

DOUTORAMENTO EM HISTÓRIA

Malacca Beyond European Colonialism (15th-17th Centuries)

Daya Negri Wijaya

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor in History, under the supervision of Professor Doctor Amélia Polónia

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

2022

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*I dedicate my doctoral thesis to my wife (Prisca Kiki Wulandari) and
my parents (Hari Santoso and Sudarmi)*

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Declaration of Honour

I declare that my doctoral thesis is under my authority and is not utilised previously in other course or curriculum unit in this or in the other institution. Referring to other authors (affirmations, ideas, and thoughts), they scrupulously respect the rules of attribution, and are duly indicated in the text and in the bibliographic references, in accordance with the referencing rules. I am aware that the practice of plagiarism and auto-plagiarism constitutes an academic offence.

Porto, 23 June 2022

Daya Negri Wijaya

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Resumo

Esta tese, sobre a ascensão e o declínio de Malaca antes e durante a presença de colonizadores europeus, combina história portuária e história colonial, uma vez que a presença europeia em Malaca deriva em grande parte do seu estatuto de porto marítimo e centro comercial.

Devido à sua localização estratégica, Malaca foi disputada entre potências asiáticas e europeias. A sua posição estratégica e as suas infraestruturas marítimas atraíram múltiplas e diversificadas comunidades de mercadores.

Malaca também foi o ponto a partir do qual a islamização se começou a difundir no arquipélago malaio.

As sucessivas tomadas europeias de Malaca tiveram impacto nos vestígios e nas dinâmicas deixados pelas comunidades multiculturais que aí se tinham estabelecido. Durante o período português, os portugueses e os seus descendentes, euro-asiáticos, eram apenas uma de muitas outras comunidades mercantis ali existentes.

Os portugueses reativaram e impulsionaram as atividades mercantis, recrutando comerciantes asiáticos como seus funcionários. Essas bases, por sua vez, encorajaram a expansão missionária para o Extremo Oriente.

A união ibérica afetou a geopolítica local no Estreito de Malaca, ao atrair rivais espanhóis, afetando o domínio português, em particular no Sudeste asiático.

Os holandeses tentaram substituir o império português na Ásia. No entanto, até 1621 o comércio português com a Ásia permaneceu estável. Em seguida, os holandeses encurralaram cada vez mais os portugueses no sudeste da Ásia. Os holandeses usaram Malaca para servir, num primeiro momento, os seus interesses específicos no comércio de estanho. No entanto, os comerciantes asiáticos continuaram resistindo ao monopólio holandês. Malaca continuou, durante o período holandês, a ser habitado por várias comunidades, incluindo a portuguesa.

Esta tese é escrita a partir, não tanto de um ponto de vista colonial europeu, mas de uma perspetiva predominantemente local, usando fontes portuguesas a par de muitas outras. Resulta de uma combinação de narrativas portuguesas, inglesas, holandesas e asiáticas (malaias, buginesas, makasaresas, ambonesas, chinesas e japonesas). Propõe uma perspetiva euroasiática para compreender, tanto a presença e o domínio formal português, quanto o complexo conjunto de redes comerciais que operaram em Malaca, antes e depois do domínio português.

Longe de uma história escrita apenas do ponto de vista europeu, esta tese questiona a forma como os interesses e as incursões coloniais europeias foram percebidos por governantes e agentes comerciais locais e como estes responderam. Para além das estruturas formais impostas pelos portugueses e depois pelos holandeses, esta investigação centra-se também nos agentes privados asiáticos e europeus que cooperaram, competiram ou resistiram no contexto da presença colonial europeia em Malaca, nos séculos XVI e XVII.

Palavras-chave: Malaca, Pasai, Johor, Aceh, portos, Sudeste Asiático, redes comerciais

Abstract

This thesis, about the rise and the decline of Malacca before and during the presence of European colonisers, combines seaports and colonial history, as the European presence in Malacca largely derives from its status as a seaport and trade centre.

Due to its strategic location, Malacca was disputed between Asian and European powers. Its strategic position and the maritime infrastructures attracted diversified communities of merchants. Malacca was also the place where Islamization began to spread in the Malay Archipelago.

The successive European takeovers impacted on the traces of previous periods left by its multicultural inhabitants. During the Portuguese period, they and their descendants were just one of many other merchant communities there.

The Portuguese also re-awoke mercantile activities, recruiting Asian merchants as their officials. These bases in turn encouraged missionary expansion to the Far East.

The Iberian union affected the local geopolitics in the Straits of Malacca by attracting Spanish rivals, affecting the Portuguese domination mostly in Southeast Asia.

The Dutch attempted to replace the Portuguese empire. Yet, until 1621 Portuguese trade with Asia remained stable. Then the Dutch increasingly cornered the Portuguese in Southeast Asia. The Dutch used Malacca to serve their specific interests in the tin trade. However, the Asian merchants kept resisting the Dutch monopoly. Dutch-Malacca kept being inhabited by several communities including the Portuguese.

This thesis is written not so much from a colonial European viewpoint, but predominantly from a local perspective, using both Portuguese sources and many other. This permits a combination of Portuguese, English, Dutch, and Asian (Malay, Buginese, Makasarese, Ambonese, Chinese and Japanese) narratives. It proposes a Eurasian perspective to understand the Portuguese institutional presence and dominance, as much as the complex set of trade networks operating in Malacca, before and after the Portuguese dominium.

Away from a history written only from a European point of view, this thesis enquires how European colonial interests and incursions were perceived by local rulers and trade agents and how these responded. Apart from formal structures imposed by the Portuguese and then the Dutch, this research also focuses on Asian and European private agents cooperating, competing or resisting within the context of European colonial presence in Malacca (16th -17th centuries).

Key-words: Malacca, Pasai, Johor, Aceh , Southeast Asia, seaports, trade networks

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Glossary

adipati	: A Javanese title designating a type of princely governor or viceroy (Borschberg, 2015).
adipati raja	: The local chief (Shellabear, 2016).
alcaide	: General name for a responsible of a fortress or castle; specifically in Malacca. It refers to a particular office, in charge of the port affairs (<i>alcaide do mar</i>) or the security of the city (<i>alcaide da terra</i>) (Pinto, 2012; Boxer, 1968).
alvará	: Decree, charter, or letters-patent, issued by the king or by ministers or viceroy in his name (Boxer, 1968).
Andelas	: The ancient name of Sumatra (Shellabear, 2016).
antelas Gujarati	: The Gujarati silk (Shellabear, 2016).
arratel	: Portuguese measure of weight, of 459.5 grams (Pinto, 2012).
asiento (assento)	: A contract between the Spanish or the Portuguese monarch and a private merchant-financier whereby the latter advanced the former an agreed sum in coin or credit in specific locations (usually in the Low Countries, Northern Italy, Central Europe, or on the Iberian Peninsula) and the monarch promised to repay the merchant-financier's advances plus interest and other perquisites (Boyajian, 1993).
balões (balang)	: A small Asian vessel that was propelled by breast oars and could also be sailed (Borschberg, 2015).
bantin	: A Malay craft used during the 16 th and 17 th centuries in naval warfare (Borschberg, 2015).
bar	: Measure of weight, with different values depending on the region of Asia; in Malacca, the small bahar (bar pequeno) dachem (183.6 kg) was used to weight tin, silk, ivory, opium, and other products and the bar grande (big bahar) dachem (210 kg) was used mostly for spices (Pinto, 2012).
bendara or bendahara	: A high ranking, hereditary position in a Malay polity who in more recent times has become synonymous to the cheif-minister (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016); Portuguese form of the high Malay office and title bendahara, sort of a prime minister during the times of the sultanate of Malacca and incorporated

	into the Portuguese administrative system (Pinto, 2012).
benzoin	: A resin of the <i>Styrax benzoin</i> known among Arab traders as <i>luban Jawi</i> (Javanese frankincense) (Borschberg, 2015).
biaperi	: Merchant (Shellabear, 2016).
biduanda	: The Malacca king's servant (Shellabear, 2016).
bingkisan	: Present, tribute (Shellabear, 2016).
captain	: General name for military commander of Portuguese forces or settlements; in <i>Estado da India</i> , the captain of a fortress or a city was a three-year commanding officer, with military and supervising functions, also the highest authority under the orders of the viceroy of Goa (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015; Boxer, 1968).
captain-major	: A commander of a fleet comprising several large vessels (Borschberg, 2015).
camphor or kapur	: In the early modern period, there were fundamentally two types of camphor traded: natural tropical camphor and synthetically produced Japanese laurel camphor (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
caravel	: A sailing ship based on Arabic and Mediterranean precursors commonly used in the 15 th and 16 th centuries, featuring a shallow draft, two or three masts and lateen (triangular-shaped) sails (Borschberg, 2015).
carrack	: A large and generally lightly-armed Portuguese trading ship of the 16 th and early 17 th centuries (Borschberg, 2015; Boxer, 1968).
cartaz	: Safe-conduct pass issued by the Portuguese crown (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015).
cate	: Measure of weight, with different values; in Malacca a <i>cate</i> of 803 gram, of 20 <i>taeis</i> each, was commonly used to weigh gold and other commodities (Pinto, 2012).
Cempa	: Vietnam (Shellabear, 2016).
ceteria	: The second caste of <i>ksatria</i> in the Hinduism social stratification (Shellabear, 2016).
clove	: The aromatic flower buds of the <i>Eugenia aromatica</i>

	(Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
cruzado	: Golden or silver currency of general use in Portugal and in Portuguese Asia, with a general value of 400 reis, equivalent to a ducado; however, in Malacca, silver cruzados were the most commonly used, their standard value being 360 reis (Pinto, 2012; Boxer, 1968).
daulat	: An Arabic word designating a mystical right to rule; a right to rule by birth (Borschberg, 2015).
derhaka	: This Malay term is used to designate treason, specifically also disloyalty to a ruler or raja; the disorder which such disloyalty engenders; and the wrath of God it will evoke (Borschberg, 2015).
datu	: Title of the head of a tribe or senior elder (Boxer, 1968).
Estado da India	: Official structure of Portuguese Asia, composed of a network of cities, ports, factories, or other official settlements, ranging from the Cape of Good Hope to the Moluccas (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015; Boxer, 1968).
factor, factory	: Resident head of a so-called factory or trading post. It also refers to a commercial agent or the head of a collection and billing station (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016; Boxer, 1968).
fazenda	: Large farm or country property (Boxer, 1968).
fidalgo	: Gentleman or petty noble (Boxer, 1968).
fiscaal	: Dutch judicial officer (Borschberg, 2015).
foist	: A type of vessel that normally featured a single row of oars and a single mast (Borschberg, 2015).
frigate	: An open Portuguese naval craft that was also rowed (Borschberg, 2015).
fustalha	: A smaller type of foist or fusta (Borschberg, 2015).
galleon	: An ocean-going ship developed after the late 16 th century and improved in size and design over almost two centuries (Borschberg, 2015).
galley	: A type of rowed vessel that traces its origin to Ancient Greece and Rome (Borschberg, 2015).
galliot	: A type of vessel featuring one or two masts and a shallow draft (Borschberg, 2015; Boxer, 1968).

gantang	: A unit to measure mass, weight, and volume commonly used across the Malay Archipelago (Borschberg, 2015).
Gentlemen Directors	: The central board of 17 directors of the the Dutch East India Company (Borschberg, 2016).
hikayat	: A word of Arabic origin referring to chronicles, stories, or heroic sagas and adopted into the Malay language (Borschberg, 2015).
hulubalang	: A malay title implying military functions, but often extended to territorial and other chiefs (Borschberg, 2015).
kati	: A unit widely used in Asia for measuring mass or weight. As a rule, a kati weights about 600-625 grams and represents the equivalent of 16 taels or 1/100 of a pikul (about 60-62.5 kilograms) (Borschberg, 2015).
kampong	: Malay word for village (Boxer, 1968).
Kelings	: Caste of Hindu merchants from the Coromandel coast in Southern India, very important in Malacca, both before and after the Portuguese conquest (Pinto, 2012).
keris	: A highly esteemed weapon widely used across maritime Southeast Asia both in traditional ceremonies and in combat (Borschberg, 2015).
Kora-kora	: An oared war ship commonly used in the Moluccas, especially in Ambon (Borschberg, 2015).
laksamana	: A Malay title or office holder corresponding approximately to the commander of the fleet or admiral (Borschberg, 2015).
lançado	: A term applied to Portuguese who settled outside the Estado da India in Asia. The lançados ranged from freelance soldiers employed by native princelings and assorted renegades to ordinary merchants (Boyajian, 1993).
lanchara	: Portuguese name for a small commercial sailing craft used in the Malay Archipelago during the early modern period (Borschberg, 2015).
lascar	: A soldier from subcontinental India (Borschberg, 2015).
Larantuqueiro	: Topasses, Eurasians or Black Portuguese from

	Larantuka (Boxer, 1968).
legoa (league)	: Portuguese sea mile, comprising 3 miles or 6,174 metres (Borschberg, 2015).
logie (lodge)	: Dutch trading post (Borschberg, 2015).
malakat	: The place where all merchants came and traded (Shellabear, 2016).
mace	: A layer skin separating the flesh of the fruit of <i>Myristica fragrans</i> (nutmeg tree) from its kernel (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
mandala	: A Sanskrit term designating political subdivision (districts) (Borschberg, 2015).
mandarin	: A European corruption of the Sanskrit-derived term <i>mantrin</i> (minister or advisor) (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
mestiço	: Indo-Portuguese term for half caste or Eurasian (Boxer, 1968; Boyajian, 1993).
misericordia	: Charitable foundation for support of orphans and widows in Portugal and colonies (Boxer, 1968; Boyajian, 1993).
monsoon	: Seasonally conditioned winds which were used by traders in the age of sail. In Asia, there are two monsoon seasons, the northeast monsoon (October-February) and the southwest monsoon (April-August) (Borschberg, 2015).
morador	: Citizen or inhabitant of Portuguese colonial city (Boxer, 1968).
musket	: A muzzle-loaded and long gun developed in the 16 th and 17 th centuries (Borschberg, 2015).
musim Jawa	: The Javanese time to sail to Malacca between June and September (Shellabear, 2016).
nao	: Great ship (Boxer, 1968).
naveta	: Swift sailing ship of galliot type averaging about 300 tons (Boxer, 1968).
Nusa Tamara	: Flores Island (Shellabear, 2016).
nutmeg	: Nutmeg and mace are separate spices gained from the fruit of the <i>Myristica fragrans</i> (nutmeg tree). nutmeg is the fruit kernel's inner core (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).

orangkaya	: Wealthy person (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
oranglaut	: Sea nomad or sea gypsy (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
ouvidor	: Judge or magistrate (Boxer, 1968).
padroado	: Right of crown patronage claimed over Ecclesiastical establishments in Asia by Portuguese monarchs in conformity with various papal bulls (Boxer, 1968).
Paduka Raja	: A Malay titular prefix for the bendahara deriving from the Sanskrit paduka (Borschberg, 2016).
pagger	: Wall made of loose stones; defensive work like a stockade or fenced entrenchment (Boxer, 1968).
palisade	: Wooden poles used in the construction of fortifications (Borschberg, 2015).
pardao	: Two kinds of gold and silver coins of fluctuating value the former originally worth 6 tangas or 360 reis; the latter five tangas or 300 reis, later equivalent to half a rupee (Boxer, 1968).
pataca	: Name given by the Portuguese to the Spanish peso or Mexican dollar (Boxer, 1968).
pataxo	: Vessel of about 200-400 tons (Boxer, 1968).
pepper	: The fruit of a creeping vine that is thought to have originated in India and was transplanted to Southeast Asia before the arrival of the Europeans in the early modern period (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
perahu	: A type of small craft that can be either sailed or rowed (Borschberg, 2015).
pilot	: In a maritime context, this refers to an experience mariner with knowledge of local geography and maritime conditions. He is paid to come aboard and steer a ship through treacherous or dangerous waters (Borschberg, 2015).
pinnace	: A light boat with shallow draft propelled by sail and sometimes also by oars (Borschberg, 2015).
privateer	: A captain or commander of a private vessel who has royal authorization to plunder ships (Borschberg, 2015).
procurador	: Procurator, attorney, solicitor (Boxer, 1968).

