo vruchtbaer, dat se 2 mael tusschen nacht en dach eyeren leggen; van wiltbraet sijn de bosschadiën vol, als wilde stieren, wilde swijnen, harten, hasen, wilde hoenderen, witte reyggers ende tortelduyven. Daervan sijn die velden overvloedich mede bespreyt, sommige soo schoon van veeren, dat se de papagaeyen te boven gaen; daer sijn oock quartelen, ende andere vogelen meer, die ons onbekent sijn, doch deur de traecheyt van d'inwoonderen, word weynich van al dit wiltbraet gevangen. Die schadelijckste dieren aldaer sijn tijgeren, ende apen oft meercatten; d'eerste doen de huysluyden groote vernielinge in haer vee ende d'andere in huer vruchten; de wilde Elephanten die daer veele sijn, houden al binnen de wildernissen, alsoo dat sij daervan geen schade en lijden. Deese worden daer in deesen manieren gevangen; sij nemen een tammen elefant, die starck ende groot is, daer een man op sit, die hem gouverneert, ende gaen daermede in de basischage.</p>	<p>As far as daily food is concerned, such as meat and fish, there is plenty of them here too. Oxen, bulls, buffaloes and young goats are found in large numbers here. Poultry is so abundant here that even if they export them by the thousands, one does not feel any shortage. There are also geese and ducks which are so productive that they lay eggs twice a day. Forests are full of game, such as wild bulls, wild boars, deer, hares, wild chickens and hens, white egrets and turtledoves. There are found in great numbers in the fields, and some of them have such a beautiful plumage that they surpass parrots. There are also quails here, as well as other birds unknown to us. Due to the laziness of the locals, few of these wild animals are caught. The most harmful animals here are the tigers and monkeys or guenons.⁶ The first ones cause a lot of damage among the cattle of the locals, and the second ones in the fruit trees. There are many wild elephants here too, but they do not leave uninhabited places and therefore do not cause any harm. They are captured as follows: people use a strong and big tamed elephant on which a man is sitting to mahout it into the forest. As soon as they come across a wild [elephant], they get it into a fight against the tamed animal. When two elephants fight (as I could see myself), they try to interlock their tusks and</p>	<p>Was aber belangt sonst andere tägliche Speisen / als Fleisch unnd Fisch / dessen ist uberflüssig gnug daselbst vorhanden. Ochsen unnd Stier / Büffel unnd Geysen / seynd in grosser Mänge zubekommen / Hünner hat es so viel da / daß sie mit viel tausenden von dannen verführet werden / unnd man doch kein Abnemen spüren kan / es seynd auch Gänse daselbst / und die Endten seynd so fruchtbar / daß sie zweymal zwischen Tag und Nacht Eyer legen.</p> <p>Was das Wild belangt / davon seynd alle Wälde vol / nemlich von wilden Stieren / Schweinen / Hirschen / Hasen / Wilde Hünner / weisse Reyger / unnd Turteltauben werden uberflüssig gefunden / etliche so schön von Federn / daß sie auch die Papageyen ubertreffen. Es seynd aber auch viel andere unbekante Vögel daselbst / unnd wird wegen der Fahrlässigkeit der Eynwohner gar wenig von diesem wilden Viehe gefangen. Die allerschädlichsten Thieren daselbst seynd die Tyger unnd Affen oder Meerkatzen / jene thun den Haußleuhten grossen Schaden in dem Viehe / diese aber in den Früchten. Die wilden Elephanten / deren es daselbst uberflüssig hat / halten sich alle in den Wälde / also daß die Eynwohner keinen Schaden von denselben empfinden. Sie werden aber auff diese Weise gefangen / sie nemen ein zamen Elephanten / der gar starck unnd groß ist / reiten mit demselben in</p>
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6. The Dutch modern term *meerkat* now refers to the surricates of Southern Africa. In this context, it obviously refers to the group of long-tailed monkeys belonging to the Cercopithecus family.

<p>Als sij dan eenigen wilden vernemen, stellen sij den tammen daertegen te vechten; haer gevecht is (soo ick gesien hebbe) thaer tanden in malcanderen te sluyten daer sij haer snuyten tusschen in strengelen, haer crachten te werck stellende om d'een d'ander ter aerden te vellen. Als sij nu dus tegen malcanderen staen en streven, comen enige daertoe geordonneert, ende cluysteren den wilden de achterste benen aen malcanderen, dwelck licht van doen is, aengesien dat hij van den tammen (die daer op afgerecht is) soo in dwanck wort gehouden, dat hij de benen niet reppen en mach sonder ter aerden te vallen. Als hij nu dus gebonden is, willen sij hem levent houden, moeten sij hem met grooten honger temmen, om alsoo yut de wildernisse te krijgen. Willen sij hem dooden, cunnen sij met cleine (229) moeyten tewege brengen, hetwelcke geschiet alleen om de tanden, die daer waerdich sijn ende worden vant volck van China gecoft.</p>	<p>get their trunks entangled while using all their strength to topple their opponent. As they are standing and facing each other there, several people are ordered to bind the two hind legs of the wild elephant together - which is easy to do while the tamed one, which is still standing upright, is blocking the other animal - so that the latter cannot move and fall to the ground. Then, after tying it solidly, and if they want to keep it alive, they tame it through hunger starving before taking it out of the forest. But they intend to kill it, they can do (229) it without much effort, and this is done only to take their tusks which have great value and these are then bought by the Chinese.</p>	<p>den Wald / unnd wenn sie denn einen wilden mercken oder vernemen / so stellen sie (38) den zamen an mit dem wilden zuefchten oder zukempffen / ihr Kampf ist / wie es die Holländer gesehen haben / daß sie ihre Zähne in eynander schlagen / unnd ihre Rüssel darzwischen strengeln / wenn solches geschehen / brauchen sie ire Stärke umb eynander zur Erden nieder zuwerffen. In dem sie aber also gegen eynander stehen unnd gegen eynander streben / kommen als dann etliche Männer / so darzu bestellet seyn / und binden dem wilden Elephanten die hindern Füsse zusammen / welches far leichtlich zuthun ist / sintemal er von dem zamen / der auff diese Sache abgerichtet worden / so gar im Zwang gehalten wird / daß er die Füsse nicht bewegen darff / er müste sonst zur Erden fallen. Nach dem er denn nun also gebunden worden / müssen sie ihn durch grossen Hunger zämen / so ferzn sie ihn bey Leben erhalten wollen / damit sie ihn also auß dem Wald bekommen / so sie ihn aber tödten wollen / können sie solches mit geringer Mühe zuwegen bringen / welches dann oft geschicht allein umb der Zähn willen / die deß Orts in grossem Werth seyn / und von denen von China sehr gekaufft und weggeführt werden.</p>
<p>Dit sij nu genoeg van de dieren. Belangende de visschen, sijn daer seer abundant ende van veelderhande soorten, doch geen de onsen gelijk, soo in forme als in smaeck. Daer sijn oock crabben en creefften, schildpadden, veelderhande mosselen,</p>	<p>Enough with the animals. As regards fish, they abound here and there are various kinds, though they are not comparable to ours neither in shape nor in taste. There are also crabs and lobsters, turtles, plenty of mussels, shrimps, and many other kinds of shellfish. Great</p>	<p>Fische belangend / dieselben seyn auch überflüssig unnd von mancherley Gattung daselbst / seyn aber den unsern weder an Gestalt oder Geschmack gleich / es seyn auch Krabben / Krebs / Schildkröten / unnd vielerley Muscheln / die sich in so grossen Mänge fangen</p>

<p>garnaet, met noch veel andre geschulpte see-dingen. Deese alles laeten haer met grootte menichte vangen, soodat meestal gemeen volck daermede gespijst word. In somma in deese stadt gebrect weynich dat tot onderhoud des levens van noden is. Daer word oock soo grooten handel gedaen als in geen stadt daerontrent gelegen. Die van Malaca ende Bengala brengen daer cleden ende lijwaet; die van Java sandelenhout, die van Borneo* slaven, canfora, sagu*, was* ende lapis besar*; die van Syam* gout, rijs, sout, loot ende benswijn, die van Champa* ofte Camboya*, brengen daer slaven, catoen ende het waerdige hout calamba*, het alderbest dat in de werelt is. Het volck van China comt daer alle iaren met veelderley comenschap; sij brengen witte ende geel rouwe sijde, oock flueelen, damasten*, ende andere sijde wercken, van diverse couleuren; porcelyenen bij menichte, iser, coper, ende alderley cramerije, die men in die landen van noden heeft. Die van Iappon* comen daer oock alle iaren; sij brengen iapponse swaerden, costelijck bontwerck, dat die van China copen, oock coper ende andere cleinicheyt meer. Nevens deese vreemde naciën, die hier van de voorn[oemde] plaetsen met haer schepen arriveren. Soo varen deese van Patani selve op diverse quartieren; sij seylen na Bandan* en Amboyn*, om noten, folie* ende nagelen; na Timor* om sandelenhout; na Iamby ende Andrigiri* om peper, die sij als se wel</p>	<p>quantities let themselves be captured, so that it is mostly common people who have them for their diet. In summary, there is virtually no shortage of means of subsistence in the city. There is there more trade than in any other town in the area. The people from Malacca and Bengal bring clothes and linen here, the people from Java sandalwood, the people from Borneo* slaves, camphor, sago*, wax* and lapis besar*. People from Syam* bring gold, salt, lead and benzoin. The people from Champa* or Camboya* bring slaves, cotton and the precious calamba* wood, the best in the world. The people from China come here every year with various products, such as yellow raw silk, velvet, damask* and silkware of various colours, porcelain items, iron, copper and all kinds of hardware needed in these countries. The people from Iappon* also come here every year. They bring Japanese swords, precious furs which are bought by the Chinese, as well as copper and other trinkets. Not only do foreign nations come here with their ships, but the Patani people themselves also sail to various places, including Bandan* and Amboyn* for nutmegs, mace* and cloves; to Timor* for sandalwood, to Iamby* and Andrigiri* for pepper which they also export, and they also fetch it from Campor*, Ihoor*, Phaon*, Mordillion* and Ligor*, (230) all places located not farther than 130 miles from here. And those of Patani sail to all the neighbouring countries,</p>	<p>lassen / daß das gemeine Volck mehrentheils damit gespeiset wird. In Summa es mangelt in dieser Statt nichts so zu Auffenthaltung deß Lebens von nöhten. Es wird aber auch daselbst ein fast grosser Handel getrieben / als sonst in keiner Statt deß Orts. Die van Malacca und Bengala bringen Kleyder un leinen Getüch dahin / die von Iaua bringen Sandalen Holtz / die von Borneo Campher / Schlaffen / Sagu, Wachs und Lapidem Bezoar, die von Sion Gold / Reiß / Saltz / Bley / die von Champa oder Camboya, bringen Schlaffen / Baumwolle / und das köstliche Holtz Calambae oder Aloes genaßt / deß besten so man irgend finden mag. Die von China kommen jährlich dahin mit vielerley Kauffmanschafft / sie bringen weisse unnd schöne gelbe Seyden / auch Sammet / Damast / unnd andere Seyden Waaren / von unterschiedlichen Farben / Item Porceleinen / Eysen / Kupffer unnd sonst allerley Sachen so man deß Orts von nöhten hat. Die von Iappon kommen auch jährlich dahin / bringen Iapponische Wehren / unnd köstlich Räuchwerck / das die von China kauffen / deßgleichen Kupffer und andere Sachen mehr. Neben diesen frembden Nationen / die von den vornembsten Orten mit ihren Schiffen dahin kommen / fahren die von Patani selber auch auff unterschiedliche Oerter / als nach Banta unnd Amboyn umb Muscatnuß / Muscatenblumen unnd Nägelein / nach Timor umb Sandalen Holtz / nach Tamby unnd Andragny umb Pfeffer / welchen sie auch wol von Champor,</p>
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<p>getrocken word, oock van Campor*, Ihoor*, Phaon*, Mordillion* ende Ligor* halen; (230) plaetsen die tusschen 130 mijlen* daer ontrent gelegen sijn. Alsoo dat deese van Patani varen op al de omleggende landen, uytgenomen na China, daer mogen geen vreemdelingen comen.</p>	<p>except China which is closed to foreigners.</p>	<p>Ihor, Phaon, Mordillion unnd Ligor, welche Oerter fast in 130.Meilen deß Orts umbher gelegen seyn / holen / daß also die Leute von Patani auff alle umbligende Oerter fahren unnd handeln / außgenommen nach China, denn dahin keine Frembdlinge kommen mögen.</p>
<p>Aengesien ick verhaelt hebbe wat comenschap in Patani toegevoert worden, soo sal ick nu seggen van wie die weder getrocken werden. Die van Ihoor* ende Phaon*, halen daer rijs, sout ossen, hoenderen ende andere eetwaren meer; die van Malaca hetselve, nevens benswijn, lapis besar* ende tortuguga; die van Borneo iser, stael ende coper; die van Syam* cleden ende slechte peper; die van China schoone peper, canfora, geel ende wit sandelhout, huyden, elefantstanden, was, buffels, hoorens, ende andere cleinicheyden meer; die van Iappon* hartshuyden, loot ende rochghevellen, die daer alse na haer fantasie sijn dier vercoft worden; sij copen oock sijde, die de Chinesen brengen. In deeser manieren</p>	<p>As I have described the products imported in Patani, I will now say who comes to buy and export them. The [people] from Ihoor* and Phaon* take away rice, salt, oxen, poultry and other foodstuffs. Malacca people take the same products beside benzoin, <i>lapis besar*</i> and turtle shell.⁷ The Borneo people take iron, steel and copper; people from Syam* look for clothes and low-quality pepper. The Chinese load high-quality pepper, camphor, yellow and white sandalwood, hides, elephant tusks, wax, buffalo horns and other small products. People from Iappon* take deer hides, lead and ray skins that are sold at a high price there as they are to their taste. They also buy silk brought by the Chinese. These are the ways</p>	<p>Nach dem ich aber allhie erzehlet habe / was für Waaren unnd Kauffmanschaftten gen Patani geführet werden / ists von nöthen daß ich auch anzeige von was für Leuten dieselben wider abgehohlet werden. So holen nun die von Ihor unnd Phaon Reiß, Saltz / Ochsen / Hüner unnd andere essende Speiß mehr von dannen / die von Malacca holen den Lapis Bezoar, die von Borneo holen Eysen / Staal unnd Kupffer / die von Sian, allerhand Kleydungen und geringen Pfeffer / die von China schönen Pfeffer / Campfer / gelb unnd weiß Sandalen Holtz / Häute / Elephanten Zahn / Büffels Hörner und andere Sachen mehr / die von Iapan Hirschhäute / Bley und Seyden / so die Chineser bringen. In dieser Gestalt nu wird der Handel</p>

7. The original text uses the word of Spanish origin *tortuguga*.

<p>word den handel in Patani gedreven, die voor ons lant de bequaemste plaetse van Oostindiën sou weesen, om met alle de nacen van geheel Orienten te handelen, waert dat de Nederlantse comenschappen daer getrocken waren. Maer die en worden daer van niemant gecoft als van tvolck van Siam ende dat seer sober, dwelck ten laesten oorsaecke weesen sal, dat het silver daer (als in veel plaetsen van Indiën) tot vielen prijse sal dalen, ende den handel haest te niet sal raecken, die daer anders van alle landen gewelckich toe sou nemen ende principalijck met het volck van China, die daerna gelegen sijn, wiens comenschappen men daer beter coop hebben mach, als in China selve. Want al waert dat ons nacie daer vrijheyte hadde om te handelen, soo soudensij soo groote tollens moeten geven daer d'ingesetene niet van betalen, dat men bevinden soude profijtelijcker te weesen, de waren in Patani te copen, als daer.</p>	<p>trade is conducted in Patani. For our country, it should be one of the most convenient places in the East Indies to do business with all the peoples in the East and it would be worthwhile to put Dutch products on the market. However, nobody would buy them except the Siamese, and anyway in modest quantities. The main reason for that is that (as in many other places in the Indies) silver will lose there much of its value, so that trading will rapidly decline to zero, whereas it would increase dramatically with all other countries, in particular due to the Chinese people who are living nearby, considering that their products are sold here cheaper than in China itself. Therefore, should our people be permitted to trade freely here, they would have to impose such high customs duties in China that the locals cannot afford, so that people would realise that it is more profitable to buy the goods in Patani rather than there.</p>	<p>zu Patani getrieben / welche Statt zwar für die Holländer der bequemeste Ort in gantz Ostindien seyn möchte / da sie mit allen Nationem in gantz Orient in Handlung kommen könten / wenn es allein Sach were / daß die Niederländischen Waaren daselbst (39) gangbar unnd angenemb weren / aber die werden daselbst von niemand als von denen / so von Sian seyn / und zwar sehr wenig gekaufft / welches dann endlich verursachen soll / daß das Silber daselbst / wie in vielen andern Indianischen Orten mehr / in geringen Werth kommen / unnd der Handel bald gar untergehen möchte / der sonst daselbst mit allen Nationen sehr zunemen solte / unnd sonderlich mit denen von China, so nicht weit darvon gelegen / unnd deren Kauffmanschafft man daselbst besser haben kan als zu China. Dann ob es schon sach were / daß den Holländern zugelassen würde frey zu China zuhandeln / würdē sie doch so ein grossen Zoll / davon die Eynwohner daselbst frey seyn / geben müssen / daß man befinden würde förderlicher unnd nußbarer zuseyn / die Waaren zu Patani zukauffen als zu China.</p>
<p>Hierenboven soudens andere landen haer oock beneerstigen om toevoert te doen, want in Siam wast de indigo in sulcken overvloet, dat men heel schepen mede laden soude ende is daer tot villen prijs, doch sij en kunnen se noch niet drogen, dwelck als getrocken werde, wel bij der hant genomen sou werden. Die van Borneo ende Pegu*, al nagelegen</p>	<p>In addition, other countries are also likely to supply this place with goods because the indigo [plants] are so abundant that whole ships could be filled with indigo and [the product] sells here at very low prices as they do not know how to dry it. If it were put on the market, it would find a good demand. The people from Borneo and Pegu* - which</p>	<p>Zu dem solten auch wol andere Länder unnd Völcker sich befeissigen ihnen etwas zuvor zu thun / deñ zu Sian wächst das Indigo in solchem Überfluß / daß man gantze Schiffe damit beladen möchte / unnd ist in geringem Tart oder Werth / wiewol sie es noch nicht zu truckenen oder zu dürzen wissen / denn sie es sonst bald für die Hand nemen</p>

<p>landen, soudan daer oock eedelsteenen brengen, ende iaerlijcks salt daer (231) voortaan wel seven oft acht hondert last* peper mogen uytleveren.</p>	<p>are neighbouring countries - should also bring precious stones here. And every year (231) in the future it should be possible to supply up to 700 or 800 last* pepper from here.</p>	<p>solten. Die von Borneo unnd Pegu solten auch von Edelgesteinen dahin bringen / unnd solten denn daher jährlich von sieben oder acht hondert Last Pfeffer zu Patani außgewogen werden /</p>
<p>Niet dat daer in Patany soo veel peper wast, maer word van de omleggende plaetsen gehaelt, ende gebracht; de peper van Patani is naest de peper van Keda* de schoonste van Indiën, maer daer en wast des iaers boven 60, oft 70 last* niet, maer dewijl wijlieden daer beginnen te varen, hebben sij de menichvuldig voortgeplant, soodat ongetwijffelt binnen drie, ofte vier, iaren, het gewas daer seer vermeerderen sal. Dit is het principalste dat ick van de stadt Patani sou cunnen verhalen, vanwaer wij ghescheyden sijnde (als ick geseyt hebbe[]) een langduyrige verdrietige reyse hebben begost, want midsdien ons de winden en stromen meest tegen waren, passeerden wel elf weken eer wij voor de stat Bantam* quamen [...]</p>	<p>Not that much pepper is grown in Patany, but it would be brought from neighbouring places. Beside the pepper from Keda*, the Patani pepper is the finest of the Indies but the yearly harvest amounts here to between 60 and 70 last*. Anyway, since we have arrived here, they have planted to a large extent so that the crop will undoubtedly increase significantly in the next three or four years. These are the main things I can report about the city of Patani until we left the place (as I said[]) and embarked on a prolonged and difficult voyage as the winds and currents have been against us most of the time and it took us no less than eleven weeks to reach the city of Bantam* [...]</p>	<p>nicht zwar daß der Pfeffer so häussig daselbst wächst / sondern weil er so gewaltig dahin geführet wird / und wenn die Holländer die Reyse viel gebrauchen solten / so möchten sie dadurch angetrieben werden / denselben je länger je mehr allda zu pflanzen / inmassen sie schon allbereit zuthun angefangen haben. Diß ist nun also dasjenige / was ich allhie von Patani habe wollen auffzeichnen unnd beschreiben. Nach dem sie aber / wie droben gemelt von dannen wider abgefahren / ist ihnen ein fast langwirige / verdrießliche Reyse auffgestoffen / denn weil ihnen der Wind unnd die Wasserströme mehrentheils entgegen unnd zuwider waren / haben sich wol gantzer acht Wochen verlauffen / ehe sie vor die Statt Bantam kommen funden. [...]</p>

2. Journaal van Roelof Roelofsz (1601-1602)

Source:

“Kort ende waerachtigh verhael van de tweede Schipvaerd by de Hollanders op Oost-Indien gedaen, onder den Heer Admirael Iacob van Neck, getogen uyt het Journael van Roelof Roelofsz., vermaender op't Schip Amsterdam, ende doorgaens uyt andere Schrijvers vermeerdert.” in I. COMMELIN (comp.), *Begin ende voortganh, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, [Amsterdam: Jan Jansz], vol. I, 1646, 31 pages (multi-page numbering). (including later additions based on Victor Sprinckel and Gottard Artus de Dantsig)

See also:

H.A. VAN FOREEST & A. DE BOY (ed.), *De Vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacobs Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)*, 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, Vol. I, Linschoten-Vereeniging - Deel 82, 1980: 235-263.

Same text as in the above reference, except for several spelling differences, but without most of the later additions based on Victor Sprinckel and Gottard Artus de Dantsig.

Translation (French):

“Second Voyage de Jaques van Neck Amiral Hollandois aux Indes Orientales”, in: RENNEVILLE, René-Auguste-Constantin de (comp.), *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi a l'e'tablissement et aux progre's de la compagnie des Indes orientales, Formée dans les Provinces Unies des Païs bas*. Amsterdam: Aux Dépens d'Estienne Roger - Tome second, 1703, pp. 179-249 (on Patani, pp. 208-224).

English translation:

by Daniel PERRET with the collaboration of Jean-Claude LEJOSNE

Translation of “Kort ende waerachtigh verhael van de tweede Schipvaerd by de Hollanders...”, fol. 12-23.

<p>(Fol. 12) [...] Den 7 zijn sy voor de Stadt van Patane ghearriveert / daer terstondt een treffelijck Edelman van weggen de Coninginne aen boordt quam / die haer vriendelijck wellickom hiet / mede brenghende een present voor den Admirael. Dese werdt by den onsen</p>	<p>(Fol. 12) [...] On the 7th [Nov. 1601] they arrived in the town of Patane. There, a courteous Noble man came right away on board on behalf of the Queen. He bade them welcome, offering a present for the Admiral. Our people entertained him as best</p>	<p>(p. 208) Le 7. Ils mouillèrent l'ancre devant Patane. Aussi-tôt un Officier vint à leur bord de la part de la Reine, pour dire qu'ils étoient les bien-venus, & il apporta un présent à l'Amiral. On le régala le mieux qu'il fut possible, & le lendemain les deux premiers Commis</p>
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<p>op haer maniere naer vermoghen onthaelt / ende voeren des anderen daeghs de twee Opperkooplyuden van de schepen nae't landt / dewelcke weder aen boordt komende verhaelden / hoe datse daer seer welckom gheweest waren / van de Inwoonders en hadden met haer van den koophandel niet willen sprekkcken / maer wilden met den Admirael selve traffiqueeren / want het is van natuyre een seer trots ende hooghmoedigh volck. Daerom is den Admirael selfs op den 9. dito aen't Landt ghevaren met alle de Commisen / daer sy naer 's Landts maniere heerlijck ontfanghen werden / dan doordien 't haren Sabbath* was / die sy seer hooghlijck vieren / en werdter dien dagh niet uytgherecht.</p>	<p>they could, according to their customs. The next day the two Senior merchants aboard went ashore. When they came back on board, they reported about the hearty reception they were offered by the Inhabitants though [the latter] were not prepared to talk about trade as they wanted to discuss the matter with the Admiral in person as they are indeed by nature a haughty and very proud people. Consequently, the Admiral went ashore on the 9th with all the Commissioners. They then had a grand welcome according to the local customs but, as it was Sabbath* day for them - which they celebrate with great pomp - nothing else was done that day.</p>	<p>allèrent à terre.</p> <p>A leur retour ils dirent qu'ils avoient été tout-à fait bien reçus, quoi-que les habitants n'eussent pas voulu entrer en commerce avec eux, ne désirant trafiquer qu'avec l'Amiral, tant ils sont orgueilleux & fiers.</p> <p>Le 9. l'Amiral suivi de tous les commis, se rendit à Patane, où on le régala fort-bien; mais comme c'étoit le jour du Sabbath, & qu'il y est observé avec une grande exactitude, on ne fit point d'affaires.</p>
<p>Den 10. dito is den Admirael met de kooplyuden weder aen landt ghevaren / ende hebben met den Sabandaer* en andere ghesproken van de koop van de Peper (want het daer te lande de manier is / dat niemant eenighe Peper mach verkoopen / voor en alear dat de prijs met de Overste des landts ghemaect is) maer en konden met haer niet verghelicken / want sy eyschten 40. Realen* van achten voor de Baer / en den Admirael en wilde op dat pas niet meer bieden als 24. so datse van malkanderen scheyden sonder yet uyt te rechten. Den 11. ende 12. hebben sich de onse ghelaten als oft sy vertrecken wilden om dat</p>	<p>On the 10th, the Admiral went back ashore with the merchants. They talked with the <i>sabandaer</i>* and other people about the purchase of pepper (as it is their way of dealing here: nobody is allowed to sell any pepper before its price has been set by the Highest authorities in the country). However they could not come to an agreement because they asked for 40 reals-of-eight a <i>baer</i>* whereas the Admiral was not prepared to offer more than 24. Thus, they parted without reaching a deal. On the 11th and 12th, our people behaved as if they were preparing to leave as the pepper was so expensive and they made their way to the junks*</p>	<p>Le 10. On y retourna encore, & l'on traita du prix du poivre avec le Sabandar. Car c'est la coutume de ce país-là qu'aucun étranger n'en peut acheter que le pris n'ait été fait avec le Souverain. Cependant on ne put conclure le marché, parce-que le Sabandar demandoit 40. Réales de 8. Pour la bare, & l'Amiral n'en ofroit que 24. De sorte qu'on se sépara sans rien faire.</p> <p>Le 11. & le 12. Les Hollandois firent mine de vouloir partir, à-cause de la cherté du poivre. Ils allèrent aux jonques, pour acheter du ris & de l'arack</p>

<p>de Peper soo dier was / ende voeren aen de Joncken* om Rijs ende Arack* te koopen / 't welck een dranck is van Rijs ghemaeckt / in aller manieren als of sy hadden willen voorgaen. Dan (naedat sy vermercken konden) en pasten die van 't landt niet veel op haer vertreck / maer lieten se in haer wesen / so dat sy ghedwonghen waren / wilden se handelen / haer van selfs weder aen te soecken.</p>	<p>to buy rice and <i>arak*</i> – a drink made from rice – still acting in every way as if they were about to leave. But (after they realised) that the natives of the country did not really care about their intentions and would let them decide about what to do, they had no other option, should they want to do business, than taking the initiative and engage into new talks.</p>	<p>qui est un bruvage fait de ris, & ils firent toutes leurs provisions, comme s'ils eussent été disposez à mettre la voile. Mais ils remarquèrent que les habitans du pais ne s'en mettoient pas beaucoup en peine, (p. 209) & qu'ils les laisseroient partir volontiers; de-sorte qu'ils furent encore obligez d'aller rechercher les Marchands.</p>
<p>Dien volgende is d'Opperkoopman van't schip Amsterdam den 13. weder aen landt ghevaren / ende na den Sabandaer* ghegaen / die hem vriendelijck ontfingh / vragende waerom hy de voorleden dagen niet aen landt geweest en hadde. De koopman antwoorde / dat sy van meeninge geweest hadden te vertrecken / doordien dat de peper soo dier was. Waer op de Sabandaer* hem met korte (Fol. 13) woorden geantwoort heeft / so sy ghesint waren te vertrecken / dat sy dat wel doen mochten / en soo sy blijven wilden / dat mochten sy oock wel doen / het was hem all eens / soo sy wilden so wilde hy oock / doch de koopman seyde dat sy nu gheresolveert waren te blijven / by soo verre sy den Peper om een tamelijcke prijs konden bekomen. Hier op seyde den Sabandaer* / dat den Admiraal met zijn Edelen (so noemden sy de gene die met den Admiraal quamen om hem te vergheselschappen) den 15. soude aen landt komen met de gheschencken /</p>	<p>The next day, on the 13th, the Senior merchant of the ship <i>Amsterdam</i> went ashore again to meet the <i>sabandaer*</i> who gave him a friendly welcome and asked why he did not come on land the previous days. The merchant answered that they had thought of leaving because pepper was too expensive here. The <i>sabandaer</i> gave a brief answer, (Fol. 13) saying that if they thought of leaving, they were free to do so, and this also held true if they wanted to stay. It did not matter to him and what is fine with us is also fine with him. However, the merchant replied that they had now decided to stay inasmuch as they could get a fair price for the pepper. Then the <i>sabandaer</i> said that the Admiral and his Noblemen (this being the word he used to refer to the persons who had come together with the Admiral) should come ashore on the 15th with the presents. This being done, we would have permission to buy and sell at our convenience. So the Admiral went ashore on the designated day, taking with</p>	<p>En éfet le 13. du même mois de Novembre, le premier Commis de l'<i>Amsterdam</i> étant retourné à terre, alla trouver le Sabandar, qui le reçut bien, & lui demanda pourquoi on ne l'avoit point vu les jours précédens? Le commis répondit qu'ils avoient eu dessein de se retirer, parce-que le poivre étoit trop cher. Le Sabandar lui dit en peu de mots, que s'ils vouloient s'en aller, il leur étoit libre, de-même qu'il leur étoit libre de demeurer; que la chose lui étoit indifférente, & qu'ils pouvoient en user à leur gré. Le Commis lui repliqua qu'ils aimeroient mieux demeurer, s'ils pouvoient avoir le poivre à un prix raisonnable. Le Sabandar lui dît que si l'Amiral vouloit venir à terre, le 15. Du mois, avec ses Gentishommes (c'est ainsi qu'il qualifioit ceux qui avoient acoutumé d'accompagner l'Amiral) & apporter des présens, ils pourroient acheter & vendre à leur gré. L'Amiral ne manqua pas de se rendre à l'assignation, faisant porter</p>

<p>'t welck gedaen zijnde / mochten de onse dan kopen ende verkopen tot haer believen. So is dan d'Heer Admirael ten bestemden dage derwaerts gevaren / met hem nemende eenighe presenten om de Edelen des landts te vereeren / maer als sy in des Sabandaers* huys quamē ende de gheschencken soudē uyt deelen / vonden sy'er 2. te weynigh mede genomen te hebben / daerom sy weder aen boord voeren sonder yet uyt te rechten. Ten selven dage liepender drie van de maets die den Admirael aen landt ghebracht hadden wegh / ende begaven sich by de Portugesen. Terwile dat sy aen landt waren / isser een verloochent Portugees aen boord ghekomen die haer seyde / dat de Portugesen haer heymelijck sochten alle afbreuck te doen waer sy konden oft mochten / biddende dat men hem wilde mede nemen naer Hollandt.</p>	<p>him a number of presents gifts to honour the Noblemen of the country. But as they came to the sabandaer's residence and were about to hand over the gifts, they realised that they were two pieces short so that they returned on board without having accomplished anything. The same day, three of the sailors who had taken the Admiral ashore ran away and went over to the Portuguese. As they were on land, a Portuguese renegade came on board and told them that the Portuguese were secretly trying to harm them by every possible means and instruments. He begged them to accept him on board and take him to Holland.</p>	<p>des présens pour la Reine, & pour les principaux Officiers. Quand ils furent chez le Sabandar, il se trouva qu'il y avoit trop peu de présens, & qu'il en manquoit pour deux des officiers, si-bien qu'il fallut encore s'en retourner sans rien conclure.</p> <p>Le même jour trois des matelots qui avoient suivi l'Amiral, désertèrent & allèrent chercher les Portugais. Pendant-qu'on avoie été (p. 210) à terre un Portugais renégat étant venu voir l'Amiral, lui avoit dit que ceux de sa nation cherchoient toutes sortes de voies de nuire aux Hollandois. Ce même Portugais pria l'Amiral de le prendre, & de l'emmener en Hollande.</p>
<p>Den 17. dito den Admirael weder aen landt ghevaren doch niet sonder groote vreze te hebben van de Inwoonders / want het een seer loos ende boos hartneckigh volck is / die haer lichtelijck laten omkooen: doch het is door Godts ghenade voor die reyse wel afgelopen / ende sy hebben hem seer vriendelijck ontfanghen / de mede gebrachte presenten zijn omgedeelt / ende daer is besloten dat men den onsen een huys soude timmeren / om hare koopmanschap in te drijven / 't welck sy oock voort hebben begost te maecken. Den 19. hebben de Commisen aen den</p>	<p>On the 17th, the admiral went ashore once again, not without great fear from the Inhabitants because these people are unreliable, irascible and stubborn, and open to bribery. However, this journey has gone well under the blessing of God and he received a friendly welcome. The presents he had brought were distributed and it was decided a house to store goods would be built for us. The construction was launched without delay.</p> <p>On the 19th, the Commissioners asked the sabandaer to hand over the three fugitives who had deserted ashore and sought</p>	<p>Le 17. l'Amiral s'en alla encore à Patane, non sans crainte de quelque insulte de la part des habitans, qui sont rusez & malins, & qui se laissent aisément corrompre. Néanmoins les choses se passèrent encore doucement ce jour-là, & il fut bien reçu. Les présens furent distribuez, & on résolut de bâtir une maison pour les Hollandois, afin qu'ils pussent y faire leur négoce, à quoi l'on travailla tout-aussi-tôt.</p> <p>Le 19. Les Commis requirent le Sabandar, de leur faire rendre trois de leurs hommes, qui aiant été menez à terre,</p>

<p>Sabandaer* versocht / dat hy hen hare 3. mannen / die daer aen landt liepen ende sich by de Portugesen begeben hadden / wilde leveren / het welck hy terstondt belooft heeft te doen / ende is self in persoon mede ghegaen daer sich de ghevluchte onthielden / die het strack op 't loopen ghestelt ende haer messen uytgetrocken hebben om sich te verweeren / als sy de Commisen met den Sabandaer* saghen komen / maer den eenen genaemt Ian Grebber van Edam gaf hem voort gevangen / ende wert t'scheep ghebracht / d'ander 2. werden van den Sabandaer* ende sijn volck des selven avondts mede gekregen / ende 's ander daeghs aen boord gehaelt / daerse alle drie geexamineert wierden / doch en wilden niet lijden.</p>	<p>refuge with the Portuguese. He immediately promised to do it and went in person to the place where the fugitives were staying; when they saw the Clerks and the <i>sabandaer</i> coming, they ran away and drew knives to resist arrest. However, one of them named Ian Grebber van Edam gave himself up and was brought back on board, whereas the <i>sabandaer</i> and his people managed to capture the other two the same evening and they were taken back on board the next day. All three were then questioned but refused to speak.</p>	<p>s'en étoient fuïz vers les Portugais. Il le leur promit, & alla lui-même au lieu où les fugitifs s'étoient retirez. Ceux-ci le voiant venir avec les Commis, tirèrent leurs couteaux, & se mirent en état de défense. Enfin l'un d'entre eux, nommé Jean Grebber d'E'dam, se rendit prisonnier, & fut remené à bord. Les deux autres furent atrapez le soir par les gens du Sabandar, & aussi rendus. On les voulut examiner; mais il n'y eut pas moien de les faire répondre.</p>
<p>Den 25. isser een groote Prau* aen boorde ghekomen met haer brenghende een swarten Os / ende overvloedigh veel vruchten van alderley soorten / ende dat van wegen de Coninginne / die 't selve schonck aen den Admirael / dewelcke hare Majesteit seer hooghlijck dede bedancken van haer goede genegenthey / belovende sulcx naer vermogē wederom te verschuldigen. De brenger was een van haer schrijvers / die van dē Admirael beschoncken wiert met een tamelijke spiegel / en de roeyers elck met een mes. Dē 6. Decem. is den Admirael aen land gevaren / ende om dat de wegh seer slizckerig ende vuyt om gaen was / so wterter eē Oliphant gebracht</p>	<p>On the 25th, a large proa* came on board, bringing a black ox and a wealth of fruit of various kinds to be presented to the Admiral on behalf of the Queen. The admiral sent Her Majesty his deep thanks for the sign of affection and promised to repay her gift back as soon as possible. The person who had brought the present was one of her scribes. The Admiral gratified him with a nice mirror and each rower received a knife.</p> <p>The Admiral went ashore on the 6th of December. As the path was very muddy and dirty to walk on, an elephant was sent to take him to the house of the</p>	<p>Le 25. il vint à bord une grande pirogue, qui amena un bœuf noir, avec abondance de fruits de diverses sortes, de la part de la Reine Régente, pour en faire présent à l'Amiral, qui lui fit faire ses remerciemens (p. 211) & promit de lui en marquer sa reconnoissance. Celui qui conduisoit le présent étoit un des Secretaires de cette Princesse. L'Amiral lui donna un miroir de médiocre grandeur, & à chacun des rameurs un couteau.</p> <p>Le 6. de Décembre l'Amiral descendit à terre, & comme le chemin étoit fort-mauvais, on lui envoya un éléfant pour le porter chez le Sabandar, qui demouroit à une demie-</p>

<p>/ daer hy op reed tot voor des Sabandaers* huys / 't welck ontrent een half uyre gaan is. Daer komende hebbē sy hem na's lands wijze seer wel onthaelt met confitueren* en ander lieflijckheden / ende na veel woorden aen wedersijden gevallen / zijn sy ten lesten met malkanderē verdragen in de koop van de Peper / te weten de Bhaer* / wegende 380. pondt Hollandsch / voor 30. Realen* van achten / doch datmen daer buyten aen de Coninginne soude betalen haren behoorlijken tol / bedragende vijf ten hondert.</p>	<p><i>sabandaer</i>, about half an hour away. Following the customs of the country, he was kindly hosted and offered confitueren* and other sweet food. After a long conversation involving both parties, they managed to reach an agreement regarding the purchase of pepper, viz. 30 reals-of-eight* the <i>bhaer</i>* weighing 380 Dutch pounds, with an extra charge for the custom duties due to the Queen, which amounted to 5 %.</p>	<p>lieuë de-là. Il y fut toujours très bien reçu, & régale de confitures & d'autres mets du pais. Enfin après plusieurs raisonnemens, ils convinrent du prix du poivre, à 30. réales de huit pour la bare, bahare, ou bahar, pesant 380. livres poids de Hollande; en païant l'impôt de cinq par cent, qui étoit deu à la Reine.</p>
<p>(Fol. 14) Den 12. dito de schrijver van dit Journael aen landt ghevaren / ende nae de stad gegaen / om die te besien. Onder wegghen hebben hem eenighe Portugesche kooplyuden aen gheroepen / door dien sy van haren Stuyrman (die in't schip Amsterdam gheweest hadde) verstaen hadden dat hy met haer spreekende konde: In haer huys komende hebben sy hem een vriendelijck ghelaet getoont / ende seer ghenood dat hy doch 's middaeghs by haer wilde ten eten blijven / het welck hy haer beleefdlijck naer zijn vermoghen affloegh / maer seer qualijck konde ontsegghen / overmits sy soo hart aenhielden. Een weynigh gheseten hebbende</p>	<p>(Fol. 14) On the 12th, the author of this journal went ashore to visit the town. On the way, several Portuguese traders hailed him, as they knew from their Pilot (who had been on the ship <i>Amsterdam</i>) that he could speak their language. When they had arrived at their house, he was given a friendly welcome and urged on to stay for lunch. He first politely declined the invitation, but he could not really afford to say no as they insisted so strongly. He was barely seated when they asked him about the religion of the Dutch, whether they were Christians or Lutherans. He answered</p>	<p>Le 12. de Décembre Roelof Roelofsz, Auteur du présent Journal, alla aussi à terre pour voir la ville. En chemin il fut apellé par des Marchands Portugais, à qui leur pilote, qui avoit été à bord de l'<i>Amsterdam</i> avoit dit qu'il savoit la langue. Ils le conduisirent dans leur maison, lui firent beaucoup de caresses, & le prièrent de demeurer à dîner avec eux. Il s'en défendit le plus honnêtement qu'il lui fut possible, mais ils le pressèrent tant, qu'enfin il ne put plus leur résister. Après-qu'ils eurent un peu conféré ensemble, ils lui demandèrent de</p>

<p>/ vraeghden sy wat gheloof dat de Hollanders hadden / ende of sy oock Christenen waren / of Lutheranen. Hy antwoorde / dat sy door Godts genade sulcke Christenen waren / die Jesum Christum alleen voor haren Salighmaecker hielden / ende vertrouden alleen door zijn offerhande aen den stamme des kruys gheschiedt saligh te worden / verhalende tot bevestinghe van zijn reden ettelijcke spreucken uyt de Heylige Schriftuere / als oock de 12. articulen des Christen gheloofs / het welcke haer seer wel behaegde.</p>	<p>that, thank God, they were Christians who hold Jesus-Christ only as their Saviour and strongly believed that they would be saved only because of His sacrifice on the cross. In support of his discourse, he quoted some verses from the Holy Scriptures, as well as the 12 Articles of the Christian faith and they were very pleased with all that.</p>	<p>quelle Religion étoient les Hollandois, s'ils étoient Chrétiens, ou Luthériens? Il répondit, que par la grace de Dieu il étoit de ces Chrétiens (p. 212) qui ne reconnoissoient que Jésus Christ pour leur Sauveur, & qui n'espéroient d'être sauvez que par le sacrifice qu'il avoit offert sur l'arbre de la Croix. Pour apuier sa créance il leur apporta divers passages de l'Ecriture Sainte, & leur récita les 12. articles de la Foi Chrétienne, à quoi ils prirent beaucoup de plaisir.</p>
<p>Den 15. dito hebben sy den eersten Peper aen boord ghekrege / de welke ghewogen werdt van de stadts wegheer met een Oncer seer fray daer toe ghemaect / ende gheschiedt met veel kloppens en slaens aen den Oncer / om te sien of hy oock noch verschricken sal. Daer beneffens werdt de Peper noch van den onsen overwoghen in haer-luyder presentie / om te sien oft oock al ghelijck uyt komt / soo dat het alles seer scherp ende curieus in zijn werck gaet.</p>	<p>On the 15th, they started loading pepper onto the ship. This ware was weighed by the town weigher with a very nice weighing scale designed for that purpose. The procedure involved much knocking and tapping to make sure that the scale had properly settled. The pepper was then weighed again by our people in their presence to check if we get the same figures so that everybody was very attentive and watchful when working.</p>	<p>Le 15. on commença de recevoir du poivre à bord, qui fut pesé par le maître juré de la ville, à une espèce de balance, ou peson, fort commode; & l'on frapoit diverses fois sur la balance, afin de voir si elle trebucheroit toujours. De leur côté les Hollandois pesèrent aussi à leurs poids, afin de voir s'il s'accorderoient avec les autres, de sorte que tout se passoit de bonne foi, avec ordre & exactitude.</p>
<p>Den 26. Januarij 1602. zijn sy door eenighe hare goede vrienden die sy daer hadden wel expresselick gewaerschout / dat sy wel souden voor haer sien ende op haer hoede wesen / ende dat van wegheen het volck van Siam, die aldaer laghen met 6. Joncken ende haer vermeten hadden de schepen t'overvallen / hebbende tot dien eynde boven haer ordinaris scheeps-volck noch aenghenomen twe hondert Iaponesen, welke</p>	<p>On the 26th of January 1602, they were explicitly warned by some of their good friends that they should watch out and be on the alert because the Siamese staying there on six junks had the bold intention to attack the ships. For that purpose, beside their usual crew, they had managed to recruit two hundred Japanese and it had been very easy to win them over as both were at the service of the Portuguese. Being aware of this, the two</p>	<p>Le 26. de Janvier 1602. les Hollandois furent avertis, par quelques-uns de leurs amis, de se tenir bien sur leurs gardes, à-cause des Siamois qui étoient là, & qui avoient six jonques dont ils prétendoient se servir pour les surprendre, & pour ataqer leurs vaisseaux. Dans cette vuë, outre leurs propres équipages, ils avoient pris à leur solde 200. Japonois, qu'ils avoient facilement engagez à cette entreprise, parce-que</p>

<p>sy goed hadden daer toe te beweghen / overmits het altesamen dienaers waren van de Portugesen. Dit verstaan hebbende hebbende de twee schepen toe-gherust in aller maniere als of sy voort souden gheslaghen hebben / om alsoo in tijdt des noods ghereed te wesen: Latende den 29. 30. ende 31. dito alle haer vlagghen wayen / op dat de Siammers mercken souden dat hun den aenslagh bekent was / ende dat sy nochtans voor haer niet en vreesden / alhoewel sy alleen in't schip Amsterdam wel dertigh man hadden die haer niet en konden roeren / soo van quade beenen / als van't rood melisoen / ende ander kranckheden. De Siammers siende dat haren aenslagh ontdeckt was / en zijn niet ghekomen / wat haer verhindert heeft weet de Heere / dan de onse vermoeden / dat sy niet en dorsten / als sy saghen dat de onse sulcken moed lieten blijcken.</p>	<p>ships made all appropriate preparations, as if they were about to be attacked, so that they would be ready in case of immediate need. On the 29th, 30th and 31st, all their flags were waving high so that the Siamese would understand that their plan was known and were not afraid of an assault, although, in the ship <i>Amsterdam</i> alone, they had some 30 men unable to move because of bad legs, bloody flux⁸ or other diseases. Seeing that their plan had been revealed, the Siamese did not take any initiative. God knows what prevented them from doing it; we think that they just did not dare when they saw the bravery that our people displayed.</p>	<p>les uns & les autres étoient amis des Portugais. Sur cet avis on disposa toutes choses dans les vaisseaux, pour être prêts à combattre en cas de besoin; & les 29. 30. & 31. du mois, on laissa les pavillons arbores, pour faire connoître aux Siamois que leur complot étoit découvert, & qu'on ne les craignoit point. (p. 213) Il y avoit pourtant sur l'<i>Amsterdam</i> seul, près de 30. hommes, qui ne pouvoient presque remuer ni bras ni jambes, tant à-cause des fluxions qu'ils avoient sur les jambes, que de la dissenterie, & d'autres maladies dont ils étoient travaillez. Les Siamois voiant que leur trame étoit découverte, n'en vinrent pas à l'exécution. On ne sut point ce qui les avoit retenus: on soupçonna seulement qu'ils n'osèrent s'y hasarder, & que l'intrépidité qu'on fit paroître les arrêta.</p>
<p>Den 26. May 1602. wesende Pincxter dagh / hebben sy in zee twee groote zeylen ghesien / het welcke sy heel onghewoon waren / want en hadden in menighentijd geen schepen ghesien. Maecten daerom al haer gheschut ende ander ghereedschap klaer / ende lieten haer vlaggen waeyen / in alle manieren als of sy voort t'slaegs sijn souden / want de Schepen quamen na haer toe / en sy en wisten niet wat het voor Schepen waren. Maer de Sloep* die sy uyt gesonden hadden / bracht haest tijdinge dat het Zeeusche Schepen waren / waer over sy haer seer verblijden / malkanderen over en weder met schieten vereerende. De Inwoonders siende datter</p>	<p>The 26th of May 1602, being Pentecost, they saw two large sails out at sea, something rather unusual for them as they had not seen any ships for a long time. For that reason, they prepared their canons and other equipment and let their flags flutter as if they were ready for a battle while these ships were heading in their direction and they could not identify them. But the sloop* they sent soon reported that they were ships from Zealand - which made them very happy. The ships honoured each other with gun salutes. When they saw that two more ships were arriving, the Locals gave to understand that they expected to make more money [when selling] their</p>	<p>Le 26. de Mai 1602. qui étoit le jour de la Pentecôte, on vit au large deux grandes voiles, chose qui étoit extraordinaire, car il y avoit très-longtems qu'on n'avoit vu de pareils navires. On tint le canon prêt, & l'on arbora les pavillons, en cas qu'il fallût se battre; car ces vaisseaux portoient sur les deux Hollandois, & l'on se savoit pas quelle nation ils étoient. On détacha donc un canot pour aller les reconnoître. Le canot revint, & apporta l'agréable que c'étoient des vaisseaux de Zélande. On se fit de grands saluts de part & d'autre, & la joie de se trouver là fut réciproque. Les habitans voiant venir ces deux autres vaisseaux, firent</p>

8. The Dutch and English terms are the obsolete forms used to refer to dysentery.

<p>noch twee Schepen quamen / hebben haer gelaten als of sy meer geldts begeerden voor haren Peper / jae in't beginsel van Junius gheen meer willen leveren / (Fol. 15) of men moest hen hoogher prijs betalen / waer toe d'Heer Admirael niet ghesint en was.</p>	<p>pepper. They even stopped delivering it by the beginning of June (Fol. 15) except to people ready to pay a higher price, which was not what the Admiral was inclined to do.</p>	<p>mine de vouloir encherir le poivre, & même, au commencement du mois de Juin, ils déclarèrent qu'ils n'en livreroient plus, que ce ne fût à plus haut prix; à quoi l'Amiral ne vouloit point entendre.</p>
<p>Den 24. Juni / isser in de Stadt van Patana een groote triumphe ghehouden / daer den Admirael met den sijnen van de Conninginne mede op genoodt werdt / ende met de koopluysden en schrijver deses Journaels oock henen ghegaen is / vergeselschapt met vijftigh Muskietiers* om den staet te helpen vermeerderen. Die van de Stadt quamen haer in't ghemoet al in wapenen op haer maniere wel toegerust / ende waren sterck omtrent 4000 mannen / by haer hebbende 156. groote Olyphanten / daer af de sommighe seer cierlijck toeghemaectt waren / met namen den Olyphant daer de Coningin op reedt met haer Dochterken / die soo heerlijck opgepronckt en verciert was dat een mensch luste die't sagh. Als sy nu heel dicht by den anderen quamen / hebben onse Trompetters / die 12. in ghetale waren / al op't cierlijckste toeghemaectt met haer beste kleederen / ende nieuwe Oraenjen vlagghen aen haer trompetten / seer heerlijck beginnen te blasen het liedt van Wilhelmus van Nassouwe, waer over de Coninginne ende haren Adel seer verwondert waren / als die haer leven sulck gheluyt niet ghehoort en hadden. Sy liet de onse dicht voorby haren Olyphant passeeren /</p>	<p>On the 24th June, an impressive and glorious ceremony was staged in the City of Patana; the Admiral and his men were invited by the Queen and the merchants and the scrivener of this journal could also go and attend it, all being escorted by 50 musketeers to give even more luster [to the event].</p> <p>The people living in the City came up to meet her, all well-equipped with weapons; there were about 4,000 men, with 156 big elephants, including several very elegantly fitted, especially the one that the Queen and her young Daughter were riding. It was so elaborately outfitted and adorned that it was a real pleasure to look at it. When they came closer to the other people, our trumpeters, twelve in number, all of them wearing their best clothes, with brand-new orange flags tied to their instruments, started to play in great pomp the Willem van Nassau anthem, which greatly impressed the Queen and the Nobility as they had never heard such a sound before. She gave permission to our party to march by very close to her elephant and, as they were very close to her, she poked her head out of the dais so that She was able to see them clearly.</p>	<p>Le 24. de Juin, fut un jour de triomfè à Patane. L'Amiral & les gens de sa suite (p. 214) furent invitez à cette fête de la part de la Reine. Il y alla suivi des Commis, de l'Auteur de ce Journal, & de 50. Mousquetaires, pour faire plus d'honneur & plus belle figure. Les bourgeois vinrent au devant d'eux, tout-arniez à leur mode. Il y avoit près de 4000. hommes, & 156. grands éléfans, dont quelques-uns étoient magnifiquement enharnachez: mais le plus magnifique de tous étoit celui qui portoit la Reine & la jeune Princesse sa fille.</p> <p>Lors-que l'on fut proche les uns des autres, douze Trompettes Hollandois, qui s'étoient ajustez de leur mieux, & qui avoient à leurs trompettes des banderoles neuves orangées, commencèrent à sonner sur l'air de la chanson, Guillaume de Nassau. Le Reine, aussibien que toute sa Cour, fut surprise de cette fanfare, n'en aiant jamais ouï de semblable. Elle fit passer les Hollandois tout proche de son éléfant, & lorsqu'ils s'en aprochèrent, elle avança la tête hors de sa tente pour les mieux considérer.</p>

<p>ende dicht by haer zijnde / stack het hoofd uyt de tente om haer immers wel te deghen te besien.</p>		
<p>De voorstadt van Patane is wel soo langh als oud Amsterdam, doch niet breed / de Stadt van Patane selfs is mede heel langh / maar niet seer breed /</p> <p>Sy leyt aen de lands zijde in een moras / ende is rondom na's lands maniere wel bemuert met groote vierkante balcken / die aen de sijden al slecht behouwen / ende neffens malkanderen heel dicht in de aerde met grooter kracht ghehayt zijn / kijkende wel so hoogh boven der aerden uyt / als de groote mast van een schip buyten 't bovenet doet tot aen de grote mars. Aen de watersijde heeft sy een kleyn rivierken / dat gheheel achter de Stadt wegh loopt. In somma het is nae de OostIndische wijse een seer schoone stadt / ende wel sterck / oock wel versien van metalen gheschut. Onder andere lagh by de poort een metalen stuck dat veel grooter was als 't grootste stuck dat t'Amsterdam op het Camperhooft* leyt / doch en hadde so dicken broek niet / soo dat het niet soo veel van ons kruydten en soude moghen verdragen / alst anders wel soude behooren.</p>	<p>The suburbs of Patane are as extended as those of the old city of Amsterdam, though [they do not extend] very far, whereas the City of Patani itself is long but not very wide.</p> <p>On the land side it is bordered with marshland and, according to local practice, it is enclosed in ramparts made of large rectangular beams that are roughly hewn on their sides; they have been driven with great force into the ground, with little space between each other. Above ground they look as high as the main mast of a ship [rising] from the main deck up to the top sail. On the sea side, there is a small river flowing from behind the City. All in all, it is a very attractive town according to the East Indies standards, rather solid and also well-equipped with metal cannons, including a metal piece [of artillery] near the gate that is much larger than the largest one standing in Amsterdam on the Camperhooft*. However the breech was [in comparison] not so thick so that it probably would not have taken up a similar quantity of our gunpowder as it normally should.</p>	<p>Le fauxbourg de Patane est aussi-long que l'étoit l'ancienne Amsterdam; mais il est étroit. La ville est de-même étroite & longue.</p> <p>Du côté de la terre elle est environnée d'un marais, & bien close à la manière du païs; c'est-à-dire d'une palissade de grandes poutres quarrées, seulement un peu dégrossies par les côtés, bien-enfoncées en terre avec le belin, comme on fait les pilotis, & se touchant. Ces poutres paroissent aussi-hautes au-dessus de la terre, que le paroît le grand mât d'un vaisseau, depuis le haut pont jusqu'à la hune.</p> <p>(p. 215) Du côté de l'eau, il y a une petite rivière qui coule le long de tout le derrière de la ville. Enfin l'on peut dire, qu'entre les villes des Indes Orientales, on la doit compter pour une des plus belles, & des plus fortes, étant bien pourvuë de canon. Entre autres il y en avoit proche de la porte une pièce qui étoit plus grosse que la plus grosse de celles qu'on voioit autrefois à Amsterdam au Kampers- hooft, c'est-à-dire, dans le tems que ce Voiage a été écrit; mais la culasse n'en étoit pas si-épaisse de métal, de sorte que ce canon n'auoit pu supporter autant de poudre que son calibre auoit pu faire, s'il eût été mieux compassé.</p>

<p>De voorsz. stadt Patane leydt op de hooghte van 6. grad. 56. minut benoorden de Linie. In een van de heydensche kercken* / dien die van Chiam* daer hadden / was een verguldt Beeldt naer't ghedaente van een man / wel soo groot als een peerd / dit was gheseten / met de eene handt nederwaerts / ende met d'ander handt opwaerts staende. Aen elke sijde stont een groote vergulden Draeck / ende beneffens elcken Draeck een steenen Beelt / 't een van een Man / 't ander van een Vrouwe / met de handen t'samen ghehouden / even als of sy baden. In de tweede kerck* vonden de onse oock dierghelijcke beeldt / maer niet meer dan half vergult / d'ander half was root gheverwt. In de derde ende laetste kerck* was mede sodanigh een Beeldt / met een vergulde streep op de borst / ende achter den Altaer van dit laetste Beeldt stondt noch een kleynder Beeldt van steen gemaect in een mans gedaente / met een seer groote tuyt op't hoofd / het welck wel een horen scheen te wesen. De Paep / die de onse te gast hadde / ende seer vriendelijck onthaelde / gheveraecht zijnde wat die beelden beduyden / seyde dat de groote Godt was / ende hadde in sijn huys mede drie kleyne metalen beeltjens staen op een kleyn Outaerken / met een gordijntjen daer voor / sijn naem soo hy seyde / was Brahala*, Hy was een (Fol. 16) Chiamer, ende alsoo hy de Maleysche tale niet en verstondt soo en konden de onse met hem naer haren wille niet sprecken.</p>	<p>The said city of Patane is located at a latitude of 6°56' north of the Equator. In one of the pagan churches* people from Chiam* have there, there was a gilded Statue with a man-like figure, as large as a horse, seated, with a hand turned downwards, and the other one turned upwards. On both sides of it there was a large gilded Dragon and next to each Dragon there was, on one side a man and on the other side a woman, both with joined hands, as if they were praying. In the second church, our people found a similar statue, but only half of it was gilded, whereas the other half was painted in red. In the third and last one, there was also a similar Statue, bearing a golden band across the chest. Behind the Altar of the latter Statue, there was another smaller stone Statue representing a man with a very large hair plaited bun on his head that looked very much like a horn. The Priest hosting our people gave them a very friendly welcome. When asked about the meaning of these statues, he said that it was the great God and that in his house he kept three small metal figures placed on a small Altar behind a curtain, adding that its name was Brahala*. He was Siamese, (Fol. 16) and thus did not understand the Malay language, so that our people could not talk as they would have liked to.</p>	<p>Cette ville de Patane est située par les 6. degrés 56. minutes de latitude Nord. Dans un des Pagodes que les Siamois y avoient, on voioit une statuë dorée aussi-haute qu'un cheval, & qui étoit de la figure d'un homme assis, tenant une main baissée & l'autre élevée.</p> <p>A chacun de ses côtés étoit un grand dragon doré, & auprès de chaque dragon une statuë de pierre, dont l'une représentoit un homme, & l'autre une femme, qui avoient les mains jointes, comme s'ils eussent été en prières.</p> <p>Dans le second Pagode on voioit encore une semblable idole, mais dorée seulement à moitié, & l'autre moitié étoit peinte en rouge. Dans le troisième & dernier Pagode, il y en avoit encore une pareille, où l'on ne voioit qu'une raie dorée sur sa poitrine. Derrière l'autel de celle-ci, étoit une (p. 216) autre plus petite idole de pierre, de la figure d'un homme, avec une grosse tresse de cheveux sur la tête, qui avoit assez l'air d'une corne.</p> <p>Le Prêtre qui avoit invité les Hollandois à manger chez lui, & qui leur fit beaucoup de caresses, les voyant curieux de savoir ce que c'étoit que ces statuës, leur dit qui c'étoit le grand Dieu. Il avoit aussi dans sa maison, sur un autel, trois petites idoles de métal, avec un rideau qui les couvroient. Il dit qu'il se nommoit Brabala. Il étoit Siamois, & n'entendoit point le Malais, si-bien qu'on ne put avoir beaucoup de conversation avec lui.</p>
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<p>De kercke* van de Ingheseten der Stadt / die Mahometisten zijn / was van binnen seer kostelijck verguld / ende de pilaren heel konstigh geschildert na haer maniere. In't midden teghen de muer aen stondt een groote vergulde stoel met 4. trappen op te gaen / uytermaten kostelijck ende konstelijck ghemaect. Op desen stoel en mach niemant komen / dan alleenlijck de Priesters van't landt / die daer in seer grooter waerde ghehouden worden.</p> <p>[...]</p>	<p>The church of the Inhabitants of the City who are Mahometans was richly gilded inside and the pillars artistically painted according to their traditions. In the middle and against the wall there was a large chair accessible by 4 steps of high artistic and material value. Nobody is allowed to climb up to it, except the Priests of the country who are held here in very high esteem.</p> <p>[...]</p>	<p>La Mosquée des habitans du país qui sont Mahométans, étoit dorée fort-artistement, à leur manière. Il y avoit au milieu, contre la muraille, une grande chaire bien-travaillée & fort-magnifique, avec quatre marches. Personne n'ose y monter que les Prêtres, qui sont là dans une très-grande vénération.</p>
<p>de mondt van de Riviere, welke een goedt stuck te Landewaert ingaet, om naer Queda* te reysen [...] Is naby een Eylant, met een smalle hals van sandtstrand aen't Landt vast. De sloepen*, die de schepen van Bantam* komende te ghemoet varen, laten haer daer ghemeynlijck overhalen om soo veel te eerder in Zee te wesen. Dit bykans-Eylandt heet Sabrang* ende is een speelplaats daer die van Patana over varen, om haer te vermaecken. Daer zijn eenig aghemuerde percken op, tot de begravinghe de Coninghen.</p>	<p>the mouth of the River, which comes from far away inland, [making it possible] to travel up to Queda* [...] There is an island connected to the mainland by a small sandbar. The sloops sent to meet the ships coming from Bantam* usually let themselves be overhauled for them to be in the offing as soon as possible. This Peninsula named Sabrang* is used as a playground and the people of Patana go there by boat for recreation. The place also has some wall-enclosed plots devoted to the tombs of Kings.</p>	
<p>Het Coninckrijck van Patane is een groot ende seer volckrijck Landt / soo dat Sigv. Victor Sprinckel, die binnen de Stadt Patane van weghen de Generale Oost-Indische Compagnie voor Opperkoopman ghelegghen heeft in de jaren 1616⁹ schrijft / dat hy gheroepen wesende op de jonghste Landts vergaderinge voor sijn vertreck aldaer gehouden</p>	<p>The Kingdom of Patane is a large and well-populated country. Victor Sprinckel, the Senior-merchant [who had been] ordered by the General East-India Company to call at the city of Patane in 1616, reports that he was invited to attend the session of the Assembly of the Country to be held just before he was going to depart. On that occasion, he could see that Her Royal</p>	<p>“Le Roïaume de Patane est d'une grande étenduë, & bien-peuplé. Il relève de l'Empire de Siam, aussibien que Lugor, Bordelon, & plusieurs autres Roïaumes. Victor Sprinckel, qui a été, l'an 1616. premier Commis pour la Compagnie générale des Indes Orientales dans la ville de Patane, a écrit qu'aïant été apellé à la dernière assemblée des E'tats qui s'y tint avant</p>

9. According to Terpstra (1938, footnote 2 p. 37-38), the posting took place in 1607, not in 1616.

<p>/ heeft gesien dat hare Conincklijcke Maejesteyt een generale lijst wert over gebracht van alle de Stedē / Dorpen ende Vlecken onder haer Jurisdiction behorende / daer inne bevonden wert dat het Landt machtigh was op te brengen hondert tachtentigh duysent weerbare mannen / doch zijn gheen krijghsluyden / noch eenighs ins in de wapenen gheoeffent. Van dese woonender soo binnen de Stadt van Patane, als in de Voorsteden ende vryheyd der selve / over de thien duysent / het een derdendeel Maleyen oft Mooren* / het ander derdendeel Chinesen met haer Mestisos oft half gheslachten / ende 't laetste derdendeel Siammers meest ten platten lande woonen om't selve te bouwen. Dit Landt is schip-rijcker als Bantam*, Ior*, Pahan*, oft andere sijne ghebuysen: ende d'Inwoonders met namen de Siammers ende Chinesen zijnder nae haer maniere wel bevaren / waer toe de schoone rivieren des landts haer seer dienstigh zijn. De Inboorlingen / namelijk de Maleyen, zijn uyer nature (Fol. 17) luy ende ledigh / haer nergens mede generende als met land-werck ende visscherije / waer by sy't leven overlijck onderhouden / drinckende meest al water / ende nergens meerder af keer van hebbende als van stercken drank: maer wederom seer gheneghen tot vleeschelijcke wellust / als ghemeynlijck trouwende twee / drie odt meer vrouwen / ende daer by soo veel Concubijnen hebbende als sy kunnen voeden. Hare rijckdommen bestaan meest</p>	<p>Majesty received a general list of all the Towns, Villages and Hamlets under her jurisdiction. It appeared that the Country is so powerful that it can mobilise one hundred and eighty thousand men-at-arms. However these people are not really soldiers and have hardly any experience of weapons. The people living within the boundaries of the City of Patane and the immediate surroundings number more than ten thousand. One third of them are Malays or Moors, another third are Chinese together with their Mestizos or half-bloods, while the last third is composed of Siamese people, mostly living in the plain to cultivate the land. This Country has more sea-vessels than Bantam*, Ior*, Pahan* or any other neighbour. The Inhabitants, in particular the Siamese and the Chinese, are experienced sailors according to their standards and the beautiful rivers in the country are also of excellent service to them. The Natives, viz. the Malays are naturally (Fol. 17) lazy and carefree. Nowhere do they produce anything else than what agriculture and fishing offers, which is more than they need for a living; most of them drink only water as they have a loathing for strong beverages. On the other hand they are very much inclined to the pleasures of the flesh: they usually marry two or three women, or even more, and have as many concubines as they can feed. Most of their wealth is made of land and slaves to whom they give every month a small quantity of fish and rice to support</p>	<p>son départ, il vit une liste générale de toutes les villes, bourgs & villages, par où il paroissoit qu'on pouvoit (p. 217) mettre sur pié cent quatre-vingts mille hommes en état de porter les armes: mais ces gens-là ne sont pas naturellement guerriers, ni adonnez aux exercices de l'art militaire.”</p> <p>“De ce nombre il en demeure dans la ville de Patane, fauxbourgs & banlieuë, plus de dix mille; dont un tiers est de Malais, ou de Mores: l'autre tiers est de Chinois, ou de Mestifs, c'est-à-dire, mêlez avec d'autres nations; & l'autre tiers est de Siamois, dont la plupart habitent le plat-païs, & le cultivent.”</p> <p>“Ce Roïaume a plus de vaisseaux sur mer, que n'en a Bantam*, Johor, Pahan, ni aucun autre de ses voisins. Les habitans, & entre-autres les Siamois & les Chinois, sont bons mariniers, selon la marine de ces païs-là, les belles rivières qui y sont leur donnant occasion de s'exercer en cet art. Ce n'est pas qu'ils ne soient tous naturellement paresseux & fainéans, particulièrement les Malais, qui ne vivent que de la culture de la terre, & de la pêche; & qui font fort-mauvaise chère, la plupart ne beuvant que de l'eau, & aiant une extrême aversion pour les boissons fortes.”</p> <p>“D'un autre côté ils ont un grand penchant aux plaisirs de la chair, & épousent ordinairement deux ou trois femmes, ou davantage, aiant avec cela autant de concubines qu'ils en peuvent nourrir.”</p> <p>“Leurs biens consistent,</p>
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<p>in landt ende slaven / die sy met luttel rijs ende visch's maends onderhouden. Alle andere neringhen / ambachten ende traffijcken worden meest ghedreven door de Chinesen, ende hare Mestilos* oft afkomste / welke groote handelaers zijn ter zee / altijd over en weder varende naer d'omlegghende Landschappen ende plaetsen / als Siam, Burdelon*, Lugor*, Camboya*, Cauchinchina*, Macalser*, Grece*, Pahan*, Iambi*, Iehor*, Bantam*, Bandar-malsin*, Suckidana* ende meer andere / soo lancx de zeekuste / als te landewaert inne / de welke sy versien met alderhande Chinesche waren by haer te Patane ghekocht / als Porceleynen / potten / pannen / ketels / ende alderley andere soorten van yserwerck die men kan bedencken / geroockt ende ghedrooght vleesch / ghepekelden ende gedrooghden visch / veelderley soorten van lijnwaet / dat sy soo van de Hollanders als van de Chinesen koopen / ende meer ander goederen: brenghende voor retouren verscheyden soorten van hout om haer huysen te bouwen / Rottang oft touwerck van Cocos basten ghemaect / daer sy de daken van de huysen mede vast binden / Rijs / kleene groene erten / Olie van Cocos noten / alderhande soorten van fruyten / ende van vellewerck / als van Buffels / Ossen / koeyen / Bocken / Harten / Coeynen / ende Hasen / die de boeren teghens den tijdt vergaderen / ende somtijds oock wel verkoopen op</p>	<p>themselves. Most of the other activities for a living, offices and businesses are held by the Chinese, their <i>Mestilos*</i> or the latter's offspring, who are prominent merchants and navigators, sailing back and forth to the neighbouring countries such as Siam, Burdelon*, Lugor*, Camboya*, Cauchinchina*, Macalser*, Grece*, Pahan*, Iambi*, Iehor*, Bantam*, Bandar-malsin*, Suckidana* and other places, be it along the coast or inland.</p> <p>They supply many sorts of Chinese goods which they buy in Patane, for example porcelain, pots, pans, kettles and any sort of hardware that you can imagine, smoked and dried meat, salted and dried fish, a wide range of fabrics and garments that they bought from the Dutch or the Chinese, and many more articles...</p> <p>In exchange they take various kinds of wood for housebuilding, rotans or ropes made of coconut fibres to fasten the roofing to their houses, rice, small green peas, coconut oil, various kinds of fruit or skins - including that of buffaloes, oxen, cows, goats, deer, rabbits and hares - that the peasants gather during the season. Sometimes, they also supply and sell good quality pepper (that is abundant in the Kingdom of Patane and the neighbouring areas, but it is slightly more expensive than in Bantam*.) Lastly,</p>	<p>pour la plupart, en domaines & en esclaves, à qui, pour leur entretien, ils donnent par mois une (p. 216) certaine portion très-médiocre, de poisson & de ris. Tous les arts & métiers sont exercés par les Chinois, & le commerce est aussi entre leurs mains, & entre celles de leurs Mestilos, ou Facteurs, qui trafiquent beaucoup sur mer, & qui sont toujours en route, navigant vers tous les pays voisins, comme Siam, Bordelon, Lugor, Camboie, Cauchinchine, Macassar, Grece ou Gressick, Pahan, Jambi, Jahor ou Johor, Bantam, Bandarmalpin, Suckidana, & divers autres lieux, tant le long des côtes, que plus avant dans les terres.”</p> <p>“Ils y portent toutes sortes de marchandises de la Chine, qu'ils achètent à Patane, entre-autres, des porcelaines, des poêles, des chaudières, toute sorte de ferrure qu'on puisse imaginer, des viandes sèches & fumées, du poisson sec & salé, diverses sortes de toiles, qu'ils trafiquent avec les Chinois, ou avec les Hollandois, &c.”</p> <p>“Pour retour, ils apportent diverses sortes de bois, qui servent à la construction de leurs maisons; des rottangs, ou cordages de brou de cocos, avec quoi ils lient ensemble & affermissent les toits de leurs bâtiments; du ris, de petits poids verds, de l'huile de noix de cocos, diverses sortes de fruits & de peaux, comme de buffes, bœufs, vaches, boucs, cerfs, lapins, lièvres &c. que les paisans ont soin de rassembler dans la saison.”</p>
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<p>leveringhe van Peper (die in't Coninghrijck van Patane ende sommige andere landen daer omtrent seer goed ende schoon valt / doch wat dierder te staen komt als te Bantam*) ende eyntelijck Saroy Boura*, dat is Swaluwe Nesten, die de boeren lancx de zeeckt daer omtrent in hollen van de klippen gaen soecken ende vergaderen / zijnde een schoon ende goed eten / dat de Coningen / Princen ende Heeren in grooter waarde houden / so dat het pondt in China wel gelden kan 3. oft 4. Realen* van achten ende meer/ Dit goed word seer nauw opghesocht / ende en connender de Chinesen nimmermeer ghenoech van krijghen naehaer begeerte / hoe-wel datter somtijdts (ghelijck de voortz Sprinckel shrijft by zijnen tijde ghesien te hebben) seven / acht ofte neghen Picol* verkocht worden op een Mis ofte Mercktdagh. Het Catti* Chineesch van de witte (dat de beste zijn) word ghemeenlijck verkocht ses / seven / acht Compan*, de grauwe twee / drie / viere / somtijdts oock vijfve / na datse goed ende schoon zijn. Elck Compan word gerekent op negen stuyvers* / weynig min ofte meer / na dat de wissel gaet / ende een Campan in Patane is soo veel als een Mamide* in Camboya*.</p>	<p>they also sell <i>saroy boura*</i>, i.e. swallow nests that the peasants look for and collect from holes in the cliffs along the coast. It is considered a delicacy that is highly appreciated by the Kings, Princes and Lords so that in China a pound can reach three or four reals-of-eight* or even more. This product is much sought after, and the Chinese cannot find the quantities they are looking for, even if, at times seven, eight or even nine <i>picol*</i> were offered in village fairs or on market days (as described by Sprinckel in his report about what he witnessed in his time). A Chinese <i>catti*</i> of white birdnests (considered the best) cost six, seven or eight <i>compan*</i>, the grey sort three, four or even five <i>compan*</i>, according to the quality and aspect. A <i>compan*</i> is worth about nine <i>stuivers*</i>, depending on the exchange rate. The Patane <i>compan*</i> is equal in value to one <i>mamide*</i> in Camboya*.</p>	<p>“Quelquefois aussi ils vendent, à la charge (p. 217) de livrer en certain tems, le poivre qui croît au Roiaume de Patane, & dans quelques autres lieux voisins, lequel est fort-bon; mais il est un peu plus cher qu'à Bantam.”</p> <p>“Ils vendent aussi des Saroy-Boura”, c'est-à dire, des nids d'hirondelles, que les païsans vont chercher dans les creux des rochers, le long des côtes de la mer. C'est un fort bon mets, qui est estimé des Princes & des grands Seigneurs, jusques-là qu'à la Chine on les vend trois ou quatre réales de huit la livre. Cette sorte de marchandise est fort-recherchée. Jamais les Chinois ne trouvent en avoir assez, quoi-que quelquefois à un jour de marché, ou de foire, il y en ait jusqu'à huit ou neuf picols à vendre, ainsi-que l'a écrit le même Sprinckel ci-dessus allégué, qui dit l'avoir vu.”</p> <p>“Le <i>catti</i> Chinois des nids blancs, qui sont les meilleurs, se vend six, sept, ou huit <i>compan*</i>; les gris se vendent trois, quatre, ou cinq <i>compan*</i>, selon leur qualité, & qu'ils paroissent beaux & bons. Chaque <i>Compan</i> fait neuf sous, peu plus, ou peu moins, selon le change. Le <i>Compan</i>, ou <i>Campan</i> de Patane est de la même valeur que le <i>Mamide</i> de Camboie.”</p>
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<p>'t Land van Patane is seer vruchtbaer ende overvloedigh van alderley leeftochten / als van Rijs / Ossen (maer niet soo vet ende groot als hier te lande) Bocken / Gansen / enden / Hoenderen / Pauwen (met welcker steerten sy de spijsse verciereen diese voor de groote Heeren opdragen) alderhande wild / als Harten / Hasen / Konijnen (ghelijck die van hier te lande / maer teerder en delicateser van lijve) alderhande tamme en wilde gevogelten (als hier by ons) ende hondert oft meerderhande fruyten / waer onder de principaelste zijn Durions, Mangostons, Ananas; Lanciats*, Ramboutans; Pissans*, Granaten, Limoenen, Oraenjen, Limons Gibol*, dat een ander slagh van Oranjen is / die daer oock van China gebracht worden / ende dat in sulcker menigte (Fol. 18) dat men der / alsse wel gestaan zijn / 5. oft 600. voor een Compan* krijght / Mamplans*, Batians*, ende Centuls*, [...] Men heeft oock Verckens by menigte / maer al wilde / die seer groote schade doen in het Rijs / soo dat de Lantluyden gedwongen zijn alle nachte goede wacht daer teghen te houden / ende die gheschoten oft andersins doodt ghesteken hebbende / delvense onder de aerde / op datse niemand en ete / want de Moren oft Mahometisten (sodanigh als de Pataenders ende Maleyen zijn) en nutten gheen swijnen-vleesch / noch en moghen oock niet lijden dat het ghenut werde by andere Natien* / soo dat de onse aldaer gheen Verckens en moghen staen /</p>	<p>The territory of Patane is very fertile and supply in great quantities various foodstuffs such as rice, oxen (but not as fat and big as the oxen found in Holland), goats, geese, poultry, peacocks (whose tail feathers are used for the decoration of the meals served to the high-ranking Lords), various sorts of game, such as deer, hares, rabbits (similar to the rabbits in Holland but their meat here is more tender and the taste more delicate), numerous species of birds, both tame and wild (as in our country), and more than a hundred sorts of fruits, the main ones being durians, mangosteens, pineapples, <i>lanciats*</i>, rambutans, <i>pissans*</i>, pomegranates, lemons, oranges, <i>gibol*</i> lemons (which are another sort of orange brought from China) and they are so abundant (Fol. 18) that you can have 500 or 600 for a <i>compan*</i>, <i>mamplans*</i>, <i>batians*</i> and <i>centuls*</i>. [...] Pigs are in large numbers but they are all wild and cause major damages to the paddy fields so that the Locals have to keep guard over their fields at night. After having shot them or slaughtered them by other means, they are buried so as nobody can eat them, because the Moors or Mahomedans (referring here to people such as the Patani and Malay people) never eat pork or wild boar. Neither do they accept the idea that other Communities should consume it so that our people could not get hogs unless it was done in secret and without telling them, otherwise our Nation¹⁰</p>	<p>“Le país de Patane est très-fertile, & abonde en diverses sortes de vivres & de denrées, entre-autres, en ris; en bœufs, mais non-pas-si-puissans que ceux qu'on voit en Hollande; en chèvres, oies, poules; en paons dont on met les plumes de la queuë (p. 218) pour ornement autour des viandes qu'on sert aux grands Seigneurs.”</p> <p>“Il y a différentes sortes de chasse, comme des cerfs, des lièvres, des lapins, de même qu'en Hollande, mais la chair en est plus tendre, & le goût plus délicat. Il y a plusieurs espèces d'oiseaux privés & sauvages, & plus de cent sortes de fruits, dont les principaux sont les durions; des mangostons; des ananas; des lanciats; des ramboutans; des pissans; des grenades; des limons; des oranges; & des limons-gibol qui sont une autre espèce d'orange, qu'on y porte aussi de la Chine, & en si-grande quantité, qu'on en a cinq ou six cents pour un compan*. Les mamplans, les batians, & les centuls, sont encore des fruits estimez. [...] Il y a encore quantité de pourceaux, mais ils sont tous sauvages, & et font beaucoup de dommage au ris, si-bien que les païsans sont obligez de veiller la nuit pour le garder. Quand ils ont tué quelqu'un de ces animaux, ils font une fosse & l'y enterrent, afin-que personne n'en mange, car les Mores, ou Mahométans, tels que sont les Patanois & les Malais, ne mangent point de chair de pourceau, ni de sanglier, & ils ne peuvent même souffrir que les autres nations en mangent. Ainsi</p>
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10. Contrary to the other occurrences of the term 'Nation' (cf. footnote 1), the word 'Nation' is maintained here as it refers to the compatriots of the writer.