provedor	: Official responsible for supervision of various semipublic departments or institutions (Boxer, 1968).
raja	: King (Borschberg, 2015).
Raja Bongsu	: A Malay title meaning the young or junior (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
real	: Portuguese unit of currency; from 1433 onwards it became the unit of account in Portugal (Pinto, 2012; Boxer, 1968).
regimento	: List or organized corpus of orders and instructions, sometimes detailed, issued by the king or a high authority to a viceroy or a governor, concerning a specific mission or office (Pinto, 2012).
rendezvous	: The Dutch main base for trading operation in Asia (Borschberg, 2015).
respondencia	: Money borrowed on the goods and merchandise of a vessel, as distinct from bottomry which signified money borrowed on the vessel itself (Boxer, 1968).
roteiro	: Written sailing and navigational directions (Boxer, 1968).
Rum	: Byzantium Empire or Ottoman Empire (Shellabear, 2016).
sago	: The food prepared from the pith of the rumbia palm (Borschberg, 2015).
sandalwood	: A wood containing an odoriferous resin widely traded and used across Asia and into Europe during the early modern period (Borschberg, 2015).
sangle	: Chinese merchants in Manila (Boyajian, 1993).
sappanwood	: A tree native to Southeast Asia used for extracting a red-coloured dye as a medicinal substance and also for colouring food (Borschberg, 2015).
tael	: Measure of weight, with different values according to each region of Asia, used to weight precious metals and other products; in Malacca it was 1/20 of a cate of 803 gram, but in other places it was 1/16 or 1/12 of a cate (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015; Boxer, 1968).
tanga	: Indo-Portuguese silver coin of fluctuating weight, but fixed value of 60 reis (Boxer, 1968).

terços	: Tax imposed on private traders on the spice cargoes sailing from the Moluccas and Banda to Malacca, created by Viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha in 1539. it was an obligation to sell one-third of the load at cost price to the royal treasury in Malacca (Pinto, 2012).
Temasik	: The ancient name of Singapore (Shellabear, 2016).
Temenggong	: the Malay minister who was responsible for the security, the prison, and the customs house during the time of the Malacca sultanate and incorporated into the Portuguese administrative system (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015).
Trading concessions	: From the 1550s, the Portuguese monarchs either awarded to their servants or sold outright to individuals the exclusive right to organise trade over lucrative routes formerly under direct royal monopoly (Boyajian, 1993).
trato	: Trade, traffic, or commerce (Boxer, 1968).
viagem (voyage)	: It referred in the 16 th and 17 th centuries to specific lines of commerce linking two ports; in the Southeast Asian context, they generally had Malacca as the final destination or port of departure (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015).
VOC	: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) or the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company was founded in 1602 (Borschberg, 2015; Borschberg, 2016).
voorcompagnie	: A precursor company or early trading partnership that had been active in the East Indies trade between 1595 and 1601 (Borschberg, 2016).
viceroi	: The highest civil and military authority in Estado da India, whose power was exerted over all Portuguese possessions and resources east of the Cape of Good Hope; a governor had similar functions but was a less prestigious rank (Pinto, 2012).
wako	: Sinico-Japanese term for the Japanese pirates who ravaged the Chinese Coast in the period of the Ming Dynasty (Boxer, 1968).
xabandar (shahbandar)	: Captain of the port; in Malacca, each mercantile community had its own, appointed by the local authorities (Pinto, 2012; Borschberg, 2015).

- xerafim : The Arabic coin ashrafi and adopted by the Portuguese for a silver coin of 300 reis in value (Boxer, 1968).
- yacht : Dutch sailing vessel similar to a sloop favoured by the Dutch company in the early 17th century (Borschberg, 2015).

List of Abbreviations

ACE	: Assentos do Conselho do Estado, edited by P.S.S. Pissurlencar (Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1954).
AGTT	: As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo, 12 Vols, edited by A.S. Rego (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos, 1960-1967).
AMSJ	: Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor, edited by Peter Borschberg (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016).
ANM	: Arkib Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.
ANRI	: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.
ANTT	: Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.
BAL	: Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa.
BNL	: Biblioteca Nacional Portuguesa, Lisboa.
BPE	: Biblioteca Pública de Évora.
CAA	: Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam, 8 Vols, edited by R.A.D.B. Pato & H.L.D. Mendonça (Lisboa: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1884-1935).
CC	: Corpo Cronologico, Colecção Documental do ANTT.
DAPHP	: Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portuguesa, edited by João dos Santos (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1790).
DI	: Documenta Indica, 14 Vols, edited by J.Wicki (Roma: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1948).
DPHMPOI	: Documentação Para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente Insulindia, 6 Vols, edited Artur Basilio De Sa (Lisboa: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1550-1562).
JCSJ	: Jacques de Coutre's Singapore and Johor, edited by Peter Borschberg (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).
JEHRAA	: John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque, edited by Laurence A. Noonan (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1989).
JMLCMJ	: Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge, edited by Peter Borschberg (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015).
MHEMSM	: Malacca Historical Events and the Moves of Sultan Mahmud (4 Vols), edited by M.J. Pintado (Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia, 2012).
NMAM	: Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources, edited by W.P. Groeneveldt (Batavia & the

- Hague: W. Bruining & M.Nijhoff, 1876).
- OSAR : Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations (2 Vols), edited by Ismail Hakki Kadi & A.C.S. Peacock (Leiden, Brill, 2020).
- PDOM : Portuguese Documents on Malacca, edited by Manuel Pintado (Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia, 2012).
- RGBBM : Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca 1678, edited by M.J. Bremner and C.O. Blagden, published in JMBRAS Vol.5, No.1, 1927, pp.1-232.
- SEAMSL : Southeast Asia Ming Shi-lu: An Open Access Resource, edited by Geoff Wade (Singapore: NUS Press, 2005).
- SCMP : The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640-1641, edited by P.A. Leupe and M. Hacobian, published in JMBRAS, Vol.14, No.1, 1936, pp.69-144.
- YYSL : Ying-yai Sheng-lan (the Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores), edited by J.V.G Mills (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Introduction

0.1. Malacca on Its Own

Malacca was a strategic seaport located in the West Coast of Malay Peninsula and in the middle of the Straits of Malacca. Being situated between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea as well as the Java Sea allowed Malacca to be a host for a multiplicity of Asian traders. Besides the maritime facilities offered by the local authority, the geomorphology of Malacca also attracted multinational vessels. Malay Peninsula including Malacca was situated at the end of monsoon system and the beginning of other in early modern era. This results from the geographical position of the Straits of Malacca as the demarcation line between two directional periodic wind system, known as monsoon. The monsoon system referred to the southwest monsoon, blowing from May to August; the northeast monsoon, from November to February; and inter-monsoon periods. When the western foreigners came to the Malay Archipelago, the Malay called them as the people of *Negeri di atas Angin* (the land above the wind) referring to Arabia, Persia, the Coasts of Indian Peninsula and Europe. On the contrary, the eastern areas of the Straits of Malacca, the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian Archipelago, was called as *Negeri di bawah Angin* (the land below the wind)¹.

As the seaborne trade was determined by the seasonal monsoon², the Asian merchants could shorten their maritime routes taking Malacca as a transshipment centre. Indian merchants could sail to Malacca rather than challenging the risky voyage to the Far East. In Malacca, they could barter their merchandise for Chinese and Javanese products, from November to the late of January, before returning to India using the southwest monsoon. They could also encounter the Chinese merchants who

¹ Rivers. 2005. "Negeri Below and Above the Wind", pp.9-11.

² The Asian monsoon not merely facilitated the Asian mobilities but contributed to the unstable climate in Southeast Asia as well. The periods of drought and deluge rain forced the Khmer Empire (Angkor) to transfer their political capital from Angkor to Phnom Penh area in the 15th century (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society*, p.4). Moreover, the climate determined the political rhythms on Southeast Asia between the 15th and 17th centuries. The low rainfall in interior Irrawaddy basin forced the Burmese to move their capital to Pegu. Pegu transformed itself as a major port for rice export. Alongwith Ayudhya, Pegu encouraged the growth of Southeast Asian commerce. They bartered their foodstuffs with Japanese silver, European firearms, and Chinese weapons (Lieberman & Buckley. 2012. "The Climate of Climate on Southeast Asia", pp.1079-1082).

came around December and remained there until the end of June for their return voyage by the southeast monsoon. The same monsoon was used by the merchants from Java and the Archipelago to sail to the straits. They remained there and waited for the opposite winds blowing in December and in January³.

During the 15th century, Malacca reached its prominence as a major port in Southeast Asia. After the capture of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese could sustain it as a pivotal port. However, Johor and Aceh continually invaded Malacca. The Portuguese fortified the town of Malacca and extended its trading networks to the neighbouring ports and to the Far East. Malacca experienced its decline as a trade centre after the Dutch placed it under Batavia. This could be a short version of a much more complex process, which this thesis intends to analyse. This approach combines issues arising from seaports' history and colonial history, since the European presence in Malacca derives in a great extent from its status as a crucial seaport and a main trade centre.

As a seaport, Malacca could be discussed from its foundation, its growth, and its decline. Previous scholars merely discussed Malacca from the certain periodisation ranging from the Malay, the Portuguese, to the Dutch period; or they analyse Malacca's evolution in a micro scale perspective. Some have already analysed the internal dynamics of Malacca but few studies concerned on Malacca's trade networks comprising its inter-port complementarities.

Meilink-Roelofs⁴, Oliver Wolters⁵, Kenneth Hall⁶ and Anthony Reid⁷ have been focusing on the origin of maritime kingdoms in the Malay history. Malacca was transformed from a small fishing-village to a main centre of Southeast Asian commerce during the 15th century. Further to the strategic position of Malacca, the maritime infrastructures and well-organised trade successfully attracted merchants to Malacca⁸.

³ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.4.

⁴ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*.

⁵ Wolters. 1967. *Early Indonesian Commerce*; Wolters. 1970. *The Fall of Srivijaya in the Malay History*.

⁶ Hall. 1985. *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*.

⁷ Reid. 1988. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*; Reid. 1999. *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*.

⁸ Yusof. 2017. *Teknologi Kesultanan Melaka*; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*; Thomaz. 1993. *The Malay Sultanate of Melaka*; Wilkinson. 1912. "The

Malacca reached its recognition after the sultanate joined the Islamic trade networks and sent embassies to Ming Dynasty, Ryukyu Kingdom, Ottoman Empire, Vijayanagara Empire, and Majapahit Kingdom during the 15th Century⁹. The sultanate also exercised its power by force and political marriage in the Malay world¹⁰. In contrast, the wealth of Malacca also invited others to capture it, as for instance, the Siamese and the Portuguese¹¹.

These successive takeovers had a significant impact on the traces of previous periods and dominant cultures. For instance, the Portuguese had destroyed almost all Islamic traces in Malacca including the tombstones and the palace. They used the stones to establish the fortress of Malacca. However, some scholars have successfully found the

Malacca Sultanate"; Halimi. 2017. "Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kesultanan Melayu Melaka"; McRoberts. 1991. "A Study in Growth: An Economic History of Melaka"; Hall. 2004. "Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region"; Wahid. 1997. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka: Pentadbiran Kuno atau Modern*; Ismail, Ghazali, & Rahman. 2010. *A New Date on the Establishment of the Melaka Malay Sultanate Discovered*; Susilo. 2004. *Hubungan Kesejarahan antara Palembang Melaka dan Asal Usul Parameswara*; Halimi. 2006. *Perdagangan and Perkapalan Melayu di Selat Melaka*.

⁹ Yusof. 2018. *Menjejak Hubungan Daulah Uthmaniyah & Kesultanan Melaka*; Wade. 1997. "Melaka in Ming Dynasty Texts"; Kamarudin, Musa, & Ahmad. 2017. *Hang Tuah Catatan Vijayanagara*; Musa & Kamarudin. 2015. *Hang Tuah Catatan Okinawa*; Nugroho. 2011. *Majapahit Peradaban Maritim*; Lombard. 2005. *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya*; Lombard. 1998. *Kepulauan Melayu dan Kepentingannya dalam Memahami Islam secara Global*; Liji. 1996. *Hubungan Empayar Melaka dan Dinasti Ming Abad Ke-15*; Akhir & Leong. 2017. *Sejarah Hubungan Ryukyu dan Melaka berdasarkan Sumber Jepun*; Samsudin. 2017. *Kegemilangan Hubungan Diplomatik Empayar Melaka*; Mansor & Rus. 2017. *Hubungan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka dan Dinasti Ming*; Chin-Keong. 2017. *Boundaries and Beyond: China's Maritime Southeast Asia in Late Imperial Times*; Wey & Harun. 2018. "Grand Strategy of the Malacca Sultanate"; Manguin. 1991. "The Merchant and the King: Political Myths of Southeast Asian Coastal Politics"; Yun-Tsiao. 1968. "Notes on the Relations between Ryukyu Islands and Malacca Sultanate"; Rivers. 2005. "Negeri Below and Above the Wind".

¹⁰ Winstedt. 1920. "The Genealogy of Malacca's Kings from a Copy of the Bustanus Salatin"; Winstedt. 1948. "The Malay Founder of Medieval Malacca"; Winstedt. 1932. "The Bendahara and Temenggongs"; Bajunid. 1989. *Esei-Esei Budaya dan Sejarah di Melaka*; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca during the Period the Malay Sultanate*; Kheng. 1993. "Power Behind the Throne: the Role of Queens and Court Ladies in Malay History"; Wahid. 1983. "Power and Authority in the Melaka Sultanate"; Gungwu. 1968. "The First Three Rulers of Malacca"; Callenfels. 1969. "The Founder of Malacca"; Kheng. 1998. "The Rise and the Fall of Melakan Empire"; Mail, Tinkong, & Suit. 2017. "the Issue of Justice and Injustice in Malacca Sultanate".

¹¹ Marrison. 1949. "The Siamese Wars with Malacca during the Reign of Muzzafar Syah"; Verhoeven. 1967. "Ayer Leleh the Transient River that May Have Saved Malacca from Siamese Conquest"; Wilkinson. 1912. "The Portuguese Capture of Malacca 1511"; Abubakar. 1991. "Foreign Documents and the Description of Melaka between 1505 and 1511"; Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*; Mitrasing. 2014. *Negotiating a New Order in the Straits of Malacca*; Chuen. 2015. *Conquest or Collaboration in Portuguese Malacca*; Wilkinson. 1935. "Fall of Malacca"; Pintado. 1989. *The Lack of Diplomacy between The Sultan of Malacca and Diogo Lopes de Sequeira into a Failure*.

Islamic remains in Malacca¹². Other scholars¹³ also place Malacca as a centre of Islamic civilization during the 15th century. Malacca was a place where the Islamization began to spread in the Malay Archipelago. In the peak of the Dominant Islamic period in Malacca, the last Sultan of Malacca had a project to brand Malacca as a new Mecca and tried to limit a pilgrimage to Mecca. The last sultan seemed to have been aware that Malacca was a meeting point for multinational merchants during the 15th century. As a cosmopolitan port-city, Malacca was a home for multicultural inhabitants¹⁴. The Malaccan authority had composed the laws of Malacca to rule all components of such multicultural society, as some scholars¹⁵ have proven, by exploring the essence of the laws of Malacca, including the maritime code of Malacca, as being composed to maintain the social harmony in the port of Malacca.