<p>'t en sy dan in't heymelijck ende sonder haer weten / oft anders soudende onse Natie* ende haer koophuys oft loge schouwen.</p>	<p>would be barred from their shops and lodges.</p>	<p>les étrangers n'oseroient en tuer, si ce n'est en (p. 219) cachette, car si les habitans le savoient, ils ne voudroient plus entrer dans leurs loges, ni dans leurs comptoirs."</p>
<p>De Portugesen ten tijde van Sprinckels residentie binnen Patane, hebben aldaer tot tweemaal toe hare Meltilos* ofte Commisen ghesonden / ende telckens doen opkopen vijffthien oft sesthienhonderd Koornbeesten soo Ossen als koeyen / die van daer over landt naer Malacca ghedreven wierden / nemende de koninginne een Compan* op yeder beeste van tolle / doch de onse daer eenighe beesten koopende ofte slaende / en zijn niet ghehouden yet te betalen / noch mede van eenighe andere etelijcke waren / maer moghen de selve vry ende onbekommert laden ende wegh schicken waer 't haer belieft. De voortz. koninginne van Patane betaelt jaerlijcks tot een recognitie oft erkennisse van onderdanigheydt aen den grooten koningh oft keyser van Siam een gouden bloeme met eenige rariteyten van kleederen / fluweelen / ende Scharlakens*. Sy was den onsen seer toeghedaden / ende leendese tot verscheyden reysen groote partyen gelds / sonder eenighen interest daer voor te eysschen gelijk sy van andere wel soude ghenoten hebben. Dit hebben wy soo uyt het schriftelijck als</p>	<p>Twice during the time Sprinckel was posted in the city of Patane, the Portuguese sent their Meltilos* or Commissioners and made arrangements to acquire between one thousand five or six hundred heads of livestock, whether oxen or cows, which they drove all the way to Malacca. The Queen levied one <i>compan*</i> per head for customs duties, whereas our people, when they bought or slaughtered some heads had nothing to pay, and this also applied to some other foodstuffs: they were permitted to load freely and send them wherever they wanted. The aforesaid Queen of Patane has to pay to the king or emperor of Siam, as a sign or recognition of her status of vassalage, a golden flower and garments made of rare fabrics, including velvet and scarlet*. She was very favourably inclined towards our people and lent them large amounts of money on various occasions without asking for any interest which she would have had from others [merchants]. We collected this information from written and oral accounts by Sprinckel who had first-hand and frequent experience of such situations.</p>	<p>"Dans le tems que Sprinckel résidoit à Patane, les Portugais y envoièrent deux fois leurs Meltilos, ou Commis, qui achetèrent quinze ou 1600. bêtes à cornes, tant bœufs que vaches, qu'ils emmenèrent par terre à Malacca. La Reine de Patane prit un compan de doüane par chaque bête. Pour les Hollandois, ils ne paient point de tribut des bêtes qu'ils achètent, ni de certaines autres marchandises: ils les chargent franches, & les transportent où ils veulent." "La Reine de Patane paie tous les ans à l'Empereur de Siam, pour marque qu'elle relève de lui, une fleur d'or, & quelques rares habits de velours, ou d'écarlate." "Elle affectionnoit fort les Hollandois, & elle leur a prêté diverses fois de grosses sommes d'argent, sans en prendre d'interêt, comme elle auroit fait des autres Marchands. On sait toutes ces choses de Sprinckel, à qui on les a ouï dire, ou qui les a écrites, comme les ayant lui-même vuës, & y aïnt quelquefois eu part."</p>

<p>mondelijck verhael van den voorgemelten Sprinckel, die het al-te-mael selve gesien ende ervaren heeft.</p>		
<p>Om nu wat voorder te gaen. Gottard Artus van Dantzick schrijft / dat de voorsz Coninginne ten tijde van dese derde Schipvaert gehouden werdt omtrent wijtigh jaer oud te zijn / ende hadde't Coninghrijck nae de dood van haer man gheregeert vijftien jaren. Hieldt haer meest altijt in huys onder haer staetvrouwen / die veel in ghetale waren / ende niet en vermochten te trouwen / maer alst de geleghentheyd mede bracht / wel boeleerden. Als sy uytreed ('t welc seer selden gheschiede/ende anders niet dan om haer te vermaken) had sy gemeynlijck wel by de vier duysent Edelen ende groote Heeren in haer gheselschap met een groot ghetal Olyphanten / welcke droeghen de wapenen van den afghestorven Coningh / ende voorts hare Coninghlijcke ghewaeten ende ander hof ghereedschap. Ter plaetse komende daer sy wesen wilde / onthaelde sy heel't gheselschap met overvloed van alderley spijsje ende dranck nae des lands maniere / ende keerde dan in ghelijcke ordinantie weder naer huys toe / sittende (als oock in't uytrijden) op haren Olyphant / ende seer cierlijck toegemaect.</p>	<p>And now to make some progress with this topic. Gottard Artus van Dantzick reports that, at the time of this third Voyage, the Queen was some 50 years old and had ruled over the Kingdom for 15 years after her husband's death. She spent most of her time indoors, with her numerous ladies-in-waiting who were not allowed to marry, but ready to fornicate when they had an opportunity. When on outings (which seldom occurred, and only for recreational purposes), her entourage was generally composed of almost four thousand Noblemen and Lords with a large number of Elephants carrying the [ceremonial] arms of the late King, as well as attire and other royal equipment.</p> <p>After having reached her chosen destination, this large retinue was treated with a wide range of dishes and drinks according to the customs of the country. The trip back to the palace was conducted with similar pomp and circumstance, with the Queen (just as when they had left for the excursion) seated on her profusely decorated elephant.</p>	<p>“Gottard Artus de Dantsig, dit qu'au tems de ce voyage des Hollandois, la Reine avoit environ 50. ans, & qu'elle avoit déjà gouverné le Roïaume 15. ans depuis la mort de son mari. Elle passoit presque tout son tems dans son palais, avec ses Dames d'honneur, dont elle avoit un grand nombre, & qui ne pouvaient se marier (p. 220) mais elles faisoient volontiers l'amour, & contentoient leur passion, quand l'ocasion s'en présentoit.”</p> <p>“Lors-qu'elle sortoit, ce qui arrivoit rarement, & presque jamais que quand elle vouloit s'aller divertir, sa suite étoit ordinairement de près de 4000. Gentishommes, avec un grand nombre d'éléphants, qui portoient les armes du feu Roi, & les vêtements, meubles, & autres choses dont elle devoit se servir. Lors-qu'elle étoit arivée au lieu où elle vouloit aller, elle régaloit d'une profusion de mets toute cette grande compagnie, & le tems de son voiage étant fini elle s'en retournoit dans le même ordre qu'elle étoit venuë, assise sur son éléfant, comme elle l'avoit été en allant, & très-magnifiquement parée.</p>

<p>[...] Als de Hollanders oorloef aen haer namen / ende de kooplyden / die sy daer laten wilden / recommandeerde / beloofde sy de selve in alles voor te staen / mits datse vrome luyden zijn souden / ende sich wachten van dronckenschap. Sy excuseerde haer oock dat sy (Fol. 19) de Hollanders niet daghelijcx te gaste ghenood hadde / segghende dat sulcks haren persoon / als die een vrouwe was / niet en betaemde / maer badste niet nae te laten te Patane aen te komen so menighmael als sy in Indien souden landen. Beschonck den Admirael met eē schoone vergulde Cris, seggende / hy wilde haerder daer by ghedencken / ende waer hy eenigh Patanisch schip in noode saghe / het selve nae zijn vermoghén helpen / 't welck hy belooft hebbende nae te komen / ende voorts onthaelt wesende met eenige fruyten ende confitueren* / heeft zijn affheyd ghenomen ende is weder ghekeert nae de schepen. De selve Artus seght voorders / dat de Stadt Patane lancks den Oever der zee leyd / ende omtrent een half mijl* langh is / maer gheen haven en heeft dan wel een half mijle* weeghs van daer. De huysen zijnder van hout ende riet gemaect / heel doorluchtigh ende seer konstigh. De plaetse daer des Konincks Paleys staet / met de wooningen van de groote Meesters / is met een sterck houten staketsel afgheschut ende omcinghelt. De Meskite* oft kercke* is van ghebacken steen seer fray ghebout. Wat nu de Inwoonders</p>	<p>[...] When the Hollanders went to take leave of the Queen, and recommended the merchants going to stay there, she promised to give them protection provided they behaved correctly and refrained from getting drunk. She apologized for (Fol. 19) not having invited the Hollanders every day, explaining that it was not appropriate for a person like her, i.e. being a woman, and she added that they would be welcome to call at Patane whenever they sailed to the Indies. Moreover she gave a beautiful gilded kris for the Admiral, saying that he would thus keep her in his mind. [She also] told him that, if he happened to see a Patani ship in danger, he would give assistance as much as he could, which he promised to do. Lastly, he was treated with fruits and jams before taking his leave and going back to the ships. The same [Gottard] Artus also reports that the City of Patane is located on the coast, is about half a mile in length but has no harbour [of its own] whereas [the port] is actually half a mile away from [the city]. The houses are made of wood and reed, well-ventilated and artistically designed. The area where the Royal Palace and the residences of the Great Masters stand is protected and enclosed in a strong wooden palissade. The Meskite* or church – which is made of bricks – was attractively designed. Concerning the Inhabitants, (according to Artus), they have a well-proportioned physique and an ash-</p>	<p>“Lors-que les Hollandois allèrent prendre congé d'elle, & qu'ils lui recommandèrent ceux qu'ils laisseroient dans son Roïaume, elle leur promit de les protéger en toutes ocasions, pourvu qu'ils se comportassent bien, & qu'ils ne s'enivrassent point. Elle leur fit des excuses de ce qu'elle ne les avoit pas régalez assez souvent, disant que cela n'étoit pas convenable à une femme; & les priant que rien ne les empêchât de revenir à Patane, toutes les fois qu'ils viendroient aux Indes.”</p> <p>“Outre cela elle fit présent d'un poignard doré à l'Amiral, & lui dit que c'étoit pour l'obliger à se souvenir d'elle. Elle lui recommanda aussi que s'il voioit quelque vaisseau de Patane en danger, il voulût (p. 221) le secourir autant qu'il lui seroit possible. Enfin elle le régala de confitures, & ensuite il prit congé, & se rendit à bord.”</p> <p>“Le même Artus dit encore que la ville de Patane est située le long du rivage de la mer, qu'elle a près de demie lieuë de longueur, mais que le port en est à demie lieuë. Les maisons sont faites de bois & de roseaux, bien-percées, & bien-bâties. Le palais Roïal; & les apartemens du grand Maître, sont environnez d'une forte palissade, qui les sépare du reste de la vile. La Mosquée est bâtie de briques.”</p> <p>“Pour ce qui regarde les habitans, selon le raport du même Artus, ils ont le teint cendré. Ils sont bien</p>
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<p>aengaet / die (seght hy) zijn aschverwigh van aensicht / wel geproportioneert van lichame / laet-dunckende ende hoovaerdigh van harte / 't welck sy selfs met haren gangh ghenoech te kennen gheben / sonderlinghe die yet van vermoghen zijn / want die en komen niet uyt van met een grooten hoop dienaers. Daer-entusschen nochtans zijn sy ghespraecksaem / ende heusch in haren ommegangh soo wel teghen de vreemde als teghen haer landtlyuden. Hare kleedinghe en is niet seer fray. De mannen zijnder seer gheneghen tot vrouwen / ende daer benefens so jaloers dat selfs hare beste vrienden niet gheloof en zijn hare wijven oft dochters te sien.</p> <p>De Chinesen woonender in soo grooten ghetale / dat sy de Inwoonders selve te boven gaen / ende zijn by de koninginne oock meest geacht. Men spreekter vierderley tale / Maleysch, Siams, Chinesesch ende Patanisch, doch wordt het Malaysch soo hier / als in alle quartieren van Indien meest ghebruyckt. De Maleyen lesen na de maniere der Joden van de rechter-handt naer de slincker toe. De Siamers schrijven op onse wijze hier in Europa, ende hebben by-naest sulc fátsoen van letteren als de Latijnsche.</p>	<p>coloured complexion. They are rather conceited and have a high opinion of themselves, as appears clearly in their gait, especially among the wealthy who do not go out without a large retinue of servants. Nevertheless, they are courteous and polite when engaged in a conversation, be it with strangers or fellow citizens. Their clothing is not very beautiful. The men are strongly attracted to women, and so jealous that they do not allow even their best friends to see their wives or daughters.</p> <p>There are so many Chinese living there that they outnumber the Natives; they are held in high esteem with the Queen. Four languages are used here: Malay, Siamese, Chinese and Patani; however, as in all parts of the Indies, Malay is the [language that is] most widely used. Like the Jews, the Malays read from right to left. The Siamese write as we do in Europe, and their characters are comparable in shape to the Latin letters.</p>	<p>proportionnez en leur taille, orgueilleux & fiers, ce que leur démarche & leur tran font assez connoître, surtout parmi les gens riches, qui ne sortent jamais qu'ils ne soient suivis d'une troupe de domestiques. Néanmoins ils sont familiers & civils dans leurs discours, aussi bien avec les étrangers qu'avec leurs compatriotes. Leurs vêtements ne sont pas magnifiques.”</p> <p>Les maris sont extrêmement jaloux de leurs femmes. Ils ne permettent pas à leurs meilleurs amis de les voir, ni leurs filles non-plus.”</p> <p>“Il y a tant de Chinois à Patane, qu'ils surpassent en nombre les naturels du país. La Reine les estime beaucoup. On y parle quatre langues, Patanois, Siamois, Malais & Chinois, de-même qu'en la plupart (p. 222) des autres país des Indes. Les Malais lisent à la manière des Juifs, de la main droite à la gauche. Les Siamois écrivent comme on fait en Europe, & leurs caractères sont à-peu-près comme la lettre Romaine.”</p>
<p>Het overspel wordt by die van Patane ende andere daer omtrent legghende landen metter doodt ghestraf / voornemelijck onder de Edelen ende Officieren des Rijcx / ende moette Vader van den misdadighen / soo</p>	<p>In Patane and other neighbouring areas, adultery is punished by the death penalty, especially among the Noblemen and Royal Officers. The Father of the evildoer, or his next of kin if the father is dead,</p>	<p>“L'adultère est puni de mort à Patane, & dans les autres país voisins, principalement parmi les Nobles & les Officiers de la Couronne. Le père du criminel, ou si le père est mort, le plus proche de ses parens, est obligé de</p>

<p>hy noch leeft / soo niet / yemandt van zijn naeste bloet-vrienden d'executie doen / doch vermach de patient sulcken maniere van sterben te kiezen alst hem belieft. Hoe wel nu het overspel so strengelijck ghestrafte wordt / soo en gaetter nochtans gheen ander ghebreck hier soo seer in swanghe / ende dat door de groote geyligheyde ende onkuysheyde der vrouwen / die nacht en dagh soecken te baden in haere wellustigheden. De mannen / om hare dartelheyde eenigher wijze te betoonen / draghen twee oft drie gouden oft silveren klotjens tusschen 't vel ende vleesch van haer roede. Hoerderij die tusschen twee ongebonden persoonen gheschiedt / en wordter voor gheen sonde gherekent.</p>	<p>has to execute the penalty. However, the person convicted may choose the way of execution. Though adultery is so severely punished, there is in this region no other form of crime that is more common; this is due to the fact that women here are so lewd and lustful and looking day and night for opportunities to revel in voluptuous pleasure. And then the men, to display in some way their virility, wear two or three golden or silver balls between foreskin and penis. Sexual encounters between two individuals not united by any bond are not considered as a sin.</p>	<p>faire l'exécution; mais le coupable choisit le genre de supplice dont il veut mourir." "Quoi-que ce vice soit si-sévèrement puni, il n'y en a pourtant point qui soit plus commun en ces lieux-là; ce qui entretient la luxure & l'impudicité des femmes, qui ne songent jour & nuit qu'à se plonger dans de sales voluptés, & qui pressent si fort les hommes, qu'ils sont contraints de se faire certaines garnitures, afin de se garantir de leur brutalité. Pour le commerce entre deux personnes non-mariées, il n'est pas regardé comme un péché."</p>
<p>[...] Daer naer ghebeurden dat de Coninginne ghesint was haer op't water te vermaecken / liet voor haer een kostelijcke Galeye* reet maecken / vergheleschapt met een groot ghevolgh / ende menigthe (Fol. 20) van kleyne Roeygelaykens / de Neerlanders versoeckende haer mede te vergheleschappen / welcken sulcx oock niet hebben naer ghelaten / werdende des snachts statelijcken in des Coningins Galeye getraceert / die haer des morghens verwillighden naer Patana weder te moghen vertrecken om haer handel te vorderen alsoo sy ghesint was noch eenighen tijdt te water haer vermaeck te nemen. De locht isser ghesont ende wel ghetempert / hoewel dat het lant niet verre af en wijckt / van den Æquinoctiael, ende daerom seer heet is.</p>	<p>[...] Later on, it happened that the Queen wanted to enjoy some recreation on water and she ordered a sumptuous galley* be prepared. She was followed by a large retinue and many (Fol. 20) smaller rowing boats. The Dutch requested permission to follow her in order not to miss the event and, in the late evening, they were officially invited on the Queen's galley. The next day, they were given permission to go back to Patane to pursue their business, whereas she was inclined to enjoy some more recreation time on water. The climate is healthy and temperate there, although it is not far from the equator, in other words very hot. Summertime begins in February and extends over nine months, that is until the end of October, and during this season the wind remains</p>	<p>"Une fois la Reine aiant envie d'aller se divertir sur l'eau, on lui prépara une superbe galère, & elle y fut suivie d'une grosse cours, & de quantité de petites barques à rames. Les Hollandois demandèrent à être de la fête, & la nuit ils furent fort bien régalez dans la galère de la Reine, qui leur accorda le lendemain de retourner à Patane, pour y faire leurs affaires, parce-qu'elle eut envie de demeurer (p. 223) encire quelque tems sur l'eau." "L'ai de ce pais-là est sain, quoi-qu'on ne soit pas loin de la Ligne équinoxiale, & qu'il y fasse extrêmement chaud. L'E'té y commence en Février, & dure neuf mois, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la fin d'Octobre, pendant les mois de Novembre, Décembre & Janvier, & alors il y pleut sans cesse, & le vent de Nord-est y souffle avec véhémence."</p>

<p>De Somer begint in Februarius / ende duert neghen maenden langh / te weten tot uytgaende October toe / ende al dien tijd voor wayter ghestadelijck eenerly windt. In November / December ende Januarius hebben sy de winter / ende dan en doet het daer niet van reghenen ende sterck wayen uyt den noordoosten. Sy ploeghen haer land met Buffels oft Ossen / ende besayen 't met Rijs / datter overvloedelijck wast. Alle maenden des jaers hebben sy'er nieuwe fruyten / 't een altijd lieflijcker ende beter als 't ander. De Gansen ende Entvogels zijnder soo vruchtbaer / datse tweemaal daeghs eyeren legghen. Heeft overvloed van wilt / als Stieren / wilde Verckens / Harten / Hasen / etc. Wilde Hoenderen / witte Reygers / ende Tortelduyven / die de sommighen soo schoon van vederen zijn / datse onder Papegayen niet konnen onder-scheyden werden. Haer schadelijcxte dieren zijn Tygers ende Meerkatten / want die de vruchten seer bederven. Wilde Olyphanten loopen daer met menighte in de Bosschen / sonder nochtans de Inwoonderen te beschadighen. Werden by haer op dese wijze ghevanghen / komen met een tammen grooten ende stercken Olyphant in't bosch rijden / die de wilde Olyphant vermemente / stelt hem om daer tegens te vechten / by den anderen komende strengthelen haer snuyten voordien anderen / om elkander onder de voet te helpen / soo nu teghens malkanderen doende wesende / soo komen eenighe daer toe bestelt / ende binden de wilde Olyphanten de achterste beenen wel vast te</p>	<p>constant. Winter begins in November or December and January brings relentless rain and a strong northeast wind. They plough with buffaloes or oxen and sow rice which grows in abundance here. They can harvest various sorts of fresh fruit every month of the year, and all of them are equally tasty and delicious. Geese and ducks lay eggs twice a day and are indeed very prolific. There is an abundance of game such as wild bulls, wild boars, deers, hares, etc., wild poultry, white egrets and turtledoves, including some with such beautiful plumage that they cannot be distinguished from parrots. The most harmful animals are tigers and guenons. The latter cause much damage to the fruits.</p> <p>Wild elephants wander in large numbers in the forests, without doing any harm to the Inhabitants. The procedure to capture them is as follows: they enter the forest riding on a big and strong tamed elephant; as soon as the wild elephant is aware of this, it gets ready to fight; after coming closer to each other, they tangle their trunks [and try] to overpower each other; as they are busy combatting in this position, people hired for this purpose close in and bind the two rear legs of the wild elephant; when the latter feels that it has been tied up, it will not move as it is afraid of falling; then it is tamed by starving. [...]</p>	<p>“On y laboure la terre avec des buffes, ou avec des bœufs, & l'on y sème du ris, qui produit en abondance. Il y meurit des fruits tous les mois de l'année; mais il y en a de bien meilleurs les uns que les autres. Les oies & les canards y sont si-féconds, qu'ils pondent leurs œufs deux fois le jour.”</p> <p>“Il y a une multitude incroyable de bêtes sauvages & de chasse, entre-autres, des taureaux, des sangliers, des cerfs, des lièvres &c. des poules sauvages, des hérons, des tourterelles, dont quelques-unes ont de si belles belles plumes, qu'on a de la peine à les distinguer des perroquets.”</p> <p>“Les plus dangereux animaux qui s'y trouvent, sont les tigres & les guenons: ces dernières gâtent extrêmement les fruits. On y voit des troupes d'éléphants sauvages courir dans les bois, sans faire de mal à personne. Voici la manière dont on les prend.”</p> <p>“On mène dans le bois un grand éléfant (p. 224) privé. Des-qu'un éléfant sauvage l'aperçoit, il se met en posture pour se battre contre lui. Quand ils se sont approchez ils embarassent leurs trompes l'une dans l'autre, pour se jeter l'un l'autre à terre. Pendant-qu'ils se tiennent ainsi, les gens qui sont là destinez pour cette sorte de chasse, s'approchent & lient ensemble les deux jambes de dervière de l'éléfant sauvage, qui se sentant lié n'ose se remuer, de-peur de tomber, & en cet état on domte par la faim. Ce sont là les choses qu'Artus a raportées touchant le Roïaume de Patane.” [...]</p>
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samen / die soo ghebonden zijnde derft hem niet beweghen / uyt vreeze van te vallen / ende werd alsoo door grooten hongher tam ghemaect. [...]		
(Fol. 23) [...] Nu komen wy tot het verhael van onsen Sprinckel. De Coningh van Siam seght hy [...] heeft onder hem Camboya*, langoma*, ende de gheheele streecke lands van Patane, te weten de oostzyde van den hals van Malacca, tot aen Pahan*. Ende doen de voorsz particuliere oft besondere Coninghen van Camboya*, langoma*, Patane, ende andere meer jaerlijcxsche gheschencken aen den Siammer. Die oock ghemeynlijk eenighe van hare kinderen by hem te hove hout / om die te beter in zijn verbond ende dienst te voeden. [...]	(Fol. 23) [...] Now we come to the account of our Sprinckel. The king of Siam says that [...] he rules over Camboya*, langoma* and the whole region of Patane, that is the eastern part of the Malacca peninsula down to Pahan*. The various above-mentioned persons and the Kings of Camboya*, langoma*, Patane, as well as some others, send every year gifts to the Siamese [King]. The latter also keep some of their children at his Court in order to educate them with a sense of bondage and submission. [...]	

3. Verhael van de Reyse [...] onder Wybrandt van Waerwijck [1603-1605]

Source:

COMMELIN Isaac (ed.) *Begin ende Voortganch van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche geocstroyeerde Oost-Indische Companie...*, Amsterdam, vol. I, 1646. Including “Historische Verhael van de Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien... onder Wybrandt van Waerwijck [1603-1605]” in pp. 1-88.

Translation (German):

Gotthardt ARTUS VON DANTZIG (transl.). “Beschreibung der Histori / so von Johann Herman von Bree [...] auff der Reyse in die Orientalische Indien von Anno 1602.biß in Anno 1604 [...]”, in *Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien. Franckfurt am Mayn: Johan Theodor und Johan Israel de Bry Gebrüder*, Collection des Petits voyages de De Bry, 1606: 41- 100 (including on Patani, pp. 90-95).

Translation (Latin):

Gotardo ARTHVS (ed.). “Historiæ, a quodam Hermanno de Bree, navis cvivsdam...”, in *Indiæ Orientalis, pars octava...* Ioannem Theodorum &

Ioannem Israelem de Bry, fratres Germanos, Francoforti, 1607: 45-100 (including on Patani, pp. 90-95).

Translation (French):

RENNEVILLE, René-Auguste-Constantin de (comp.). *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la compagnie des Indes orientales, Formée dans les Provinces Unies des Païs bas*, Tome second. Amsterdam, Aux dépens d'E'tienne Roger, 1703. Including "Voyage de quinze vaisseaux hollandois commandez par l'amiral Wybrandt van Waarwyk pour la compagnie d'octroi des Indes Orientales formée dans les Provinces Unies", pp. 561-776 (including on Patani, pp. 665-677, and fragments on Patani pp. 740-765).

English translation:

by Daniel PERRET with the collaboration of Jean-Claude LEJOSNE

"Historische Verhael van de Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien... onder Wybrandt van Waerwijck [1603-1605]", pp. 43-48, fragments pp. 73-82.