Portuguese-Malacca has been substantially studied both by Portuguese and non-Portuguese authors¹⁶. Further to re-establishing the town of Malacca including the

¹² Moquette & Winstedt. 1922. "The Grave-Stone of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca"; Winstedt. 1932. "Muslim Tombstones in Raffles Museum"; Miksic. 1987. "From Serivijaya to Melaka: Batu Tagak in Historical and Cultural Context"; Yatim & Nasir. 1990. *Epigrafi Islam Terawal di Nusantara*; Hanitsch. 1903. "On a Collection of Coins from Malacca"; Hanitsch. 1905. "On a Second Collection of Coins from Malacca"; Bowen. 1983. "Cultural Models fro Historical Genealogies: the Case of the Melaka Sultanate"; Sherwin. 1981. "the Palace of Sultan Mansor Shah at Malacca"; Rouffaer & Winstedt. 1922. "The Early History of Singapore, Johor, and Malacca"; Dakers. 1939. "The Malay Coins of Malacca".

¹³ Wake. 1964. "Malacca's Early Kings and the Reception of Islam"; Mukmin. 1994. *Melaka Pusat Penyebaran Islam di Nusantara*; Wake. 1983. "Melaka in the Fifteenth Century: Malay Historical Traditions amd the Politics of Islamization"; Kathirithamby-Wells. 1986. "The Islamic City: Melaka to Jogjakarta"; Alves. 2012. "Malacca: A Centre for Islamic Debate and the New Mecca".

¹⁴ Hashim. 1983. "Masyarakat Melaka Zaman Kesultanan dan Sifat Kosmopolitannya"; Ibrahim. n.d. *Some Observation on Social Classes during the Malacca Sultanate*.

¹⁵ Fang. 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*; Fang. 1983. *The Undang-Undang Melaka*; Blagden. 1930. "Minangkabau Custom-Malacca"; Hashim. 1983. "Legal Codes of the Melaka Sultanate"; Wyatt. 1967. "The Thai Kata Mandiarapala and Malacca"; Johan. 1999. "The Undang-Undang Melaka: Reflections on Malay Society in 15th Century".

¹⁶ Thomaz. 1963. *Os Portugueses em Malaca*; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*; Thomaz. 1966. *De Malaca a Pegu*; Thomaz. 1976. *Nina Chatu e o Comércio Portugues em Malaca*; Thomaz. 1980. *Malacca the Town & the Society during the First Century of Portuguese Rule*; Thomaz. 1986. *Malacca's Society on the Eve of Portuguese Conquest*; Thomaz. 1994. *De Ceuta a Timor*; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca"; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya and Neighbours*; Sim. 1988. "Portuguese Occupation 1511-1641"; Guimaraes and Ferreira. 1996. "Portuguese in Malacca"; Cardon. 1934. "Portuguese Malacca"; Macgregor. 1955. "Gaspar Correa and Malacca"; Maxwell. 1911. "Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca"; Singh. 1961. *History of Malaya*; Macgregor. 1955. "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya"; Ismail. 2006. *The Size and Structure of Southeast Asian Maritime Cities*; Cleary & Chuan. 2000. *Environment and Development in the Straits of Malacca*; Boxer. 1963. *Portuguese in the East*.

fortification of Malacca¹⁷, the Portuguese also re-awoke the mercantile activities in Malacca¹⁸. They recruited Asian merchants as their officials to attract multinational merchants to inhabit the bazaars of Malacca. Further to linking several trading points in Asia¹⁹, these bases also encouraged the missionary expansion to the Far East²⁰. The importance of a geopolitical balance in the Straits of Malacca to ensure the security and economic prosperity of Malacca was also considered²¹.

¹⁷ Manguin. 1988. "Of Fortress and Galleys the 1568 Acehnese Siege of Melaka"; Cardon. 1948. "Old Malacca Tranquiera and Gajah Berang"; Adil. 1983. *Perjuangan Orang Melayu Menentang Penjajahan Abad 15-19*; Gibson-Hill. 1956. "The Fortification of Bukit China Malacca"; Irwin. 1962. "Malacca Fort".

¹⁸ Fikri. 2011. *Dinamika Perdagangan Bandar Melaka*; Souza. 1995. *Luis Felipe Thomaz and the History of Portuguese Expansion from Ceuta to Timor*; Hall. 2007. *Coastal Cities in Age of Transition*; Souza. 1997. *Portuguese Country Traders in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea*; Prakash. 2004. *Malacca in Asian Maritime Trade*.

¹⁹ Rahman. 2013. *Hubungan Sejarah Melaka dan Makasar*; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*; Zakaria. 1963. *Portugis dalam Sejarah Melaka*; Chang. 1962. *Malacca and the failure of the first Portuguese embassy to Peking*; Whiteway. 1995. *The rise of Portuguese Power in India*; Boxer. 1961. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*; Rego. 1965. *Portuguese Colonization in the 16th century*; Sanceau. 1936. *Indies Adventurer the Amazing career of Afonso de Albuquerque*; Matos. 1995. *On the Seway to Spices*; Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e O Sião*; Jesus. 2012. *A Insulindia e o Comercio Inter-Asiatico*; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*; Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*; Subrahmanyam. 1988. "Commerce and Conflict: Two Views of Portuguese Melaka"; Subrahmanyam. 2011. "What the Tamils said: The Letters from Keling of Melaka"; Thomaz. 2003. "As Cartas Malaia de Abu Hayat"; Andaya. 1993. *The World of Maluku*; Thomaz. 1997. "The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago"; Ptak. 2004. "Reconsidering Melaka and Central Guangdong"; Thomaz. 1975. "Maluco e Malaca"; Chin. 2012. "Trade, Migration, and Sojourning Community"; Alves. 2010. *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Commercial Networks in Maritime Asia*; Hall. 1985. "the Opening of the Malay World to the European Trade"; Matos. 2015. *Roteiros e Rotas Portugueses do Oriente*; Ferreira. 1951. *Uma Viagem ao Japão Cedida a Cidade de Malaca*; Pinto. 2015. "A Oriente de Malaca a China Ming e a Estrategia Global de Afonso de Albuquerque"; Moas. 2016. *Afonso de Albuquerque and the Consumption of Material Culture*; Chauduri. 1992. *The Portuguese Maritime Empire, Trade, and Society in the Indian Ocean*.

²⁰ Teixeira. 1961-3. *the Portuguese Missions in Malacca and in Singapore, 3 Vols*; Noonan. 1967. *The Portuguese in Malacca*; Noonan. 1974. *The First Jesuit Mission in Malacca*; Pintado. 1957. *Portugal's Christian Policy in its drive to the East and the Case of Malacca*; Ting. 1990. *He in Malacca*; Pintado. 1980. *The Malacca Thaumaturge, Wonder-Worker II*; Yeo. 1931. *Francis Xavier apostle of the East*; Robertson. 1917. *The Life of St. Francis Xavier Evangelist, Explorer, Mystic*; Belo. 2012. *A Conquista de Malaca e o Início da Fundação das Missões Católicas no Sudeste Asiático*; Blusse. 2013. "Port Cities of Southeast Asia"; Cardon. 1938. "Catholicism in the East and Diocese of Malacca"; Alves. 1993. "Dois Sonhos Portugueses de Negócio e Evangelização na Insulindia".

²¹ Alves. 2003. *Três sultanatos malaia do Estreito de Malaca*; Hadi. 1992. *Aceh and the Portuguese*; Hadi. 2004. *Islam and state in Sumatra*; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Melaka*; Bakar. 1988. "Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh dan Orang Portugis di Melaka"; Boxer. 1985. "The Achinese Attack on Malacca"; Pinto. 2004. "Captains, Sultans, Liaisons Dangereuses: Melaka and Johor"; Villiers. 2001. "Aceh, Melaka, and the Hystoria dos Cercos de Malaca of Jorge de Lemos"; Loureiro. 2016. "Uma Cidade Cercada: Malaca Durante a União Ibérica".

In the late 16th century, the Iberian union affected the local geopolitics in the Straits of Malacca. At that time, Malaccan merchants could access the Spanish market in Manila. Manila became the centre of exchange for Mexican silver against Chinese and Japanese merchandise, such as silk and lacquered objects²². However, the Iberian union attracted the Spanish rival and this had become a factor that disturbed the Portuguese domination in Asia. The Dutch attempted to replace the Portuguese seaborne empire and plundered the Portuguese vessels. During the Iberian-Dutch twelve years' truce (1609-1621), the Dutch actions against the Portuguese had no effect. The Portuguese shipping from and to Asia remained stable. This situation changed after the end of the truce in 1621²³. However, the economic growth of the Portuguese State of India continued, as some private merchants also established a joint-stock company in 1628²⁴, but the Dutch continually cornered the Portuguese in Southeast Asia. The Goan government was aware that Malacca was in a difficult situation. The viceroy remained to support the defence of Malacca financially and military²⁵. Malacca was considered to be a main hub for the Portuguese long-distance trade from Goa to Macau or to Makasar²⁶. The weakening of the Goan naval power in 1620s affected the Goan worsening finances. The lack of military ships to patrol against shipping outside the Portuguese custom ports also contributed to the decrease of the Portuguese financial revenue. This financial crisis had been worsened by the Dutch blockade. The Dutch launched the more effective blockades in Malacca (1636-41) and

²² Pinto. 1997. *Portugueses e malaios, Malaca e os sultanatos de Johor e Achem*; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*; Pinto. 1995. "Dom Henrique Bendahara & Portuguese Melaka in Late 16th Century"; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*; Lobato. 2011. "Malaca: Mito ou Realidade?"; Lobato. 2012. "Melaka is like a cropping field" Trade Management in the Strait of Melaka during the Sultanate and the Portuguese Period".

²³ Borschberg. 2002. "The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited"; Borschberg. 2011. *Hugo Grotius, Portuguese and Free Trade*; Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits"; Disney. 2011. "Malacca in the Era of Viceroy Linhares"; Borschberg. 2017. "The Value of Admiral Matelieff's Writings for Studying the History of Southeast Asia"; Emmer. 2003. "The First Global War", p.2 & p.12.

²⁴ Silva. 1974. "Portuguese East India Company 1628-1633"; Disney. 1977. "Portuguese East India Company 1628-1633".

²⁵ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia under Habsburg Empire*, p.223.

²⁶ Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo*; Boxer. 1963. *The Great Ship from Amacon*; Boxer. 1977. *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*; Boxer. 1968. *The Fidalgo in the Far East*; Boxer. 1991. *Estudos Para a Historia de Macau*; Boxer. 1986. *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan*; Borges. 2005. *Os Portugueses e o Sultanato de Macaçar*; Boxer. 1929. "The Affair of the Madre de Deus".

in Goa and Cochin (1637-40). The Dutch blockade found its accomplishment when Malacca fell down in 1641²⁷.

During the Portuguese period in Malacca, from 1511 to 1641, the Portuguese and their descendants were however just one between many other merchant communities settled in Malacca. The Portuguese lived mostly in the fortress of Malacca and the Asians inhabited the outside of the wall²⁸. From its beginning, an intermarriage policy was performed to populate Malacca. The emergence of a new social group, resulting from this miscegenation, was instrumental to the Portuguese Crown²⁹.

After the Portuguese surrendered Malacca to the Dutch³⁰, Malacca was placed under Batavia ruling. At that time, Malacca encountered its decline as a major port in Southeast Asia. The Dutch put Malacca to serve specific Dutch's interest in the tin trade in the Malay world³¹. However, the Asian merchants kept resisting the Dutch monopoly³². In Malacca, the Dutch instructed various policies to re-establish the Malacca town and to organise the Dutch mercantile interests³³. Malacca remained, however, a cosmopolitan port, Dutch-Malacca being also inhabited by several communities. The Portuguese-Eurasian remained to live in Malacca. Some scholars³⁴

²⁷ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia under Habsburg Empire*, pp.224-5.

²⁸ Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*; Pinto. 2011. "Os Casados de Malaca, 1511-1641".

²⁹ Freyre. 1961. *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics*; Boxer. 1963. *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*; Jack-Hinton. 1969. "Malacca and Goa and the Question of Race Relations in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces"; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*; Basset. 1963. "European Influence in Southeast Asia".

³⁰ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Surrender of Portuguese Malacca"; Boxer. 1985. "Karl Marx and the Last Days of Portuguese Malacca"; Cardon. 2016. "the Fall of Portuguese Malacca to the Dutch".

³¹ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*; Kathirithamby-Wells. 1983. "Dutch-Malacca and the Malay World".

³² Andaya.1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*; Hoffman. 1972. "Early Policies in the Malacca Jurisdiction"; Asaratnam.1969. "Some Notes on the Dutch in Malacca".

³³ Andaya. 1983. "Melaka under the Dutch Malaca"; Borschberg. 2010. "Ethnicity, Language and Culture in Melaka"; Smith. 1958. "The Portuguese in Malacca during the Dutch Period"; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca*; Maria. 1982. *My People My Country*; Walle. 2012. "Melaka under Dutch Rule"; Barnard. 2004. "Mestizos as Middlemen Tomas Dias and His Travels in Eastern Sumatra".

³⁴ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale"; Prakash. 2004. "Malacca in Asian Maritime Trade"; Souza. 2004. *The Survival of Empire*; Hussin. 2004. "Two Colonial Port-Towns"; Fernando. 2002. "Luso-Asian Community"; Fernando. 2004. "Metamorphosis of the Luso Asian Diaspora"; Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*; Zon. 2004. "Disclosures from the Records of Dutch Reformed Church".

tried to analyse the race-relations between the Dutch and the Portuguese-Eurasians due the role of the later during the period of the so-called Dutch Malacca.

Approaching Malacca as a seaport in its own, implies another set of questions, since one might discuss a seaport from various aspects comprising political, economic, social, cultural, and religious issues. Gordon Jackson³⁵ proposes to study a seaport from an economic perspective. A seaport as a centre of economic growth, as coined by Amélia Polónia³⁶, includes seeing also from the perspective of the performance of trade networks³⁷. This study, therefore, tends to focus on Malacca's trade networks during the 15th to 17th centuries. The Portuguese could not join by their own the Asian lucrative trade when they appeared in the Malay Seas. At that time, Malacca under the sultanate was a crucial point within the established Islamic commercial connections. The Portuguese captured Malacca by force and linked it to Goa. Afterwards, the Portuguese succeeded to establish their own trading networks to the Far East: the Spice Islands, Macao, and Nagasaki. During the 17th century, the Portuguese in Malacca and their trading networks were rivalled not only by the Asians but also by the Dutch. After the Portuguese surrendered Malacca to the Dutch, the Portuguese were expected to leave Malacca. However, the Portuguese-Eurasians remained in Malacca. They could survive by serving the Dutch interest as well as by conducting their own private trade.

The possibility of conducting my study, not only from an European colonial stand point, but also from a local perspective is supported by the availability of Portuguese

³⁵ Jackson. 2001. "The Significance of Unimportant Ports", p.6.

³⁶ Polónia. 2011. "Seaports as Centers of Economic Growth", p.385; Polónia & Oliveira. 2019. "Shipbuilding in Portuguese Overseas Settlements".

³⁷ There are three economic activities which are common to be studied in a seaport history (Polónia. 2011. "Seaports as Centers of Economic Growth"). Those are shipbuilding, trade networks, and financial operation. Considering the dependency of Malacca on the import of ships from Pegu and Java (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*; Hall. 1955. *A History of Southeast Asia*); and on the financial aid from Goa (Matos. 1982. *O Estado da Índia*; Matos. 1985. *On the Seaway to Spices*), Malacca gained its revenue from its trade networks to the Indonesian Archipelago (Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*), East Asia (Thomaz. 2018. *O Sistema das Viagens e a Rede Comercial Portuguesa*), the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea (Prakash. 1990. "Long Distance Maritime Trade in Asia"), and the Malay World (Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*).

sources³⁸, but mostly by crossing their contributions with many other sets of documental corpus. Thus, this thesis will follow and use, in a critical manner, by one side, the Portuguese narratives; on the other side, it will also use English, Dutch, and Asian (Malay, Buginese, Makasarese, Ambonese, Chinese and Japanese) sources to complement and verify the Portuguese information. Therefore, my work proposes an Eurasian perspective to understand the European institutional presence and dominance, as much as the complex set of trade and networks performed in Malacca.

0.2. Research Questions

Within this crossroad approach, several questions arise as to understand the evolution of the position and the encompassing roles of Malacca between the 15th and 17th centuries. The answer to these questions might initiate an alternative analysis of the universe under study, by putting in dialogue a local and a colonial perspective on a topic that has already been addressed by a considerable number of authors, as explained above:

1. How did the Malacca Sultanate organise its political-trading organisation? How did the sultanate expand and sustain its trade networks? How did geo-economic and geo-political change determine the sultanate's trade networks?
2. Which contours and events were able to explain the early Luso-Malay encounter in Malacca in the early 16th century? How did the Portuguese capture Malacca from the Malay Sultanate? How did the Portuguese re-configure the Malacca's political and trading organisation from 1511 to 1580? How did they defend Malacca from its rivals' invasion? How did the formal and the informal agents (within a mixed model of empire building) expand and sustain the Malacca's trade position and trade networks?

³⁸ Boxer. 1965. "Some Portuguese Sources for Indonesian Historiography"; Pintado. 1976. *Some of the Portuguese Historical Source on Malacca History*; Denisova. 2011. *Sumber Historiografi di Alam Melayu*; MacGregor. 1961. "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on Southeast Asia"; Bakar. 1989. "Sumber Portugis mengenai Melaka 1511-1641"; Leao. 1998. *O Indico na Biblioteca da Ajuda*; Leao. 1998. *Jesuitas na Asia: Catologo e Guia*.

3. At what extent did the Iberian union affect the Malacca's political-trading organisation? How did the Portuguese carry on the Malacca's military infrastructure to defend Malacca from its European and non-European rivals? How did the Portuguese-Malacca sustain its trade from 1580 to 1641, during the Iberian Union, within a context of an expanded Spanish presence in the Pacific world?
4. In which circumstances did the Portuguese surrender Malacca to the Dutch? How did the Portuguese-Eurasians survive during the Dutch rule in Malacca? How did the Portuguese operate its long-distance trade via Malacca from then on?
5. Last but not least, how were these European colonial interests and incursions perceived by local rulers and local trade dynamics and how did they respond to these processes?

0.3. Theoretical Framework

0.3.1. The Centrality of the Peripheries

Seaport studies have been a significant field of study in maritime history³⁹. Seaports have not been merely depicted from their importance as critical drivers of the local, regional, national, international and global economy. They also include a complex set of fields of analysis allowing maritime historians to broaden and to engage with other fields of history⁴⁰, from social history, political and institutional history, the history of techniques, the urban history and, more recently maritime and marine environmental history or the history of climate, including climate change and climate driven risks and opportunities⁴¹.

³⁹ Maritime history is a historical study focusing on the relations between the humankind and the sea. Its relations are depicted by (1) maritime expansion including naval power, privateering and piracy; (2) mercantile activities covering navigation, seaborne trade, shipping, financial institutions and seaport communities; (3) fishing activities and fishermen's socio-economic life; (4) policies on marine science, marine technology, oceanography and climatology viewed from a historical perspective; (5) sea and coastal areas as a tourist destination; and (6) sea as a source of inspiration in culture and ideology (Broeze. 1989. "From the Periphery to the Mainstream", p.6; Harlaftis & Vassallo. 2004. "Maritime History since Braudel", p.11; Mathew. 1990. *Studies in Maritime History*. p.x).

⁴⁰ Broeze. 1989. "From The Periphery to the Mainstream", p.2.

⁴¹ Polónia. 2020. "Inter-, Multi-, and Trans-disciplinarity in Maritime History", p.415.

The complexity of the subject starts with the definition of what is or could have been in the past, a seaport. A port might simply be defined as a site endowed with a pier, a quay where ships dock to load and unload cargo and passengers. Seaports are usually established in a seacoast or a river estuary. Ideally, the estuary is to be chosen as a port due to the shallow water. A port will attract many vessels to come if they provide some maritime facilities, including warehouses. Further to maintaining or promoting a port by constructing the adequate infrastructures, a seaport will be a centre of economic growth when it is linked to the hinterland via river, a canal, or roads⁴².

As a centre of economic activity⁴³, a seaport also attracts people from the hinterlands or nearby places to seek job opportunities. The growth of population in ports has frequently shaped it into a port-city where multicultural and multinational people interact and create specific traces of a maritime culture⁴⁴. The port authorities, therefore, are supposed to organise the economic and social activity in a port-city. If port-cities could maintain and develop their mercantile activities in the long run, they could be transformed and aspire to be nodal points as great-cities across the globe, as seen today⁴⁵. When analysed in a European perspective, besides the central power intervention and the royal or monopolistic commerce, the emergence and maintenance of a seaport in the early modern era have also to be understood as being sustained by local merchants, maritime communities, and foreign bankers and traders⁴⁶.

It seems to be difficult to analyse a port without placing it into a system. In a system, a seaport is considered in its internal dynamics of human, social, urban, technical, administrative and economic dimensions. The concept of seaport system could explain a port rise and its evolving status. The seaport is constructed, developed, maintained

⁴² Rodrigues & Santos. 2019. "Maritime and Port History", p.8-9.

⁴³ Some economic activities in a seaport covers trade, shipbuilding, shipping, cargo transportation, and financial operations (Polónia. 2011. "Seaports as Centers of Economic Growth", p.385; Polónia & Oliveira. 2019. "Shipbuilding in Portuguese Overseas Settlements").

⁴⁴ Rodrigues & Santos. 2019. "Maritime and Port History", p.8.

⁴⁵ Tull. 2004. "Port history", p.123; Polónia. 2007. "Hisportos: A Research Project", p.29.

⁴⁶ Polónia. 2010. "European Seaports", p.9-12; Polónia & Oliveira. 2020. "Shipping and Empire Building", p.134.

and abandoned depending on the geo-economic, political and logistical contexts. This system affects the hierarchy of a port at a geographical level ranging from local, regional, inter-regional and trans-oceanic scales⁴⁷. For Gordon Jackson⁴⁸, the easiest way to study seaport history is to view it from an economic perspective. He tends to categorise the seaports from major, medium, minor, to unimportant ports based on their mercantile activities, measured by its volume of trade and shipping; its value of trade; and its size and influence. The major ports frequently cannot maintain their position without logistic and human support from the smaller ports. The concept of inter-port complementary deals with a rationality according to which the local inter-port networks are crucial, and where the minor ports or even the “unimportant ports” serve larger commercial ports⁴⁹.

The local inter-port networks are clearly depicted in the Portuguese maritime historiography. In the 16th century, Lisbon was the largest port-city in Portugal. Its existence remained to rely on the medium and small ports in the North and South Coast of Portugal⁵⁰. The regular supplies from Setubal, Sesimbra, and Peniche had helped Lisbon to extend and maintain its maritime commerce⁵¹.

Lisbon, along with Porto, became the main Portuguese seaport facilitating commercial exports from all over Portugal to Northern Europe. Salt, seaweed, fish, wine, and cork were in high demand during the late of 14th and the first half of 15th centuries. Lisbon started to receive the Mediterranean ships to transit and to join the lucrative markets in Northern Europe. The Portuguese Crown gained huge profits, but they did not cease to raise their revenue. Besides the customs duties imposed by the Crown, they began to find new markets. The construction of ocean-going vessels, also funded by Northern Italian merchant houses and banks, allowed the Portuguese to circumnavigate the Cape of Good Hope and introduce themselves in the Indian Ocean. They established factories, forts, or fortresses in a strategic location and captured potential key

⁴⁷ Polónia. 2006. “Northwest Portuguese Seaport System”, p.2; Polónia. 2010. “European Seaports”, p.4.

⁴⁸ Jackson. 2001. “The Significance of Unimportant Ports”, p.6.

⁴⁹ Polónia. 2010. “European Seaports”, pp.5-6.

⁵⁰ Polónia. 2010. “European Seaports”, p.7.

⁵¹ Polónia. 2006. “Northwest Portuguese Seaport System”, p.20.

seaports. During the 16th century, the Portuguese successfully connected Atlantic American and African ports, and Asian ports with Portuguese ports⁵².

Besides Lisbon, the global trade networks also determined the development of other Portuguese ports. The more recent Portuguese historiography analysing the performance of small to medium seaports and seaport communities in the Portuguese interoceanic expansion⁵³, points out the massive influence of these interoceanic circuits at a national and a local level, in Portugal, as much as their performance at a global level, considering the dimension of the Portuguese and European maritime projection overseas⁵⁴. One thing seems unquestionable: seaports all-over the world have been key-points in a global network of contacts, from the antiquity to the present. The so called First Global Age (1400-1800) brought even more evidence to the need to understand both performance of individual seaports and the web of connections established between them.

Portuguese overseas expansion has been viewed from a global perspective for several decades⁵⁵. Inspired by Fernand Braudel⁵⁶, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho⁵⁷ and Immanuel Wallerstein⁵⁸ successfully attempted to move beyond the local particularities and tried to situate problems in a broader context. James Boyajian⁵⁹ and Anthony Disney⁶⁰ are leading historians who analyse the economy of the Portuguese empire in the East during the 16th and 17th centuries. In contrast, the Portuguese empire has also been studied from a microanalytical perspective. A small-scale analysis is proposed to be adequately used to investigate large scale structural issues⁶¹ and be able to provide an answer to questions that the macro analysis is unable to give⁶².

⁵² Paquette. 2019. *European Seaborne Empire*, pp.49-50; Marnot. 2016. "Ports as Tools of European Expansion", p.1; Harlaftis & Vassallo. 2004. *Maritime History Since Braudel*, p.8.

⁵³ Polónia. 2011. "Seaports as Centres of Economic Growth", p.388.

⁵⁴ Polónia. 2012. "A Construção da Memória", pp.144-8.

⁵⁵ Polónia. 2007. "Hisportos: A Research Project", pp.30-1.

⁵⁶ Braudel. 1995. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the age of Philip II*.

⁵⁷ Godinho. 1984. *Os Descobrimentos e A Economia Mundial*; Godinho. 1970. *Portugal & Her Empire*.

⁵⁸ Wallerstein. 1974. *The Modern World System*.

⁵⁹ Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese in Asia under the Habsburg*.

⁶⁰ Disney. 1978. *Twilight of the Pepper Empire*.

⁶¹ Fusaro. 2010. *After Braudel: a Reassessment of Mediterranean History*, p.9.

⁶² Polónia. 2007. "Hisportos: A Research Project", p.31.

These suggestions might be useful when attempting to study Malacca and its trade communities.

The views from the so-called “peripheries” according to Wallerstein world system perspective, are also to be taken into close consideration, since they frequently differ according to the researcher standing⁶³. In the case of the Portuguese presence in the East and Far East, Malacca was peripheral from the centre of the *Estado da India*, in Goa, and peripheral from the political point of view in the Asian context. Malacca was far from the headquarter of the *Estado da India*⁶⁴, in Goa, where the Portuguese Crown concentrated its attention and resources. However, Malacca was placed as a trading centre in the Southeastern and Far-East trade. During the sultanate period, Malacca was inhabited by trans-national merchants. Besides the Indonesian-Malay merchants, the foreign merchants from India, China, Siam, Mecca, Egypt and Ottoman also came to Malacca⁶⁵. These dynamics undoubtedly conferred the status of centrality to Malacca concerning trade and trade networks, both in that concerns the Portuguese State of India and Southeast Asian trade. Studying the performance of Malacca as a seaport before and during the presence of European becomes thus crucial.

It has to be acknowledged that the Portuguese did not automatically inherit the Malay mercantile networks after the capture of Malacca. The centrality of Malacca was challenged by Aceh and Johor during the Portuguese period. The Portuguese tried to gain geopolitical balance and organised their political administration based on the existing political power. Those strategies were conceived to guarantee the survival and the prosperity of Malacca as a prominent seaport in Southeast Asia. The Portuguese

⁶³ There are some studies from various parts of the *Estado da India*, comprising Mozambique (Alpers. 1975. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa*; Newitt. 1973. *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi*; Isaacman. 1972. *Mozambique*), Ceylon (Abeyasinghe. 1966. *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon*; Silva. 1972. *Portuguese in Ceylon*; Winius. 1971. *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon*), and the Far East (Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*).

⁶⁴ *Estado da India* literally means State of India. This term refers to the patchwork of Portuguese colonial dependencies around the Indian Ocean rim and the Western Pacific that were administered from Goa. The *Estado da India* was made up of a string of forts and ports and sometimes larger territories that were subject to different degrees of authority, ranging from outright sovereign possessions to forts and ports under contract with neighbouring Asian and African rulers (Borschberg. 2015. *Jacques de Coutre's Singapore*, p.102)

⁶⁵ Liji. 1996. *Lembaran Sejarah Gemilang*, p.45; Lombard. 1990. *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya*, pp.230-2; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.60-88.

obtained their prosperity by exploring three great commercial routes intersected at the straits: Indonesian spices, Indian textiles and Chinese silks⁶⁶.

Due to its intense commercial activity and trade networks, Malacca's income relied mostly on its customs duties⁶⁷. Both Portuguese officials and private enterprises, even run by foreigners, combined to boost the Malacca's revenue⁶⁸. The Portuguese commerce was not merely dominated by the crown. Private merchants either on behalf of their own or of other people also joined the lucrative trade to the East of Malacca. Fernão Mendes Pinto, for instance, rather than being a Portuguese agent and a soldier (sometimes serving under other ruling than the Portuguese), was also very active as a private merchant on behalf of the Captain of Malacca⁶⁹. Some foreigners were also installed in the political administration of Portuguese Malacca. The Keling merchant named Nina Chatu was placed as a Bendahara of Malacca. Meanwhile, the Javanese merchant named Utimutaraja was appointed as a Tumenggung of Malacca. Nina Chatu had a responsibility to manage the local people and Utimutaraja played as a city-security and a tax collector⁷⁰. In general, foreigners assisted the royal trade in a peace time⁷¹ and defended Malacca in a warfare⁷². As it happens with those agents, sometimes they served the Portuguese crown and on other times they blocked the crown policies even ostensibly or by diverting their ways. Borrowing Polónia and Oliveira assumptions⁷³, the seaport maintenance and development seem to be determined by the dynamic relations and efforts from the Crown and the private enterprises. That is why studying Malacca as a seaport also involves the

⁶⁶ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*.

⁶⁷ The economic growth of Portuguese-Malacca relied on two main activities. First, the custom policy was imposed for those passing Malacca; anchoring their ships in Malacca; loading and unloading their cargoes in Malacca; and buying and selling any commodities in Malacca. Second, the exploitation of numerous commercial links to Malacca (Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.4).

⁶⁸ Polónia. 2010. "Understanding the Role of Foreigners in the Portuguese Overseas Expansion", p.1.

⁶⁹ Alves. 2012. *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Portuguese Commercial Networks*, pp.95-6.

⁷⁰ Desai. 1969. "Portuguese Administration in Malacca", p.509; Pinto. 1995. "Purse and Swords", p.83.

⁷¹ Baiao(Ed). 1922-3. *Commentaries the Great Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.162-3; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Navigations*, p.39; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway of the Spice Route*, p.69.

⁷² In 1551, Bendahara and Tumenggung had also military functions. They should defend Malacca from Johor and Jepara invasion (Pinto. 1995. "Purse and Swords", p.83).

⁷³ Polónia and Oliveira. 2020. "Shipping and Empire Building".

acknowledgement of the agents involved in its political ruling and commercial exploitation, both individually and performing within networks.

0.3.2. Cooperation Based Self-Organising Networks

Cooperation based self-organizing networks is a theory coined by DynCoopNet⁷⁴. Cooperation has been common phenomena across the globe during the First Global Age (1400-1800)⁷⁵. The cooperative mechanisms are depicted by formal and informal; multinational and multicultural agents to respond to a dynamic, open, complex and non-linear system. This tendency encourages those agents to collaborate with each other as well as linking a region to another region by pursuing individual or groups' shared purpose. In a broader sense, this theory proposes the pertinence of unofficial performances of individuals and groups, as complementary to the state-sponsored monopolies⁷⁶. These informal ways often establish a kind of a shadow empire. In some instances, self-organised network create dynamics, circuits or even structures that are, later on, formalised by the crown⁷⁷. DynCoopNet, therefore, employs the theory of cooperation to early modern history, based on the paradigm of social network analysis and an agent-based analysis.