<p>(43) Den 31 dito quamen tot op een mijl* aen de Wal/ daer sy droochten vonden van 6 vadem waters / dies niet voordor dorsten loopen / alsoo haer onbekent was of sy daer over mochten / sulcx dat sy weder op 7 vadem mosten het ancker laten vallen / haren Boot voor uyt sendende om te diepen / by welke tegen den avont eenighe Nederlanders met een Prauwe* ghevaren quamen / met den welcken sy te samen aen de Vice-Admiraels boort gevaren zijn / van de welcken hy alle gelegentheyte van Patani verstont / als mede dat de Schepen Haerlem ende Leyden van Cauchin China* daer ghearriveert waeren [...]</p>	<p>(43) On the 31st [October 1603] they stopped a mile away from the coast, sounded the depth of the water and found it to be six fathoms; consequently, and as the area was unknown to them, they decided not to go any further. So that they had to drop anchor again in seven fathoms of water, and sent their boat to further test the water depth. In the evening a couple of Dutchmen arrived in a <i>proa</i>* and they all together came on board to meet the Vice-Admiral. They received detailed information about the situation in Patani, and were also told that the ships <i>Haerlem</i> and <i>Leyden</i> had arrived from Cauchin China* [...]</p>	<p>(p. 665) [...] Le 31 [Octobre 1603]. ils s'approchèrent à une lieuë du rivage, où aiant trouvé un bas-fond de 6. brasses d'eau, ils n'osèrent s'avancer davantage, n'ayant point de connoissance de ces parages, & ne sachant s'ils pouvoient traverser ce banc. Ainsi ils remouillèrent sur 7. brasses, & envoièrent une chaloupe sonder le fond. Vers le soir, quelques Hollandois, qui s'étoient embarquez dans une pirogue, joignirent la chaloupe; & ces deux bâtimens (p. 666) ensemble, étant allez à bord du Vice-amiral, les Hollandois de Patane lui dirent l'état où étoient les affaires en ce lieu-là: que le <i>Harlem</i> et <i>Leide</i> en y avoient relâché, en revenant de Cochinchine [...]</p>
<p>Den eersten November / was het stil weder des op ancker bleven leggen.</p>	<p>The ship was still at anchor on the 1st of November.</p>	<p>Le 1. de Novembre 1603. il y eut calme, & les vaisseaux demeurèrent à l'ancre.</p>
<p>Den 2 dito quamen tot op een vierendeel mijl* aen de Haven / daer sy het wegens stilte / met een laech water op 6 vadem mosten setten.</p>	<p>On the 2nd they moved up to a distance of a quarter of a mile of the harbour where they had to drop anchor in six fathoms of water at low tide.</p>	<p>Le 2. ils avancèrent jusqu'à un quart de lieuë du port, où le calme les obligea encore de mouiller de basse eau, sur 6. brasses.</p>

<p>Den 3 dito meenden de Reede te bezeylen / van door stilten / ende naer onweder ende grooten regen / hebbent weder op 4 vadem diepte gheset / vreesende de ondiepte / daer haer van gesydt was / dervende wegens doncker weder niet verder varen.</p>	<p>They planned to set sails on the 3rd, but because of the dead calm that followed bad weather and heavy rains, they stopped [at a place] with a four-fathom depth, fearing the shoals they had been told about and not daring to move away because of the darkness.</p>	<p>Le 3. ils crurent mouiller en rade; mais le calme & ensuite le gros tems les arrêrèrent de-nouveau, de-sorte qu'il fallut remouiller sur 4. brasses, de peur de donner sur des bas-fonds, dont on les avoit avertis de se garder, ce qui pouvoit d'autant-plus facilement arriver que le tems étoit fort embrumé.</p>
<p>Den 4 dito voeren noch wat naerder / ende settent weder op 3 vadem waters / ontrent een half mijl* van de Hollantsche Logie. Ten selvige dage voer den Vice-Admirael / met eenige vande sijne aen Landt / vergesellchapt met alle de Trompetters van beyde de Schepe / ende wiert int af varen alle de groove stucken van beyde de Schepen ghelost; aen lant comende / sijn met haer geschencken naer de Stadt getrocken / leggende ontrent een vierendeel van een mijl* van't water te Landewaerts / haer ten huysse begevende van den Rent-meester Dato* Siriuara*, zijnde een Chinees, doch kranck te bedde leggende: de geschencken die sy mede brachten bestonden in twee stucken Camelothe* / een half stucke Rootschaerlaecken / dry schoone Spiegels / eenighe schoone Veneersche Glaesen ende een half stucke root Carmosijn Fluweel; (44) die alle aengenomen wierden van eenen ghenamt Orankaya* Iurebassa*, die deselvighe in dry deelen verdeelt heeft; te weten / het Fluweel ende grootste deel</p>	<p>On the 4th, they moved somewhat closer and stopped in three fathoms of water, about half a mile* away from the Holland trading post. The same day, the Vice-Admiral went ashore with several people of his crew, accompanied by the trumpet band from both ships and greeted by the firing of all the large cannons on both ships when he left the boat. As soon as he arrived on land, he made his way to the town with his gifts, situated about a quarter of a mile* from the sea. He went to the house of the Treasurer Dato* Siriuara*, a Chinese who was sick in bed at the time. The gifts he brought along consisted of two pieces of camblet*, half a piece of scarlet cloth, three nice mirrors, several beautiful Venitian glasses and half a piece of crimson velvet. (44) All were acquired by someone called Orankaya* Iurebassa*, who divided them into three parts, that is the velvet and the largest part for the queen / the second for the <i>Shābandar</i>*, and the last one for Siriuara*.</p>	<p>Le 4. ils avancèrent encore un peu plus près; puis ils remouillèrent sur 3. brasses, à demie-lieuë de la loge des Hollandois. Le même jour, le Vice-amiral descendit à terre, avec quelques uns de ses gens, & suivi de tous les Trompettes. En partant il fut salué de tout le gros canon des deux vaisseaux. Il fit porter des présens avec lui, & dès-qu'ils furent débarquez, il marcha vers la ville, qui est à demie-lieuë du rivage, & s'en alla chez le Trésorier, nommé Dato Sirivara, qui étoit (p. 667) Chinois, & qui étoit alors malade au lit.</p> <p>Les présens consistoient en deux pièces de camelot, une demie pièce d'écarlate, une demie pièce de velours rouge-cramoisi, trois beaux miroirs, & quelques verres de Venise. Ils furent pris par un Officier nommé Orankaña Jurabassa, qui en fit trois portions; une, où étoit le velours, pour la Reine; la seconde pour le Sabandar; & la dernière pour Sirivara.</p>

<p>voor de Coninginne / het tweede voor den Sabander*, ende het laetste deel voor den Siriuaara*.</p>		
<p>Daer naer sijn sy ten Hoove by de Coninginne ghecomen (latende de geschencken voor haer dragen) daer zy door twee Poorten een trap op mosten klimmē / daer vindende den Sabander* nevens veel andere Heeren; legghende de gheschencken voor haer / ende setten haer op Matten neder: doen aenvingen de gedachte Heeren seer naerstich te ondervragen / naer den strijt / diese by Ior* met de Portugesen gedaen hadden / 't welcke haer alles seer wel geviel / alsoo geen goede vrienden van de selvigen zijn: Oock hadde onlanghs den Broeder des Coninx van Ior* ende den Rahu Bongso*, die een Coning is te Siacq*, deser Coningins susters Dochter Coning / welcken Ragia Siacq*, corts voor haer aencomste van daer naer Ior* vertrocken was. De geschencken sijn van eenige Heeren tot de Coninginne in haer Camer ghebracht / welcken (alsoo Bethel* geknaut ende Taback gedroncken hadde) sy slapende vonden: daer naer als sy bemerkten dat hare Majesteit ontslapen was / sijn de beyde Heerē tot haer ingegaen / haer van alles onderrechtende: weder uyt comende / hebben den Vice-Admiraal uyt den naem haers Majesteits aengedient / dat hare aencomste haer liefende aengenaem was; oock dat het haer ten hoogsten gheviel / 't gene by haer tot Ior* verricht was; waer naer voor haer (te weten de Hollanders) ghestelt wiert</p>	<p>This done, they all made their way to the palace (the gifts being carried in front of her). They had to go through two gates and climb stairs. Upstairs, they found the <i>sabander*</i> with many other dignitaries. Then the presents were laid in front of them before they sat on mats.</p> <p>The Courtiers then asked with insistence to be informed about the fight they had with the Portuguese in Ior*. They were pleased with the account made as they were no good friends of the latter. Moreover, the brother of the king of Ior* and Rahu Bongso*, who is a king of Siacq*, had recently married the niece of the queen of Patani, and this Ragia Siacq* had just left for Ior* before their arrival. The presents were brought by some of the Courtiers to the bedroom of the Queen whom they found there sleeping (being an inveterate <i>bethel*</i> consumer and tobacco chewer). Then, as they noticed that her Majesty was waking up, the two Courtiers entered the room and delivered a full report to her. After leaving the room, they told the Vice-Admiral on behalf of her Majesty that she was happy with their visit and had been so very pleased to learn about what they (i.e. the Dutch) had done in Ior*. Then, they were served bananas on a large brass tray, and as they were eating, the trumpeters played some pieces that the Courtiers found very entertaining.</p>	<p>Quand cela fut fait, ils prirent tous le chemin du palais, & les présens furent portez devant eux. En entrant ils passèrent par deux grandes portes, & montèrent par un degré, au haut duquel ils trouvèrent le Sabandar. Ils firent ensuite poser leurs présens devant eux, & s'assirent sur des nattes.</p> <p>Les Officiers qui étoient là s'enquirent fort des circonstances du combat qui s'étoit donné à Jor entre eux & les Portugais. Le récit qu'ils en firent fut écouté avec plaisir, ne paroissant y avoir là personne qui fût fort des amis de cette nation.</p> <p>Les présens furent reçus par quelques-uns des Officiers, & portez à la Reine, dans sa chambre, où elle dormoit, après avoir mâché quantité de betelle, & pris beaucoup de tabac. Quand elle fut réveillée, les deux Officiers entrèrent, & lui firent leur rapport de ce qui s'étoit passé. Peu de tems après, ils sortirent de sa chambre, & vinrent dire au Vice-amiral, de la part de la Reine, que la venuë des Hollandois lui étoit agréable, & qu'elle avoit beaucoup de joie d'apprendre ce qu'ils avoient fait (p. 668) à Jor. Ensuite on leur servit à tous des bananes dans un grand plat de cuivre, & ils en mangèrent. Pendant-qu'ils faisoient cette collation les Trompettes firent de tems en tems quelques fanfares, à quoi toute la Cour parut prendre beaucoup de plaisir.</p>

<p>een grooten kooperen Schael met Bonanas, daer sy van aten / ondertusschen bliessen de Trompetters ettelijcke reysen / daer de Heerē groot vermaeck in namē.</p>		
<p>Dit verricht hebbende / sijn gegaen ten huys van den Sabander*, di corts naer haer van't Hof quam / die sy oock hare geschencken voor stelden / welcke haer weder met eenige vruchten vereerden; haer af scheyt genomen hebbende / sijn voorts nae de Nederlantse logie vertrocken / daer sy de reste van dien dag ende nacht overblevē.</p>	<p>After the [reception], they went to the house of the <i>sabander*</i> who came back from the court shortly after them. He was given the gifts intended for him, and they were also treated with fruits before they took their leave. They made their way to the Dutch trading post where they stayed during the rest of the day and overnight.</p>	<p>Quand la collation fut finie, ils s'en allèrent chez le Sabandar, qui revint de la Cour bien-tôt après eux, & lui offrirent les présents qui lui étoient destinez. Il les régala aussi de quelques fruits; puis ils prirent leur congé, & s'en retournèrent à la loge, où ils passèrent le reste du jour, & toute la nuit suivante.</p>
<p>Den 5 dito des morghens zijn weder naer de Stadt gegaen / ten huys van den Rent-meester Dato* Siriuara*, den welcken sy naer den Peper vraechden / wat quantiteyt daer voorhanden waer / ende tot wat prijs? van achter in sijn huys comende / vonden hem op een kussen voor sijn bedde sitten / sijn Wijven / kinderen ende slaven saten by hem; des den Vice-Admirael met sijn gheselschap haer oock neder settende / hem in't lange vertellen / hoe het tusschen haer ende de Portugesen by Ior* vergaen was / daer hy een sonderlinge behagen in ghehadt heeft. Hem voorts versoekende te weten hoe veel Peper by de Stadt wesen mochte / ende tot wat prijs die te coop soude zijn / om haer daer naer te reguleeren? daer op tot antwoort kregen sulcx niet wel seker te weten / maecten sijn reeckeninghe van duysendt Bhaar* / ofte weynich minder; seyden voordere sy soudē haer</p>	<p>On the morning of the 5th, they again went ashore to the house of the Treasurer Dato* Siriuara* to ask him whether if there was pepper in town, in which quantity and at which price? They entered through the back door and found him on cushions in front of his bed, surrounded by his wives, children and slaves. The Vice-Admiral and his escort then sat down and he then recounted at length what happened between them and the Portuguese in Ior*, a report that he highly appreciated. He [The Vice-Admiral] then asked him courteously about the quantity of pepper available in town, its price, in order to make proper arrangements. Dato* Siriuara* answered that he was not quite sure about the supply which could amount to 1.000 <i>bhaar*</i> or a bit less. He further said that they should bring their presents according to custom here in order to buy pepper. Then they would purchase as</p>	<p>Le matin du 5. du même mois de Novembre, ils retournèrent chez le Receveur Dato Sirivara, pour lui demander s'il y avoit du poivre dans la ville, en quelle quantité, & combien on le vouloit vendre? Ils entrèrent chez lui par le derrière de la maison, & le trouvèrent assis sur un coussin devant son lit, où ses femmes, ses enfans, & ses esclaves étoient autour de lui. Le Vice-amiral & ses gens aiant pris leur place, il fit le récit à Sirivara de ce qui s'étoit passé à Jor, entre les Hollandois & les Portugais. Après cela il lui fit ses questions à l'égard de la quantité du poivre, afin de prendre ses mesures sur ce qu'il lui diroit. Sirivara répondit qu'il n'en pouvoit rien dire de positif, mais qu'il se persuadoit qu'on en trouveroit jusqu'à mille bares, ou un peu moins. Il dit qu'il falloit que les Hollandois fissent leur présent, selon la coutume, avant-que de pouvoir faire</p>

<p>vereeringe geven ghelijck het de maniere was / eer men Peper coften / ende dan mochten sy coopen waer het haer geliefde; dan hy wilde van haer eenich geldt ontfangen / ende haer daer Peper voor doen hebbē: daer op sy weder antwoorden / daer vreemt ende den Coopluydē onbekent te zijn / dies het haer beter dochte datse van dē prijs eerst veracordeerden: daer op hy beloofde met de Coopluyden voorts te sullen spreken / en haer van alles cont te doen / waer sy mede te vreden waren / en haer afscheyt van hem versochten; doch hy liet haer eerst voorstellen gesoodē Eyeren / Chinese Vijgen ende Arack*, haer biddende sijn spijsie niet te willen versmaeden; well gegeten hebbende / sijn naer de Zeeusche Logie gegaen / ende des avonts weder t'scheep gevaren.</p>	<p>much as they could. And he [Dato* Siriudara*] also required that they pay him some money in advance so that the pepper could be released. They answered that this was strange to them and unknown to the merchants. They preferred to reach an agreement on the price first. He [Dato* Siriudara*] promised to talk with the merchants and then let them know the outcome. As they were pleased with this suggestion, they asked for permission to leave, but they were soon presented with boiled eggs, Chinese figs and <i>arack*</i> and he [Dato* Siriudara*] begged them to do credit to the dishes served. After this good meal, they went back to the Zealanders' Lodge and, later in the evening, returned on board the ship.</p>	<p>leur emplette, & qu'après cela (p. 669) ils acheteroient du poivre autant qu'il leur plairoit & qu'il s'en trouveroit: mais qu'il falloit qu'il reçût quelque somme d'argent, pour laquelle il leur en feroit aussi livrer au prix qu'ils l'acheteroient. Ils lui répliquèrent que ces propositions leur paroissoient étranges; qu'on n'en faisoit point de telles dans le commerce; & qu'il étoit beaucoup plus à propos de commencer par convenir de prix. Il dit qu'il en parleroit aux Marchands, & qu'il leur feroit savoir ce qui auroit été résolu. Sur cette proposition, qui leur parut raisonnable, ils voulurent prendre congé. Mais il les arrêta, & leur fit présenter des œufs bouillis, des figues de la Chine, & de l'arak, les priant de ne pas mépriser les mets du païs. Dès-qu'ils eurent mangé, ils retournèrent à la loge des Zélandois, & ensuite à bord, sur le soir.</p>
<p>Den 6 dito heeft Daniel vander Leck, (die aldaer van den Admiraal Iacob van Neck gelaten was) een Prauw* met een Man aen den Vice-Admiraal afgevaerdicht / hem te kennen gevende dat hy met den Dato* Siriudara* gesproocken (45) hadde wegens den Peper / ende dat haer 800 Bhaar* mochten voorhanden wesen / welckē sy een derdendeel met goudt soude betalen: den Vice-Admiraal seyden geen gout / maer silver te hebben / daer op geantwoort is / dat de betalinge in silver wel conde gheschieden / toch in sulcke waerde alst daer ganbaer was / 't welke voor den Vice-Admiraal niet te doen ware.</p>	<p>On the 6th, Daniel vander Leck, (left ashore by Admiral Jacob van Neck) sent a man on a proa* to the Vice-Admiral to let him know that he had spoken with Dato* Siriudara* (45) about the pepper, and they would be able to find up to some 800 <i>bhaar*</i>; provided a third of it be paid in gold. The Vice-Admiral then said that he had no gold, but only silver; he was then told that payment in silver was admissible, according to the local rate [of exchange]. This [proposal] was not acceptable for the Vice-Admiral.</p>	<p>Le 6. Daniel van der Leck, que l'Amiral J. van Neck avoit laissé à Patane, ainsi qu'il a été déjà dit, envoya un homme, avec une pirogue, au Vice-amiral, pour lui donner avis qu'il avoit parlé à Dato Sirivara, au sujet du poivre, & qu'il en pourroit trouver jusqu'à 800. bares, pourvu qu'on en paîât le tiers en or. Le Vice-amiral fit réponce qu'il n'avoit que de l'argent. On lui dit qu'on pourroit bien prendre de l'argent, sur le pié du cours qu'il avoit en ce lieu-là; ce qui n'accommodoit nullement les Hollandois.</p>

Den 7 dito zijn weder te lande gevaren / ende tot den Dato* Sirinara* gegaen / met hem weder in woordē comende / soo van de waerdye des Peper / als van den Tol en andere onkosten / biddende so't mogelijcken waer / 't selvige eeniger maten te middelen: Den Dato hielt wederom sterck aen/'t selvige een derdeende in goudt te moeten betalen / naer de waerdye des silvers / daer sy gants niet toe verstaen wilden; maer wilden liever weten hoe veel stucken van achten sy voor de Bhaar* begeerden / daer op hy 35 stuckē van achtē weschten/'t welke haer seer vreemt voor quam / ende hebben haer af scheyt van hem genomen / ten deele haer naer de Schepen vervoegende / ende de reste gingen naer de Hollantsche Logie. Den Vice-Admirael was den 8. 9. ende 10 noch even sterck besich om den coop van den Peper ten eynde te brengen / gelijk eyndelijke geschieden / doch verminderinge in den Tol conde niet becomen / maer moste betalen vijf ten hondert: voor waech geldt van yeder Bhaar* een Maes* (doende twe-derden-deelen van een Real) ende dan noch boven dien een vereeringe voor de ladinge: voorts hadden gaerne bedongen dat haer gegerbuleert goet soude ghelevert werden / 't welke men haer niet toeseggen wilden; doch soo sy sulcx by de Cooplyuden verkrijghen conden / stont haer vry; oock waren sy niet verbonden / den Peper die haer niet aen en stont / te ontfangen. Den 11 dito zijn weder Scheep gevaren

On the 7th they once again went ashore to [visit] Dato* Sirinara* and further discuss the matter concerning the price of pepper, duties and other costs, requesting him to lower them as far as possible. The Dato insisted again on a payment in gold for one third [of the merchandise], [at a rate] based on the value of silver. They were not prepared to accept that; what they wanted was to know what the rate was between a *bhaar** against the reals-of-eight. He answered that they demanded 35 reals, which they found unexpectedly high and took their leave of him. Part of the group went back to the ship, the remaining went to the Dutch trading post.

On the 8th, 9th and 10th, the Vice-Admiral did his best to reach a deal on the purchase of pepper, and he finally succeeded, though he could not obtain a reduction of the excise and had to pay a five percent duty. Moreover, the charges for weighing were fixed at one *maes** (two-thirds of one real) on every *bhaar**, and a gift was sought [as a tip] for the loading. They also would have liked to impose that only pure pepper be delivered, but this request was rejected; however, should the Sellers accept this [demand], they would be free to do so. Moreover, they would be free to reject pepper considered as unsuitable for their purposes.

On their way back to the ship on the 11th, they checked on a junk coming from Iappan* with a Portuguese on board.

Le 7. du même mois de Novembre, ceux-ci étant retournés à terre, allèrent chez Dato Sirivara, & eurent conférence avec lui, tant sur le sujet du prix du poivre, que des (p. 670) douanes, & des autres frais, le priant de les faire modérer s'il étoit possible. Sirivara insista beaucoup pour en faire paier le tiers en or, à proportion de la valeur de l'argent, à quoi ils ne voulurent point entendre.

Ils demandèrent donc combien on désirait avoir de pièces de huit pour la bare. Il leur répondit, qu'on en vouloit 35. pièces. Ce prix leur parut si exorbitant, qu'ils prirent congé de lui, & une partie s'en étant allée à la loge, l'autre se rendit à bord.

Les 8. 9. & 10. le Vice-amiral fit tous ses efforts pour conclure le marché du poivre, & il y réussit enfin. Mais pour les droits de douane il n'en put rien faire rabattre. Il fallut paier cinq pour cent; une mase, qui fait les deux tiers d'une réale, pour le droit de poids; & encore avec cela faire un présent pour le droit de charge. Ils auroient aussi voulu qu'on leur eût livré le poivre tout net; mais on rejetta cette proposition, & on leur dit qu'ils pouvoient en parler aux Marchands & tâcher de les y engager. De leur côté ils n'étoient point aussi obligés d'accepter le poivre qu'ils ne trouveroient pas bon.

Le 11. en retournant à bord, ils raisonnèrent à une jonque qui venoit du Japon, à bord de laquelle étoit un Portugais. [...]

/ daer sy onderweghen verspraecken een Joncke comende uyt Iappan*, daer op een Portugees was [...]	[...]	
Den 13 des morgens sijn weder te lande gevaren / om haer gheschencken omme te deelen / ende haer ladinghe van Peper te becomeen / doch conden weghens den grooten regen dien dach niet veel uyt rechten. Den 14 sijn sy met haer geschencken tot de Dato* Siriuara* gegaen / bestaende in een half stuck Carmosijn gebloemt Fluweel / 13 Spiegel / een deel Veneetse Glaesen / een stuck root Carmosijn Laecken / alle het welcken door den Orankaya* gedeelt is / yeder deel naer de waarde des Persoons die het ontfanghen soude / namentlijk de Coninginne / den Radza Muda*, ofte jonge Coninginne / den Sabander*, Dato* Siriuara*, Dato Idoch*, Raga Wange*, Dugga Ragni*, Sirindana*, Manchaja*, Jurubassa*, ende den Maldemadiu*: als nu de gheschencken ghedeelt waren / sijn sy ten eersten ten hoove by de Coninginne gegaen; ende daer naer tot de anderen: hadden gaeren een huys naer haren sin ghehad / om in te wonen / het welcken den Sabander* niet toelaten wilde / dat sy op sijn goedt soude wonen / derhalven is haer een plaetse gewesen daer sy timmerē mochten; 't welcke voort by der hant genomen is. [...]	They went ashore again on the morning of the 13th to deliver their presents and receive their supply of pepper, but not much could be done that day due to heavy rains. Their presents were taken to Dato* Siriuara* on the 14th, consisting of half a piece of crimson velvet with a flower motif, 13 mirrors, a set of Venetian glasses, a piece of scarlet cloth. They were sorted by the Orankaya*, each item according to the position of the recipient, namely the Queen, the Radza Muda* or Younger Queen, the <i>sabander*</i> , Dato* Siriuara*, Dato Idoch*, Raga Wange*, Dugga Ragni*, Sirindana*, Manchaja*, Jurubassa*, and the Maldemadiu*. After all items had been properly distributed, they went first to the [palace] of the Queen and then to the other [places of residence]. They would have liked to have liberty to select a place to settle in but the <i>Sabander*</i> did not give them permission to live on a property belonging to him and consequently designated another plot where they could build, which they started straight away. [...]	(p. 671) Le matin du 13. ils retournèrent à terre, pour distribuer leurs présens, & charger le poivre: mais il plut tant ce jour là, qu'on ne put rien faire. Le 14. ils firent porter leurs présens chez Dato Sirivara. C'étoit une demie pièce de velours cramoisi à fleurs; 13. miroirs, dont une partie étoit de glaces de Venise; une pièce de drap rouge cramoisi. Ils furent encore partagez par l'Orankaïa, chaque portion étant faite par raport à la dignité de la personne qui la devoit recevoir: & ces personnes étoient la Reine, la Radza Muda, ou la jeune Reine, le Sabandar, Dato Sirivara, Dato Idoch, Raga Wange, Dugga Ragni, Sirindana, Manchaïa, Jurabassa, & le Maldemadiu. Quand le partage des présens fut fait, ils se rendirent auprès de la Reine, puis ils allèrent trouver tous les autres qui en devoient recevoir. Ils auroient bien voulu avoir la liberté de choisir une maison à leur gré, & qui leur fût commode; mais le Sabandar refusa de leur permettre de s'habiter sur un fond qui lui appartenoit, & on leur marqua une autre place où ils pouvoient faire bâtir; à quoi ils employèrent incontinent des ouvriers. [...]
(46) Den 18 dito sijn weder tot Dato* Siriuara* ghegaen / om ten derdemael hare gheschencken te presentieren / zijnde nu	(p. 46) They went again to Dato* Siriuara* [s place of residence] on the 18th to deliver presents for the third time, especially for the	(p. 672) [...] Le 18. les Hollandois retournèrent chez Dato Sirivara, pour lui faire de troisièmes présens, ceux-ci étant pour le droit

<p>wegens het recht vande Wage: welcken bestonden vieeir stuck Laecken / eenige schoone Spiegels ende fijne Glaesen, Welcke voorts geschencken wierden tot den Orangkaya Iurabassa* ghedragen / om des anderen daechs aen dese naervolgende Persoonen te behandigen / namentlijke aen den Coninginne / den Sabander*, Dato* Siriuar*, Sirandana*, den wegher / ende den Orangkaya uarabassa*. [...]</p>	<p>weighing taxes: four pieces of cloth, several beautiful mirrors and fine glasses. These gifts were taken to the Orangkaya Iurabassa* and the latter delivered them the next day to the following persons: the Queen, the <i>sabander*</i>, Dato* Siriuar*, Sirandana*, the weighing officer and Orangkaya Iuarabassa*. [...]</p>	<p>du poids, & consistant en une pièce de drap, en de beaux miroirs, & en des verres. Ils furent encore portez chez l'Orankaïa Jurabassa, pour les faire distribuer le lendemain à la Reine, au Sabandar, à Dato Sirivara, à Sirandana Commis du poids, & à l'Orankaïa Jurabassa. [...]</p>
<p>Den 23 dito sijn weder te lande gevaren / om het timmeren van haer Logie te vervorderen / des middaeghs sijn ghegaen ten huuse van den huys-heer die de Seuse Logie toebehoorden / zijnde een ghebooren Chineser, die haer versocht te sien willen spelen een Chinesche Comedie; des nachts quamen weder t'scheep / zijnde eenige dagen sonder yets sonderlinge te verrichten.</p>	<p>They again went ashore on the 23rd to hasten the building of their trading post. At noon, they went to visit the manager of the Zealand trading post, who was a native of China. He invited them to attend a Chinese comedy. They went back on board the same evening, and then spent a couple of days without doing anything special.</p>	<p>Le 23. les Hollandois descendirent à terre, pour hâter la construction de la loge. Sur le midi, ils allèrent chez le propriétaire de la loge des Zélandois, qui étoit originaire de la Chine, & qui les pria de voir représenter une comédie Chinoise. Vers le soir ils retournèrent à bord sans avoir pu rien expédier.</p>
<p>Den 27 heeft de Coninginne haer met eenighe gheschencken vereert / onder anderen eenen besonderen soort van rijs [...].</p>	<p>On the 27th, the Queen honoured them with some presents, among other things a special sort of rice [...]</p>	<p>Le 27. la Reine leur fit quelques présens, & entre-autres d'une espèce particulière de ris.</p>
<p>Den eersten December heeft den Rent-meester Dato* Siriuar* haer een geschenck te huys gesonden / bestaende in een Os / een mande eyeren / eenige Capoenen / Orangie Appelen / Indische Nooten / ende een kuyp Arack* ofte Wijn de Palma: Des naermiddaeghs is den Vice-Admiraal</p>	<p>On the 1st of December [1603], the Treasurer Dato* Siriuar* had a present sent to their house, composed of an ox, a basket of eggs, some capons, oranges, coconuts, a small cask of <i>arack*</i> or palm-tree wine. The Vice-Admiral returned on board in the afternoon, to dispense justice to several</p>	<p>(p. 673) Le 1. de Décembre 1603. le Trésorier Dato Sirivara leur fit aussi présent d'un bœuf, d'un panier d'œufs, de chapons, d'oranges, de cocos, & d'un poinçon d'arack ou vin de palmier. Après midi le Vice-amiral se rendit à son bord pour faire justice. Pendant tout ce mois il ne</p>

<p>weder Scheep gevaren om over eenige misdaders recht te pleghen. Voorts is desen gantschen Maent niet anders uytgerecht / als dat haer beste ende naersticheyt deden / den Peper gearbuleert te ontfangen / daer sy niet toe conden geraecken / hebben oock eenighe Peper van de Zeelantische Cooplyuden aldaer zijnde / gecocht. [...]</p>	<p>criminal cases. Otherwise practically nothing was achieved during the whole month: though they did their utter best to get pure pepper, their efforts were vain. They just managed to buy some pepper from the Zeeland traders being there. [...]</p>	<p>se fit aucune expédition d'affaires, les efforts qu'on fit pour obtenir que le poivre fût livré tout-net, n'ayant pu réussir. On en acheta aussi une petite partie des Marchands de Zélande. [...]</p>
<p>Den eersten Januarius 1604, tot den 16 waren dagelijcx besich met de Peper inde Zeelantsche Logie te garbuleeren / ende met Booten t' Scheep te brengen / hebbende by anderen meer ghecocht / om haer volle ladinge te becomen: Op dito quamen eenige Turcken ende Portugesen van Orieda* te lande naer Patani om te handelen; Eenige Turcken van Guzaratta* die goet Portugees spraecken / vertelden de Hollanderen de ghelegentheydt / van 't veroveren van een Portugees Schip onder Zeylon*, waer inne de Hollanders geen Turcken ofte Mooren* eenich leet gedaen hadden / soo dat sy over alle een goeden naem bequamen. Een dach ofte twee daer naer sijn eenige Portugesen tot de Hollanders gecomen / om eenige waren van haer te coopen / maer also die niet voorts ontfanghen wilden / ende heel weynich van woorden waren / soo wiert gespeurt haer sulcx geen ernst te wesen / doch sijn naermaels noyt weder gecomē.</p>	<p>From the 1st to the 16th of January 1604, they have been busy everyday sifting pepper in the Zeeland trading post and taking it to the ship with several boats, as they had bought [additional] quantities of pepper from others so as to get a full loading. On the same day [16th], several Turks and Portuguese from Orieda* came by land to Patani to trade. Some of these Turks were from Guzaratta* and spoke good Portuguese. They told the Dutch about the capture of a Portuguese ship off Zeylon*, during which the Dutch did not cause any injury to any Turk or Moor, so that they enjoyed better reputation than all others. A day or two days later, several Portuguese came to meet the Dutch to buy some goods from them. But as they did not want to be supplied straight away and they were known as people not true to their word, their request was not taken in earnest, and indeed they never reappeared.</p>	<p>Depuis le 1. de Janvier 1604. jusques au 16. on fut occupé à nétoier le poivre dans la loge des Zélandois, & à le mener à bord dans les chaloupes. Le même jour, 16. du mois, quelques Turcs & Portugais d'Orieda, venus par terre, arrivèrent à Patane pour trafiquer. Quelques-uns des Turcs, qui étoient de Gusratte, & qui parloient assez bien Portuguais, raportèrent aux Hollandois les circonstances de la prise d'un navire de Portugal, sur la côte de Ceilon, se loüant de ce que les preneurs, n'avoient insulté aucun des Turcs, ni des Mores, soit dans leurs personnes, ou dans leurs marchandises; ce qui avoit aquis aux Hollandois la réputation d'être honnêtes gens, doux & équitables. Un jour ou deux après, il y eut des Marchands Portugais qui allèrent à leur bord, sous prétexte de vouloir y acheter quelques marchandises: mais comme ils n'en vouloient (p. 674) pas avoir si-tôt la livraison, & qu'on remarqua qu'ils étoient gens à se dédire, on connut bien qu'il n'y avoit rien de sérieux dans leur affaire: aussi ne les revit-on pas depuis.</p>

<p>Den 20 dito is ontrent de Stadt een wilden Elyphant gevangen.</p>	<p>On the 20th a wild elephant was captured in the vicinity of the town.</p>	<p>Le 20. on prit un éléfant sauvage tout proche de la ville.</p>
<p>Den 22 dito syn des Sabanders* twee Soonen de Hollanders in haer Logie comen besoecken: op dato* tegens den avondt heeft Rent-Meester Dato* Sirituara* haer een Boode gheschickt / ende versocht haer dien avondt noch te spreke; daer comende / wast om een Inwoonder van Bantam* (zijnde een Persiaen) met haer naer Bantam* te voeren.</p>	<p>On the 22nd the two sons of the <i>sabander</i>* came to visit the Dutch in their Lodge. The same day, in the evening, the Treasurer Dato* Sirituara* sent a Courier to inform them that he wanted to talk to them. When they met, he requested them to take on board a citizen of Bantam* (in fact a Persian) who wanted to travel back to his hometown.</p>	<p>Le 22. les deux fils du Sabandar allèrent visiter les Hollandois dans leurs loges. Le soir du même jour, Sirivara envoya leur dire qu'il voudroit bien leur parler avant la nuit. Lors-qu'ils se furent rendus auprès de lui, il les pria de recevoir à leur bord un Persan, habitant de Bantam*, pour l'y remener;</p>
<p>(47) /'t welcken sy niet conden ontseggen / alsoo den voornoemde Persiaen haer bekent by allen grooten niet alleen te Patani, maer oock tot Iamby*, Bantam* ende alle andere plaetsen ghesien waer / zijnde een wel ervaren man / die over al t'huys was / ende besonder op den Genees kunst / ende 't branden van wateren / so dat hy onder die Natien* voor een halve Doctoer ghehouden wiert: onder des hadden met den Rent-meester Dato Sirituara veel woorden wegens den Tol / ende voornamentlijcke van't gene sy niet Scheep ofte uyt den lande voerden / als het stof ende stroy van den Peper / die sy te Scheep niet en begeerden / maer haer veel moeyten ende geldt kosten om haer die quijt te maecken / doch kregen tot antwoordt te moeten betalen / gelijk anderen lange voor haer gedaen hebben.</p>	<p>(47) They did not dare to turn down this request as the above mentioned Persian was known to all the dignitaries, not only in Patani, but also in Iamby*, Bantam* and other places. He was an experienced man, skilled in several subjects, especially medicine and the distillation of various kinds of liquors, so that he was considered as a semi-doctor by the Communities. This meeting with the Treasurer Dato Sirituara was an opportunity to have a long discussion about the customs duties, especially regarding goods they would not load or take out of the country, such as pepper dust and husk, which were not only useless to them, but also caused them great trouble and expenses to get rid of. Nevertheless, Dato Sirituara replied that they had to pay, just as their predecessors had always done.</p>	<p>ce qu'ils n'osèrent pas refuser. Ce Persan leur étoit connu, & on l'avoit vu avec tous les gens considérables non seulement à Patane, mais aussi à Jamby, à Bantam, & ailleurs. Il avoit beaucoup d'expérience: il se mêloit de diverses choses, & particulièrement de la Médecine, & de la distillation de toutes sortes de liqueurs; si-bien qu'entre les Chinois il passoit, au moins, pour un demi Médecin. Dans cette entrevuë les Hollandois parlèrent à Sirivara, au sujet de la douane, & sur-tout à l'égard des marchandises qu'ils ne faisoient point embarquer, ni transporter hors du país, telles qu'étoient la bale & la poudre du poivre, qu'ils ne vouloient pas emporter, et qu'ils ne séparaient d'avec le poivre qu'avec beaucoup de peine & de coût. Sirivara leur répondit qu'il falloit qu'ils paüssent, ainsi-que les autres Marchands avoient fait avant eux.</p>

<p>Den 25 dito het ruym van't schip volladen zijnde / soo hebben geresolveert / alsoo een Broot Camer hadden die by naer leedich was / deselvighe op te ruymen / ende mede met Peper te vullen / des noch 25 Bhaar* van den Orangkaya Iurabassa* cochten. [...]</p>	<p>On the 25th, as the hold of the ship was full, they decided to empty completely a compartment usually reserved for bread but almost empty at that time and fill it up with pepper. Which they did by buying another 25 <i>bhaar*</i> from the Orangkaya Iurabassa* [...]</p>	<p>Le 25. tout le fond de cale du vaisseau aiant été rempli de poivre, on résolut d'achever de (p. 675) vuidere une des soutes au biscuit, où il n'en restoit que peu, & de la remplir aussi de la même marchandise. Pour cet éfet on en acheta encore 25. bares de l'Orankaia Jurabassa. [...]</p>
<p>Den 27 dito sijn tot den Dato* Siriudara* ende anderen gegaen haer af scheidt nemen / mede om voor het laetste haer te beschencken / bestaende in eenighe stucken root Carmosijn Laecken ende anders / de Coninginne beschoncken sy met twee silvere Kandelaers / ende eenige Roosenobels* in specie. Ten Hoove comende / werden haer veel Fruyten ende andere dingen voorghestelt: de Heeren vraechden haer wanneer sy vermeenden te vertrecken / ende waer hene oock ofte sy niet gesint waren weder daer te comen / want sy t'allen tijden welckom soudent zijn / ende wel getraceert werden.</p>	<p>On the 27th they went to the Dato* Siriudara* and other persons to take leave and deliver farewell gifts, - consisting of several pieces of scarlet cloth etc.; the Queen was given two silver candelsticks and Rose Nobles* in specie. At the court, they were served many fruits and other sorts of food. They were asked about the day they planned to leave, where they were heading for, and if they had plans to come again, as they would be welcome guests any time.</p>	<p>Le 27. le Vice-amiral & ses gens allèrent chez Sirivara, & chez les autres Oficiers, pour prendre congé d'eux, & leur faire les présens d'adieu, qui furent quelques pièces de drap rouge cramoisi, & d'autres choses. Pour la Reine, ils lui donnèrent deux flambeaux d'argent, & quelques nobles-à-la-rose en espèce. Lors-qu'ils furent à la Cour, on leur servit des fruits & d'autres mets. On leur demanda quel jour ils se proposoient de partir, & où ils alloient, s'ils n'avoient point dessein de revenir? Enfin on leur fit connoître, qu'en quelque tems qu'ils revinssent, ils seroient toujours bien-reçus.</p>
<p>Den 29 stierde de Coninginne aen des Hollanders Logie tot een vereeringhe / twee Ossen / nevens alderhande fruyt / ende dat soo veel twee Olyphanten dragen conden.</p>	<p>On the 29th, the Queen honoured them by sending to the Dutch Lodge gifts including two oxen and as large a quantity of various fruits as two elephants could carry.</p>	<p>Le 29. la Reine leur fit présent de deux bœufs, & de diverses sortes de fruits, autant que deux éléphants en purent porter; & le tout fut mené à leur loge.</p>
<p>Den 31 sont haer den Dato* Siriudara* een Os / nevens twee kuypkens groene ingheleyde Peper / welcken hy voor haer expresselijcke hadde doen vaerdich maken.</p>	<p>On the 31st Dato* Siriudara* had an ox and two small barrels of preserved green pepper - which he had specifically ordered for them - sent to the Dutch.</p>	<p>Le 31. Sirivara leur envoya un bœuf, & deux petits tonneaux de poivre verd confit, qu'il avoit fait préparer tout-exprès pour eux.</p>