Cooperation as a concept does not merely imply a shared work for the same purpose but implies several mechanisms of working together. Those mechanisms are usually divided by concerning the idea of reciprocity. This idea should be distinguished from the idea of impartiality and the idea of mutual advantage. The essence of reciprocity is to be advantageous for cooperators. Such an analysis implies the understanding the

⁷⁴ "Dynamic Complexity of Cooperation-Based Self-Organizing Commercial Networks in the First Global Age". This research project was led by Dr. Ana Crespo Solana, Prof. Jack Owens, and Prof. Amelia Polónia. This research group worked on social and trading networks. Their works (between working papers and journal articles) could be traced in its website (<http://web2.letras.up.pt/citcem/dyncoopnet/index.html>).

⁷⁵ The Portuguese adapted the Asian norms to control the Asian maritime commerce. They quickly changed from exploration, colonization, and discovery to contact and connection with existing governments and trading networks (Winus. 1996. "The Maritime Empire of Portugal", p.111).

⁷⁶ Early modern empire studies are dominated by the themes such the central power strategies and imperial rivalries, economic and religious monopolies, warfare strategies and political disputes, both among colonisers and between colonisers and colonised (Scammel. 1981. *The World Encompassed*; Scammel. 1992. *The First Imperial Age*; Tracy. 1991. *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*).

⁷⁷ Antunes & Polónia. 2016. *Beyond Empires*, pp.4-8; Antunes. 2012. "Free Agents and Formal Institutions", p.179.

cooperators' profile and the specific interplay under specific conditions⁷⁸. At an early level of relationship, for instance, the social practice of giving gifts can lead to trust and cooperation⁷⁹. In a political-economical context, it is common to give a gift in order to get their partner's attention and trust. This is part of the phenomenon known as the gift economy or the diplomatic gift⁸⁰.

There are also numerous factors influencing the willingness of people to cooperate with others, as for example: (1) a complex regulating system which, due to its complexity, creates also cheating possibility; (2) the involvement of friendship and even kinship, and the emotions of liking and disliking; (3) the presence, in some contexts, of a moralistic aggression; (4) the interplay between gratitude, sympathy, and the cost/benefit ration of an altruistic act; (5) the importance of guilt and reparative altruism; (6) the performance of subtle cheating actions and the detection of subtle cheaters; (7) the behaviours based on trust, and suspicion; (8) the fact that, by setting up altruistic partnerships, selection will favor a mechanism to establish reciprocal relationship towards strangers or even enemies; (9) the establishment of multiparty interactions, learning from the altruistic and cheating experiences of others; and (10) the developmental of plasticity and spontaneous response for recent conditions⁸¹. Assuming that kinship relations could not explain all forms of altruistic behaviour, the author argues that any interactions, including economic affairs, are regulated by a complex set of factors interconnecting human emotions, including feelings of friendship, gratitude, sympathy, guilt, moralistic aggression, a sense of justice and forgiveness⁸².

⁷⁸ Freeman. 2006. "The Law of peoples, Social Cooperation, Human Rights, and Distributive Justice".

⁷⁹ Carmichael & Macleod. 1997. "Gift Giving and the Evolution of Cooperation", p.485.

⁸⁰ The gift economy or diplomatic gift, in the context of exchanging reciprocally, could be understood as a political tie to establish and to promote their commercial cooperation. If the gift is given, the receiver has a moral obligation to return the gift to the giver (Palmer. 2011. "Gift and Market", pp.575-6). In the case of early Portuguese Malacca, the Portuguese always carried some presents for the local kingdoms and the kings, in return, agreed to establish the peace and trade treaties. However, the kings never guaranteed that the Portuguese would receive the exclusive commerce. In Pegu, the Portuguese was expelled after the Gujaratis charged and sent a petition to the king. They suffered from an act of robbery by some Portuguese (Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.23).

⁸¹ Freeman. 2006. "The Law of peoples, Social Cooperation, Human Rights, and Distributive Justice".

⁸² Trivers. 2006. "Reciprocal Altruism".

Another mechanism, indirect reciprocity also colours the process of cooperation. This mechanism allows third parties to observe an individual either signalling him with a positive or a negative image, before recommending for others to start connecting. It seems that the image of individuals is depending on his altruistic or selfish action towards a third party⁸³. Indirect reciprocity is also conditioned by a system of rewards from society at large. If John helps Liam in a time, John might receive a reward for his assistance to Liam from other person. The others might start to trust and cooperate with John. This idea might be based on the altruism, as motivated by the desire to benefit others. A lifetime of trading might be a good example. A merchant could succeed because of his reputation and status. Any gossips on him will determine his prospective consumers for either buying (a positive image) or refusing to buy (a negative image or altruistic punishment) during the trading period⁸⁴.

Ronald Robinson⁸⁵ started to analyse cooperative mechanisms in imperial studies since the 1970s. He proposes the idea of collaboration, rather than cooperation, to understand the empire-building across the globe. His assumption lies in the relationships between the agents of external expansion and their internal collaborators in non-European governing elites. He believes that European empire-building, including the transfer of economic resources, the protected interests, and the traditional resistance, could not happen without either voluntary or enforced collaboration by the local leaders. If the local ruling class chooses resistance, there is a possibility to collaborate with the counter elites. At the same time, the bargains of collaboration could not be one-sided and should be agreed by two sides. In the case of local resistance, the cooptation strategy is another strategy to weaken subordinates' common interests, for example, to create divergent expectations of individual gain, and to reduce coalitional action against the leader⁸⁶.

⁸³ Trivers. 2006. "Reciprocal Altruism".

⁸⁴ Alexander. 2011. *The Biology of Moral System*.

⁸⁵ Robinson. 1972. "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism".

⁸⁶ Lawler, Youngs, & Lesh. 1978. "Cooptation and Coalition Mobilization".

According to Robinson⁸⁷, collaboration, in the context of European overseas expansion, seems to be an implicit or explicit agreement between the Europeans and non-Europeans to pursue shared purposes, for instance establishing the Eurasian political-economical organisation to achieve higher profits for each party. However, Buhrer, et.al⁸⁸ view the concept of collaboration differently. Like the postmodernists, they tend to promote the subaltern transaction or non-state centred cooperative connections within colonial societies and perspectives from the margins of empire as determinant, rather than the collaboration of elites. There are various agents such as chiefs, kings, diplomats, clerks, soldiers, native guards, interpreters, teachers, scientists, women, white settlers, and socially marginalised people interacting with those games of negotiation, collaboration or cooperation.

The cooperative mechanisms should be also viewed from the presence of free agents. Free agents could be understood as entrepreneurs operating outside of the interest of monopolies. Without ignoring the elaboration of two distinct types of state-sponsored monopoly (royal monopolies and chartered monopolies), the free agents seem to follow several steps before cooperating with the monopolies. The free agents started to oppose the state in three main mechanisms of engagement: illegality (smuggling and privateering), defiance (personal alliances with foreign monopolies and state competitors), and litigation (suing the monopolies). Another form usually happens when their cooperation reduces the profits. It also happens that those “free agents”, might also be at the colonial service to secure their incomes or trading activities⁸⁹. Luís Filipe Reis Thomaz explains clearly this reality within the scope of the Portuguese ways of empire building in Asia⁹⁰.

In the case of merchants’ cooperation in Europe, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva⁹¹ reveals that the engagement of the Dutch-Iberian merchants was depicted in the multiple forms of

⁸⁷ Robinson. 1972. “Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism”.

⁸⁸ Buhrer, Forster, & Stuchtey. 2007. *Cooperation and Empire: Local Realities of Global Realities*.

⁸⁹ Antunes. 2012. “Free Agents and Formal Institutions in the Portuguese Empire”.

⁹⁰ Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*; Thomaz. 1966. *De Malaca a Pegu*; Thomaz. 1976. *Nina Chatu e o comercio Portugues em Malaca*.

⁹¹ Filipa Ribeiro da Silva. 2012. *Forms of Cooperation between Dutch-Flemish, Sephardim and Portuguese Private Merchants for the Western African Trade within the Formal Dutch and Iberian Atlantic Empires*.

cooperation for insurance and other financial transactions in the early modern era. It was a feasible solution to the fixed market and the lack of capital in Lisbon. Their collaboration in the insurance business between Portuguese, Dutch, Flemish and other merchants was usual before the official companies started to monopolise all affairs in the colonies. In those circumstances, their commercial partnerships were supported financially by the Dutch banks in Amsterdam. Their partnership was also connected to Western African trade, considering they had crucial business circuits there.

Turning to Southeast Asian port-cities, the relationship between Portuguese-Malacca and other Asian seaports was portrayed in either rivalry, resistance, conflict, or cooperation, both considering the official ruling powers or the private entrepreneurs. Taking triangle relations of Malacca, Aceh, and Johor⁹²; sometimes the Portuguese were sieged by Johor and Aceh or vice versa. Other times, the Portuguese allied with Johor to invade Aceh or vice versa. These complicated relations could only be understood when we follow their rivalries from the early 16th century. After the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511 from the Malay Sultanate, the Portuguese motivated other local political powers to do the same. It was not only Johor trying to re-capture Malacca, but Aceh and Demak also interested to dominate the Straits of Malacca. Early Portuguese-Malacca witnessed the mass movement of Muslim merchants from Malacca to Aceh (Northern Tip of Sumatra) and Johor (Southern Malay Peninsula) to transit and to trade, after the 1511 Portuguese invasion.

Cooperation, in essence, when seen from below, rests on the interaction of individuals who are rationally prudent and motivated by their own mutual advantage⁹³. Logically, it needs both formal and informal institutions to foster their commitment in regulating their behaviour⁹⁴. Informal ways sustain frequently the interaction between strangers, they often organise their own rules, norms, and beliefs in cosmopolitan areas. Malacca might be analysed as a case in point.

⁹² Many scholars have already studied this regional dispute (Schrieke. 1966. *Indonesian Sociological Studies*; Kartodirdjo. 1992. *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru*; Azra. 2012. *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global dan Lokal*; Vlekke. 2008. *Nusantara*; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Melaka*; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*; Boxer. 1969. *Portuguese Seaborn Empire*).

⁹³ Castiglione. 2015. "The Logic of Social Cooperation for Mutual Advantage".

⁹⁴ Ribeiro. 2016. *Early Modern Trading Networks in Europe: Cooperation and the case of Simon Ruiz*.

In terms of system analysis, some concepts and theories tend to explain these mechanisms: self-organisation, spontaneous order and reorganisation are some of them. George Modelski⁹⁵ works with the concept of self-organisation as a means of a world system building. This concept is also useful to understand the historical processes, considering self-organisation refers to the ability to generate an adaptive evolution. Modelski also relates the self-organisation to the age of reorganisation when a spontaneous order arises, not necessarily by strict impositions (from colonial European to the locals, for instance), and builds a common purpose in a precise cooperative mechanism. Other authors tend to distinguish between self-organization and spontaneous order rather than use it interchangeably. Lawhead⁹⁶ describes that order is a feature of a state in which a system might find itself, and this is relatively independent of the dynamics of that system. The organization, on the other hand, is inextricably linked to the dynamical structure of systems, as it describes constraints on how systems can change. These are some of the theoretical guidelines that this thesis will pursue in the analysis of Malacca, mostly during the so-called period of “Portuguese Malacca”.

The Portuguese State of India was not only populated by the official but also the unofficial agents, mostly retired soldiers, adventurers, and traders⁹⁷. The State of India was far from and went beyond the Portuguese Crown control. Therefore, the performances of informal agents acting amongst the private and local agents was paramount. Fernão Mendes Pinto is a prominent figure to understand early Portuguese expansion to East Asia. Mendes Pinto and his *Peregrinação* have been studied from the paradigm of social-trading networks⁹⁸. Mendes Pinto could be an example for those who want to understand the Portuguese empire building from the

⁹⁵ Modelski. 2006. “Ages of Reorganization”; Polónia & Pacheco. 2017. “Environmental Impacts of Colonial Dynamics”.

⁹⁶ Lawhead. 2015. “Self--Organization, Emergence, and Constraint in Complex Natural Systems”.

⁹⁷ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, p.29.

⁹⁸ Some scholars have studied the travel and adventure of Mendes Pinto in the East (Alves (Ed). 2010. *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Peregrinação*; Souza. 2010. “The Vision of Riches”; Biedermann & Carvalho. 2010. “Home Sweet Home”; Alves. 2010. “Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Portuguese Commercial Networks”; Barreto. 2010. “Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Jesuit Connection”; Polónia & Capelão (Eds). 2018. “Introdução” in *Fernão Mendes Pinto – Peregrinação*).

informal way. Mendes Pinto used his social network in Portugal (Faria family and Santiago order) to place a vacancy to be sent out to the East in 1537⁹⁹. He served the Crown as a soldier after following his patron, Pedro de Faria (Captain of Malacca), and later be subjected to António de Faria. Mendes Pinto realised that his salary was not enough to survive in the East. He was lucky to serve his patron to conduct a private business when he was on duty to provide military protection. He grew to be a wealthy merchant in Malacca-Patani axis between 1554 and 1556¹⁰⁰. Mendes Pinto also established crucial contacts with the Society of Jesus wherein he met its founder, Francis Xavier, several times in the Far East. Their partnership should be seen as mutually beneficial and profitable. On one side, Francis Xavier obtained the financial capital and information he needed for his evangelical activities. On the other sides, Mendes Pinto was provided with an institutional support for its own actions in Japan¹⁰¹.

The informal agents were meritorious to discover the new potential markets. In this sense, they performed in another dimension of empire building, without ignoring their conflicts and wars colouring the Portuguese presence in the Indo-Malay archipelago¹⁰². Their collaborations were supported by the local agents, performing as mediators. In Early Portuguese Malacca, the empire building in the East was held by several agents with different profiles, status, political and “national” belongings and performances¹⁰³. Even, their presence in the Southeast Asia and the Far East, including Malacca, was

⁹⁹ Biedermann & Carvalho. 2010. “Home Sweet Home”.

¹⁰⁰ Souza. 2010. “The Vision of Riches”, p.129; Barreto. 2010. “Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Jesuit Connection”, p.55.

¹⁰¹ Barreto. 2010. “Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Jesuit Connection”, p.86. It is important to acknowledge that Japan had never been a part of the Estado da Índia but, if we can consider the Jesuits as informal agents, the Jesuits had a dynamic role. However, they went to Japan under the crown delegation, but they were not provided with enough funding. Consequently, they took an action of Christianisation as missionaries and trading agents. They acted as intermediaries between Japan and China when both were in wartime (Polónia. 2017. “Interactions Between the Local and the Global”; Polónia, 2019).

¹⁰² Afonso de Albuquerque led a conquest of Goa in 1510 and captured Malacca in 1511. He then gained the Eastern Nusantara in 1512. Portuguese monopolised the spice trade of Ternate, Banda, Seram, Ambon, and Timor before leaving the islands in 1641 (Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*).

¹⁰³ Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*.

depended on their alliances with the local powers and minor states¹⁰⁴. The women also played a significant role as the agents in the State of India. Women both Portuguese and autochthone, were essential brokers in the East. The local women, married with Portuguese agents, became the prominent partners in politics and wars. They could be local interpreters and messengers in different conflicts. On the other side, they could be political leaders and, as such, negotiated with the Portuguese. Portuguese women also married local rulers. They would be effective acculturation agents as well as cultural intermediaries¹⁰⁵.

As the crown merely permitted three kind of settlers including soldiers, clergymen, and *casados*, Afonso de Albuquerque (the second viceroy of *Estado da India*, 1509-1515) introduced the *casados* (mixed marriage) policy to populate the *Estado da India* (Portuguese India), including Malacca¹⁰⁶. This policy aimed to encourage the Portuguese to be Eastern citizen. They were provided with a land when they married the local women. During the peacetime, they could be merchants in the lucrative Asian trade, but they should defend the Portuguese forts or fortresses during the wartime. The “sons of Albuquerque” either white or *mestizos*, should be considered Portuguese¹⁰⁷.

The Eurasian (here understood as Portuguese descendants) role during the Dutch rule remained paramount. The Eurasians were the guarantee for the survival and continuity of the Portuguese empire in the East¹⁰⁸. The Eurasian as free-agents¹⁰⁹ could be also studied by focusing on their roles in serving the monopolies in the administration and the army¹¹⁰. In fact, the Eurasian had served the Dutch administration as well, as the inhabitant superintendents and as practical labourers. They proved that they could

¹⁰⁴ Fieldhouse. 1965. *The Colonial Empires*.

¹⁰⁵ Polónia. 2017. “Interactions Between the Local and the Global”.

¹⁰⁶ Polónia. 2013. “Self-Organised Networks”, pp.137-8.

¹⁰⁷ Polónia. 2017. “Interaction between the Local and the Global”, pp.133-4.

¹⁰⁸ Pinto. 2011. “Os Casados de Malaca”, p.143; Fieldhouse. 1965. *The Colonial Empires*, p.141.

¹⁰⁹ I think the Eurasian could be categorised as the free-agents considering they were merchants operating outside the formal monopolies (Antunes & Polónia. 2016. *Beyond Empires*, p.8; Antunes. 2012. “Free Agents and Formal Institutions”, p.174).

¹¹⁰ Antunes & Polónia. 2016. “Beyond Empires”, p.10; Antunes. 2012. “Free Agents and Formal Institutions”, p.181.

survive by cooperating with the ruling state. As elements of informal networks, the Eurasian, descendent from the Portuguese, could organise their trading system autonomously and preserve the Portuguese presence in the Far East after the fall of Malacca in 1641.

The agent-based analysis could be used to analyse the non-linear behaviour within the unstable systems¹¹¹ where the Portuguese lived. The Eurasian survival strategies should be understood by looking at their political, economic and social position as the Portuguese and, afterwards, Dutch agents. Their behaviour is directed by private, public and collective goals. Therefore, the agents could be categorised as private, and institutional agents¹¹². The private agents commonly pursue their private goals, for instance, by the choice to convert to a different religion or to marry foreigner colonial agents. When, sometimes the same agents integrated a public project, such as a religious movement, political struggle, military conflicts, diplomatic transactions, commercial exploration and cultural creation, they would perform as representatives of institutional set-ups. The collective agents ended up creating and remodelling the whole social structure¹¹³. Those agents are depicted in this study. The Portuguese played as institutional agents also when they took over Malacca and ruled it under the Portuguese State of India. The Dutch played as institutional representatives when they expelled out the Portuguese and restructured Malacca under Batavia. In contrast, during the period of “Dutch Malacca”, the Portuguese acted as either private or public agents when they preferred to convert to Calvinism and served the Dutch in their political administration and military operation.

Those are some of the theoretical guidelines orienting this thesis. Further than studying the formal structures imposed by the Portuguese and then the Dutch on Malacca, this research also aims to introduce an analysis focused on private agents (both Asians and European) performing as elements of cooperation and resistance within a colonial presence imposed by European over Malacca. The structure of this

¹¹¹ Polónia, Pinto, & Ribeiro. 2014. *Trade Networks in the First Global Age*, p.143.

¹¹² Antunes & Gommans. 2015. *Exploring the Dutch Empire*, p.xv.

¹¹³ Anderson. 1980. *Arguments within English Marxism*, pp.19-20.

thesis reflects these options and guidelines. Underlying an apparent approach based on the presence of a colonial European system imposed on Malacca (first the Portuguese and then the Dutch) and not denying the fact that the thesis will focus mostly on the Portuguese presence (formal and informal) in Malacca, this study aims at bringing to the fore Malacca on its own, trying to understand, first, the foundations in which Malacca was based before the European presence and then stressing the action of Malay powers, rulers and agents in the different power equilibrium produced and reformulated during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The first chapter deals with the foundation of Malacca Sultanate; political and financial administration; and Malacca's Sultanate's trade networks. During the 15th century, Malacca was a centre of Southeast Asian commerce and a place where all merchants met during the sultanate period. The sultanate had established a well-organised administration and had composed two laws, which were the laws of Malacca and the maritime code of Malacca, which aimed to secure the town of Malacca. They arranged a fixed rate of taxes for the exported merchandises and gained a huge profit from the fiscal revenue. The sultanate controlled not merely the local trade networks but the regional and international commercial connections as well. The sultanate's trade networks had brought wealth to Malacca.

The second chapter covers the early Portuguese presence in Malacca; the Portuguese conquest of Malacca; Portuguese political and financial administration; Portuguese trade networks in Malacca before the period of the Iberian Union. After the capture of Malacca, the Portuguese reconfigured the political administration by accommodating the Asians in their system. The Portuguese also established their defence and military infrastructure to anticipate the invasions of Demak, Johor, Aceh, and Jepara. The Portuguese fortress was pivotal to ensure the stability of Malacca and attracted the merchants to come to Malacca. As the Malay, the Portuguese also depended on the fiscal revenue for their daily operation. The Portuguese also ran the commercial activities for their own income. They maintained the India-Malacca trade and expanded their commercial networks to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Southeast Asian Mainland, and East Asia.

The third chapter refers to the Portuguese-Malacca's political and financial administration; and Portuguese trade networks under the Spanish Habsburg Empire (1580-1640). The Portuguese kept organizing and defending Malacca from their rival invasion. Apart from Johor and Aceh, the Dutch also threatened the Portuguese position in the Asian seas. The Portuguese tried to strengthen their fortress and relied on customs duties and trade networks for their income. Besides running the annual royal ship, a lot of private merchants, granted by the Crown, joined the royal ships or sailed on their own vessels to trade in some lucrative ports. The private merchants integrated several self-organised trade networks, known as the shadow empire. However, the Portuguese lost their networks to the spice-producing islands but they remained to gain a huge profit from the commercial connections between Malacca, Manila, Macao, and Nagasaki.

Chapter four attempts to discuss the Portuguese presence and the decline of Malacca under Dutch rule. The Portuguese surrendered Malacca in 1641. Portuguese did not have any choice after the Dutch-Malay joint forces blocked all supplies to Malacca. Most Portuguese escaped to India and Makasar. However, many Portuguese-Eurasians remained in Malacca. In the early day, they survived by serving the Dutch to run the administration and the local trade. However, the Dutch began to persecute the Portuguese-Eurasians who were Catholics. Some of them converted to Calvinism and others escaped to the hinterland of Malacca. The increasing number of the Dutch-Eurasian marriage seemed to force the Dutch governor to abolish the persecution policy in 1702. During the Dutch rule in the 17th century, the Portuguese kept running the private trade. Meanwhile, the Portuguese in Goa also tried to get a friendly treaty with the Dutch. They sought after the Dutch trade license to assist the Portuguese shipping through the Straits of Malacca. In return, the Portuguese would pay the license and the customs duties if they unloaded their products in Malacca.

Chapter five deals with the native rulers' response to the European colonialism in Malacca during the 16th-17th centuries. Before the Portuguese occupation of Malacca, the Indonesian-Malay merchants could sail and pass the Straits of Malacca without any license or payment. The Malacca Sultan merely imposed a tax when they anchored,

unloaded, and sold their merchandise in the market of Malacca. The situation changed when the Portuguese imposed the closed sea system in the Straits of Malacca. The Portuguese incursions, colonial tariff and monopoly had reduced the trading profit of the native merchants and rulers.

During the 16th century, some sultanates attempted to drive the Portuguese out from Malacca. Demak Sultanate and Javanese merchants in Malacca shouted for a rebellion. The descendants of Malaccan king remained to resist the Portuguese power after they established the Johor Sultanate. The fall of Malacca in 1511 led to the emergence of the Aceh Sultanate. After Johor weakened, Aceh emerged as a main rival for the Portuguese-Malacca. Aceh had launched several sieges of Malacca during the 16th century. The Javanese Kingdom of Jepara also sent the naval armada to destroy Malacca. The Indonesian-Malay invasions of Malacca found its failure. Johor tried to accept the assistance from the Iberian rival, the Dutch, to expel the Portuguese out. However, the first invasion in 1606 failed, but the Dutch-Johor joint-forces succeeded to capture Malacca in 1641.

After the Dutch reconfigured Malacca, they tried to ensure some political balance in the straits by mediating Aceh and Johor. However, the Dutch-Malacca government was suspicious on the flourishing of Johor during the late of the 17th century. The Batavian government lowered the Malacca rank into a local trade seaport and prohibited them to levy the Malay merchants, considering Johor had assisted the Dutch to take Malacca. During the Dutch rule in Malacca in the 17th century, Johorese merchants enjoyed many privileges and the Johorese port of Batu Sawar was visited by many merchants.

0.4. Methodological Framework

To reconstruct early modern Malacca, I selected some sources according to the following criteria: (1) sources which are produced and written from the 15th to the 17th centuries within the historical context under analysis; (2) sources produced in Europe and Asia which will enable a multi-perspective approach; and (3) sources considered representative and significant to answer the proposed research questions. Source

criticism¹¹⁴ was paramount. Being part of any historiographic approach, this procedure presents itself as unavoidable in a context in which the perspective of the European colonisers tends to prevail, namely due the abundance of written sources. Any historical basic method implies the perception of the sources typology and aims, their contextual role, their ultimate aims and their authors. When the authors are known, their biography, role and status are presented to comprehend their social and even mental world¹¹⁵.

I attempted to propose a Eurasian perspective, by compiling all available sources. Therefore, both European and Asian sources are utilised in this study. Portuguese sources remain the backbone of my historical narrative. Portuguese royal letters, ecclesiastical sources, travel literature, and chronicles are available. Portuguese unpublished letters and manuscripts remain preserved in Biblioteca Nacional Portuguesa, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, and Biblioteca da Ajuda¹¹⁶. Some sources have been also published in archival collection¹¹⁷ and translated into English¹¹⁸. Other European sources could complement the Portuguese information

¹¹⁴ My source criticism could be seen in <https://bit.ly/3Nkhumx>

¹¹⁵ Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* is a good example. It provides a personal approach and understanding (sometimes distorted) of a world that the author tended to read according to his own cultural codes (Polónia & Capelão. 2020. "A Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto e as suas Experiências do Oriente"; Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*).

¹¹⁶ *Corpo Cronológico* (ANTT/CC); *Livros das Chancelarias* (ANTT)/CHR; Barros, Couto, & Bocarro. 1539-1635. *Década da Ásia* in 13 volumes; Castanheda. 1552-1561. *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* in 9 volumes; Faria e Sousa. 1666-1675. *Ásia Portuguesa* in 3 volumes; Correia. 1556. *Lendas da Ásia* in 8 volumes; Lemos. 1585. *História dos Cercos da Malaca*; Xavier. 1633. *Vitórias do Governador da Índia Nuno Alvares Botelho*; Eredia. 1623. *História dos Serviços com Martirio de Luis Monteiro Coutinho*; Bocarro & Resende. 1638. *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental*; *Cartas dos Jesuitas* in Biblioteca da Ajuda.

¹¹⁷ Pato (Ed). 1884-1935. *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* in 7 volumes; Rego (Ed). 1960-1977. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* in 12 volumes; Pato (Ed). 1880-1893. *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções* in 4 volumes; Wicki. 1948. *Documenta Indica*; Jacobs. 1974-1984. *Documenta Malucensia* in 3 volumes; Pissurlencar (Ed). 1953-1957. *Assentos do Concelho do Estado da Índia* in 5 volumes; Felner (Ed). 1868. *Subsídios Para a História da Índia Portuguesa*; Rivara (Ed). 1857. *Arquivo Português Oriental* in 6 volumes; Rego (Ed). 1960. *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* in 5 volumes; Rego (Ed). 1941-1958. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente* in 12 volumes; Sá (Ed). 1954-8. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Insulíndia* in 5 volumes.

¹¹⁸ Dames (Ed). 1918-9. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* in 2 volumes; Birch (Ed). 1927. *Commentaries the Great Afonso de Albuquerque by Brás Albuquerque* in 4 volumes; Cortessão (Ed). 1944. *Suma Oriental* by Tome Pires in 2 volumes; Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travel of Mendes Pinto*; Mills (Ed). 1930. *Description of Malacca and Meridional India and Cathay*; Pintado (Ed). 2012. *Portuguese documents on Malacca* in 5

from a partner or rival perspective. Those are Italian travel literatures¹¹⁹; the Dutch archives, political-commercial reports, chronicles, and ecclesiastical sources¹²⁰. The Spanish travel literatures and chronicles¹²¹; and the English travel literature and archival collections¹²² were also consulted. Asian sources comprising Indo-Malay chronicles¹²³ and East Asian chronicles and letters¹²⁴ were also used to verify the information, provided by the European sources; and to enrich the analysis of a specific topic.

I systematised all my Eurasian sources according to the source typologies involving the official viewpoint, the viewpoint of religious preachers, ecclesiastical perspective,

volumes; *Portuguese archival collection* in National Archives of Malaysia; Jacobs (Ed). 1988. *The Jesuit Makasar Documents 1615-1682*; Cummins (Ed). 2010. *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete (1616-1686)*; Jacobs (Ed). 1971. *Treatises on the Moluccas* by Antonio Galvão.

¹¹⁹ Jones (Ed). 1863. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*; Weinstock (Ed). 1964. *My Voyage Around the World* by Francesco Carletti; Noonan (Ed). 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*.

¹²⁰ The Dutch East India Company archives are scattered from Malaysia (*Arkib Negara Malaysia*) to Indonesia (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*). In Jakarta, we have consulted in the archive of Batavia the K66a, fls.1334-7. In Kuala Lumpur, we have Dutch baptismal registers (*Doop Boeck van Malakka 1642-1688*, ANM 2007/0056189; *Doop Boeck van Malacca 1689-1709*, ANM 2007/0056192). Adding to the Dutch archives, the Dutch chronicles and reports are also available (Hervey (Ed). 1885. "Valentijn's Description on Malacca"; Bremner & Blagden (Eds). 1927. "Justus Schouten's survey on Malacca (1641)"; Leupe & Hacobian (Eds). 1936. "Bort's report of his visit to Malacca (1678)"; Burnel (Ed). 1885. *Itinerario*).

¹²¹ Steven (Ed). 1708. *Discovery and Conquest of Maluco and Philippine Islands* by Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola; Stanley (Ed). 1868. *Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the Close of the 16th Century* by Antonio de Morga; Robertson (Ed). 1906. *Magellan's Voyage around the World* by Antonio Pigafetta.

¹²² Dampier. 1697. *A New Voyage Round the World*; Foster (Ed). 1910. *The English Factories in India 1630-1633*; Barrow (Ed). 1843. *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake*; Corney (Ed). 1846. *The Voyage of Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands 1604-6*.

¹²³ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*; Leyden (Ed). 1821. *The Malay Annals*; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals"; Liaw (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*; Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. *Undang-Undang Maritim Melaka*; Saleh & Robson (Eds). 2010. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*; Iskandar (Ed). 1978. *Hikayat Aceh*; Sabil (Ed). 1932. *Hikayat Soeltan Atjeh Marhum*; Cowan (Ed). 1980. *Hikayat Malem Dagang*; Hashim (Ed). 1992. *Hikayat Siak*; Winstedt (Ed). 1919. *Hikayat Misa Melayu*; Hill (Ed). 1955. *Hikayat Abdullah*; Kratz (Ed). 1973. *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor*; Mu'jizah (Ed). 1996. *Hikayat Negeri Johor*; Macknight, Paeni & Hadrawi (Eds). 2020. *The Bugis Chronicle of Bone*; Andaya & Hooker (Eds). 1982. *Tuhfat Al-Nafis*; Skinner (Ed). 1963. *Sjair Perang Mengkasar* by Encik Amin; Cummings (Ed). 2010. *The Makasar Annals*; Cummings (Ed). 2007. *The Makasarese Chronicle of Gowa*; Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* by Ridjali; Crab (Ed). 1878. *Hikayat Ternate* by Naidah; Coolhaas (Ed). 1923. *Kronik Bacan*.