<p>Den eersten Februarij / des middaechs heeft den Sabander* den Opper Coopman van de Hollantse Thuyn by hem ontbooden / hem met een schoone Crits* uyt den naem van de Coninginne vereerende / ende sijn alsoo in alle vrientschap van den anderen gescheyden. Op desen avondt met de nieuwe Maen hebben de Malayen haer vasten begonnen / den selvighe inwijende met schieten / trommelen / roepen ende schreuwen / welke vasten duert tot den andere aenstaende nieuwe Maen / in welcken tijdt sy alle daghen voor des avondts doncker niet mogen eten.</p>	<p>On the first of February, at noon, the Senior Merchant of <i>Hollantse Thuyn</i> was called to the <i>sabander*</i>'s residence and offered a beautiful <i>crits*</i> on behalf of the Queen, so that they parted in a spirit of friendship. As the new Moon rose the same evening, the Malays celebrated the beginning of their fasting month – during which they are not allowed to eat until dark - by firing guns, playing drums, shouting and yelling, during which they are not allowed to eat until dark.</p>	<p>Le 1. de Février 1604. sur le midi, le Sabandar manda le premier Commis du Jardin de Hollande, & lui aiant fait présent, de la part de la Reine, d'un beau poignard, ils se séparèrent très-satisfaits les uns des autres, du-moins à l'extérieur. Le soir du (p. 676) même jour, la Lune renouvelant, les Malais commencèrent leur carême, célébrant cette soirée par des décharges d'armes-à-feu, par le bruit des tambours, & par de grands cris & des hurlemens. Ce carême dure jusqu'à la nouvelle Lune suivante, & pendant ce tems-là ils ne mangent point, que la brune ne soit venuë.</p>
<p>Den 2 dito / soo de Chaloupe met de Boot te lande varen soudan / beliep haer een gheweldig storm / daer door sy in groot perijckel ende van den anderē geraeckten / ende quam den Boot des anderen daeghs weder aen boordt / niet wetende hoe het met de Chaloupe vergaen was / des bevreesst waren dat sy mochten verongeluckt ende ghebleven sijn / derhalven hebben een Prauw* gecocht / ende die nevens een van de hare uytgesonden / om haer verlorne maets te soecken: op den avondt is het volck vande voorsz Chaloupe (te weten 8 mannen) te voorschijn ende in haer Herberge ghecome / hebben die 6 mijlen* van daer verlaten: doch wiert deselvighe van de Malayen haer weder ter hande ghestelt / mits ghenietende een eerlijke drinck penninck. Ten selvige daghe heeft den sabander* haer noch tot een vereeringe toeghesonden een Os / nevens veelderley vruchten.</p>	<p>On the 2nd, as the rowboat and the launch were heading to the shore, they got caught in a storm; they soon found themselves in great danger and drifting away from each other. The small boat made its way back to the ship the next day, being unaware of the fate of the rowboat. As they feared that it might have sunk and the [crew had] drowned, they bought a <i>proa*</i> and sent it together with one boat of their own to look for their lost mates.</p> <p>In the evening, the crew of the aforesaid rowboat (i.e. eight men) reappeared in the Lodge, having left their boat six miles* from there. [The boat] was finally returned to them by the Malays after the [Dutch] had paid a fair reward. The same day, the <i>sabander*</i> sent an ox and various kinds of fruits to them.</p>	<p>Le 2. comme la chaloupe & le canot étoient prêts de nager vers terre, ils furent surpris de la tempête, & se trouvèrent dans un grand péril, si-bien qu'ils s'écartèrent l'un de l'autre. Le lendemain le canot se rendit à bord, sans savoir quelle avoit été la destinée de la chaloupe. On craignit fort qu'elle n'eût péri, & l'on acheta une pirogue, pour envoyer la chercher, ou apprendre ce qu'elle étoit devenuë.</p> <p>Sur le soir les gens de l'équipage, qui y étoient au nombre de 8. revinrent dans leur auberge. Ils avoient laissé la chaloupe à 6. lieuës de là: mais elle leur fut restituée par des Malais, moïennant une honnête recompense. Le même jour le Sabandar envoya un présent d'un bœuf & de diverses sortes de fruits.</p>

<p>[...] (48) `</p> <p>[...] Van der stadts gelegenthey / vruchtbaerheydt des Landts / Religie ende regeeringe kan ghelesen werden inde tweede voyagie van dē Admirael Jacob van Neck [alsoo 't selvige aldaer Fol: 16 wijdtloopich beschreven staet / soo ist dat wy den Goedtgunstige Leser daer toe wijsen / ende onnoodich achten alhier weder te verhalē.]</p>	<p>[...] (p. 48)</p> <p>[...] As regards the description of the town, the fertility of the country, its religion and government, it can be found in the second journey of the Admiral Jacob van Neck [...].</p>	<p>[...] (p. 677)</p> <p>[...] Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire la description de ce païs-là, ni de parler de sa fertilité, de la Réligion des habitans, ou du gouvernement de l'E'tat, parce-qu'il y en a une ample Rélacion dans le Second Voiage de l'Amiral Jaques van Neck. [...].</p>
<p>[...] (73)</p> <p>[...] Dit alles verricht zijnde / is den Admirael [...] ende den 30 [05-1604] dito tot Patane gearriveert / de oorsaecke van haer arrivement aldaer / was alleneijckte / om eenige Chineses aen te nemen / die haer in haer aenstraende Chinesche reyse behulpich wesen soudē / Dies naer Queda* sonden / near een Chinesche Goudtsmit / die inde Chinesche hoofsche tael ende schrijven wel ervaren was / ende ghesint was weder naer China te trecken / want sonder tolck niet te lande soudē comen; also hy niet gesint was boven een dach 4 ofte 5 aldaer te vertoeven / maer sijn reyse voortes naer China te vervorderen / [...]</p>	<p>(p. 73)</p> <p>[...] After all this had been taken care of, the Admiral [...] and arrived in Patane on the 30th [May 1604]. The reason for their visit here [Patani] was only to enroll several Chinese who would provide information and assistance during their forthcoming journey to China. People were sent to Queda* to look for a Chinese goldsmith known to be skilled in the language and writing in use at the Chinese court and ready to go again to China. [...], considering that they should not arrive in the country without an interpreter and he did not want to spend more than 4 or 5 days there [in Patani] but was eager to go on sailing towards China. [...]</p>	<p>(p. 740)</p> <p>[30.05.1604] Quand on eut ainsi mis ordre à tout ce qu'il y avoit à faire [...], l'Amiral [...] & le 30. il mouilla l'ancre à Patane, où il ne relâcha, que pour y prendre à son service quelques Chinois, afin d'en tirer des lumières & du secours dans son voiage à la Chine. Il aprit là qu'il y avoit à Queda un orfèvre, qui étoit originaire de cet Empire, entendant la langue de la Cour, & écrivait bien; & qu'il avoit envie de retourner en son païs. [...] car sans Interprète il n'auoit pu obtenir à la Chine permission de descendre à terre; & il vouloit faire diligence, & ne séjourner que 4. ou 5. jours à Patane. [...]</p>
<p>(74)</p> <p>Den 11 dito [Juin] den Chinesche Goutsmid van Queda* noch niet vernomen hebbende / ende den tijdt verloopende / oock vernemende dat ten minsten 6 ofte 7 Chinesen soudē dienen in dienst te</p>	<p>(p. 74)</p> <p>As I had not heard of the Chinese goldsmith from Queda* by the 11th [of June] and time was running out, and after realising that we would have to hire 6 or 7 Chinese to correctly manage our transactions in</p>	<p>(p. 744)</p> <p>Le 11. de Juin, on n'avoit point encore eu de nouvelles de l'orfèvre Chinois de Queda. D'ailleurs on avoit seu, que pour bien faire ses affaires à la Chine, il faudroit du-moins avoir à son service six ou sept</p>

<p>hebben om haer saecken voorzichtigelijcke in China te verhandelen / ende qualijcken een ick laete staen 6 ofte 7 te krijgen soude zijn; soo hebben eyndelijcke met eenen Empau* Chinees (die aldaer tot Patane door Jacques Roussel in dienst van de Zeelandtsche* Compagnie ghelaten was) gheaccordeert / ende hem in haren dienst aenghenomen; met conditie / soo sy in China Negotie bequamen / dat sy hem als dan voor sijn moeyten soudent betalen 2 duysentd stucken van achten: noch hebben door hem in dienst become / een Stuerman / een Schrijver ende twee andere Chinesen, welcke vier personen sy aldaer op de handt mosten tellen ses hondert Realen* van achten / ende soo in China Negotie bequamen / dat haer als dan noch 3 a 400 Realen soudent betaelt warden / [...]</p>	<p>China and at the same time, that identifying just one would be difficult – so let alone 6 or 7 - we eventually made an agreement with a Chinese Empau* (who had been hired here in Patane by Jacques Roussel to work for the Zeeland Company) and took him, provided that, should they be permitted to trade in China, they should pay him a salary of 2000 pieces-of-eight for his service. Thanks to him, they could hire a Pilot, a Scrivener and two other Chinese. All the four persons concerned were recruited and immediately paid six hundred pieces-of-eight*, with a promise to be paid an extra amount of 3 to 400 if [the Dutch] succeeded in getting the permission to trade. [...]</p>	<p>Chinois, & l'on voioit qu'à-peine on en pouvoit avoir un seul. Ainsi l'on convint avec un Empau* de la Chine, qui avoit été laissé à Patane, par Jaques Roussel, au service de la Compagnie de Zélande. L'Amiral le prit, à-condition que s'il pouvoit obtenir la liberté du commerce à la Chine, il lui donneroit 2000. pièces de huit. Par son moien on trouva encore un Pilote, un E'crivain, & 2. autres Chinois, qu'on engagea, en leur comptant, pour tous les quatre, sur le lieu, 600. réales de huit, sous promesses de leur en paier encore 3. ou 400. si les Hollandois obtenoient la permission de trafiquer. [...]</p>
<p>[...] hebben oock door den Rentmeester Dato* Sinerara* eenen Brief aen den Mandorijn op Sineau* laten schrijven / hem haer comste ende gelegentheyt verwittigende / ende met een versoeck van vrye Negotie / als mede dat met haer schepen volgen soudent / ende om dat den voorsz Brief aldaer te spoediger / voorsekerder ende voor haer soude comen / so hebben aen den Nachodo* sestich Realen* van achten / tot port daer voor betaelt / [...]</p>	<p>They also got a letter from the Treasurer Dato* Sinerara* for the Mandarin of Sineau*, in which he announced their arrival and gave some information about their situation and requested them to be given permission to trade freely. To speed up the safe delivery of this letter, in order to reach its recipient before the arrival of the ships, 60 reales of eight* were paid to the Nachodo* for the service [...].</p>	<p>Ceux-ci obtinrent aussi une lettre du Trésorier Dato Sirivara, pour le Mandarin de Sineau, par laquelle il lui donnoit avis du voiage & de la qualité des Hollandois, et le (p. 745) prioit de leur acorder la liberté du commerce, auquel cas leurs vaisseaux suivroient la lettre. Pour faire porter cette lettre plus diligemment & avec plus de sûreté, afin-qu'elle pût arriver avant les vaisseaux, on paia pour le port soixante réals de huit au Nachodo.</p>
<p>(75) [...] Doch is voor haer vertreck van Patane, aldaer gearriveert een loncke met een Ambassadeur vanden Coningh van Borneo, mede brengende ende in vryheyt</p>	<p>(75) [...] Before their departure from Patane, a junk arrived with an Ambassador of the King of Borneo. He brought with</p>	<p>[...] Avant leur départ, il vint à Patane une jonque de Borneo, qui y amenoit un Ambassadeur du Roi de cette isle, lequel avoit avec lui huit prisonniers</p>

<p>stellende / acht Nederlantsche ghevangenen / zijnde van het volck van den Admiraal Iacob van Heemskerck, die in een Schuyt* / ongewapent / van eenige Borneers gevangen waren / [...]</p>	<p>him eight Dutch prisoners who were released there. They were crew of Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck and were made prisoners by several Borneans as they were in an unarmed schuit* [...].</p>	<p>Hollandois, qu'il remit en liberté. C'étoient des gens de l'Amiral Heemskerck, qui étant sans armes, dans un canot, avoient été pris par des habitans de Borneo [...].</p>
<p>(78) [January 1605] [...] voorts hebben met de voorsz. Boot / hare medeghenomen Chinesen weder naer Patane ghesonden / haer van den dienst ontstaende / behalven den Chinees Empau* die sy goet vonden in haren dienst te employeren / Alsoo sy hem ghetrou / ende kloeck inden handel vonden: dies sy hem ordere gaven / de Chinese Ioncken tot Patane ghearriveert zijnde / wel te letten op de kleynicheden / die fraey ende raer waren / op dat haer die niet ondercoft wierden. [...]</p>	<p>(78) [January 1605] [...] the Chinese who had been hired were transferred back to Patane on the aforesaid boat. They had been laid off except for the Chinese Empau* who was maintained in his position as they were pleased by his reliability and expertise in trade. They gave him instructions [saying that], that when the Chinese junks are in Patane, he would have to make sure that the fine trinkets and rare objects [that they bring] would not be bought up by other [traders]. [...]</p>	<p>(p. 753) [Janvier 1605] [...] Le bot remena aussi à Patane les Chinois que l'Amiral avoit pris à son service, auxquels il donna congé, hormis à l'Empau* qu'il retint, parce-qu'on avoit éprouvé sa fidélité, & son expérience dans le commerce. Il lui donna ordre en particulier, de prendre bien garde que quand les jonques de la Chine seroient venuës à Patane, où il alloit aussi, les petites curiosités & raretés qu'elles aporteroient, ne fussent pas enlevées par d'autres Marchands. [...]</p>
<p>(81) [...] dat aldaer op den 17 Februarius [1605] laest leden een Portugese Craecke* (comende van China) roerloos ingecomen [to Patani] was / dat oock Claes Simonsz Meebael, nevens d'andere Nederlanders / aen de Coninginne ende hare Rade versocht hadden deselvige in hare Haven aen te mogen tasten / 't welcke haer ooghluyckender wijze geconsenteert is; Sulcks by den Admiraal verstaen zijnde / heeft voorts sijn ancker ghelicht / ende is den 26 dito voor Patane op de Reede ghecomen / ende dicht by de Craecke* geanckert; oock dadelijcke een Schuyt</p>	<p>(81) [...] here on the 17th of February [1605], a Portuguese carrack* (coming from China), that had lost its rudder, arrived here [in Patani]. Claes Simonsz Meebael and the other Dutchmen requested the Queen and her Council to give them permission to moor in her Harbour. She gave them her consent by an eye signal. Following this, the Admiral weighed anchor and entered in Patane [harbour] on the 26th of this month and cast anchor close to the carrack. He immediately sent a <i>schuit</i> [to the Portuguese] ship to ask</p>	<p>(p. 762) [...] le 17. de Février, une carraque Portugaise, qui venoit de la Chine, aiant perdu son gouvernail, avoit relâché à Patane: que Nicolas Simonsz Meebael, & les autres Hollandois, avoient prié la Reine de leur permettre d'ataquer cette carraque dans (p. 763) le port; à quoi elle avoit en quelque manière consenti, faisant entendre qu'elle n'y prendroit garde qu'autant qu'il le faudroit par formalité. Sur cet avis l'Amiral leva l'ancre, & le 26 du même mois de Mars, il se rendit à la rade de Patane. Aussitôt il envoia un canot à</p>

<p>aen boordt gesonden / haer vragende of sy gesint waren te vechten / ofte de Craecke* goetwillich over te geven / sulckx dat de Portugesen resolveerden / naer eenige onderhandelinge / de Craecke* met sijne inhebbende goederen te ruymen / behoudens hunne lijven / [page damaged in the original: two or three illegible words. English translation based on French text] dien avondt alle te lande gheset zijn/</p>	<p>if they intended to engage in battle or were prepared to surrender the carrack*. After some negotiations, the Portuguese resolved to hand over the carrack together with its cargo / in exchange of which their life would be spared [...].</p>	<p>bord de la carraque, pour la sommer de se rendre, ou l'avertir de se préparer au combat. Après beaucoup de délibérations les Portugais offrirent d'abandonner le navire, moïennant qu'ils eussent la liberté de leurs personnes. [...]</p>
<p>(82) [...] de meeste profijt die sy reeckende met het nemen van dese Craecke* gedaen te hebben / was dat die van Patane ny vyanden met de Portugesen gheworden waeren: 't gene sy in de beroorende Craecke* (S. Antoni ghenaeamt) vonden / bestont in ontrent twee duysent Picol* witte poeder suycker eenige corven stock suycker: 4500 Picol tintenage*: 226 Ferdeelen Chinese Camphar*: 90 Ferdeelen Aguelæ*: 18 loode Cassen met Muscus* ballen / 11 Cassen Fermelioen*: 22 Cassen Chinese Waeyers/ 209 Ferdeelen rouwe Zijde: 75 Ferdeelen geele slechte Zijde: 6000 bont Porceleynen: nevens 10 vaten so fijn als gros ditto : Eenige vergulde Bedd'-steden ende andere kleynigheden: een party radix China*: een party Beniewin: 150 Canasters ofte Corven ghemaecte Zijde / als Fluweelen / Damasten* / Taffetasetjens*, ghetweerde Zijde: daer onder oock eenige Cassen Gout-draet [...]</p>	<p>82 [...] The best profit they [the Dutch] made out of the capture of this carrack* was that the citizens of Patane people became enemies of the Portuguese. In the carrack (named <i>Santo Antonio</i>) they found some 2,000 <i>picol</i>* of white caster sugar, several baskets of candy sugar, 4,500 <i>picol</i> of <i>tintenage</i>*, 226 packs of Chinese camphor*, 90 packs of <i>aguelæ</i>*, 18 lead boxes with <i>muscus</i>* balls, 11 boxes of vermilion*, 22 boxes of Chinese fans, 209 packs of raw silk, 75 packs of low-quality yellow silk, 6,000 multi-coloured porcelains, along with 10 containers with porcelain items, both fine and common, some gilded bedsteads and other trinkets: a bundle of radix china*, some benzoin, 150 canisters or baskets of prepared silk, and also velvet, damas, small pieces of taffeta*, twisted silk, and a few cases of gold thread [...]</p>	<p>[...] Le plus grand avantage qu'ils en tirèrent, fut d'avoir fait brouiller la Cour de Patane avec les Portugais. Le butin fait dans la carraque, qui se nommoit S. Antoine, consistoit en 200. picols de sucre blanc en poudre, quelques corbeilles de sucre candi, 4500. picols de <i>Tintenage</i>; 226. paquets de camfre de la Chine; 90. d'<i>Aguelé</i>; 18 caisses de plomb de rognons de musc; (p. 764) 11. caisses de vermillon; 22. caisses d'éventails de la Chine; 209. paquets de soie crûë; 75. paquets de chétive soie jaune; 10. tonneaux de porcelaine tant fine que grossière, & 6000. autres porcelaines à fleurs; quelques lits dorez; une partie de racines sina; une partie de benjoin; 150. canastres de soie en œuvre, comme velours, damas, petits taffetas; des soies retorses; quelques caisses de fil d'or. [...]</p>

<p>Noch hebben sy van de koninginne aldaer gekoft 408 Picol* rouwe Zijde [...] zijnde uyt de [...] Craecke* ghelost / ende by haere Konincklijke Majesteit in arrest ghenomen / [...] Dit alles soo verricht / ende met ooghluyckinge te wreck gegaen zijnde / so hebben de Koninginne ende haere raden daer naer teghens de Nederlanders groote pretensen ghemaect / 't welke eyndelijcke naer veel haspelinghe verdragen is / midts dat sy aen de koninginne soudentellen 12000 Realen van achten / daer nevens noch loopende eenighe kleyne schenckagien van zijde wercken / soo dat alles daer mede geslist was / uyt gesondert seeckere questie / die naederhandt weder op geresen is / van seeckere Ioncke, die in Malacca aenghetast ende voor verbeurt ghehouden was / toe behoorende een groot Meester van Patane, daer wel ghesien / genaemt Radzia Calanta*, voor welke schade de koninginne / op de Nederlanders op nieuws pretendeerde een somme van 2640 Realen van achten / waer mede sy verklaerde dat alle schade die de Portugesen die van Patane mochten komen te doen / doodt ende te niet wesen soudent / ende soudent dan gheen action meer op de Nederlanders te pretendeeren hebben / doch eyndelijcke is 't selvige verdragen voor de somma van 1500 Realen.</p>	<p>They bought 408 <i>picols</i>* of raw silk from the Queen [...] this silk had been [...] unloaded from the carrack and then seized by her Majesty [...]</p> <p>However, after having paid little attention to the event at the beginning, the Queen and her councillors submitted substantial claims to the Dutch. Finally, after much haggling, it was agreed that they pay 12,000 reals-of-eight to the Queen which was complemented with some modest presents [in the form of] prepared silk.</p> <p>It seemed that all the disputes had been settled with this arrangement when another issue arose concerning a junk that had been boarded and seized in Malacca. It belonged to a well-known and high-ranking Patane dignitary named Radzia Calanta*, the Queen claimed an additional compensation of 2,640 reals-of-eight from the Dutch for the loss and damage, explaining that, if the Portuguese were to come and cause other damages to the Patani people, all claims would be declared null and void and they would not take any action against the Dutch. Eventually the case was settled [by paying] an amount of 1,500 reals [...]</p>	<p>L'Amiral acheta de la Reine de Patane 408. picols de soie cruë, [...] Cette soie avoit été déchargée de la carraque, mais elle avoit été arrêtée & confisquée par la Reine. [...]</p> <p>Toutes ces choses s'étant ainsi passées, la Cour qui n'avoit pas fait mine de s'en apercevoir, fit paroître qu'elle les avoient bien vuës, et qu'elle vouloit avoir part au butin: car on forma pour cet effet de grosses demandes contre les Hollandois; & il fallut enfin en venir à un accommodement. On païa donc à la Reine pour ses prétentions 12000. réales de huit, (p. 765), outre quelques présens qu'on lui fit d'étofes de soie.</p> <p>Il sembloit que par cet accommodement tous les différens étoient vuidez. Mais il en survint encore un autre, au sujet d'une jonque qui avoit été arrêtée & confisquée à Malacca, & qui apartenoit à un des Seigneurs de la Cour de Patane, nommé Radzia Calanta, qui étoit bien auprès de la Reine. On prétendit que cette jonque valoit 2040. réales de huit, & que les Hollandois étoient tenus d'en dédommager le propriétaire. On leur promit que ce seroit la dernière demande qu'on leur feroit de cette nature, & qu'on ne répéteroit plus sur eux les pertes que les Portugais pourroient faire souffrir a ceux de Patane. Cette dernière affaire fut encore terminée par le moien de 1500. réales qu'on païa.</p>
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<p>Den 3 April [1605] hebben de Iappanders tot Patane een schadelijcke groote brandt gesticht die veel rouwe ende ghemaecte Zijde heft verslonden / welcke alle anders inder Nederlanders handen soude gevallen hebben. [...]</p>	<p>On 3 April [1605] the Japanese set fire to Patane; it caused a huge and disastrous blaze, causing the destruction of a large quantity of both raw and prepared silk which, otherwise, would have fallen into the hands of the Dutch. [...]</p>	<p>Le 3. d'Avril 1605. les Japonois mirent le feu à Patane, & l'incendie fut fort-considérable. Entre-autres il consuma quantité de soies, & d'étofes de soies, qui sans doute seroient toutes tombées entre les mains des Hollandois. [...]</p>
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4. Instructie voor den admiraal Steven v. d. Hagen (1603)

Source:

DE JONGE, J.K.J. (ed.), *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië (1595-1610)*, 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1865

[Stukken betreffende den Scheepstogt naar Oost-Indië, onder bevel van den admiraal Steven van der Hagen – 1603. Instructie voor den admiraal Steven v. d. Hagen. Extract uit eene “Informatie van diversche landen en eylanden gelegen naer Oost-Indien om aldaer bequaemlieck te handelen ende wat coopmanschap daer valt en daer best getrocken is” (vermoedelijk opgesteld door Stalpaert van der Wiele)], (section on Patani: pp. 154-156).

English translation:

by Daniel PERRET with the collaboration of Jean-Claude LEJOSNE

Translation of section on Patani: pp. 154-156.

<p>(154) Patana. [...] alwaer ooc veel peper te becomen is, alwaer tot 3 maels schepen geladen hebben ende daer woonen ooc Hollanders en Seeuwen. Hier is eene Coninginne die 't regeert, die ooc seer bedanct wort. Hier handelen veel Chinesen, die hier meer comen als tot Banda. Men maect hier ooc veel costelycke cleetgens die te Banda ende Moluccos* wel getrocken syn ende voorts andere waren, die de vremdelinghen hier brengen van dewelcke een weynich hier zal verhalen. Altijt behoeft men hier geen sorge te hebben van de Portugesen en d'inwoonders syn soo goet, dat men se nyet beter wenschen can. (De namen der kleeden zijn:) Tschera Malleyas* (zijde), Pattas* (1/2 zijde en catoen), Pantgypan* (weerschijn), Soutra touloucky* (damast* uit China).</p>	<p>154 Patani [details about the location] there is a lot of pepper to be collected here. Ships have already received a shipment here on three occasions and Hollanders and Zeelanders are living there. It is a Queen who rules here and she is highly revered. Many Chinese are doing business here, coming to this place in larger numbers than they do to Banda. They also manufacture here high-value fabrics that are in great demand in Banda and the Moluccos*, as well as other goods brought by the foreigners and I will briefly report about them below. The Portuguese are not a cause of worry whatsoever here and the Inhabitants are nice beyond all expectations. (The name of the fabrics are:) <i>tschera malleyas*</i> (silk), <i>pattas*</i> (half silk and half cotton), <i>pantgypan*</i> (shimmering taffeta), <i>soutra touloucky*</i> (damask from China).</p>
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<p>Ghy vint hier ooc veel schoon coperwerc van veelderley fatsoen, dat meest hier uyt Syam* gebracht wort, dat seer begeert wort op de eylanden suytoost opleggende... Hier wort oock goet geschut van daen gebracht, ja wel het beste dat in de Oost-Indische eylanden gemaect wort, dat by tyden ooc in de Molucques*, Amboin*, Banda, Seeram* wel gelden can en principalick in Seeram* om met Sagou* te vermangelen, maer dese dingen en is zoo datelycken nyet te schryven, hoe den handel hier mede gedreven wort en men moest er eenen hebben, die in dese dingen wat erwaren is, die in de voorgenoemde eylanden den prys wist, want het geschut is wonder different van prys, soewel in 't coopen als vercoopen, ooc zoo maect men hier gongen, dat ooc een zeer goede coopmanschap is, sy worden ooc veel naer China gebrocht. Dese gongen is den ryckdom van veel persoonen, en het geschut van gelycken, de gongen syn ronde beckens en van buyten een ront verhevinge, daer men op slaet want worden gebruyct in stede by onsl. de clocken gedaen worden om te beyaerden; (155) van dese com ic noch wel eenige onderrigtinge doen, want worden met de span vercocht, te weten die ontrent 3 vingers minder syn als twee span, meen ik, men hier wel becomen soude voor 2.5 en 3 realen en mogen in Banda altyt gewillich gelden opt voorjaer 40 catt* 't stuck en op 't najaer 60, 70, en ooc wel 80 catty* noten, enz.</p>	<p>One can also find here a wide range of brassware items; most of them come from Syam* and they are well sought after in the Southeastern islands... Good quality artillery is also imported here: it is actually the best of what is produced in the East Indian archipelago, and the items can fetch a good price in the Molucques*, Amboin*, Banda, Seeram* - especially in Seeram where it can be bartered against sago*. But this is not the time to provide details about these goods and the way they are traded, and it takes someone who has some experience in this field to do that, somebody who is familiar with current prices in the aforesaid islands, considering that the range of prices for artillery gear is very wide, both for buying or selling. They also manufacture gongs here, for which there is good demand. A lot of them are exported to China. Many people consider these gongs are a sign of wealth and this also applies to their artillery. The gongs are shaped like round dishes with the edge turned-up all around. People then hit them, similar to what we do with bells to play chimes (155). Concerning these [objects] I am going to collect some information as they are sold according to their size measured in spans; knowing that they are about three fingers smaller than two spans, I assume that they could cost here 2.5 to 3 reals and easily sell in Banda for 40 <i>catti*</i> a piece in the spring and, in the autumn, for 60, 70 or even 80 <i>catty*</i> of nutmeg, etc.</p>
<p>Het ander coperwerck zyn lampen, beckens, commen, copkens, calck en pynangdooskens*, hier zyn ooc roers met coper beslach, die in Banda, als zy ietwat zyn, een baer* noten gelden en wel 1.5 baer* oock, na de gelegentheyt des tyts. De Chinezen brengen hier veel aerdewerck, dat ooc zeer getrocken is in de Moluccos* en Banda, maer meest groff werc en middelbaer, te weten groote platteelen, middelbare en cleene coppen die overdect syn, oock die nyet overdect syn.</p>	<p>The other brassware items are lamps, bowls, cups, lime and pinang boxes. Here one can find also muskets with brass ornaments, which in Banda could be bartered against one <i>baer*</i> of nutmeg or even up to 1.5 <i>baer*</i>, depending on the time of year. The Chinese bring here a large quantity of earthenware that is also sought after in the Moluccos* and Banda, in particular in raw or semi-worked form, including large trays, small and medium-sized bowls, be it with or without cover.</p>
<p>De Chinezen brengen hier oock wel ongetweinde syde, die ic meen wel in Petany voor 130 en 150 realen het quintaal zult becomen en is oock veel getrocken op Maluccos* en Banda, maer dan moet het van alderhande slach wesen, soo root, blau, geel, groen, wit en andere diergelycke couleuren en al cocht men hier van 3, 4 en meer quintalen [...]</p>	<p>The Chinese also import untwisted silk thread that, I suppose, could be obtained in Petany for 130 or 150 reals a quintal. It is also much in demand in the Maluccos* and Banda, provided they are offered in all kinds of styles, red, blue, yellow, green, white and other colours of the sort. Three, four or more quintals should be available here [...]</p>

<p>Voorts die hier op dese landen handelde met een <i>jacht*</i> ofte een grooten <i>cromsteyen*</i>, groote slagen zoude hy connen slaen, soo in visch, boter, oleye, di gy in Patane wel condt becomen en tot bequamen pryse coopt, en oock andere waren, soo goude passementen, fraye <i>distars*</i> van zyde met goude passementen, daeraen ooc van gelycken gordels en meer diergelycke coopmanschappen, die te lang en onperfect mogelyck, hier zoude verhalen, maer die aldus handelen wil, moest een hebben als voren verhaelt, die op de Moluccos* ende andere eylanden voormaels genoemt wel geslepen is, want dit syn de plaetsen daer de Maleyen, haer meeste profyte in gelegen syn, die dicwils voor 100 realen wel 300 connen (156) maken en meerder, oock een dusdanige reys cont gy alle jaers doen, enz....</p>	<p>Moreover, those who do business in these areas with a <i>jacht*</i> or a large <i>cromsteyen*</i> should be able to carry various goods, including fish, butter, oil, that could easily be obtained in Patane at a fair price; this should also apply to other goods, such as golden ornamental plaits, attractive silk <i>distars*</i> with golden trimmings, plus belts of similar quality and various items; it would be impossible and inconvenient to list them up now and whoever is willing to start trading [on this market] should be aware, as we explained earlier, that they are much in demand in the Moluccas and the other islands mentioned above, these places being the most profitable ones for the Malays who very often manage to gain 300 reales or more for a 100-real [investment], (156) bearing in mind that such a trip can be done every year, etc....</p>
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5. Pieter de Carpentier et al. (1626)

Source:

COOLHAAS W. Ph. (ed.). *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Ostindische compagnie, deel I (1610-1638)*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1960. Including "IX. Pieter de Carpentier, Jacques Specx, Dr. Pieter Vlack en Antonio van Diemen, Batavia 3 februari 1626", pp. 184 sq.

English translation:

by Daniel PERRET with the collaboration of Jean-Claude LEJOSNE
 "IX. Pieter de Carpentier et al." (1626), pp. 190-192

<p>(190) [...] Tot vervolch van den peperhandel in de bocht* van Patanij hadden wij in april passato derwaerts gesonden met den Witten Beer ende 't <i>jacht*</i> den Hasewint een cargasoen tot incoop ruim van ses duysent sacken peper ; met omtrent 4800 sacken (sijnde soo vele, als d'onse in de Bocht* hadden connen becomen) is den voorsz. Beer den 5en december laestleeden tot Batavia wedergekeerdte ende, soo wij van hier tijd'lijcker mitsgaders een</p>	<p>(190) [...] With a view to following up with the pepper trade in the Bay* of Patani, we sent the [ship] <i>Witten Beer</i> and the <i>jacht*</i> Hasewint with a cargo to buy over six thousand bags of pepper. The aforesaid [<i>Witten Beer</i>] came back to Batavia on the 5th of December last year [1625] with around 4,800 bags (that was the maximum we could get in the Gulf), and if we had left more in time and sent a <i>jacht*</i> there [to the Gulf], [...] we would probably</p>
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<p>jacht* meer derwaerts gesonden hadden, [...] souden wellicht duysent sacken peper meer als nu becomen hebben ende, vermits de peper vroeger gerijpt ende ten deele voor d'arrivee onser jachten* gepluct was, hadden de Chineesen ende andere bijtijds eenige ingetrocken; daerbeneffens so en conden oock met twee jachten* alle de peperplaetsen in de Bocht tevens niet beset werden, alsoo der verscheyden plaetsen sijn, te weten Zangora*, Ligor*, Patanij ende noch eenige andere ende ondertuschen d'onse Ligor* ende Sangora* met de jachten* beseth hadden, vertrock er van Patanij een joncke* naer China met omtrent ses hondert sacken peper, sijnde corts voor haer aencompste mede een joncke* van Ligor* met pertijpe peper nae China gegaen ende, ondertuschen den Haesewint wederom voor Patanij ende den Beer voor Ligor* lagen, is van Sangora* een ander joncke* uutgesnapt met omtrent 250 sacken peper. In Ligor* bleeff een Chineesche joncke* liever 't heele mouson overleggen om haer peper te behouden ende aen d'onse niet over te laeten met intentie om in 't eerste van 't aenstaende suydermouson voor d'aencompste onser schepen daarmede naer China te vertrecken; door dese jacht* der Chineesen is de peper in de Bocht* seer geresen, soodat sij haer niet ontsien hebben 36 realen voor de bhaer* off ses Bantamsche zacquen* te geven.</p>	<p>have obtained one thousand bags more than we did. In fact, as the pepper had ripened earlier than usual and been partly harvested before the arrival of our <i>jachts*</i>, the Chinese and other people had already acquired some in the meantime. Furthermore, with two <i>jachts*</i>, it was impossible to be present in all the areas [producing] pepper in the Gulf and visit the various places, to wit Zangora*, Ligor*, Patanij and a few others. As our <i>jachts*</i> had docked in Ligor* and Sangora*, a junk departed from Patanij to sail to China with about six hundred bags of pepper; just before our arrival there, a junk from Ligor* bound for China left with a cargo of pepper, whereas the <i>Haesewint</i> was again at anchor in Patanij and the [<i>Witten</i>] <i>Beer</i> in Ligor*, and another junk left Sangora* with about 250 bags of pepper. In Ligor*, a Chinese junk has been at anchor throughout monsoon time to keep their pepper and leave nothing for our ships: their intention is to depart for China with it right at the beginning of the following southern monsoon, before the arrival of our ships. Because of this Chinese <i>jacht*</i>, the price of pepper has risen significantly in the Bay and they are prepared to pay 36 reals for a <i>bhaer*</i> or 6 Bantam bags*.</p>
<p>De cleedenhandel lagh in de Bocht mede onder de voet [...].</p>	<p>The cloth trade in the Gulf is flat [...].</p>
<p>Om d'extraordinaire oncosten van anqueragie, item d'ordinarij tollen, bedwongen (191) schenkagiën ende andere ongelden meer, excessijff groot vallende, in Patanij t'excuseeren, hadden wij onse jachten* geordonneert dese tocht Patanij voorbij ende directelijck na Sangora* te loopen, alwaer wij van alle lasten vrij sijn ende ongemoeyt op ons selven sitten mogen, te meer omdat Patanij doch selfs geen sonderlinge peper geeft, maer alleene de meeste cleeden trect ende de comptantenourniert om in d'omleggende quartieren peper daervoer te procureren, welke meest met comptant moet gecocht werden. Wij waeren daerbeneffens oock geïnformeert, dat de cooplieden van Patanij ons de cleeden in Sangora* wel souden comen affhaelen gelijk oock geevolcht soude hebben, indien</p>	<p>In order to save on the huge costs of anchorage, the ordinary [customs] duties, (191) inevitable gifts, and to escape other outrageous expenses to be made in Patanij, we ordered our <i>jachts*</i> to avoid Patanij during this trip and sail directly to Sangora* where we were on our own and free of any cause of concern. Moreover Patanij does not offer first-rate pepper; it is attractive mostly for the trade in clothing goods, thus providing the money to procure pepper in the neighbouring places where most [products] have to be paid in specie. However, we were also informed that the Patanij merchants were willing to come to Sangora* and buy clothing from us, and would have developed this activity if the dignitaries in Patanij had not prevented them and even denied them the right to do so. [...] If this monopoly on trade in Patanij is</p>

<p>haer sulcx door de grooten in Patanij niet strengelijck verbooden ende beleth ware geweest [...] wil dese monopolise handel in Patanij soo voortgaen ende de grooten dezelve aen haer trecken (gelijck sij het daernae beleyden), sal der weynich voordeels in toecomende in de Bocht* te werwachten sijn, alsoo alle d'andere plaetsen tegen Patanij te vergelijcken schaers een derde van de cleeden, welcke dit jaer daer gebracht sijn, getrocken hebben. Oock soo gaet den handel van cleeden in de Bocht gans te niet door de groote menichte, welcke daer van Mallaca te water, soo door de Portugiesen, Pahangers ende Jhoryten, gelijck mede door de Mooren* van de Custe Choromandel over Trang* ende Tanjongh Selang* dwers door 't landt tot Patanij toe in menichte gebracht werden, [...]</p>	<p>maintained and the dignitaries make the most of it (as is currently their purpose), there is not much profit to derive from sailing in the Bay in the future. When compared to Patanij, all the other places hardly attracted one third of the clothes that had been brought there this year. Moreover, the trade in clothing in the Bay is rapidly dwindling due to the large quantities that are brought there by sea from Malacca by the Portuguese, the inhabitants of Pahang and Johor, whereas clothes are also brought in large numbers to Patani by Moors coming from the Coromandel coast via Trang* and Tanjongh Selang* by land. [...].</p>
<p>(192) De geprocureerde peper in de Bocht* comt incoops met alle oncosten ende onderwicht boven de ses realen van 8en de sack te staen [...]</p>	<p>192) The price of the pepper procured in the Gulf remains above six pieces-of-eight the bag, including all overheads and [cases of] faulty weighing [...]</p>

E. Seventeenth Century Dutch Sources (1632)

DANIEL PERRET * (translated by)

6. Antonie Caen's Verslag (1632)

Source:

- "LV. Antonie Caen's Verslag zijner zending naar Patani en Siam (31 Juli – 27 November 1632)" in P.A. Tiele & J.E. Heeres (ed.), *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië, tweede reeks (Buitenbezittingen), Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, Tweede Deel, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1890: 214-231.