¹²⁴ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*; Wade (Ed). 2005. *Ming Shi-Lu* (the official history of the Ming Dynasty) 1368-1644; Groeneveldt (Ed). 1960. *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malay compiled from Chinese Sources*; Mills (Ed). 1970. *Ying-Yai Sheng Lan* (The Overall Survey of the Ocean Shores) by Ma Huan (1433).

merchants' eyes, the eyes of captives, and the viewpoint of cartographers. First, the official viewpoint refers to all sources produced by the Portuguese and their rival officials. The official sources are usually written as deeds, official chronicles, and official reports. The deeds deal with the royal letters related to political instructions, commercial affairs, and the state of the colonies, sent by the king to his servants or vice versa. The *Corpo Cronológico*¹²⁵ is one of the source collections that can fit this category. If the Portuguese official chronicles are written by the royal chronicles, for instance João De Barros, Diogo do Couto and António Bocarro¹²⁶; local rulers or their representatives also produced some documents related to Malacca. Tun Seri Lanang, the Bendahara (Prime Minister) of Johor Sultanate, wrote *Sulatus Sulatin* (Malay Annals)¹²⁷ in the 17th century to reminisce the glorious Malacca Sultanate and the foundation of Johor Sultanate after the Portuguese invasion of Malacca. As the Portuguese rival during the 17th century, the Dutch also produced some chronicles and reports. In the late 16th century, Jan Huygen van Linschoten wrote *Itinerario*¹²⁸ to describe the Portuguese expansion to Asia. The travel and mission of Admiral Matelieff in the early 17th century were recorded by his daily scribe. Therefore, his letters and daily journal were available, compiled and edited by Peter Borschberg¹²⁹.

Second, the viewpoint of religious preachers is represented by all written sources produced by the missionaries and the Islamic preachers. Besides the Portuguese officials and soldiers, the missionaries were permitted to go to Asia. Besides preaching the Catholicism, the missionaries also wrote letters and chronicles on the state of cities which they visited. Examples are the Jesuit letters in Makasar and the chronicle of Domingo Navarrete¹³⁰. Some Islamic preachers also produced some chronicles, as

¹²⁵ *Corpo Cronologico* is known as the royal letters collection preserved at the National Archives of Torre do Tombo.

¹²⁶ *Décadas da Asia* are the Portuguese official chronicles in 13 volumes written by three royal men of letters. João de Barros wrote the first four volumes of the books. Diogo do Couto authored eight volumes of the books. António Bocarro narrated the Portuguese presence in Asia in volume 13.

¹²⁷ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*; Leyden (Ed). 1821. *Malay Annals*; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals".

¹²⁸ Burnel (Ed). 1885. *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*.

¹²⁹ Borschberg (Ed). 2015. *Journal, Memorials and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*.

¹³⁰ Jacobs (Ed). 1988. *the Jesuit Makasar Documents*; Cummins (2010). *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*.

Bustanus Salatin by Nurrudin Ar-raniri and *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* by Imam Ridjali¹³¹. Francois Valentijn as a Calvinist preacher also composed a chronicle entitled *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*¹³². If the Portuguese ecclesiastical sources on Malacca, namely the baptism records, have not been found, the Dutch ecclesiastical sources on Malacca are preserved in the National Archive of Malaysia¹³³.

Third, the merchant perspective refers to any document related to the Portuguese commercial voyages. These sources usually narrated episodes of a commercial nature and details of the port-cities and their inhabitants. The merchants were not really interested on the military and political aspects of Portuguese-Malacca. They merely provided historical episodes related to their sultanates' trading partners. The most significant examples are the travel of Di Varthema, the travel of Tome Pires, the letters of Indian Merchants in Malacca, and the travel of Mendes Pinto¹³⁴.

Fourth, the eyes of the captives are important to understand how the Portuguese succeeded in capturing Malacca from the Malay Sultanate. Being imprisoned by the Malays, Rui de Araújo could secretly send to Afonso de Albuquerque (with the help of an Indian harbour master named Nina Chatu) a letter containing some information on Malacca. Albuquerque could easily destroy the town of Malacca after knowing the political situation and military power in Malacca. Luis Monteiro Coutinho was the other prisoner providing some information to Manuel Godinho de Eredia. Eredia recorded his information in his chronicle entitled *História de Serviços com Martírio de Luís Monteiro Coutinho*¹³⁵. Admiral Augustin de Beaulieu wrote his memoir after obtaining information from prisoners in Aceh¹³⁶.

Thus, all sources were organised and their content categorised according to their topics and subjects and according to the political-economic context of the authors' life.

¹³¹ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*; Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*.

¹³² Hervey (Ed). 1885. "Valentijn's Account on Malacca".

¹³³ *Doop Boeck van Malakka 1642-1688*, ANM 2007/0056189; *Doop Boeck van Malacca 1689-1709*, ANM 2007/0056192.

¹³⁴ Jones (Ed). 1863. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*; Alves & Nasiri-Moghaddam. 2010. "Sepucuk Surat dalam Bahasa Parsi Bertarikh 1519 tentang Keadaan di Melaka"; Cortesão (Ed). 1944. *Suma Oriental*; Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travel of Mendes Pinto*.

¹³⁵ Eredia. 1623. *Historia dos Servicos com Martirio de Luis Monteiro Coutinho*.

¹³⁶ Harris (Ed). 1705. *Voyages and Travels*.

This allowed to comprehend the meaning of a document in a proper context¹³⁷ and to gather some data relating to my focus of study.

For a more systematic approach, I created a database using the *FileMakerPro 5.5* application. The database¹³⁸ lists the incoming and outgoing vessels registered in Malacca from the 15th to 17th centuries. The ships database contains some information (when available) on ships' names, the passengers and the traders, the skippers' names, the crew numbers, the details of cargo and other technical information like armaments and seaworthiness during a certain voyage of such a ship. There is also a voyage database that contains data on the date of the departure and the arrival, the ships' homeport, the sailing route and transit ports, the sailing and trading duties, and the ship's destination ports. Besides composing the historical narrative based on the available data, the navigation places and spatial trading networks were visualised by QGIS software¹³⁹. This thesis deals thus both with qualitative analysis, statistic analysis and geovisualisation.

¹³⁷ Theoretically, this approach is known as historical hermeneutics. This approach is adequate to the analysis of data recorded as a text. The authors of the texts are characterised by their cultural world belonging. This world is, in general, the author's background, crucial to understand his own life and ideas. The researcher or the historian as an interpreter of a historical text should thus be aware of the author's cultural mental and social community belonging (Bulhof. 1980. *A Hermeneutic Approach to the Study of History and Culture*).

¹³⁸ My database could be seen in <https://bit.ly/39UvbL8>

¹³⁹ QGIS is a Geographical Information System (GIS) application, used to compose maps and geographic information. The spatial visualization was used in order enable the readers to understand the Portuguese trading networks (Owens. 2017. "What Historians Want from GIS"). After identifying the Portuguese's navigation places and spatial trading networks from historical data, it was visualised by the GIS software. There were four steps of composing the maps: (1) finding the point coordinates of the Portuguese navigation places and business circuits in the Google Earth Pro; (2) compiling all data of point coordinates, world rivers (http://ihp-wins.unesco.org/layers/geonode:world_rivers), and the base maps from ESRI Ocean Maps (https://services.arcgis.com/_arcgis/rest/services) in QGIS; (3) managing all data in the Microsoft Excel; and (4) displaying data through GIS application named QGIS 3.10 (<https://www.qgis.org/en/site/>).

1. Extending its Trade Networks. Becoming Prosperous:

Malacca Sultanate during the 15th Century

This chapter elaborates on the political economy of the Malacca Sultanate during the 15th century. It will be divided into several sub-chapters (1) The foundation of Malacca; (2) The political administration of Malacca Sultanate; (3) the port-city of Malacca during the sultanate; and (4) Malacca Sultanate's political and trade networks.

1.1. The Foundation of Malacca Sultanate¹⁴⁰

Malacca Kingdom was established by the refugee prince of Palembang, named Parameswara¹⁴¹. He claimed himself as a Srivijayan descendant. He might also succeed to establish an emporium, as achieved by Srivijaya in the earlier centuries. Both Srivijaya and Malacca represented thalassocrat states. Both gained trading wealth because they were able to control the Straits of Malacca¹⁴². They facilitated the multinational merchants to exchange their commodities in their seaports while waiting for the next monsoon¹⁴³.

¹⁴⁰ The earliest version of this sub chapter was presented at the National Conference on Srivijaya and its Global Maritime Networks, organised by *Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia* (Indonesian Historian Society) and *Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia* (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture), Palembang, Indonesia, 6-9 August 2018.

¹⁴¹ Parameswara established the small fishing village, later known as Malacca. It was uncertain when the prince consort built his kingdom. There has never been a consensus upon the Malaccan establishment. The Ming Dynasty of China recognised Malacca in 1405, and Malaccan fortification is supposed to be earlier (Hall. 1955. *A History of Southeast Asia*, p.225). Some predictions have been made considering the available sources: (1) referring to *Tuhfat al Nafis* (The Precious Gift) written by *Raja Ali Haji* in 1885, the establishment was in 1390 (Gungwu. 1968. "The First Three Rulers of Malacca"); (2) according to contemporary Chinese sources, the year of 1399 or 1400 was the date of Malaccan establishment (Wolters. 1970. *The Fall of Srivijaya*); and (3) after careful reading of Raja Bongsu version of *Sulalatus Salatin*, the Malaysian official historians claimed that the Malaccan Sultanate was established in 1262 (Ismail, Ghazali & Rahman. 2010. *A New Date on the Establishment of the Melaka Malay Sultanate Discovered*).

¹⁴² The name was given on behalf of the fame of Malacca Sultanate (Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.39).

¹⁴³ The seaborne trade was dependent on seasonal winds. These seasonal winds were a unifying element for traders from the Indian Ocean, Malay Archipelago, and China. Merchants from India would set sail to the Straits of Malacca and the East beginning in May or in November and would remain at any of the ports in the straits until January, when they would return to India, with cargoes from China. Ships that sailed from the Malacca straits to India had to return before the onset of southwest monsoon when the Indian Coast was sealed off due to rough seas. On the other hand, the southeast monsoon was advantageous to Chinese traders on their homeward voyage. Chinese merchants arrived at the straits

In the case of Srivijaya Empire, its main base was in Palembang¹⁴⁴. The capital, Palembang, was not situated in a strategic area and was far away from the Straits of Malacca traffic route. They needed more strategic seaports to erect their hegemony in the Asian trade¹⁴⁵. During the 7th century, the Imperialist Srivijaya began to capture Bangka¹⁴⁶, Malayu-Jambi¹⁴⁷, Minanga¹⁴⁸, Kedah¹⁴⁹, Tulang Bawang (Lampung)¹⁵⁰,

around December and remained there until the end of June for their return journey. The Indonesian merchants came to the channels during the southeast monsoon and remained there till the northerly winds began to blow in December and in January (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.4).

¹⁴⁴ Some scholars claim that the capital of Srivijaya was in Palembang (Coedes. 1918. "Le Royaume de Çrivijaya", p.1-36; Muljana. 1981. *Kuntala, Srivijaya, & Survanabhumi*, pp.65-6; Sartono. 1979. "Pusat-Pusat Kerajaan Sriwijaya", p.61). Others interpret that the capital was in Java (Majumdar. 1933. "Les Rois Sailendra de Suvarnadvipa", pp.121-41); in Chaiya of South Thailand (Wales. 1935. "A Newly Explored Route of Indian Cultural Expansion", pp.1-35); in Muara Takus (Moens. 1937. "Crivijaya, Yava en Kataha", pp.340-1); in Jambi (Soekmono. 1958. *Pengantar Sejarah Kebudayaan Indonesia*, pp.243-64); and in Batang Kuantan, the Continental Riau (Boechari. 1979. *Some Considerations on the Problem of the Shift of Mataram's Centre of Government to East Java*, p.27).

¹⁴⁵ Pradhani. 2017. *Sejarah Hukum Maritim*, p.190; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.14.

¹⁴⁶ Bangka Island was a strategic place to control the traffic route through the Straits of Bangka. Therefore, Srivijaya came to capture Bangka (Kota Kapur Inscription, February 28, 686, published in Coedes. 2014. "Prasasti Berbahasa Melayu Kerajaan Sriwijaya", pp.67-9; Boechari. 2012. *Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions*, pp.365-6).

¹⁴⁷ Before Srivijaya gaining its glorious empire, Malayu Kingdom was centred in Jambi, which became a hub between Indo-Malay merchants and Indian or Chinese merchants. As a formidable competitor in the Eastern Coast of Sumatra, Srivijaya occupied Jambi and placed its seaports as the south entrance of the Straits of Malacca. The capture of Malayu-Jambi was essential to control the traffic route and trade alongside the Straits of Malacca (Karang Brahi Inscription, unknown date).

¹⁴⁸ Srivijaya invaded Minanga in 682 (Kedukan Bukit Inscription, May 1, 683, published in Coedes. 2014. "Prasasti Berbahasa Melayu Kerajaan Sriwijaya", pp.51-2; Boechari. 2012. *Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions*, pp.388-9; Yamin. 1976. *Tata Negara Majapahit*, pp.31-2). However, there has been a dispute among precolonial historians where Minanga is. Minanga is believed to be located in Binanga closed to Barumun River (Muljana. 1981. *Kuntala, Srivijaya, & Survanabhumi*, p.74); in the estuary of Musi River (Kern. 1931. *Verspreide Geschriften*, p.51); in the meeting land of Kampar Kanan and Kampar Kiri Rivers (Poerbatjaraka. 1952. *Kapustakan Djawi*, p.42); in the area near Singkawang River, Palembang (Yamin. 1958. *6000 Tahun Sang Merah Putih*, pp.129-241); and in the estuary of Mekong River (Coedes. 1964. "A Possible Interpretation of the Inscription of Kedukan Bukit", pp.24-32).

¹⁴⁹ Kedah placed a strategic area, as Jambi, in the south entrance to the Straits of Malacca. After capturing Kedah between 682-685, Srivijaya also exploited Kedah as the north entrance of the straits. Kedah was also convenient for traders to stop while waiting for the changing monsoon (Takakusu (Ed). 1896. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago*).

¹⁵⁰ Before invading Java, Srivijaya had invaded Tulang Bawang and occupied the estuary of Tulang Bawang River in Lampung (Palas Pasemah Inscription (unknown date), published in Siska. 2014. "Situs Palas Pasemah", pp.6-7).

Tarumanegara¹⁵¹, and Ligor¹⁵². The latter complemented Srivijayan puzzle to control the Malacca Straits.

Srivijaya attempted to organise those seaports into three categories: (1) the principal seaport of Srivijaya was situated in Palembang, in the Eastern Coast of Sumatra; (2) sub-regional seaports, for instance, Kedah and Malayu, had a responsibility to pay the annual tribute to Srivijaya and to patrol any future threats for Srivijayan commercial affairs; and (3) small seaports were supposed to supply the foodstuffs to the more important ports¹⁵³.