English translation:

by Daniel PERRET

Antonie Caen's Verslag zijner zending naar Patani en Siam (31 Juli – 27 November 1632): 214-222.

(214) [...] [21-08-1632] Des anderen daechs smorgens wesende 21e dito hebben wij de coopluyden Sr Gerrit Corssen ende Middelhoven naer landt gesonden om aen den Paducca* Solnara* ofte andere regenten wt onsen naem te verthoonen dat wij als een expres gesandt van UEd ^t met besondere (215) brieven ende eenige presenten aen de Conninginne en Dato Besaer*
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(214) [...] [21-08-1632] On the morning of the 21st, we sent ashore the merchants Gerrit Corssen and Middelhoven to inform the Paducca* Solnara* or other dignitaries on our behalf, that as special envoy of Your Excellency [Governor General of the VOC in Batavia] with particular (215) letters and several presents to the queen and Dato

* École française d'Extrême-Orient / French School of Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur.

<p>waeren affgesonden versouckende licentie om de selve aen haere Maj^{ts} te mogen overleveren, ende voorts tot soodanige audientie geadmitteert te mogen werden als een gesant van noode zij. Welcke coopluayden des avonts wederomme aen boort comende, rapporteerden ons dat bij eenige van de regenten als mede bij Besaer geweest hadden, van wien zij seer minnelijck ende vriendelijck ontfangen waeren geweest, dewelcke zij t bovenst hadden voorgehouden, die antwoordde de Conninginne t zelve zoude aendien, waer naer haer bescheyt wilde laeten weeten. Hij vraechde haer, als geheel verwondert zijnde, wat wij aldaer met soo veel scheepen quamen doen ende watter met de Conninginne te pitschaeren was. Zij antwoordden t'selve niet te weten en dat Zijne E. alles van den gesant wel zoude comen te verstaen.</p>	<p>Besaer*, we were requesting permission to deliver them to their Majesty, and moreover to attend such audience as it was necessary for an emissary. Back on board the same afternoon, these merchants reported to us having been to some dignitaries and Besaer, and were very politely and friendly welcomed. After exposing the above request to the latter, he replied that he needed to inform the queen about it, and would later convey her answer. He asked them, looking really surprised, what we planned to do here with so many ships and what was to be discussed with the queen. They replied that they didn't know anything about it and that His Exc. would hear all about it from the envoy.</p>
<p>Des achtermiddachs kregen bescheyt dat des anderen daechs vrouch met de brieven aen landt souden comen, to welcken eynde zij een huys ontrent onse logie ledich hebben doen maecken om aen landt comende in te mogen gaen, alwaer Dato* Besaer* met eenige Rijcs Raaden soude verschijnen om den brief te helpen translateeren. Op welck rapport wij des ander daechs smorgens sijnde 22 do ons naer landt hebben vervoucht, alwaer den secretaris van Dato* Besaer* ons verwachtte, dewelcke sich dadelijck naer de stadt vervouchde om Zijne Ed: aen te dienen dat wij al aen landt waeren.</p>	<p>In the afternoon, we were informed that the next day we would have to bring the letters ashore, and go to a house close to our trading post, which would be emptied and where Dato* Besaer* with several royal advisers would show up to help translate the letters. Following this information, we went ashore the next morning, on the 22nd, where the secretary of Dato* Besaer* was waiting for us. He headed straight for the town, looking for His Excel. to inform him that we had arrived.</p>
<p>Omtrent 2 uren met patientie gewacht hebbende is den Dato* Besaer*, Dato Bandara*, Dato Lacsemana* ende eenige andere regenten ontrent de middach met eenige oliphanten ende paerden aen ons logement gecomen, alwaer wij seer vriendelijck met alle beleeftheyt van haer gegroet ende gewellecompt wierden, waer naer bij den anderen neder zijn gaen sitten, als wanneer zij dadelijck naer de brieven hebben gevraecht om die te translateeren, die haer zijn behandicht, de welcke zij uyt het Malleyse translaet met duytse letters geschreven, t welcke haer voorlas, wtschreven. Zij waeren soo precijs ende punctueel datse dickmael een woort drie a viermael vraechden, jae den geheelen zin lieten erlesen ende daer naer int geheel tot diversche reysen collationneeren, om alles recht te treffen. Wij hebben haer daer naer oock den geheelen zin mondelingh ver-(216) claert, daer weynich antwoorde op volchde, niet anders als eenige sware suchten, soo dat men genouchsaem conde besepeuren</p>	<p>After waiting patiently for two hours, around noon, Dato* Besaer*, Dato Bandara*, Dato Lacsemana* and several other dignitaries arrived on elephants and horses at our lodging. There, we were greeted and welcomed very politely. We then sat together as they quickly asked for the letters to be translated, which we gave to them. They transcribed these texts written in romanized Malay, after reading them aloud. They were so precise and meticulous that they often asked about a word for three or four times, read the entire sense and made several comparisons, to make sure that the result was right. We also explained the whole sense verbally to them, (216) and therefore few answers were asked, except regarding difficult points, so that we really could notice that some of them were more worried than delighted at our coming. As evening fell, they left, saying that the translation would be written up the next day and that we should be received in audience when they would come to fetch the</p>

<p>eenige over onse comste meer ontoert als verblijft waeren. Zij hebben t samen, alsoo den avondt aent vallen was, wederomme haer afscheyt genoomen, seggende dat sij het translaet des anderen daechs int net zouden schrijven ende wj op morgen audientie souden krijgen, als wanneer zij den brieff wilden commen haelen. Welcken volgende wij dien geheelen dach naer het oversetten van den brief hebben gewacht. Geduerende dese onderhandelinge hebben de cooplyuden haer best gedaen om te vernemen wat in den handel te doen was, daer in voor die tijt weynich tot profitje vande Comp^{1c} hebben connen verrichten.</p>	<p>letter. We waited for the whole day to give the letter. During these negotiations, the merchants did their best to find out the trade to be done, as very few things profitable for the Company had been achieved until then.</p>
<p>Des anderen daechs, wesende 24 do omtrent de middach, zijn partye olijphanten ende paerden met eenige regenten ende een groot getal van pieckeniers* ende musquettiers* met pijpen ende trommelen op haer manier om den brieff gecommen ende ons voorts int Hooff te brengen. Welcken volgende wij op d^o olyphanten ende paerden met onse swijte sijn gaen sitten, rijdende van daer voorts naer de stadt, alwaer met eenige eerschooten van groff geschutt, als valcoens*, bassen* ende roers, int incomen van de poort zijn gecongratuleert. Int voortrijden naert Hoff stonden voor alle de grooten haere huysen menichte bas* cammers die alle int verbij passeeren gelost ende offgeschooten wierden.</p>	<p>The next day, that is on the 24th, around noon, a party consisting of some dignitaries on elephants and horses, a large number of pikemen* and musketeers* with flutes and drums according to their custom came to receive the letter and take it to the court. We followed them, seated on these elephants and horses, riding from here to the town, where we were received by several shots of large guns, such as faucons*, fowlers* and muskets, when we arrived from the port. During the trip to the court, shots by the numerous guns set in front of the houses of the dignitaries were fired.</p>
<p>Daer waeyen oock op alle plaetse in de stadt als int Hoff ontelbare vlaggen ende vaendels, en werden van meenichte menschen (als om wat wonder wat nieuws te sien) gevolcht. Omtrent het Hoff comende zijn gelijckelijck affgeseeten, woordende voorts binnen gebracht tot op de balleye*, die zeer cirieuselijck met veele goude laeckenen ende fluweelen geborduerde hemels toegemaect was, daer alle de Mandarijns ende Rijcx Raden in groot getal bij den anderen vergaedert waeren. Alwaer de Conninginne oock daedelijck wt een groot vergulden venster van haer palleyes zeer costelijck toegemaect verscheen, als wanneer den brieff overluyt ten aenhooren van een ider gelesen wiert, die met sulcke stillicheyt ende modestie aengehoort werden dat men niet een muys nauw conde hooren ritselen. Gelesen zijnde begon de Conninginne in deser manieren te spreecken. Ick hebbe den inhoud van den brieff (217) van den Nederlantschen Generael verstaen, waer op met corte woorten sal antwoorden.</p>	<p>Everywhere in town and in the court, countless flags and ensigns were seen fluttering, and we were followed by a lot of people (like seeing something amazing or new). Coming to the court, we got off together, were brought inside to the balleye* abundantly decorated with many gilded clothes and a velvet-trimmed dais. All the mandarins and royal advisers were there in large number. The queen quickly appeared at a large somptuous gilded window of its palace, when the letter was read out loud to be heard by everybody. It happened in such a silence and simplicity, that not even a mouse would be heard. After the reading, the queen began to speak as follows.</p> <p>“I have understood the contents of the letter (217) from the Dutch general, and will answer briefly.”</p>

<p>Seggende op het eerste point tgene noyt gebroocken en was en behouffden niet weder te maecken ofte vernieuwen en t geene noyt gemaectt en was [...].</p> <p>Zij hielt het selve voor soo vast ende vouchdich als het van ouden tijden geweest was, twelck zij met haer schrijven aen UEd^t oock soude confirmeeren ende doen blijcken.</p>	<p>Regarding the first point, she said that it [the peace agreement with the Dutch] had never been terminated, and so it was not necessary to make a new one or to renew it. [...] She considers it to be unshakable and firm, since it had been done a long time ago. She would confirm and show this position in her letter to His Excel.</p>
<p>Sij en hadden oock, zoo lange geleeft hadden, geen contract mette Portugiesen gemaectt, derhalven geen condon breecken ende nu noch in der eeuwichheit niet en souden breecken. Dat zij ofte eenige van Patana de Portugiesen tegens den Coninck van Atchin* ofte Chiam* hadden geassisteert, wilden de Portugiesen den Chiammer (gelijck zij hem verachtelijck noemen) verdrijven, zij mochtent doen t soude haer lieff sij. Op het tweede point gaff voor antwoorde dat oock niet van meeninge en was van de twee aengehaelde joncqven een coupon* te restituereen, en wenster noch wat meer conde krijgen, alsoo den Chiammer haer joncq, daer noch een hollants assistent met eenige Mardijckers* van Battavia op waeren, eerst hadde aengeslaegen, daer het volck noch in Siam gevangen saeten.</p>	<p>As she never made any contract with the Portuguese, the latter couldn't have broken one, and would not break one now or in the future. Regarding the fact that she or some Patana people had helped the Portuguese against the king of Atchin* or Chiam*, as the Portuguese wanted to expel the Siamese (as they call them with disdain), she would be delighted if they could do so. On the second point, she replied that it was not their intention to make the restitution of a single <i>coupon*</i> from both of the seized junks. There was no way to get more, given the fact that the Siamese had first seized their junk with a Dutch assistant and several Mardijckers* from Batavia on board, and the people were still jailed in Siam.</p>
<p>Belangende het derde point, wegens de gepretendeerde schaede van de Chineesen van Batavia, was zij gewillich te restituereen als UEd^t maer de vruntschap metten Chiammer geliefde aff te snijden hoewel sij daer geen kennisse aff en hadde te dragen, alsoo ditto joncqven den Chiammer ende niet Nederlanders toe quamen.</p>	<p>Regarding the third point, on the supposed loss incurred by the Chinese of Batavia, she was ready to make some restitution, provided His Excel. promises to cease friendly relations with the Siamese, although she had no knowledge of it and will be watchful, as these junks didn't belong to the Dutch but to the Siamese.</p>
<p>Maer om alle vrundtschap met UEd. te onderhouden wilden haer over dit stuck tot de redelijckheit laeten vougen. Dat zij den Chiammer in soodanige hommagine zoude erkennen als de Croone van Patane bij ouden tijden aen de Coningen van Chiam* altijt hadden bethoont, gaff voor antwoorde met een gealtereert gemoet sulcx nu noch inder eeuwichheit niet en soude geschieden soo langh als soodanigen verrader ende moorder die croone niet toe (218) en quam in de regeringe was. Doen begonnen de Mandorijns ende Rijcs Raeden van alle canten op te steecken, seggende liever den lesten droppel bloet wilden storten eer dat geschieden soude, daer bij vougende te een besluyt dat sij souden helpen bevoorderen datter tusschen</p>	<p>But in order to maintain friendship with his Excel., they wanted to solve this case in all fairness.</p> <p>On the idea that they have to acknowledge the authority of the Siamese, as the crown of Patane has always shown for a long time toward the kings of Chiam*, she replied in a changed tone that such situation is not true at the moment and would not happen in the future as long as such a traitor and murderer, who didn't in any way merit the crown, (218) was on the throne. From all sides, mandorijns and royal advisers began to react, saying that they were ready to fight until the last drop of blood, rather than see that happen. In addition, they</p>

<p>den staedt der Vereenichde Nederlanden ende Coningen van Chiam*, Patana, Cambodja*, Jhoor*, Jamby*, Andrigiery* als andere omleggenden plaetsen een eeuwich verbondt ende vrede mochte te wege gebracht werden omme malcanderen in tijden van noode tegen alle attentaten ende aenslaegen van de Spanjaerden ende Portugiesen te assisteren. Wilde daer soo veel in te wege brengen als in haer vermogen was, maer den Chiammer most daer buyten blijven. [...]</p>	<p>agreed on a decision to support the idea that a lasting coalition and peaceful relations should be established between the State of the Netherlands and the kings of Chiam*, Patana, Cambodja*, Jhoor*, Jamby*, Andrigiery* and other neighbouring places to assist each other if need be, against all attacks and attempts by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. They are very keen to implement this plan with all their ability, but the Siamese must stay out. [...]</p>
<p>Waarmede (zonder dat ick eenich antwoord conde commen) stille sweench ende sloot dadelijcken haer venster toe, soo dat ick een geruymen tijt (als een staten stuyver*) bleeff sitten kijcken, zonder dat mij iemandt meer aensprack. Waer naer een van de Mandorijns of Rijcx Raeden, die naest Dato* Besaer* zijn zitplaets hadde, van Haere Majest aen mij gesonden wiert, mij vragende off ick t'gene de Coninginne van UEd^t missive geantwoort hadde wel hadde verstaen, waer op ick antwoorde niet al te wel alsoo vrij wat stille hadde gesproocken. Hij verhaelde mij alle 't voorsz. andermael van woorde tot woorde, op dat UEd. goet rappoort mochte gedaen werden, als wanneer mij wederomme vraechde off ick alles wel ende ten rechten verstaen hadde waer op antwoorde: jae, geheel wel; vragende mij voorts off daer iets op te seggen viel. Ick seyde: vrij wat veel, waarmede wederom voor de tweede mael naer binnen gegaen is. Vuytcomende, versocht vrindelijck wtten naem van Haere Maj^{ts} dat ick doch soude seggen watter aen schortte.</p>	<p>After which (without any opportunity to answer), she fell silent and immediately closed her window, and so I stayed seated looking around for some time, without anybody speaking to me. After a while, one of the mandorijns or royal advisers, who was seated next to Dato* Besaer*, was sent to me by Her Majesty to ask if I had well understood her answer to Your Excel.'s letter. I replied that I didn't understand everything well, even though she had spoken slowly. He repeated word by word all that she said to me, in order to make an accurate report to Your Excel. He asked me again if I had understood everything rightly, and I answered "yes, all well". He then asked me if I had anything to say. I said "quiet a lot" and went inside for the second time. Coming before the audience, I politely requested from Her Majesty to be given the opportunity to tell what was the matter.¹</p>
<p>Zij wilde mijnen raet in alles gaerne volgen. Waer mede reedenen bequam om te spreekken. Ick stelde haere Maj^t ende alle de Mandorijns voor de quade procedueren, die buyten alle recht ende reden zoo tegen ons als den Conninx van Chiam staet hadden gepleecht, waer over den staedt (219) van Patana oock swaerder onheylen hadde te verwachten, raedende hun daerover naerder te bedencken ende soodanige goede resolutie te laeten volgen als de mayntnue van haeren staet vereyste. Hier op keken zij malcander vast aen zonder te antwoorden. Ick verclaerde als doen volgende UEd^t last rontwt dat se nimmermeer en zouden gelooven wij noch den Conninx van Chiam de gelede quade affronten ende proceduyren zouden vergeeten.</p>	<p>They were quiet ready to follow my advice. I explained to Her majesty and all the mandorijns the wrong actions committed illegally and without any justification, against us or the king of Chiam*, for which the town (219) of Patana had to expect serious repercussions, I advised them to consider this problem seriously since the preservation of their State was at stake. Then they looked at each other without answering. I explained that according to Your Excel.'s clear order, they should never believe that we or the king of Chiam* would forget the past offences and wrong actions.</p>

1. Thanks to Annelies Riem Vis for her help to translate this sentence.

<p>Dato* Besaer* viel alsoeden in mijn reeden, seggende dat UEd^t qualijck geïnformeert waert en dat de saecken als ick op Battavia quam wel souden veranderen principaelijck als UEd^t hoorde hoe vrij de Portugiesen nu in Chiam* woonden, aldaer haer kercke* hadden ende haeren godtsdienst deden, alsmede de overgroote vruntschap, die zie van den Conninck genooten, daer zij ter contrarie noch Portugiesen mistis in hun lant metter woon wilden gedoogen, seggende gij siet wel dat hier noch vaertuych noch Portugiesen en sijn, en soo gij se vindt, slaet se vrij doot. Ende wat aengaet de Chiammer, wij en vragen daer niet naer en willen van hem niet hooren; daer en was geen bedencken mede gemengt; wat hij cost doen wilden zij haer getroosten: Godt soude de rechtveerdigen helpen; seggende wederom: hoe souden wij sulck een verrader ende moorder kennen, die het noch niet genouch is, dat hij den onnoosele jongen Conninck van Chiam* vermoort heeft; hij heeft se noch allen doen vermoorden die van den bloede waeren; wij en hoopen emmers niet, dat d' Ed: Hr Generael soo veere van de gerechticheyt gewecken is dat hij sulck een verrader in sijn ongerechticheyt sal voorstaen, daer wij, zoo wel als den Chiammer metten Nederlanders soo lange jaeren in alliantie ende vruntschap zijn geweest.</p>	<p>Dato* Besaer* interrupted me, saying that Your Excel. was not well-informed and that the situation would be different when I arrived in Batavia, mainly because Your Excel. would have heard how the Portuguese now live freely in Chiam*, have their church and hold their services there, and enjoy great friendship with the king. Here, in contrast, they wouldn't permit even a single room to be given to Portuguese mystic², adding "you can see clearly that there is no Portuguese ship or people here, and if you find any, kill them." And as regards the Siamese, here they didn't ask for them to come and don't want to hear of them. They have no ulterior motive in that. They would agree to what he could do. God would help the righteous, adding "how could we have relations with such a traitor and murderer, who not only had the innocent young king of Chiam* assassinated, but also all his blood relatives. We certainly don't expect at all that His Excel. Hr Generael has deviated so far from the right path until siding with such a traitor in his unfairness. Here, we have been in partnership and friendship for so many years with the Siamese and the Dutch.</p>
<p>Jae t' is sulcx dat men eer een staelen berch zoude doorgraven eer men dit volck van haer bloetdorstich passieus gemoet soude affbrengen. Weshalven, alsoo ick wel sach hoe het laecken hier geschooren was, de saecke voorder hebbe laeten berusten, versouckende mijn afscheyt, ende dat haere Mal^ts oock schriftelijck op UEd: missive gelieffde te antwoorden, alsoo mijn last niet toe en liet daer langer te blijven. Op welck versouck gemelte Mandorijn wederomme binnen gegaen is, die naer ontrent een quartier uysr weder buyten quam, mij van Haere Mal^t wege biddende, dat ick met de coopluyden ende anderen die bij mij waeren op overmorgen aldaer op een banquet zoude gelieven te, (220) verschijnen als wanneer Haere Mal^t ordre zoude geven om de antwoorde op UEd^t brieff te schrijven. Waer mede ons affscheyt hebben becommen, zoo dat met alle eerbiedicheyt int vrindelycke van den anderen zijn gescheyden. Int wech</p>	<p>Yes, to make these people give up their passionate bloodthirsty behaviour is like trying to cut a mountain of steel." Therefore, feeling the deadlock, I gave up and requested to take leave. Moreover, as Her Majesty was ready to give a written answer to the letter from Your Excel., I had no reason to stay any longer. Following that request the said mandorijn went again inside, came back a quarter of an hour later and, on behalf of Her Majesty, invited me with the merchants and the others following me to attend a banquet two days later, (220) meanwhile Her Majesty would give the order to write the answer to the letter of Your Excel. Then we parted ways, taking leave of each other in a respectful, friendly manner. On the way, we were followed by the secretary of Dato* Besaer*, who asked us to go to his house to sit together again. Dato Besaer meant to join us soon. So that we didn't have to wait long before he came to us with several</p>

2. Translator note: priest.

<p>gaen werden van den Secretaris van Dato* Besaer* gevolcht, die ons eer dat wij weer op saeten, bat dat wij t sijnen huysen souden aengaen. Dato Besaer meenden ons dadelijck te volgen. Soo dat niet lange en wachten offte quam met noch eenige Mandorijns bij ons. Hij liet ons allerley confitueren* ende bancquet voor setten om ons te tracteeren, all waer de bovengeschreven reedenen wederom verhaelde, daer ick weynich op antwoordde, alsoo wel sach dat het pluymen in de windt waren ende all pick int vuyr was.</p>	<p><i>mandorijns</i>. He treated us with various jams and a banquet, while explaining again the aforementioned reasons. I didn't answer much, seeing that the atmosphere was not conducive and matters were getting worse.³</p>
<p>Ick hadde gehoopt dat se int laetste noch waeter in haer wijn souden gedaen hebben, maer ter contrarie most ick seyl minderen ende een riffjen inneemen, voorgevende als UEd. nu antwoorde op den brief bequam als oock het mondelingh rapport van ons, dat de saecken lichtelijck op een ander voet souden draijen. Dit bolde Dato* Besaer* met de geene die met hem gecommen waeren geheel wel. Zij en twijffelen daer oock niet aen off UEd. soude (naer dat van haer saecke wel ende ten rechten geïnformeert waert) alles ten besten duyden, waer mede dese prepoosten gestaect wierden. Hij begon doen te spreekken van de peeper ende cleeden. Ick antwoordde hem dat de coopluyden daer last toe hadden. Waer over Sr. Gerrit Corssen met hem in handeligh begon te treden. Hij hielt zijn peeper op 28 Rn. de bhaer*, zonder een coupon* aff te commen, zeggende dat Barent Pesser en de Chinese jonck*, die vertrocken zoo veel daer voor betaelt hadden. Dese bovenschreven peper bestondt in 2 a 300 bhaar*, die noch meest van Sangora* ende Ligor* moste gehaelt worden, daer hij al twee prauwen* (zoo hij seijde) naer toe gesonden hadde.</p>	<p>I had hoped that they would have mellowed, but to the contrary, I had to stay calm, assuring that after Your Excel. had received the answer to his letter and listened to my oral report, things would easily take a different turn. Dato* Besaer* and the others who came along were very pleased by this opinion. They have no doubt that Your Excel. would (after being well and rightly informed) interpret everything in the best way, and as a result these disputes would be stopped. He began to speak about pepper and clothes. I replied to him that the merchants were in charge of this question. Then, Sr. Gerrit Corssen began discussions on trade with him. He is ready to sell his pepper at 28 Realen per <i>bhaer*</i>, without a <i>coupon*</i> of discount. He said that Barent Pesser and the Chinese junk, which had already left paid this price. There are some 200-300 <i>bhaer*</i> for sale. Most of it should be brought from Sangora* and Ligor*, where he had sent two boats already (as he maintained).</p>
<p>Dese boecht vonden wij soo verarmpt als voor desen wel placht te floreeren, gelijk wij oogenschijnlijck hebben ondervonden, want anders geen vaertuych cleyn noch groot (anders als twee cleyne prauwen* van Maccassar*) aldaer opt landt gehaelt vonden. Die van Andrigirij*, Campher*, Jhoor*, Pahang ende ander omleggende quar-(221)tieren, die jaerlicx aldaer veel toevoer, volgende hun eygen seggen, van peper plachten te brengen, blijven achter. De Chinese jonquen loopen verbij. Lygoor* is geheel verdestruuert ende de Siammer worde dagelijck verwacht, die</p>	<p>We found the gulf (<i>boecht</i>) very impoverished, whereas formerly it was a flourishing place, as we could see during our stay there. No boat, large or small, was anchored there (except two small boats from Maccassar*). People from Andrigirij*, Campher*, Jhoor*, Pahang and other neighbouring places, (221) who used to come here every year, they say, to bring pepper, now stay away. The Chinese junks don't stop. Lygoor* is completely destroyed and the coming of the Siamese is expected anytime soon to lay waste and raze to the ground what is left. Therefore very little or</p>

3. Thanks to Annelies Riem Vis for her help to translate this sentence.

<p>het overgebleeven mede sal vernielen ende raseeren, zoodat van daer voor eerst weynich ofte geen peeper te verwachten is. Deze luyden haer saecken dus slecht staende, ist nochtans onmogelijck haer tot bekentnisse van haere well weetende dwalinge te brengen.</p>	<p>no pepper at all can be expected from this place at the moment. The situation of these people is bad but there is no way that they will admit their obvious mistake.</p>
<p>Zij en willen gans niet weten dat het naer blijven van den Nederlantschen handel hier van d'oorsaecken zijn. Praetjens en geldender niet, t'zijn al roosen voor verckens en pluymen in de windt. Dato* Besaer* zeyde zoo wij jaerlicx eenige scheepen aldaer wilden seynden ofte wederom een logie maecken, daer en zoude geen peeper ontbrecken, want die van de bovengenoemde plaetsen tselve verneemende soudan ongetwijffelt wel weercommen. Hier brocht hij sijn eygen vonnis meede, dat het naerblijven van den Nederlantschen handel d'oorsaecke van haer qualijck vaert was. Ick seyde hem off nu daer peeper genouch waer en hielde deselve tot soo hoogen prijs, soo en soude men even wel niet connen handelen, want de Comp^{ie} nimmermeer de peper tot haere groote schaede ende nadeele to soo hoogen prijs en soude opcoopen, vragende hem met eenen wat dit beduyde dat zij haer peper soo costelijck hielden en voor wien zij die anders als voor de Portugiesen bewaerden?</p>	<p>They don't want to know at all that the cessation of the Dutch trade here is among the reasons. Conversations are useless, and doing something seems pointless. Dato* Besaer* said that if we were ready to send several ships every year or to reopen a trading post here, pepper won't be lacking, because people from the aforementioned places would know about it and undoubtedly come back. By saying this, he acknowledged himself that the withdrawal of the Dutch trade was the reason of their bad situation. I told them that even if there was enough pepper here, the price was so high that we wouldn't be able to afford to buy it, because the Company didn't agree anymore to buy at such a high price to avoid big losses and prejudices. I asked him why their pepper is priced so high and against who they were protecting themselves apart from the Portuguese?</p>
<p>Hij antwoorde al grunlachende voor de Chineese jonck* die t naeste jaer commen zoude. Ick antwoordde, dat die wel achter blijven soude want do jonck* was (volgens sijn eygen seggen) met een ambassade naar Battavia ende niet naer Patana gedestineert, die door groote leckagie aldaer heeft moeten aencomen, zoodat maer per accident ende bij gevalle, genouch tegen haeren danck, daer was aengecomen en daerenboven met de helft van haer ingelaeden coopmanschappen onvercocht weder naer China hebben moeten keeren, hem vragende wat reden zij dan zouden hebben om t naeste jaer daer weder te commen, seggende dat wij ons dit qualijck conden laeten wijs maecken.</p>	<p>He answered smiling "from the Chinese junks, which would come the following year." I replied that it would probably take some time, because the last junk (following his own account) was bound for Batavia with a delegation and not for Patana. In fact, due to serious leaking, this junk had to make an unscheduled call at Patani but against the will of the crew. It sailed back to China with half of its lading unsold. Therefore I asked him why the junks would be back the following year. He said that it was something difficult for us to believe.</p>
<p>Waer op hij stille sweech, ende alsoo den avont aen t vallen was, hebben ons affscheyt genoomen, rijdende wederom naer ons logement, alwaer totten 27sten d^o (dat wij ontboden wierden) naer de antwoorde op</p>	<p>He then stop talking. As evening fell, we took leave of each other and went back to our lodging, where we waited for the answer to our letter until the 27th. It was handed over to us on the evening we were invited</p>

<p>onsen brieff hebben gewacht, die ons des avonts naer dat bij de Conninginne te gast waren ge-(222) weest ende ons affscheyt hadden becommen, is behandicht, den welcken ons tot Dato Basar* voorgelesen wiert. Ende alsoo ick verstonddatter op stuck vanden restitutie van joncquen en goederen van de Chineesen als op andere punten meer soo absoluyt niet geschreven en wiert als van de Conninginne was geantwoordt, vraechden derhalven aen Dato* Besar* waeromme de Conninginne niet schreeff soo recht wtt gelijck zij mij geantwoort hadde?</p>	<p>to take (222) leave from the queen. The answer was read by us to Dato Basar*. As I realized that the queen didn't write anything regarding the restitution of the junks and goods belonging to the Chinese, as well as on other points, I asked Dato* Besar* why the queen didn't do what she told me during the audience?</p>
<p>Waer op hij seyde dat sulcx beeter zoude vougen dat ick daer selver mondelingh rappoort van dede, daer hij noch meer onnoodige praetjens en viesevaesen bij vougde, waernaer eyndelingen ons affscheyt hebben becomen. Soo dat ick des anderen daechs naer boort ben gevaeren, laetende de coopluuden (alsoo op ons vertreck stonden) noch aen lant blijven om te sien off op t' laetste noch iets proffitabels in de peperhandel voor de Comp^{ie} soude connen verricht geworden hebben, die den 29en d^o des avonts alle t samen aenboort quamen, mij rapporteerende daer gansch niet en hadden coonen doen also totten lasten toe stijff op de 28 R^{en} bleven staen. [...]</p>	<p>He replied that I had better make a verbal report on this, adding useless words and ceremony, before we parted from each other. I came back on board the next day, leaving the merchants (as we were about to sail) ashore to check if there was anything profitable to do in the pepper trade for the Company. All came back on board on the evening of the 29th, and reported that they had done nothing as the price was still as 28 reals. [...]</p>

F. Seventeenth Century Dutch Sources: Peter Floris (1612-1613)

Source:

- FLORIS, Peter. India Office records: L/MAR/A/XIII: Translation [from the Dutch] of Floris' journal, 5 Jan. 1611 – 17 Feb. 1615 (see Farrington 2001: 153).

- FLORIS, Peter. 1625. "Extracts of Peter Williamson Floris his journall, for the Seventh Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch." In Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes, part 1 In fivie bookes. The first, contayning the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarkes, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world: enquiries also of languages and religions, especially of the moderne diuersified professions of Christianitie*. London, Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Rose, 1625, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 14, pp. 319-328.

- FLORIS, Peter. 1663. "Iovrnal de Pierre Vvill Floris" in M. Thévenot (comp.), *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas et d'autres voyageurs anglois, hollandois, portugais, allemands, espagnols et de quelques persans, arabes et autres auteurs orientaux... Première Partie*. Paris, 1663 (various pagings)(including on Patani, pp. 18-24).

- FLORIS, Peter. 1934. Peter Floris, *His Voyage to the East Indies in the "Globe", (1611-1615)*. Edited by W.H. MORELAND, London, Hakluyt Society. (including on Patani, pp. 32-44); *Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the "Globe", (1611-1615)*. Nendeln/Liechtenstein, Kraus Repr., 1967 (reprint

of 1934 edition); *Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615, Siam, Pattani, Bantam: The Contemporary Translation of his Journal*. Bangkok, White Lotus, 2002 (facsimile of the 1934 edition); *Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the "Globe", (1611-1615)*. Farnham [u.a.], Ashgate, 2010 (printed book) - Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2011 (electronic book) (facsimile of the 1934 edition).

Below:

* Extracts of the section related to Patani in W.H. Moreland (ed.), 1934.

* French translation of the section related to Patani in M. Thévenot (comp.), *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, 1663.

<p>(p. 32) [19-06-1612]</p> <p>Wee were by a great oute-poynting corner, having had butt little speede during these 3 dayes. When this corner is paste, those of Patanie beginne to see the shippes over the lowe land called Sabrangh*, being as then yett att the leaste 6 (miles) leagues from the roade; for one muste passe a lowe poynte, being sandye, with some fewe trees, and then to go on S. by W. and S.S.W. towards the roade, to shunne a shole of sande which is lefte lying att the lefte hande; all the reste is muddye grounde. From this corner seawards, about a (mile) league from the lande, lyeth a little rock above water, aboute which the depthe is 7, 10 and 12 faddem.</p>	
<p>[22-06-1612]</p> <p>Wee came in the roade of Petanie, where wee found a Hollands shipp of Enckhusen called <i>Bantam*</i>, which was arryved there 10 dayes before us. The marchant, Wm Jansen Neblet, with Matchys de Maire and Lambert Jacobsen, came aboard of us (p. 33), of whome wee learned the manners and custome of the countrie; and att noone wee came to an ancker hard by the shipp <i>Bantam</i>, uppon 3 faddem depthe, att the heighte of 7 degrees, [blank] min. In the evening wee sente John Persons and Nasarchan on shoare, to give notice that wee were Englishmen, and that wee had a letter from His Majestie to the Queene of Patanie.</p>	<p>[22-06-1612]</p> <p>(p. 18) [...] nous arriuuâmes à la rade de Patane, où nous trouuafmes vn vaisseau d'Enchuyse, qui nous informa des façons de faire du Païs.</p>

<p>Heere arryved a Hollands pinasse* called the <i>Greyhound</i> [<i>Hazewind</i>] of Enckhuysen, whereof was master Evert Janse[n], and Foulon Dragon merchant. They came from Benjarmasingh*, where in company of 3 pinasses they had burned and pilld the towne, in revenge of certayne wrongs done to theyr men heretofore. This pinas* had order to go for Japon. In the afternoone our men came aboard agayne, bringing some officers of the countrie along with theym, who tolde us that wee shoulde staye with our letter till next Thursdaye, being the 26, for they muste fyrste make theymselves readye too receyve it honorably. And after wee had bestowed some presents uppon theym, they wente on shoare agayne.</p>	
<p>[25-06-1612]</p> <p>Some came aboorde agayne, among other the Chattis*, for to translate the Kings letter into the Malusian* tongue; and after some questioning touching the opening of the letter, it was agreed that hee [they] shoulde open it, and, having translated it, receyved some presents, they wente on shoare agayne.</p>	
<p>Wee wente on shoare in verye greate state, taking with us a present of about 600 R8 to accompanie the Kings letter, which (p. 34)</p> <p>otherwyse woulde butt little bee esteemed. Comming on shoare wee were reasonably well receyved according to the manner of the countrie; the letter, being layde in a bason of golde, was carryed uppon an elephant, with minstrells and a good many lances and little flaggs. The Queenes Courte being sumptuously prepared, whereas the letter was redde; and understanding that it was for to have a free trade, shee did graunte it unto us, paying the dueties of the countrie as the Hollanders did. Againste which wee had little to replye for that tyme, but did accepte of the Queenes offer till wee shoulde bee infourmed of the lawes and dueties of the countrie; and so departed</p>	<p>[...] le vingt-sixième ([26-06-1612] nous descendismes à terre: notre present qui pouuoit valoir six cens pieces de huit, fut receu à la maniere du País.</p> <p>La lettre fut mise dans vn bassin d'or porté sur un elephant (p. 19) en grande pompe au son d'une musique d'instrumens, & precedé d'autres gens qui portoient deuant des lances & des Estendarts.</p> <p>La Cour de la Reine nous parut magnifique: nostre lettre fut leuë, & on nous accorda la liberté du commerce aux mesmes conditions qu'on l'auoit accordée aux Hollandois.</p>

<p>from the Courte whitoute having seene the Queene. From thence wee were broughte to Dato Laxmanna*, the Sabander* and chieftayne of the strangers. There a bancckett of fruites was sette before us. From thence wee muste go to the Oran Caya* Simora* in company of the Hollanders, who lykewyse were called thether. And after wee had eaten something there and some speeches had, and intraties of Hendrick Janse[n] to lodge in his house that night, wee as yett not being provided of a howse, the which wee accepted, wee rid upon elephants homvewards.</p>	<p>Nous partismes de la Cour sans auoir veu la Reine, & l'on nous mena chez vn Officier, dont la Charge est de receuoir les Etrangers: on nous y fit vn festin où l'on seruit beaucoup de fruits; nous fusmes aussi traittez chez vn autre Officier nommé Orancaya Simona,</p>
<p>[27-06-1612]</p> <p>In the morning came Dator* Besar and Dator Laxmanna* downe in the Ballaia*, where wee had dyvers speeches, among the reste that wee had a letter to the King of Siam; an in regard the mounson was farre spent, we desired leave of theym to builde a packhouse of brick, as the Hollanders have, to bring some of our goods on land, and to leave some of our men with</p> <p>(p. 35)</p> <p>theym till the shippe came backe from Siam, and that for wante of suche a howse wee shoulde bee in greate danger and hazard of our goods by fyre and other mischances. And notwithstanding that they suffered us to sette a factory there, according to our owne desire, yett they refused us to builde a packhouse which shoulde not bee subject to fyre, alledging that the Hollanders had traded there full 10 yeares before without it, butt having suffered fyre 2 severall tymes to theyr great dammage, it had bene graunted unto theym to builde the same howse, of which wee coulde not complayne as yett. Butt when wee answered that it woulde bee to late to builde suche a howse when the goods were burned, and that therefore wee muste looke to it before that come to passe, att laste, having longe buysied ourselves with these blockheads a great while, they harkened to our reasons a little better, and woulde certifye the Queene of it. And so wee parted from theym and wente aboard. Towards the evening the Queene sente us a refreshing aboard of some meate and fruites.</p>	<p>& le jour d'apres la Reine nous enuoya des fruits qu'elle fit porter iusqu'à nostre vaisseau.</p>

<p>[29-06 to 01-07-1612]</p> <p>Wee ran dayly upp and downe to have licence for the building of a howse, and to knowe the customes of the countrie, because wee understood they were extreame high heere and more then wee had founde in any place before, butt could attayne to neyther of bothe, for nowe they woulde not consent to it, saying the Kings letter made no mention of it; and then they woulde builde a howse for us theymselves; and anon agayne that they woulde consider of it, so that suche people woulde have stinted a madde brayne.</p> <p>Departed the pinasse* the <i>Greyhounde</i> for Japon, having in her 33 cases of silke and silke wares and a parcell of waxe*. With which sayde pinasse* wee sente the letters of the Company and other particular persons to Mr Wm. Adam, which came as fitt</p>	
<p>(p. 36)</p> <p>for us as ever anything could happen. Mr Skinner made acquayntance with the masters mate of the pinasse*, and [read who] was even the verye same man which had broughte the letter from Mr Adam to Bantam* to the Englishmen there, whereof himselfe was verye glad, as having an occasion to do a kyndnesse to Mr Adam, to whom hee was beholding, promising to deliver the letter to his owne hands; wee making no doute of the deliverie thereof, for otherwyse wee shoulde have had no meanes to do it, for those of Japon are att enimitie with this place, and have burned Patanie twyce within these 5 or 6 years. As yett wee cannot learne what is to bee done att Japon, butt att the returne of the aforesayde pinas* wee hope to have better information, for as yett wee thinketh that the trade for Japon is butt of small importance.</p>	<p>Le 3. Juillet vne Pinasse Hollandoise nommée le Levrier partit de ce port pour aller au Japon; nous donnasmes au Quartier-Maistre de cette Pinasse vne lettre pour Maistre Adam. Cette occasion se rencontra fort heureusement pour luy escrire; car les Japonnois sont en guerre avec ceux de ce país, & ont bruslé deux fois la ville de Pantam depuis 5. ou 6. ans.</p>
<p>After muche running, toyling and giving of gifts, wee gott leave to builde a packhowse, they ordayning us a place hard by the Dutche howse, 30 faddem in lengthe and 20 in breadth. The howse shoulde bee 8 faddem long, 4 faddem broad and 10 <i>hastas*</i> highe, with the which wee were not well contented, because the Dutche howse was a great deale longer and higher; but in regard, it coulde serve our turne, the tyme being shorte and the charges verye great as woulde not well beare the building of another</p> <p>(p. 37)</p>	<p>Nous eusmes bien de la peine à obtenir la permission de bastir en ce lieu-là vn Magazin qui ne fust point sujet au feu; enfin l'on nous accorda vne place de 30. brasses en longueur sur 20. de largeur; nous y bastismes vne maison qui auoit 8. brasses de face sur 4. de profondeur:</p>

<p>howse, wee did accepte of it. But when wee herde the great and excessive customes and giftes which they demanded of us, whereof they shewed us good and certayne prooffe that the Hollanders did yearelye paye so muche, then wee coulde nott tell what to do; for fyrstely they asked 72 t.^a 5 m.^a 2 copon for a gifte, which muste be done in 4 severall tymes, to witte, the fyrste is wee muste <i>sombah datang</i>*, that is to saye, give notice of our arryvall; the second is <i>sombah benaga</i>*, or aske leave to lande your goods and to have free trade; the third is <i>somba datching</i>* or licence to have the waights; the fourth is <i>sombah muson</i>*, that is leave to shippe your goods and to departe; which 4 <i>sombahs</i> amounte to the somme afore mentioned. Besides this, to paye 5 per cent. for all goods comming in and going oute, and the waying [i.e. weighing] money besides, the pepper paying 5 ms. per <i>barre</i>* for the buyer, and 6 <i>coupons</i>* for the seller, and all other wares accordingly; so that wee were even amazed with these great charges, and wee alledging that wee had alreadye bene att greate charges for the present which was given att the deliverye of the letter, they made us answere, what Kings gave one to the other was another manner of reconing, butt this belonged to the gentilitie and certayne officers, whereof the Queene onelye hath a parte. Wee, seing they woulde not listen to anye abatement, sayde that wee coulde not yeelde unto it, butt woulde go home and consider of the matter.</p>	
<p>Being come home wee pondered the matter together what was beste to bee done, for what [read while] by one meanes and another wee guessed [i.e., calculated] the expenses woulde come to 4000 R8, being 1/6 of our whole stocke or capitall; and to the contrarye wee had a greate deale of Maleysian apparell which (p. 38) wee had expresly caused to bee made for this place, which woulde nott bee requested in other places. Secondly, that wee perceyved that in future tyme heere was something to bee done. Wee therefore resolved, seing wee had spente so muche alreadye, to taste of a soure apple, and for this tyme to make a triall, to have the more experience agaynste the tyme to come. Wherefore, according to our resolution, wee wente the nexte daye before the Ballee*, aggreing in manner as aforesayde. Whereuppon wee presently fell to the building of the howse, so that the tyme for the going to Siam drewe on verry faste, which did importe</p>	<p>Ils nous firent des demandes excessives; & nous fusmes obligez de leur donner pour cette permission & pour autres droits, quatre mille pieces de cinquante huit sols. [...]</p>

<p>us very much, making therefore all the hast that possibly wee could.</p> <p>Meane while wee had hired 2 howses, the one for us, the other for the sicke men, which were in great number, seeming as yf the plague had bene in the shippe [...]</p>	
<p>(p. 39) [17-07-1612]</p> <p>[...] In the night wee had theeves in the howse, and was the strangest robberye as the lyke hath not much bene heard of; for being in our hyred howses, which were onely made of reeds, and buysied in building of our owne, being all of us in the howse (p. 40) above 15 persons sleeping. [...]</p>	<p>Pue de temps apres pour surcroît de mauuaise fortune nous fusmes volez: on prit 280. pieces de huit dans mon coffre, quoy qu'il y eust vne lampe allumée, & quinze personnes dans la maison; ce qui me fit croire que quelqu'un de nos gens pouuoit bien auoir fait le coup; car vn grand dogue que nous auions ne fit aucun bruit. [...]</p>
<p>(p. 41) [06-09-1612]</p> <p>[...] This monthe the King of Joor* overrunne the suburbes of Pasan*, burning upp all, and lykewyse Campon China*, which happened for a small occasion. It seemed that those of Patania woulde come to aide theym of Pasan*, butt they never mente it, whereby the Joorists keepe Pasan* hard besieged, so that there beginneth to come a greate dearth in Pasan*. What wilbee the ende tyme will shewe.</p> <p>Thus being heere with the lawnes, having no vente att all, which is greatly to be wondered, especially for mee who 4 yeares agoe sawe suche a vente in theym that it seemed the worlde hadde not clothings enough to provyde this place as was needfull; much lesse to overfill itt; and that nowe it was so overcloyed that it is hardly possible that in a greate many years they can bee muche requested. Heere it might bee asked how and from whence commeth this suddayne change, whereas before it was suche a continuall and profitable trade, yea, the greateste of all</p>	<p>Au mois de Septembre le Roy de Ior* attaqua le Fauxbourg de Pahan, brûlant tout ce qu'il rencontroit deuant luy. Campon-sina esprouua la mesme fortune, ce qui causa vne grande cherté dans Pahan*.</p>
<p>(p. 42) in the Indies. Butt the cause why the same lyethe nowe so under foote is this: that the Portingalls* bring the same quantitye of clothing in Malacca as heeretofore they have done; heereuppon followed the Hollanders, who have not onely filled Bantam* and Javan butt also all the Ilands of Molucca, so that they have no utterance att Malacca; besides this there bee some shippes of the Moores which trade for Tanasserin* and provyde Siam; besides this 2 Portingall and a Moores shipp have founde oute a newe haven this laste yeare called Tarangh*, is a place hard by Keda*;</p>	<p>Les Portugais auoient auparauant fourny Malaca des marchandises. Les Hollandois en firent de mesme à Bantam* & aux Molucques; & y auoient porté toute la quantité de draps qui s'y consomment ordinairement; si bien qu'estant venu le dernier, ie n'y trouuay aucun debit.</p>

<p>and this yeare arryved a Gusarat* and another from Nagapatam* att Kedah, bringing the lawnes overland, and so over filled it that no man ever sawe the lyke; and to all these wee come with 200 packes, the rumour whereof being sufficient to cause the pryse not to ryse these 10 yeares, and whereas I myselfe have made 3 and 4 of one, cannot att this present make 5 per cento; [...] both for my owne credit and my masters proffit, I have resolved to sende a cargason for Maccasar*, an occasion presenting itselfe to make a tryall of what maye bee done there [...]</p>	
<p>(p. 43) [...] Being thus resolved, I ordayne for this buysinesse John Persons as marchant and Thomas Brett boson with a Chodsie*, Ibrahim Geisart, to embarque theymselves in the juncke of Empan*, with such a capitall and instructions as appeareth by the coppie, with order to come backe agayne hether with the same juncke, and to give account of whatt hee shall have seene and learned. [...]</p> <p>(p. 44) [25-10-1612] [...] Departed hence almooste all the juncks which pretended for E. or S., to witte for Bornea*, Jambi, Java, Macassar, Jortan* and other places; among whome was the juncke of Orangcaya* Raia Indra Mouda*, who in person embarcked himselfe, being fyrste to go for Bantam*, from thence to Jortan*, and so forwarde for Amboina* and Banda, and comming backe agayne to putte to Macassar, and so hether agayne [...]</p>	<p>Cela me fit resoudre à faire venir vune cargaison pour Macassar, & i'en donnay la conduite à Iean Persons, qui partit le 8. d'Octobre sur vn jonck d'Ampan. [...]</p> <p>Le 25. il partit d'icy des Ionckes pour Bornéo, Iambi, Iaua, & autres places. [...]</p>
<p>(p. 59) [...] wee have resolved together to keepe the shippe lying and wintering heere [...]</p> <p>(p. 62) [...] [31-12-1612] The Queene, being accompanied with a greate traine of prauwes*, above 600 in number, wente to sporte hirsselfe, going att the fyrste to lye att Sabraugh*, where they assembled theymselves; where wee wente to salute hir, having both sight and speech of hir in company of the Hollanders, being a comely olde woman, nowe aboute the age of [blank] yeares; shee was tall of person and full of majestie, having in all the Indies not seene many lyke unto hir. Shee was accompanied by hir sister, being hir nexte</p>	<p>(p. 21) [...] Nous resolûmes que notre vaisseau passeroit l'hyuer à Patane: le 31. Decembre la Reine sortit de son Palais pour se diuertir, accompagnée de six cens petites barques; elle vint premierement à Sabrangh où nous allasmes luy faire la reuerence, & nous eusmes l'honneur de luy parler conjointement avec les Hollandois. Elle peut bien auoir soixante ans; mais cét âge ne luy oste ny la grace ny la majesté: ie n'ay point veu de Prince dans les Indes qui ait si bon air: elle auoit avec elle vne de ses sœurs qui paroist auoir quarante-cinq ans: c'est la presumptiue heritiere de la Couronne, & ceux du Pays l'appelle la jeune Reine. Je vis aussi avec elle vne petite Princesse qui est fille de la plus jeune de ses</p>

<p>heyre, and hir yonger sisters litle daughter (p. 63) which hath bene marryed to Raja Siack, brother to the King of Joor*. This hir sister, being commonly called the Young Queene, was yett an unmarried mayden about 46 years of age.</p>	<p>sœurs, qui auoit esté mariée avec Raïa Siack fils du Roy de Lahor.</p>
<p>After wee had had some conference with hir, shee lette fall the curtaine, which signified as much as that wee must departe. Afterwards shee lette us knowe that wee shoulde come agayne the nexte daye [...]. [01-01-1613] In the morning wee came thether agayne, where they intertayned us reasonably well.</p>	<p>Après quelques discours, la Reyne laissa tomber le rideau de son Trosne, nous faisant entendre par là que nous nous pouuions retirer. Elle nous fit dire que le lendemain elle nous donneroit encore audience; nous y fusmes, & elle nous receut parfaitement bien.</p>
<p>There were 12 women and children to daunce, which did effecte it so well that I have not seene better in all the Indies. That being done, all the gentilitie were commanded to daunce, from the greatest to the smalleste, or att leaste make a shewe or demonstration thereof, which caused no small laughter;</p>	<p>D'abord 12. filles & 12. garçons commencerent vne danse qui nous parut fort bien concertée, la Reine commanda à tous ses (p. 22) courtisans de danser, ou au moins d'en faire le semblant; ce qui donna à toute la Cour vn grand sujet de rire.</p>
<p>Which both wee and the Hollanders muste do lykewyse, wherewith the olde Queene was much rejoyced. [...] Shee had not bene fourth oute of hir howse in 7 yeares, and nowe shee woulde go on hunting of wilde buffes [<i>i.e.</i>, buffaloes] and bulls, whereof there is greate abundance there. Shee with all hir trayne passed along by the cittie, and comming betweene our howse and the shippe, wee did salute hir with shooting of some peeces from the shippe and some musket shott ashoare. She wente to Quala Buca*.</p>	<p>Les Hollandois furent obligez de faire la mesme chose & nous aussi. La Reine prit plaisir à notre danse: il y auoit 7. ans qu'elle n'estoit sortie de son Palais: Cette fois elle sortit pour se trouuer à la chasse des Taureaux & des Buffles sauvages, & qui s'y trouuent en grand nombre. Comme elle passoit avec son train entre nostre maison & notre vaisseau, nous la salüasmes de l'artillerie du vaisseau, & les mousquetaires qui estoient à terre firent la mesme chose.</p>
<p>In this winter of November and December the water, by reason of the continuall rayne, was so high heere that no mans remembraunce can speake of the lyke, so that many beasts dyed, many howses driven awaye, and muche other harme done [...]</p>	<p>Durant les mois de Novembre & de Decembre les pluyes furent si frequentes, & l'inondation si generale qu'on ne se souuenoit point d'en auoir veu de pareille: plusieurs maisons furent emportées, beaucoup de troupeaux de bestes noyez, & le Pays en fut presque tout desolé. [...]</p>
<p>(p. 64) [...] Touching the commodities which I understand to bee requested and vented att Japan [...] is dyeper, dyvers Nurimbergher* wares, crimson or stammell clothes and carseyes [<i>i.e.</i>, kerseys], dyvers looking glasses, musket, ordinaunce, and such lyke Europa wares. Butt from hence [Patani] and Siam are carryed all manner of China wares, rawe silke of the courseste called lincange, all manner of</p>	

<p>silkewares, as taphyties [i.e., taffeta], satyns, damasts, tuffetaphaties, velvetts, all sortes of porseleyn, also all sortes of spices, especially pepper, also waxe* and deare skinnes from Siam, and the skinnes or scales of a certayne fishe called in Maleys tongue [blank in ms.] [...] (p. 67) There came hether a small <i>caffula</i> overland with Moores* from Keda* [...] being butt 10 dayes journey from hence, having bene there 3 months without having any newes thereof, the reason being the high upperwaters [i.e., floods], which this yeare have bene over all the land. [...] (p. 69) With this caffala [i.e., caravan] commeth the sone of the Malim* with whome Labistrate is to go for Atchin*, with some 4 other persons more, not bringing in all 40 corges* of all manner (p. 70) of sortes, who are to sell theyr goods with the fyrste, and to returne to Keda* [...]</p>	
<p>Heere are aryved some 4 or 5 balaos or prawes from Bordolongh*, which bring a small percell of cloath; among the reste 8 or 10 tsulias* and calynders*, whereof eache one bringethe a corge* or lesse of dyvers sortes, running with this thorough all the contrye, giving the goods so good cheape that it is to bee admyred att, onely to receyve a copan for to buye ryce for theyr bellies [...] Those of Bordelongh bring such meane goods as is scarce to bee written; I sawe yett yesterdaye, with the Orancaio*, <i>pattas</i> (p. 71) and black <i>salala</i>*, with other Maleys clothings [...].</p>	
<p>(p. 72) [...] The King of Pahan*, having marryed the younger sister of this Queene of Patania, and they not having seene one the other in 28 yeares, this Queene hath sente dyvers tymes stately ambassadors, requiring that hir sister might once bee sente hether, that shee might once see hir before hir death, both being of a good age, this Queene 60 yeares of age. Hetherto the King of Pahan* hat refused to send hir, but delaying it still with one excuse or another, which now att laste hath angered this olde woman very muche, so that shee helde upp all the junckes that came from Siam, Camboja*, Bordelongh*, Lugor*, or any other places, being laden with ryce for Pahan*, and sente foorthe all hir power by water, consisting of aboute 70 sayles with aboute 4000 men, sending theym for Pahan* under the commaunde of Maha Raia* Datoe Bessar* and Orancayo* Sirmora*, with order to bring his sister hether, either in friendshippe or by force;</p>	<p>Le Roy de Pahan* auoit épousé la plus ieune des sœurs de la Reine de Patan: Il y auoit vingt-huit ans que ces deux sœurs ne s'estoient point veuës. La Reyne de Patan auoit fait prier le Roy de Pahan son mary, de liy permettre de faire vn voïage à Patan pour la voir; mais comme elle vid que ce Prince n'y vouloit point consentir, elle fit arrester tous les vaisseaux de Siam, de Cambaya, Bordelongh, Lugor, & d'autres places qui estoient chargez de Ryq pour Pahan; & enuoya vune armée de 70. voiles, sur laquelle il y auoit 4000. hommes, avec ordre aux Generaux de luy amener cette princesse par amitié ou par force. Mais les reuolutions qui arriuerent dans les Estats de ce Prince [...] l'obligerent à y venir de luy-mesme.</p>

<p>so that Pahan* shall have muche to do by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his howse, ryce and barnes, as also (p. 73) by the warres of Joor, who, as it is sayde, maketh a greate preparation to go in his owne person for Pahan*; and the King of Borneo maketh preparation to go to the succour of Pahan*. [...][04-04-1613] Heere arryved a juncke from Siam belonging to Pahan*, which as aforesayd, is arrested heere. [...][06/08-04-1613] Arryved heere 2 juncks of Camboja*, being fetcht in by the Patanian fleete, being laden with ryce and bounde for Pahan*. [...][11-04-1613] Arryved heere a juncke of China, having bene 25 dayes in the waye; [...][14-04-1613] Arryved the second juncke of China. [17-04-1613] Another, being the third. These foresayde 3 junckes bring greate store of fyne perseleyn, about 150 piccoll rawe silke, very fyne goods, a fewe and meane damasts*, velvetts, taphaties, and suche lyke. [...]</p>	
<p>(p. 75) [...] I resolved to take upp some money of the Queene to the valewe of 3000 R8, with condition to repaye the same within 3 or 4 months, att 6 per cento for the tyme to the Queene and 1 per cento to the treasurer, so that with the gifte and all it amounteth to 7 ½ per cento; [...]</p>	<p>Il arriua le dix-septième diuers vaisseaux de Cambaya & de la Chine au mois d'auril de l'année mil six cens treize [...], j'empruntay trois mil écus de la Reine à interest de six pour cent par mois, & d'un pour cent que ie deuois donner à son Tresorier. [...]</p>
<p>The Hollanders tooke upp 13,000 R8 with condition if they repaye the same within a month att 5 per cento, if in 3 months att 6 per (p. 76) cento, and within a yeare att 10 per cento, besides 1 per cento to the treasurer and the gifte. [...]</p> <p>[08-06-1613] Arryved heere the juncke of Nachoda* Hascan*, which wente away the laste yeare thinking to have gone for Jambi, but was driven downe with the streames and fallen in Jortan*. From thence hee wente to Bali, and his returne putt on Succadama* [...]</p> <p>Arryved heere the juncke of the Orancaia* Maha Indeva* comming from Atchin*, who in his returne had called in att Bantam* and layne there 9 dayes. [...]</p> <p>(p. 77) [...] [23-06-1613] Heere arryved 2 junckes belonging to Joor*, who were going from thence to Bantam*. [...]</p>	

<p>(p. 80) [...] [02-07-1613] have this daye agreed with Nachoda* Sanqua that I shall deliver him a percell of goods, which hee shall seeke to sell for my mooste profite, with condition that I shall paye no fraighte, neyther going nor comming, nor custome nor any other charges, as more att large appeareth by the contracte made with the sayde Nachoda Sanqua; and have delivered unto him suche goods as appeareth by the receyte, amounting together 80 lyeell golde Patania coyne. [...] [06-07-1613] Nachoda* Sanqua departed for Camboja*. Hee is a man of good (p. 81) estate. I have had my mooste dealing with him. Hee hathe his howse, wyfe and children heere, so that his person is not to bee feared.</p> <p>[09-07-1613] Departed the juncke of Datoe* Laxmanna* for Siam [...]</p>	
<p>[12-07-1613] Heere arryved the King of Pahan* with the Queenes sister and 2 sonnes, who, after many sendings to and fro, commeth hether much agaynste his will, leaving his cuntrye in greate povertye, in hunger, warre, and withoute howse or forte, all being burnt upp. [...]</p>	<p>Le 12. Iuillet le Roy de Pahan arriua icy avec sa femme sœur de la Reine & deux petits enfans; il auoit quitté son païs desolé par la famine, par le feu, & par la ruolte de quelques vns de ses Sujets [...] pas vn des grands de la Cour de la Reine ne rendit visite au pauvre Roy de Pahan, & la seule chose que l'on fit pour luy fut de tuer tous les chiens à cause qu'il n'en pouuoit souffrir. [...]</p>
<p>(p. 86) [...] [25-07-1613] Departed the laste juncke of China [...] having for theyr lading aboute 300 barres* of pepper, with many buffe and other beasts skinnes, rottan, and byrds or foules heads. They have broughte this yeare aboute 150 piccoll raw silke and 50 picoll* of throwne silke which Hendrick Jansen did take in barter against elephants teethe [...]</p> <p>[31-07-1613] The King of Pahan* came with greate state to our house, making greate promises that wee comming into his cuntrye shoulde have kynde intertaynment. Whereuppon I woulde fayne have made a contract with him, butt, the Patanishe gentilitie being present, hee putte it of till another tyme [...]</p> <p>(p. 87) [...] [02-08-1613] The Queene sente for us to the courte, whereas was a greate feaste in honor of the King of Pahan*; and there was playde a commedye all by women, to the manner of Java, which were apparrelled very antickly, very pleasaunte to beholde, so as I doute not to have seene the lyke in any place. [...]</p>	<p>Le 31. de Iuillet le Roy de Pahan nous vint (p. 23) voir accompagné d'une grande suite, & nous promit toute sorte de bons traitemens en son Pays.</p> <p>Le 1. d'Aoust la Reine nous fit venir en son Palais, où l'on deuoit faire vune grande feste à cause de la venuë du Roy de Pahan: des femmes y representerent vne Comedie à la maniere de celles de Iaua, que nous vismes avec beaucoup de plaisir:</p>

<p>[09-08-1613] Departed the King of Pahan*, having bene heere rather as a mockeng stocke then otherwyse; and the Queenes sister, for whome all the sturre had bene, would nott leave him, but returned backe with hir husband, and in lieu of getting many greate presents had almooste spent all that shee had. [...]</p>	<p>Le 9. le Roy de Pahan partit apres auoir seruy de joiuet à ceux de la Cour de Patan, sa femme qui estoit sœur de la Reine, ne le voulut point abandonner. Elle retourna avec luy; & au lieu de remporter de grands presens de cette Cour, elle y despensa presque tout ce qu'elle auoit de bien. [...]</p>
<p>[16-08-1613] Arryved heere a juncke of Maccasar* [...]</p>	
<p>(p. 88) [18-08-1613] Arryved heere the juncke of Raja Indra Mouda*, which wente from hence the 25 October; had bene fyrste at Maccasar*, and from thence to Banda, where hee came to a good merte and mede good profitte [...] Shee brought aboute 200 sockles mace, and a greate percell of nuttmeggs which shee had solde to the Portingalls* in Maccasar*. [...] (p. 89) [...] The sayde Nachoda* [...] solde all his nuttmeggs to the Portingalls*, excepte some 40 barres* which were in the bulster [...] And after having layne there (Maccasar*) 14 dayes, hee came in 26 dayes to Patani [...]</p>	<p>Le 18. de Septembre vn marchand qui estoit party le 25. d'Octobre, apporta icy beaucoup de noix muscades: il auoit esté à Maccassar & à Banda; [...]</p>
<p>(p. 92) [...] [24-09-1613] Wee wente to the Queene to certifye hir of the arryvall of the shipp, and that wee were readye to paye our dette, asking whether wee should paye in golde or silver. Whereuppon shee answered shee was content to take golde. Whereuppon wee wente home to fetch the golde from aboard. [...]</p>	
<p>(p. 94) [04-10-1613] Being the fyrste daye of Lente in the Moorische style, aboute 8 of the clocke in the morning, there rose a mightye fyre in the towne, or rather forte and courte, of Patania, [...] Datoe* Besar* and Datoe Laxmanna*, dxelling amoost neere one to the other, and, excepte Raja Schey*, the richeste in slaves of Javanians, it chanced that Datoe Besar had bene threatned of his Javanian slaves to kill him, Laxmanna*, Raja Sitterbangsa* and others; which being presented by dyvers, att laste it came to the eares of the foresayde persons. Wherefore Datoe Besar, calling his Javanian slaves together, asked theym howe the matter was, who did denye it. Nevertheless, hee caused 2 which were suspected mooste to bee bounde, which the Pongoulu* of the slaves woulde not suffer.</p>	<p>Le 4. Octobre, qui est le I. iour du jeusne des Mahometans, le feu prit sur les 8. heures du matin dans le Fort de Pattane: il y auoit là deux des principaux Seigneurs du Pays qui demeuroient l'un près de l'autre, & qui estoient les plus riches en Esclaues de Iaua, l'un d'eux nommé Dato-Bezar fut menacé par ses Esclaues qu'ils le tueroient, avec quelques autres: il fit venir ses Esclaues; & apres auoir esté examinez, & auoir soustenu qu'ils n'estoient point coupables, leur Maistre ne laissa pas de faire mettre aux fers deux des plus suspects. Le Pongola ou l'Officier qui commandoit ces Esclaues le voulut empescher.</p>

<p>Whereuppon Datoe* Besar*, being angry, drew his cryce or weapon, and thruste thorough the sayde Pongulo*. Whereuppon the Javanians slewe all that came in theyr waye, and presently sette the howses on fyre. The Javane slaves of Laxmanna*, not being farre from thence, seing theyr contryemen in trouble, even in sighte of their master Laxmanna* notwithstanding all his threatnings, ranne to their ayde, setting all on fyre, gathering together some 100 persons, more or lesse, the exacte number nott being justly known; and so ranne to the greate gate called Puntu Gorbangh*, setting all on fyre on both sydes as they wente, so that the whole towne, excepte some fewe, as the Queenes courte, Orancaio* Sirmora*, Dato Bandara*, and the Meskita*, was burned; and the Javanes going along the long streete tooke the beste bondwomen (p. 95) that they founde along with theym, and there they stayed till one of the clocke after dinner, dominerig very lustely, not anybody being so bolde as once to come att theym.</p>	<p>Bezar le poignarda: Les Esclaues enragez de cette action se jetterent sur leur Maistre, qui fut sauué de leurs mains par d'autres Esclaues qu'il auoit outre ceux-cy: ils sortirent de la maison de ce Seigneur, tuèrent tout ce qu'ils rencontrerent sur le chemin, & mirent le feu par tout. Les Esclaues de l'autre Seigneur, nommé Datolaxmanna, se joignirent à ceux-cy, nonobstant les menaces & les defenses de leur Maistre: ils pouuoient estre en tout cent personnes; ils coururent à la porte nommée Punta-Gorbing, mettant le feu à toutes les maisons qui estoient des costez de la ruë, tellement que toute la ville brusla, à l'exception du Palais de la Reine, d'une Mosquée & de deux autres Palais: ils prenoient par les ruës les femmes & les emmenoiat avec eux & les retinrent jusqu'à vne heure apres midy, personne n'osant les approcher;</p>
<p>In the meane tyme wee were not withoute feare in oure quarter, for the Javanians did reporte that they woulde fall upon our houses. Wherefore wee, together with the Hollanders, kepte strong watche, sending aboarde to have as many armed men as was possible; which came in very fitte tyme, for they being landed and things sette in order, we resolved to go to visit theym and to stop theym the waye, which wee did, even juste as they were comming awaye to go downewards; butt understanding by theyr spies that wee were so strong and comming towards theym, they durste nott meete us, butt retyred thwarte to the field, and fledde to Quale Bouca*, and so forward to Bordolough*, Songora*, and so into the contrie; wee receyving nott any other hurte by theym, butt onely that wee gott the name of defenders of the strangers. The Javanes were followed afterwards, but to no purpose, getting onely 3 or 4 sicke men prisoners, which were fayne to paye for all. What became of the reste was not yett knowen att our departure. This is the thirde tyme that Patania hath bene burned; twyce by the Japanesians and once by the Javanes. [...]</p>	<p>Nous estions cependant dans vne grande inquietude en nostre quartier, car les Esclaues menaçoient d'attaquer nostre maison & celle des Hollandois: nous fismes pour cette raison bonne garde & enuoyasmes querir les soldats de nostre vaisseau, avec lesquels nous marchasmes pour rencontrer ces enragez. Ils en furent aduertis, & sans nous attendre, sortirent de la ville & gagnerent la Campagne; ainsi nous eusmes à bon marché la gloire d'auoir defendu ceux du Pays de l'insulte de ces Esclaues. Ce tumulte appaisé on donna la chasse à ces fugitifs; mais jusqu'à cette heure on n'en a pris que 3. ou 4. C'est pour la troisieme fois que Patan a esté bruslée. Les deux premieres par les Japonnois, & cette troisieme par ceux de Iaua.</p>
<p>(p. 96) [...] [21-10-1613] payde the Queene and taken leave of hir, [...] giving to me and Mr Essington a golden crys*, wee were nowe readye to departe [...]</p>	<p>Le 21. nous fismes congé de la Reine: Elle fit present à Essingthon dvn cris ou (p. 24) poignard d'or.</p>

G. Glossary

aguelæ: fragrant resin-infiltrated wood called aloeswood, agarwood, eaglewood, or *gaharu* in Malay. The tree species affected by this pathology belong to the genus *Aquilaria*, the chief source being *A. malaccensis* (Burkhill 1993: 198-206). The best aloeswood is called *calambac* by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century (Orta 2004: 370).

Álvares, Gonçalo: Portuguese sea officer that served the *Estado da Índia* as captain of Sofala, and as Captain-Major of the India fleet.

alvas: old Spanish word, here referring the young virgin women.

Amboin / Amboina / Amboyn: Ambon, today part of the Maluku Islands, Maluku Province in Indonesia. Well-known for its plantations of cloves, the island was occupied by the Portuguese soon after the conquest of Malacca. In 1605, the Portuguese were driven out by the Dutch who enjoyed the exclusive monopoly on clove trade in the archipelago from 1656. See **Moluccos**.

Andrigiery / Andrygiri / Andrigirij / Andrigiri / Andraguire: Indragiri. River arising in the Minangkabau highlands and polity of eastern Sumatra. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century at least, Indragiri was among the trade entrepôts for the pepper cultivated in the hinterland and in the Minangkabau region.

arak: *arak*, alcoholic beverage made from various species of palm trees.

arcabuseria: *arcabuzeria*, a volley of arcabuz shots.

Areca: A small genus of the *Palmae* family, common in tropical Asia. The chief of them is *Areca catechu* Linn., which gives the nut used as

component of the betel quid.

Atchin / Achem: Aceh. A major sultanate at the northern tip of Sumatra.

Ava: the kingdom of Ava, dominant over upper Burma (Myanmar) from 1364 to the mid-16th century.

Baçora: the Iraqi port-city of Basra.

baer / bhaer / bhaar: *bahar*. According to Pieter de Carpentier et al. (1626), in Patani a *bahar* weights six “Bantam bags” (see **Bantamsche zacquen**), that is approximately 180 kg.

ballaia / ballee / balleye: corrupted form of the Malay *balai*. Unwalled or low-walled building where people meet.

Bandan: Banda. A ten-island archipelago presently in the Indonesian province of Maluku, well-known as the sole source of nutmeg and mace during the period under review here. The Portuguese began to visit the island soon after the conquest of Malacca in 1511. The VOC enjoyed a monopoly on these products from 1621. See **Moluccos**.

Bandar-malsin: Banjarmasin. Capital of the sultanate of the same name (or Banjar) in the present province of South Kalimantan (Indonesia), located in the southern part of Borneo. Banjarmasin began to grow pepper in ca. 1630.

Bandara, Bandora, Dato: a high-ranking official described as the “governor of Patani” in 1622. This position might have been equivalent to *bendahara*, a kind of “prime minister” in other kingdoms of Maritime Southeast Asia. Cf. chapter “Domestic Issues”.

Bantam: Banten. Since 1524, a major kingdom in the western part of Java with its capital in Banten. Banten was a major pepper producer until about 1620. The VOC took control of this sultanate in 1682.

Bantamsche zacquen: Banten bag. A unit of weight generally used for pepper, equivalent to about 30 kg.

barre: see **baer**.

bas: Small bronze ship cannon without carriage. Translated here as “fowler”.

batian: could be a corrupted form of *bachang* (horse-mango = *Mangifera foetida*), a fruit almost disgusting to Europeans, but relished by the natives (Crawford, vol. I, 1820: 425).

Benjarmasingh: see **Bandar-malsin**.

betel / bethel: in Southeast Asia, the betel quid is a combination of betel leaf (from *Piper betle* vine) together with *areca* nut (see **areca** above), lime and other additives.

bhaer / bhaar: see **baer**.

Bintão: Bintan. The port and sultanate in the Malay Peninsula, close to

Malacca and the siege of the former sultans of Malacca, after the Portuguese conquest in 1511.

bisschop: refers here to the highest religious Muslim authority in Patani.

Bocht (van Patani): Name used by the Dutch in the seventeenth century for the coastal area between Ligor (present Nakhon Si Thammarat) and Patani.

Bongso: see **Rahu**.

Bordolongh / Burdelon: Phatthalung. Today one of the southern province of Thailand, between Nakhon Si Thammarat Province and Songkhla Province. One of the seaports along the southeastern coast of Peninsular Thailand, probably since the fourteenth century.

Borneo / Bornea: the sultanate of Brunei on the north coast of the island of Borneo.

brahala: corrupted form for the Malay *berhala*. Generic Malay term for all kinds of religious images. Idol.

Brandão, Luís: a Portuguese ship captain.

Burdelon: see **Bordolongh**.

calaluz: term used by some Portuguese writers for swift galleys with many oarsmen, such as were particularly prevalent in eastern Indonesia of the sixteenth century. It may be derived from Javanese *kelulus* (a ‘threader’, able to go through [*lulus*]).

calamba: see **aguelæ**. According to Pires at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *calambac* was the chief merchandise of Cāmpa (Pires, I, 1990: 113).

calynder: a type of cloth.

Cambaia: the Indian sultanate and port-city of Cambay, in Gujarat.

Cambodja / Camboja / Camboya: Cambodia.

camellos: *camelo*, short range piece of artillery, firing small iron balls.

cameloth: camlet, camblet. A fine and expensive cloth woven from Angora goat hair or mixtures of silk and hair or silk and wool (Farrington & na Pombejra 2007, vol. II: 1396).

Camperhooft: Kamperhoofd. On a map of Amsterdam dated 1649, Kamper hooft is a bastion at the entrance of the city, located near Schrey horcks Toor (Blaeu 1649). Renamed Prins Hendrikkade since 1879.

camphar (Chinese): Chinese camphor. Product extracted from a tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) belonging to the Lauraceae family found originally in southern Japan, mid-east China, present Taiwan, and present Vietnam. Camphor is formed in oil-cells, which occur in all parts of the tree. Young parts are distilled to produce an oil more or less rich

in camphor (Burkill, vol. I, 1966: 553-555). By mid-sixteenth century, Garcia de Orta (2004: 137) observed that a quintal of Chinese camphor was worth a pound of Borneo camphor. The latter, as well as the Sumatra camphor, is produced by an other species (*Dryobalanops sumatrensis*).

Campher / Campor: Kampar. River arising in the Minangkabau highlands and polity of eastern Sumatra. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century at least, Kampar was among the trading entrepots for pepper cultivated in the hinterland and in the Minangkabau region.

Campon China: corrupted form of “Kampung Cina” in Malay. It refers to the Chinese quarter in a settlement.

canes: *cães*, portable small piece of artillery, spinning around a stable axe.

carauella: *caravela*, a Portuguese sailing ship, with two or three masts.

catti / catty: *kati* in Malay. a weight used in China, and introduced by the Chinese in Maritime Southeast Asia. Albeit not uniform (*Hobson-Jobson* 1994: 175), it seems to have been often equivalent to 600 grams. It was generally subdivided into *taels*.

Cauchinchina / Cauchin China: from late fifteenth century until early seventeenth century (including in the sources presented in this volume), this name referred to the Kingdom of Đại Việt. In the course of the seventeenth century, with the increasing knowledge about the kingdom, European sources began to distinguish the Red River region (Tonquin or Tonkin) from Cochinchina situated in southern Đại Việt (Arousseau 1924: 566-567; Wheeler 2010: 164-165).

Celatão: The polity of Kelantan, on the northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, south of Pattani, for which historical data are very fragmentary, and therefore very difficult to corroborate as regards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Visited by a Zheng He mission in 1411/12, the local ruler sent an envoy to the Chinese court to offer a tribute (Wade 2004: 63). Still according to a Chinese source, remnants of “pirate bands” fled to Kelantan by the mid-sixteenth century (*ibid.*: 62). According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, at the time of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Melaka (1488-1511), the Kelantan Muslim ruler was Sultan Mansor Syah (Shellabear ed. 1994: 152) or Sultan Menawar Syah (Abdul Samad bin Ahmad ed. 1986: 203).

centul: *sentul*, also known locally as *kecapi* (*Sandoricum koetjape* (Burm. f.) Merr.). The tree, which grows from sea level to about 1,000 meters may be native to the Malay Peninsula, and produces two varieties of fruits (yellow and red). The pulp can be cooked and candied or made into marmalade (perhaps a component of the *confitueren* in Dutch sources).

Chattis: designation of a caste of traders in South India. It seems that from the seventeenth century onwards, the term was commonly used for any

South Indian involved, in a way or another, in trade (Arasaratnam 1986: 213-214, 1995: 42).

Champá: a series of coastal kingdoms that united a complex cultural zone of highland, lowland and coastal peoples inhabiting what is now Central Vietnam.

Chiam / Chiammers: the kingdom of Siam / people from Siam.

Chinceo / Chinchéu: For the period under consideration here (16th c. – 17th c.), Chinceo is used to refer to Yuegang (lit. “port of the Moon”), the harbour of Zhangzhou, and the surrounding areas, in the prefecture of the same name located in southern Fujian province. Contrary to some assertions, at the time, it cannot refer to Quanzhou, which since the fall of the Mongols had greatly declined (Salmon 2010: note 4 p. 88). In 1567, Yuegang, formerly a smuggling centre, has been designated as the only port where Sino-foreign maritime trade could take place. After the disruption of Fujian maritime foreign trade from ca. 1640 until ca. 1680, Fujian ceased to enjoy the monopoly of all Sino-foreign trade, and Xiamen (Amoy) was replacing Yuegang as the major port for foreign trade in Fujian (Pin-tsun Chang 2006: 23). In Portuguese/European sources of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Zhangzhou is always the right identification for the port of “Chinchéu”, as one can see in the first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, compiled in Zhaoqing and Macau by the Jesuits Michelle Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (between 1583 and 1588), that clearly identifies (at fl. 161) “chinceo” as 漳州 (Zhangzhou). On this see Witek S.J. 2001.

Chodsie: probably a corrupted form of *khoja*. This term of Persian origin refers to several situations. Stricto sensu, *khoja* refers to an endogamous group in India converted to Islam, including Nizaris Ismailis, a number of Sunnis and Twelvers separated from the Ismaili community. In a larger meaning, *khoja* refers to all Indian Nizaris Ismailis. According to other interpretations, *khoja* was a title conferred to eunuchs in India and to rich merchants in Persia. But this latter meaning seems to have been popular in Gujarat also. Thus, the title “Khvajah” appears regularly in the inscriptions on white marble tombstones from Cambay dating between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. To add further meaning uncertainties, in fifteenth century Malacca, the Chinese Muslim community coming from Jiangxi, specialised in accompanying tributary missions sent by Malacca to China, included at least two *khojas*, Khoja Ali alias Xiao Mingju and Khoja Husain (Alves 2003: 173).

Coala Tauar: Kuala Tauar River: probably a river located in the present district of Nongchik, west of Pattani. The report of an expedition conducted by a team from the Cambridge University in 1899/1900 mentions a Kampung Tawar in the Nongchik area (Gibson-Hill *et al.* 1953:169).

Coala Tiua: Kuala Tiua River: probably a river to the west of the Kuala Tauar

River. Perhaps the Khlaung (river) Tha Rua in the same Nongchik area (Gibson-Hill *et al.* 1953:169).

Cojacão: Khoja Hassan. An officer from the sultan of Malacca, sent as ambassador to Zhengde Emperor of the Ming dynasty.

compan / coupan / coupon: corrupted form of *kupang* in Malay. A monetary unit worth about nine *stuivers* at the turn of the seventeenth century in Patani. The *kupang* was still used by late nineteenth century in Kelantan (4 *kupang* = 1 *amas*)(Linehan 1934: 67). See **stuyver**.

confitueren: fruits, roots, herbs, flowers, saps and juices, prepared and cooked in sugar or honey. Eight types of *confitueren* were differentiated: liquid *confitueren*, compotes (kind of semi-liquid paste made of the pulp of fruits or flowers – including ginger compote brought from the East Indies via Holland), jellies, pastes (thick compotes, including ginger pastes brought from the East Indies via Holland), dry *confitueren*, preserved *confitueren*, candies, and sugar-coated *confitueren* (Savary 1748, vol. 2: 573-575). See also **centul**.

corge: a mercantile term common in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to describe a bale or lot of 20 pieces of cloth.

coupan: see **compan**.

craecke: carrack (Portuguese *carraca*). Large and generally lightly-armed Portuguese trading ship used mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

cris / crits / crys: corrupted form of the Malay *keris*. Short, straight, double-edged dagger in the Indonesian archipelago and Malay Peninsula.

cromsteyen: *cromsteyen*. A small warship used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose stem is concave.

cruzado: Portuguese gold coin weighing roughly 30 grams, worth 360 *réis*.

culebrina: *colubrina*, long and small caliber piece of artillery, firing cast iron balls weighing 16 to 18 pounds.

Cunha, Aires da: a Portuguese military officer, that served in the *Estado da Índia* as Captain of Kollam (in Kerala), and as Sea-Captain of Malacca, during the 1510 and 1520's.

Cunha, Vasco da: a Portuguese nobleman (*fidalgo*), that served as soldier and administrator of the *Estado da Índia*.

damast: damask. Chinese silk or silk mixture fabric with elaborate designs.

Dato / Datoe / Dator: Dato'. Term of distinction for non-royal chiefs, during the period of interest here.

Dato Besaer / Datoe Bessar / Dato Basar: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

Díaz, Pero: a Spanish sailor and trader, from Monterrey, Orense.

distar: corrupted form of the Malay *destar*. Headcloth.

Dugga Ragni: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

Empau / Empan: Chinese merchant from Patani, who went to Holland and was baptised there. Worked for the VOC in its dealings with China at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Died in the Moluccas around 1613 (cf. Blussé 1977).

Ericatin, Eriacatim, Fracaria: probably Arya Kadih (?), a Javanese sea-captain and corsair.

esfera: *espera*, a short-range piece of artillery, distinctive for having a sphere (representing the world) casted in its barrel.

fermelioen: vermilion. Synthetic red pigment obtained through many recipes, including uniting mercury and sulphur. The Chinese may have invented the process early in the Christian era. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, vermilion was commonly used in Europe by painters (Gettens, Feller & Chase 1972).

Ferreira, João: Portuguese soldier, apparently a veteran in Asia. One can find him in Malacca and in the early 1530's, being said to be already fluent in Malay.

folie: mace. The crimson net-like mantle, which envelops the hard outer shell of the nutmeg, when separated and dried, constitutes the mace of commerce (Hobson-Jobson 1994: 529).

Fonseca, António Pinto da: Portuguese veteran of Asia, Captain-General of Malacca for almost two decades (1616-1635). His tombstone can still be seen in St. Paul's Church (former Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Monte), at Malacca.

fusta: foist, a long-oared boat with a lateen sail.

galeão: a Portuguese ship with four masts, heavily armed with artillery.

galeye: a type of rowed vessel.

Grece: Gresik. A port-city and polity on the north coast of East Java. With its destruction in 1622, the kingdom of Mataram took control of almost the whole north coast of Java.

Guzaratta / Gusarat: Gujarat in Western India. The sultanate of Gujarat remained independent until 1572/73, when it was annexed by the Mughal Empire under Akbar-the-Great. Surat became the main port of the empire, supplanting Cambay. In 1630, a serious economic crisis in Gujarat led to the shifting of the cotton culture and industries towards Coromandel.

Hascan: the altered name of an individual. The correct spelling is probably “Hasan”.

hasta: the length of the forearm from elbow to finger-tip.

- Iambi / Iamby / Jamby:** Jambi. Situated on the east coast of Sumatra, this polity was an important producer of pepper. Ruled by a Palembang princess between 1630 and ca. 1665.
- Iangoma:** Jangomá is the Burmese rendering of Chiang Mai, the capital of the kingdom of Lan Na. It may also refer to the whole kingdom (Grabowsky 2010: 209).
- Iappon / Iappan:** Japan.
- Idoch, Dato:** cf. chapter “domestic issues”.
- Ihoor / Iehor / Ior:** see **Jhoor**.
- iurebassa / iuarabassa:** see **jurubassa**.
- jacht:** light boat very similar to the pinas with a shallow draft.
- jalia:** small and light vessel, smaller than the sandeel, with fifteen rows of oars on each side, widely used in some coastal areas of Southeast Asia.
- Jhoor / Joor:** Johor. A river in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula and a sultanate with its capital in various places along this river from ca. 1535 until the early eighteenth century.
- jonck(e):** junk. In the sources presented here, it is an ubiquitous word referring not only to a large Chinese ship but also to Southeast Asian or hybrid trading vessels (Manguin 1984).
- Jortan:** Jaratan. Town on the north coast of Java, close to Gresik. Controlled by Mataram from 1622 onwards.
- jurubassa:** corrupted form of the Malay *juru bahasa*, meaning literally “expert in language”, here interpreter.
- jurupangos:** *jerubung*, that is a midship awning of a Malay vessel, comparable in size with a small Portuguese caravell.
- Jusarte, Martim Afonso de Melo:** a Portuguese military officer, that served the *Estado da Índia* as Captain of Hormuz, and as captain of war ships in the Straits of Malacca in the 1520s.
- Keda:** Kedah. A sultanate on the northwest coast of the Malay Peninsula. Its port, notably frequented by South Asian traders, supplied mostly pepper, tin and elephants. After the destruction of its pepper plantations in 1618, the sultanate fell under the authority of Aceh until ca. 1640.
- kerck(e):** in the seventeenth century Dutch sources, a general term to describe a place of worship. In the sources presented in this volume, it refers to mosques, pagodas, or Christian churches.
- Lacsemána / Laxmána / Laquexemena, Dato:** corrupted word for *laksamana* in Malay language. In Patani, Dato Laksamana is the title of the *syahbandar* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Usually at the time, in the sultanates of Maritime Southeast Asia *laksamana* refers to the

head of the naval forces.

lanchara: *lanccaran*, a Malay fast war vessel propelled by oars and a sail.

lanciat: corrupted form for the Malay *langsar*. A yellow-white fruit (*Lansium domesticum*).

lapis besar: this Malay expression is a corruption of the Latin *lapis bezoar* (*Orientalis*) to describe hard concretions found in the bodies of animals, to which antidotal virtues were ascribed. Coincidentally, the meaning of *lapis* is “layer” in Malay, and these concretions usually show fine concentric layers. “Besar” is a corruption of the Persian “*pāzhar*” (*pellens venenum*), recalling the fact that Persia, and especially Khorasan, was reputed as the best place for bezoar (See Lemery 1727: 124; Hobson-Jobson 1994: 90-91). *Pāzhar* itself originates from the *pāzhar* goat, living in the mountains of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. According to several Portuguese and other European sources, bezoar was also found in porcupines in Pahang, Johor and Siak. The therapeutical value of the bezoar for many kinds of pains was still fashionable in the middle of the eighteenth century (Savary, vol. 1, 1748: 435-436). On the several types, markets and falsifications of the bezoar, see Alves (2003b).

last: A unit of volume and later weight. For the VOC: 1 *last* = 20 *piculs* \approx 1250 kg (in the seventeenth century). Cf. *VOC Glossarium* (<http://resources.huuygens.knaw.nl/vocglossarium/vocoutp>).

Ligor/ Lugor/ Lygoor: present Nakhon Si Thammarat on the east coast of Peninsular Thailand.

Lima, Francisco de: a Portuguese nobleman (*fidalgo*), that served the *Estado da Índia* in several areas of the India Ocean, namely in the Straits of Malacca in the 1530s.

limon gibol: fruit of the *Citrus spp.* Or could be the *jambu bol*, a guava variety, rose apple (*Eugenia malaccensis*).

Lobo, Tomé: a Portuguese veteran of Asia. He arrived in India in 1518, and we find him as factor (*feitor*) of Hormuz in 1522. By the end of this year, he shifted to Malacca where he was serving as soldier. In 1539/1540 he was resident factor of the captains of Malacca in Pahang. In 1548 he was still alive in Goa.

Macalser / Maccasar: Makassar. The town had a population of several thousands at the end of the sixteenth century and developed, at least since the beginning of the following century, as a transit point for Mollucas spices in exchange for rice and Indian cloths. With the progressive implementation of a monopoly on Mollucas spices by the VOC in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, followed by the conquest of Malacca in 1641, Makassar became a main alternative market for the

opponents of the Company until its conquest in 1667. This takeover put an end to the smuggling of Mollucas spices and sanctioned the absolute monopoly of the VOC on these products. The Company took also this opportunity to seize the monopoly on the trade in Indian and Persian cloths in Makassar, preventing the other trading companies, as well as South Asian and Maritime Southeast Asian traders to come to do business freely.

maes: *mas*. Patani currency unit equivalent to 2/3 of a real-of-eight (see **rial van acht**) at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. This history of monetary issuance by the sultanate of Patani is far from clear. Chance finds of gold coins bearing the effigy of a deer (*kijang*) and Arabic inscriptions, on or near the site of the old capital (Ban Kruse / Kerisik), have been reported since the end of the nineteenth century (cf. “introduction” in this volume). Thus we learn from one of the rare contemporaneous account that in 1645, a Dutch ship left Kedah with, among others, 400 Patani *mas* (DR 07/1645).

Maha Indeva: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

Maha Raia: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

maldemadiu: weighing officer? *Malder* was a measure of volume for grain in Germany (Savary, vol. 3, 1741, p. 237).

malim: mate or navigating officer.

Mallucos: see **Moluccos**.

Malusian: Malay.

mamide: it seems that no such currency has ever been issued in Cambodia at the time. Mamide may be a corruption of the Persian silver coin *mamūdi* (or *mahmūdi*), known to have been in circulation in the East Indies. The Safavid ruler ‘Abbās I (1588-1629) emitted the silver ‘abbāsī, with the *mamūdi* being valued at one half ‘abbāsī (Frey 1916: 141; <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/coins-and-coinage>; see also Savary, vol. 3, 1741, p. 240).

mamplan: corrupted form of the Malay *mampelam* = *mempelam*, that is mango (*Mangifera indica*).

Manchaja: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

Mardijker: free “unmixed” Asian in the Dutch East Indies, who belonged to the category of burgher (*burger*). This word, derived from a Sanskrit term at the origin of the word *merdeka* (free, independent) in Indonesian, was commonly used from the 1630s. Spurred on by the VOC, this group was officially established by ordinance in 1643 (Fox 1983, p. 253). Among these Mardijkers, the Dutch sources differentiated the “Blacks” (*swarte*), originally from South Asia, and the “Malays” (*maleyse*). However, most

of them were liberated slaves from Coromandel, Malabar and Ceylon, and were baptised before to be freed. Another common feature was the use of a Portuguese-based Creole language.

Martavão: Martaban, also Muttama (in modern Burmese), was an important port-city of Lower Burma between the fourteenth and the late sixteenth century when it was eclipsed by Syriam.

Mello, Simão de: Portuguese nobleman (*fidalgo*), Captain of Malacca between 1545 and 1548.

meltilo: commissioner?

Menancabo: the Minangkabau area in West Sumatra.

Mendonça, Diogo de: Portuguese captain, that served the *Estado da Índia* in several areas of the Indian Ocean, in the early seventeenth century, always together with his two brothers, Diogo and Álvaro.

meskite / muskita: mosque.

mestilo: see **meltilo**

mijl: at the beginning of the seventeen century, the length of the Dutch mile was 7,407 meters (<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocglossarium/vocoutp>).

Moluccos / Molucques: the Moluccas archipelago in present Indonesia. This archipelago was well-known as the sole source for clove and nutmeg during the period under review here. The Portuguese settled in Ternate in 1522, but their influence began to decline in the archipelago a few decades later. The Dutch landed in the Moluccas in 1599. See also **Amboin** and **Bandan**.

Moor / Mooren: this word is used with two different meanings in the Dutch sources presented here: firstly “Muslim”; secondly, Muslims from the Coromandel coast, north of Pulicat. In Batavia, even people from the Malabar coast were included under this appellation (Haan 1935: 377). This term had sometimes a wider meaning, that is “Muslim subject of the Mughal emperor” or “Muslim from Ceylon” (Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale Missiven*, 1971, vol. 4, p. 195, footnote 2).

Mordillion: see **Bordolough**.

Muar: river / small town and inner-port near Malacca, also known as Bandar Maharani.

musketier / Musquettier: musketeer. A musket was a firearm, which appeared in Europe in the early 1500s. Fired from Y-shaped supports, it was a shoulder arm. There was no musket-proof armors. Being part of infantry units with pikemen, musketeers had to move in and out of the pike formations to try to get a clear shot at the enemy. Musketeers could be

recruited from unskilled peasants (Chase 2008: 61-62, 75).

muskita: see **meskite**.

muscus: musk. Strong-smelling substance secreted by a gland of various animals, especially the civet (*Viverra zibethica* and other species) and the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), in Southeast Asia, China and Bengal. Musk was traded in two forms at the time under review here, either the complete gland or only the dried content. At the time, used in perfumery in the West (Savary, vol. 3, 1741: 521-523).

nachoda / nachodo / necodá: corrupted form of the Malay *nakhoda*, shipmaster.

nacie: The original term *nacie* used in Middle Dutch has no political connotation and refers to an (ethnic) community rather than a country or a state; this meaning has been maintained in modern Afrikaans.

Nagapatam: Nagapattinam. Port of Coromandel where Portuguese traders settled by the mid-1520s, and remained active up to 1658, when it was conquered and fortified by the VOC. Its traffic with Southeast Asia increased from late sixteenth century and remained stable throughout the following century. The main Southeast Asian ports trading significantly with Nagapattinam were Aceh, Banten, Malacca, Johor, Makassar and Kedah.

nauió de gauea: *navio de gávea*, that is a ship (usually a carrack with a crow's nest on the top of the tallest mast).

Nunes, Bastião: Portuguese soldier in Asia.

nurimbergher: ware. These are haberdashery and hardware items (Savary, vol. I, 1723: 378, 784, 931, 1097, 1225).

Orancaia / Orankaya / Oran Caya / Orangcaya / Orancaio / Orancayo: “*orangkaya*” in Malay. The term has been given various definitions. According to Lombard (1967: 56; 1990, II: 144), the *orangkaya* was a rich individual in the kingdoms of Maritime Southeast Asia during the period fifteenth – seventeenth centuries. He occupied a privileged social position, rewarded by the ruler with various, but non-hereditary, civil and military offices. In contact with foreign merchants, he enjoyed a certain prestige among the natives, and generally ruled over a territory outside the capital. They constitute the “aristocracy” of the sultanates and new networks appeared around them: confidants, secretaries, business managers, various agents, henchmen and servants. According to Ito (1984: 81), as the term *orangkaya* was used to denote rank of dignity rather than title, he suggests to translate it as “The Honourable”. Reid (1993, vol. II: 115) distinguishes three types of *orangkaya*: the foreign merchants, attracted to the port by its trading opportunities, but able to leave again; foreign or foreign-descended, partly assimilated merchant-

officials, mediating between the court and traders; indigenous aristocrats drawn into trade by their position or wealth. More recently, Guillot (2005: 45) characterises the *orangkaya* as the “middle class”.

Orieda: Ayutthaya. City, capital of the kingdom of Siam between 1350 and 1767.

Ormuz: the city-island of Hormuz, in the Persian Gulf.

Paducca: corrupted form of *Paduka* in Malay. In Patani, part of the title used by the queen Raja Ungu (Paduka Syah Alam), r. ca. 1629-1634. At the time, the title “Paduka” was also used by a high dignitary of the sultanate (cf. chapter “domestic issues”). The title was in use since the fifteenth century at least in the sultanate of Pasai, especially for women (cf. Guillot & Kalus 2008). *Paduka* later became an honorific addition (meaning “royal”) in titles.

Pahan / Pasan: Pahang. A river and a sultanate on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

pantgypan: shimmering taffeta.

Paribara: probably Patih Barah (?), a Javanese sea-captain and corsair.

Parles: Perlis, a small state vassal of the sultanate of Kedah by this time. Perlis, or Perlis Indera Kayagan, is the smallest state in Malaysia, at the northern tip of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and has Thailand on its northern border.

Pattas: a type of cloth made of silk and cotton.

Pegu: a Mon port-city in present southern Myanmar/Burma, considered as one of the nodal points of long-distance trade in Southeast Asia from the fifteenth century. Pegu was overrun by the Burmese kingdom of Toungoo in 1539, which established its capital there. Pegu reached its peak around 1570, before to be burnt by armies of formerly loyal territories joined by Ayutthaya’s army in 1599. In 1632, a new capital was established by the Toungoo dynasty far inland, in Ava.

Phaon: see Pahang.

picol / picoll: corrupted form of the Malay *pikul*. Unit of weight, equal to 100 *katis*, or two bags of 60 pounds, that is approximately 60 kg.

pieckenier: pikemen. Pikemen were a component of infantry units together with musketeers. The pike was basically a long spear, about 4.5 metres in length, matchless as part of a solid mass of unbroken infantry presenting a continuous front to the ennemy (Chase 2008: 62).

pinas / pinasse: pinnace. A general name for single-decked, square-sterned vessels used for exploration and trade.

pissan: corrupted form of the Malay *pisang*, that is banana (*Musa paradisiaca*).

- pongoulu / pongulo:** corrupted form for the Malay *penghulu*, headman.
- Portingalls:** Portuguese people.
- Pratiau:** corrupted form for the Thai *Phra-cao*, a royal title used to designate most of the queens of Patani (Teeuw & Wyatt eds., 1970, vol. I: 13; vol. II: 230).
- prau / prauw / prauwe:** Proa. Corrupted form for the Malay *perahu*. Small native sailing vessel.
- proa:** see **prau**.
- Pulo Timão:** Pulau Tioman, island off Pahang on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.
- puntu gorbangh:** corrupted form of the Malay *pintu gerbang*, main gate.
- pynangdoos:** combination of the Malay *pinang* with the Dutch *doos* for a box containing all appliances connected with the chewing of the areca-nut.
- Quala Buca / Quale Bouca:** corrupted form of the toponym Kuala Bekah in Malay. cf. chapter “domestic issues”.
- Queda:** see **Keda**.
- quelyns:** refers to the Kelings or Klings, Tamil merchants from the Coromandel Coast.
- radix china:** dried root of a thorny vine (*Smilax China* Linn.), originally growing in China and Japan. Used in Europe from the sixteenth century to treat various diseases, especially syphilitic ailments (Orta 2004: 525-541).
- Radza Muda:** corrupted form of Raja Muda in Malay, meaning “heir to the throne”. See chapter “domestic issues”.
- Radzia Calanta:** corrupted form of Raja Kelantan in Malay. cf. chapter “domestic issues”.
- Raga Wange:** cf. chapter “domestic issues”.
- Ragia Siacq:** corrupted form of Raja Siak in Malay, meaning “king of Siak”. See **Siacq**.
- Rahu Bongso, Raja Bonso:** corrupted form of Ratu Bongsu in Malay. Also know as Raja Bongsu, Raja Seberang or Raja di Ilir. Brother of the Sultan of Johor, Ala’uddin Ri’ayat Syah III, he succeeded him with the title of Sultan Abdullah Ma’ayat Syah in 1613 at Makam Tauhid / Batu Sawar (near present Kota Tinggi), before to leave for Pulau Bintan in 1617 and then Pulau Lingga in 1618 where his reign ended in 1623.
- Raia Indra Mouda:** corrupted form of Raja Indra Muda in Malay.
- Raja Sitterbangsa:** corrupted form of Raja Setiawangsa in Malay.
- Raja Schey:** perhaps corrupted form of Raja Shaikh in Malay.
- Raposo, Baltasar Rodrigues:** a Portuguese ship captain, born in the Alentejo

province, in the south of Portugal.

rial van acht: *real van acht*, piece-of-eight. Spanish-American silver coin (*peso*) issued since about the middle of the sixteenth century and widely accepted in Southeast Asia. Its value, eight reales, is frequently found on the side of the armorial shield on the reverse (VIII or 8), hence the expression “piece-of-eight”.

roode steen / red stones: bricks.

roosenobel: gold coin issued in the Low Countries being a close imitation of an English gold coin first issued in 1344, during the reign of Edward III. The prominent feature of the coin is the ship in which stands the king holding a sword and shield (Frey 1916: 160).

sabandaer / sabander: corrupted form of the Malay *syahbandar*. Head of the port, in charge of foreigners.

Sabbath: word used by Roelof Roelofsz to mean “Friday”. Indeed, November 9, 1601, fell on Friday, 13 Jamadilawal 1010 H.

Sabrang / Sabrangh / Sabraugh: corrupted form of the Malay “Seberang”. Here it means the peninsula closing the Patani Bay.

sagou / Sagu: sago (*Metroxylon spp.*). Genus of palms. The soft inner parts of the trunk contain edible starch after washing.

salala: probably corrupted form of the Malay *serasah*. A linen or cotton print-fabric obtained from the Coromandel coast (Wilkinson 1959, vol. II: 1082).

Sangora / Songora / Singgora: modern Songkhla, a coastal town northwest of Patani. A major port through the seventeenth century. Some pepper was also cultivated there until the end of the seventeenth century. Conflicts were frequent between Patani and Singgora between the mid-1620s and the mid-1630s. The VOC had a factory there between 1613 and 1618.

saroy boura: corrupted form of *sarang burung* (bird’s nest) in Malay. Edible nests produced by the glutinous saliva of swiftlets and harvested from caves throughout Maritime Southeast Asia.

scharlaken: scarlet. Fine woollen cloth.

schuyt: *schuit*. Small boat, generally for inland navigation.

Seeram: Seram. The largest and main island of the Moluccas archipelago.

saluajes: *selvagem*, a large piece of artillery, weighing some 2,800 kilograms, and firing balls of 16 pounds.

Seelant: see Zeeland.

Siacq: Siak. River and polity on the east coast of Sumatra. Among the trade entrepôts for products from the Minangkabau highlands. Siak was more or less controlled by Malacca in the second half of the fifteenth century, and then by Johor after 1511. The conquest of Malacca by a Dutch-Johor

force in 1641 gave the opportunity to Johor to reaffirm its authority over Siak.

Sineau: probably a corruption of Chinceo. See **Chinceo**.

Sirindana: cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

Siriniara / Siriuara / Sirnora: probably the title ‘Seri Nara’. cf. chapter “domestic issues”.

sloep: sloop, single-masted vessel.

Solnara: see Siriniara.

Solor: a volcanic island, off the island of Flores in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Solor Archipelago.

sombah benaga: corrupted form of the Malay “sembah berniaga”. Trade fee. Literally “gesture of homage to thank for the right to trade”.

sombah datang: corrupted form of the Malay “sembah datang”. Arrival fee.

sombah datching: corrupted form of the Malay “sembah dacing”. Weighing fee.

sombah muson: perhaps corrupted form of the Malay “sembah musim”. Seasonal fee (?). Perhaps related to the fact that the coming of trading ships depended on seasonal winds.

Soutra touloucky: perhaps corrupted form of the Malay “sutura tolak (?)”. See **damast**.

stuyver: copper coin of the Low Countries and various German States, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. There is an extensive series of stuivers issued by the Dutch for their possessions in the East, struck in copper, lead and silver (Frey 1916: 230).

Succadama / Suckidana: Sukadana. Diamond-producing polity in southwest Borneo. The Dutch established a factory there in 1608.

Sunda: the kingdom and port-city of Sunda Kelapa in West Java.

Syam: Siam.

taffeta: a fine smooth Chinese silken stuff, remarkable for its gloss or lustre.

Tanjapura: the port and kingdom of Tanjung Pura, on the island of Borneo.

Tanasserin: Tenasserim. The southernmost province of modern Myanmar. Tenasserim and the port of the same name were conquered by Siam under King Naresuan (1590-1605), then taken by the Burmese after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767.

Tanjongh Selang: Tanjong Selang, also Ujung Selang. Present Phuket on the west coast of Peninsular Thailand.

Tarangh: see **Trang**.

- Ternate:** the island and sultanate of Ternate, in the Halmahera group of North Maluku, a source and market for cloves.
- Tidore:** the island and sultanate of Tidore, in North Maluku, a fierce rival of Ternate.
- Timor:** an island at the southern end of Maritime Southeast Asia, long known for its sandalwood.
- tintenage:** *tutenague*. Alloy of copper, zinc and nickel exported from China.
- Trang:** Trang. River-port town on the Andaman Sea coast of Siam, southeast of Phuket.
- tschera Malleyas:** a type of “Malay” cloth of silk.
- tsulia:** type of cloth.
- tutuão:** *dutang*, or Executive Censor, a Chinese official of the Ming dynasty.
- Ujantana /Viantana:** see Johor
- valcoen / falcones:** falcon. Small caliber cannon firing balls weighing between a quarter of a pound and a half pound.
- Vasconcelos, Henrique Mendes de:** a Portuguese ship captain, that served the *Estado da Índia* as captain of the Banda Islands around 1536.
- versos / bersos:** *berços*, a small piece or artillery firing ball of three pounds.
- was / waxe:** bees wax.
- Zangora:** see **Sangora**.
- Zeeland:** the westernmost province of the present Netherlands. When mentioned in the sources presented here, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Zeeland was part of the Dutch Republic established in 1588, a federation of seven autonomous provinces. Spain formally recognized the Republic in 1648.
- Zeylon:** Ceylon.

H. References

Abbreviations

AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon)
<i>Andrada</i>	<i>Vida de Dom João de Castro, Quarto Vizo-Rei da Índia</i> (Justino Mendes de Almeida (ed.), 1968)
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)
APO	<i>Archivo Portuguez Oriental</i> , J.H. da Cunha Rivara (ed.), 1857-1876.
<i>As Gavetas</i>	<i>As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo</i> , A. Silva Rego (ed.), 1960-1977.
<i>B & V</i>	<i>Begin ende voortgangh...</i> (see Isaac COMMELIN)
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon)
<i>Barros</i>	João de Barros, <i>Ásia...</i> , Hernâni Cidade (ed.), 1945-1946.
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon)
<i>Cartas Castro</i>	<i>Obras Completas de D. João de Castro</i> , Armando Cortesão & Luís de Albuquerque (eds), 1968-1981.
<i>Cartas Pinto</i>	<i>Cartas de Fernão Mendes Pinto e outros documentos</i> , Rebecca Catz (ed.), 1983.

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- DocIndica* *Documenta Indica*, Joseph Wicki S.J. (ed.), 18 vols., 1948-1988.
- DR* *Dagh-Register* (see Van der Chijs)
- DRI/LM* *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*, Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato & A. da Silva Rego (eds), 10 vols, 1880-1982.
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- FU* Filmoteca Ultramarina (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon)
- Gaio* *O “Roteiro das Cousas do Achem” de D. João Ribeiro Gaio: Um olhar português sobre o Norte de Samatra em finais do século XVI*, Jorge Santos Alves & Pierre-Yves Manguin (eds.), 1997.
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- HP T & W* *Hikayat Patani* (Teeuw & Wyatt (éd.), 1970)
- IMW* *Indonesia and the Malay World*
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*

- JRASGBI* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
- JSEAS* *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*
- JSS* *Journal of the Siam Society*
- JSSS* *Journal of the South Seas Society*
- LCF* *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas*, Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz (ed.), 1960.
- Lembrança 1525* “Lembrança d’algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malacca, e assy nas outras partes da Imdea (1525),” in Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (ed.), 1868.
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2, RUE DE LILLE – 75007 PARIS – FRANCE
e-mail : archipel@ehess.fr