The standing political administration supported those structural hubs. Srivijayan political bureaucracy adopted the *kadatuan* system in which the king played a pivotal role to control the *datus* (governors) in the *mandalas* (provinces). For each mandala, such as Kedah would be ruled by the Datu. The Datus were occupied by the royal family comprising *yuwaraja* (the crown prince), *pratiyuwaraja* (the second prince); *rajakumara* (the third prince); and *raja putra* (the fourth prince). Practically, the *datu* was assisted by *bhupati* (local chief); *senapati* (military commandant); *nayaka* (administrative officer); *pratyaya* (financial official); *dandandyaka* (royal judge); *kayastha* (clerk); *sthapaka* (religious building surveyor); *puhawam* (pilot); and *tuha an vatakuurah* (trading inspector)¹⁵⁴. The latter role was a backbone of Srivijayan maritime expansion. *Tuha an vatakuurah* was supported by the military forces and the pirates (the Malay seamen) to control and patrol the trading safety around the Straits of Malacca¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵¹ The expansionist Srivijaya invaded Bhumi Jawa (should be referred to Javanese village in Lampung), in 686 (Kota Kapur Inscription, February 28, 686, published in Coedes. 2014. "Prasasti Berbahasa Melayu Kerajaan Sriwijaya", pp.67-9; Boechari. 2012. *Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions* pp.365-6). As the Srivijayan vassal, Tarumanegara did not have any right to send a diplomatic representation to China what made Srivijaya easier to control the trade route through the Straits of Sunda (Muljana. 1981. *Kuntala, Srivijaya, & Survanabhumi*, p.79).

¹⁵² Srivijayan invasion of Ligor in the 8th century (Ligor Inscription, 775, published in Sastri. 1949. *History of Srivijaya*, p.125) was profitable. During centuries, Ligor became a trading hub for multinational merchants from Canton to the Straits of Malacca or vice-versa (Muljana. 1981. *Kuntala, Srivijaya, & Survanabhumi*, p.79).

¹⁵³ Wade. 2009. *An Early Age of Commerce*, pp.221-265.

¹⁵⁴ Telaga Batu Inscription, 683, published in Yamin. 1976. *Tata Negara Majapahit*, pp.37-47.

¹⁵⁵ Wade. 2009. *An Early Age of Commerce*, p.252.

The King of Srivijaya also sent regular diplomatic missions, with trade aims, from the 10th to the 12th centuries, to the Song Dynasty of China to strengthen both commercial connections. Diplomatic gift was also sent to attract the Indian and Chinese merchants to any Srivijayan seaports. Srivijaya had a consolidated network to the Coromandel Coast. The fortification of the Buddhist Monastery might indicate a well-established commercial relation between Srivijaya and the Chola Empire. This fortification also depicted their well-established connection to honour the King of the Song Dynasty and the Buddhist Monastery reparation in Guang-Zhou¹⁵⁶.

However, their good relations were not to go well for long. Between 1025 and 1068-9, the aggressive King Rajendracola invaded Srivijaya and placed them as his vassal. As the Indian intention was to break the unreasonable duties, King Chola authorised the faithful locals to manage the fallen Srivijaya. The peaceful, commercial and religious interactions were re-established¹⁵⁷. The Srivijayan towns of Palembang, Jambi, and Dharmasraya were captured by Singhasari of Java in 1275¹⁵⁸ and were re-captured by Majapahit of Java in 1365¹⁵⁹.

Majapahit attempted to strengthen its hegemony in Palembang by political marriage. Its king (Hayam Wuruk) succeeded in marrying his daughter to Sam Aji Palembang (King Palembang). The king's granddaughter, Wan Sendari or Parameswari, was married to a man known later as Parameswara¹⁶⁰. After King Palembang died, Parameswara was crowned in Palembang and ruled from Siguntang Hill to Musi or Batanghari River and its nine branches in Southeast Sumatra. Parameswara established Palembang as a port-city to facilitate the transit of merchants after passing the Straits

¹⁵⁶ Wade. 2009. *An Early Age of Commerce*, p.254; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto. 2010. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II*, p.87.

¹⁵⁷ Sastri. 1949. *History of Srivijaya*, p.84.

¹⁵⁸ Pamalayu expedition was sent under the reign of King Kertanegara of Singhasari. Even if this expedition succeeded to capture the Srivijayan land, the lack of military forces led Singhasari to be captured by the local enemy, King Jayakatong of Dhaha (Hardjowardojo. 1965. *Pararaton*, pp.37-8).

¹⁵⁹ Robson (Ed). 1995. *Desawarnana*, p.33.

¹⁶⁰ Sang Sapurba was Parameswara's name before he married the daughter of King Demang Lebar Daun (Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals"; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*). Parameswara was called with different names, for instance Raja Sabu (Couto. 1552. *Decada da Asia*); Sultan Iskandar (Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals"); Raja Iskandar Syah (Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*); Sri Rama Adikerma (Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*); Permicuri (Mills (Ed). 1930. "Description on Malacca"); Paramicura (Cortessão (Ed). 1944. *Suma Oriental*).

of Malacca. Knowing that the internal political upheavals in Majapahit became severe after the death of King Hayam Wuruk in 1389, Parameswara tried to release Palembang from Majapahit¹⁶¹. Parameswara was dynamite for Majapahit's sovereignty. He gained many followers among Majapahit's vassals and seemed to be ready to rebel. In 1397, the King of Majapahit sent troops to expel him from Palembang¹⁶².

Parameswara escaped and moved to Tumasik. He was welcomed by the Governor of Tumasik (Singapore)¹⁶³. At that time, Tumasik was under the Siamese Kingdom. Parameswara wanted to occupy Tumasik and sent his loyal *celate* (the Buginese seamen) to murder the governor. After controlling Tumasik, Parameswara tried to increase Tumasik's trading life. Sadly, the commercial activity in Tumasik was stuck. Parameswara and his loyal followers depended on rice planting, fishing, and plundering¹⁶⁴. This situation would be complicated when the Siamese King took revenge for his son in law's death. Thai-Patani forces invaded Tumasik. They succeeded to drive Parameswara out from Tumasik. Parameswara escaped to Selitar and then to Muar (Johor). Parameswara and his men stayed there for around two years before heading to Sening Ujung (Sungai Ujung) and travelled to Bertam (Malacca). In the late 14th century, Parameswara and his men established a small village in Bertam River's estuary, known later as Malacca¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶¹ Majapahit's vassals in Sumatra were Jambi, Palembang, Toba, Darmasraya, Kandis, Kahuas, Minangkabau, Siak, Rekan, Kampar, Pane, Kampe, Haru, Mandailing, Tumihang, Perlak, and Padang (Riana (Ed). 2009. *Kakawin Desa Warnnana*, Canto.43; Pigeaud (Ed). 1960. *Nagarakertagama*, Canto.13, Stanza.1; Robson (Ed). 1995. *Desawarnana*, Canto.13, Stanza.1).

¹⁶² Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.231.

¹⁶³ The governor of Tumasik was called Tamagi (Birch (Ed). 1927. *Commentaries the Great Afonso de Albuquerque*); Xabandar or Syahbandar (Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description on Malacca"); or Sang Aji Singapura (Cortesão (Ed). 1944. *Suma Oriental*).

¹⁶⁴ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.232.

¹⁶⁵ There are several versions on the origin of Malacca. From the Javanese eyes, Parameswara and his men left Tumasik and headed to Muar. They then established a village in Byetam (Bertam). The travel of Parameswara from Palembang to Bertam could be understood as his rebellious spirit from Javanese hegemony. In Javanese, this is called "Malayo" signifying a fugitive or an exiled person. During his escape, he erected a small village called "Malaqa". It means a hiding place for an exile. The present word of Melaka or Malacca might come from "Malaqa" (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.234; Sandhu & Wheatley. 1983. *Melaka*, p.viii). From the Malay eyes, the name of malacca came from the malacca tree or myrobalan (a plum-like fruit of a tree growing along the banks of Aerlele River. Parameswara named his new place as Malacca when he took a shelter under the Malacca Tree (Mills

Malacca was situated in the estuary of Malacca river. From a defensive infrastructural perspective, Parameswara and his men could escape to the hinterland of Malacca when the enemy invaded Malacca by the sea¹⁶⁶. The enemy would take a long time to find Parameswara and his men. From a commercial perspective, Malacca was situated in the middle of the Straits of Malacca. It was a convenient place for all trading merchants to stay and to trade. Compared to Pasai, the sea waves in Malacca's harbour were calmer¹⁶⁷.

Parameswara seemed to understand Malacca's situation and transformed the small-fishing village into an entrepot. Malacca did not have a lot of commodities to offer. The ocean bordered Malacca on the west and high mountains on the east and the north. The soil along the hills was sandy and salty. The fields were not fertile and did not produce rice. The inhabitants, including the early inhabitants of Bertam, merely offered sago and fish. Instead of sago farmers and fishers, the inhabitants of Malacca also became tin miners. The King of Malacca appointed the officers to control the tin mining found in two mountains¹⁶⁸.

In the early Malaccan trade, tin was the main commodity to be exchanged for the cloths of Coromandel and the Gangga. Indian textiles attracted all merchants from all

(Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description on Malacca", p.16; Shellabear (ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.69-70). Malacca Tree is also known as Kemloko Tree in Java and Amlaka (a sour taste) or Amalaki Tree in India. In Hinduism of Bhanda Purana Holy Book, Amalaka Tree or Emblic Myrobalan is the first tree growing in the world. This tree is also believed as a home for the Hinduist Gods of Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu. The malacca fruit, in Indian tradition, is believed to have a fortune to bring welfare and health for the believers. During the foundation of Malacca, he was a Saivite-Buddhist believer before embracing Islam (He embraced Islam in order to join the Islamic trade networks. He re-named his name to Raja Iskandar Shah). He might have named the place after the plant (Malacca tree) in order to strengthen his belief that the new place would bring the wealth to his people (Singaravelu. 1989. "Hubungan antara Kaum India dengan Negeri Melaka", pp.27-28; Sandhu & Wheatley. 1983. *Melaka*, p.viii). This prophecy might be true when Malacca became one of the major ports in the Asian trading system. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Syah, Malacca was a meeting point for the countries above and below the winds. Many merchants came and did the commercial activities in Malacca. The Arabic merchants then called Malacca as "Malakat" or "Mullaqah" signifying a meeting and "Mullaqan" denoting a meeting place, a gathering point, or a collecting center (Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.78; Sandhu & Wheatley. 1983. *Melaka*, p.ix).

¹⁶⁶ Hashim. 2005. *Parameswara dan Pembukaan Kerajaan Awal Melaka*, p.9; Hashim. 2005. *Parameswara Penggagas Empayar Melaka*.

¹⁶⁷ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*.

¹⁶⁸ Muljana. 1981. *Kuntala, Srivijaya, & Survarnabhumi*, p.326; YYS, pp.123-5.

nations to come to Malacca¹⁶⁹. Parameswara allowed people from Aru and Celates to go as labourers in the harbour of Malacca. Parameswara and his son, Megat Iskandar Syah, regularly sent their embassies to Siam to provide enough foodstuffs. They begged for the foodstuff (rice) and requested the Siamese king to populate Malacca with his merchants. King Majapahit of Java also received the Malaccan embassies. King Malacca asked King Majapahit to distribute Javanese merchandise, including spices, to Malacca. The Malaccan ambassador argued that selling their products in Malacca could decrease the risk of sailing from Java to Pasai. On the other side, Malacca also sent the embassy to Pasai. They asked Pasai merchants to trade in Malacca. The Sultan of Pasai agreed with the Malaccan proposal if the King of Malacca embraced Islam and regularly sent elephants and gifts. After the second ruler embraced Islam, Malacca joined the Islamic trade networks. Some wealthy Islamic merchants in Pasai moved to Malacca. The Chinese Emperor also heard the fame of Malacca. The emperor sent his fleet to Malacca. Considering the Chinese had a lucrative trade system, King Malacca subjected his kingdom under China's Ming Dynasty. He requested Chinese protection and gained a massive profit from the Chinese trade system. Therefore, by 1431, Malacca became a meeting point for multi-national traders¹⁷⁰.

1.2. The Political Administration of Malacca Sultanate

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss the political statecraft of Malacca Sultanate. The second section will describe the financial revenue of Malacca Sultanate. The final section discusses military and defence infrastructure during the sultanate's period.

1.2.1. The Political Governance of Malacca Sultanate

The Malaccan political bureaucracy had a dynamic organisation. The growth of the Malaccan economy determined the alteration of the Malaccan statecraft¹⁷¹. In the early 15th century, the fishing village of Malacca relied on mercantile activities. Some

¹⁶⁹ Eredia. 1930. *Declaração de Malaca* (edited by Mills), p.34.

¹⁷⁰ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), pp.238-242.

¹⁷¹ Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.144 & p.147.

officials supported the first ruler to establish the Malaccan seaport. More complex statecraft was established when Malacca joined the Chinese tributary system and Islamic trade networks. The fishing village of Malacca transformed into a kingdom after the Chinese Emperor authorised it. The Chinese ceased to send their fleets to Southeast Asia in 1430. The third ruler found other profitable networks, Islamic networks, to replace his Chinese partners. Malacca joined the Islamic trade networks and transformed its kingdom into a sultanate. Those trends had changed Malacca to be an expansionist sultanate. Malacca could not merely expand its sphere of influence to the Malay World but also the Indian Sub-continent, the South China Sea and the Indonesian Archipelago.

Summing up, Parameswara was the chief of Malacca after he found a fishing village in the late 14th century. He was aware that most areas of the Malay Peninsula were under the Kingdom of Siam. He played the economy of gift. He sent an envoy to Siam with some presents and a diplomatic letter. He requested the Siamese to populate Malacca and supply the foodstuffs, mainly rice, for 2000 inhabitants. The Siamese King accepted the Malaccan request, but he asked for a tribute from Malacca. The Malacca-Siam tributary trade went for three years and ended when Malacca joined the Chinese tributary system. Submission to China was valued in Southeast Asia. The prominent Southeast Asian kingdoms also joined the Chinese tributary system, implying equality among the Southeast Asian rulers¹⁷². He could stop sending a tribute to Siam while Malacca was under Chinese protection. During his reign, Parameswara had already sent six envoys to China¹⁷³.

The Chinese Emperor approved Parameswara (1394-1414) as the first king of the Malacca Kingdom. As a king, Parameswara should compose his political administration¹⁷⁴. Even though, Parameswara had a *Daulat* (sovereignty)¹⁷⁵ to

¹⁷² Ming shi-Lu, Vol.11, p.1008/09, 20 November 1407, in SEAMSL; Wolters. 1970. *The Fall of Srivijaya*, p.155.

¹⁷³ YYS, pp.108-9; Hai-yu (1537) in NMAM, p.126; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.238.

¹⁷⁴ The king's political power depended on the character of the king. If he was strong, he could keep the minister's power in check. However, if his power was so weak, his ministers would take the power (Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya*, p.127).

establish a kingdom, he should delegate his duty to his four high dignitaries¹⁷⁶. He was assisted by four chief ministers¹⁷⁷ and other lower ministers. Those chief ministers were *Bendahara* (chief minister)¹⁷⁸, *Perdana Menteri* (prime minister)¹⁷⁹, *Penghulu Bendahari* (treasurer)¹⁸⁰, and *Hulubalang Besar* (principal military commander)¹⁸¹. Meanwhile, some lesser officials were *orangkaya* (noblemen), *ceteria* (king's servant to bring royal equipment to the audience hall), *sida-sida* (king's servant), *bentara* (king's servant to deliver a message), and *hulubalang* (military commander)¹⁸². Parameswara was also indebted to his loyal *orang laut* (seamen)¹⁸³ to find and establish a strategic place in Malacca. Parameswara inserted his seamen into his political institution as a Malaccan navy. They were placed in the south of Malacca in Bintan, Tumasik, and Lingga. They were responsible for patrolling the Straits of Malacca and directed the

¹⁷⁵ The concept of sovereignty in the time of Parameswara and at the present day is different. Today, sovereignty deals with the areas. If another country occupies a country, so the first country losses its sovereignty. Meanwhile, in the time of Parameswara, sovereignty is embedded in the king as long as the king is still alive, so the kingdom remains to stand. Even if his land is colonised, he could move his empire to other areas and name his new kingdom as he wants. In the case of Parameswara, he could erect the new court in Tumasik after the Majapahit invasion of Palembang. He could quickly re-establish the other new kingdom named Malacca after the joint forces of Siam-Patani besieged Tumasik (Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.141).

¹⁷⁶ Fang (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Malaka*, p.63.

¹⁷⁷ The constitution of Malacca was similar to the Indianised states like Java, Cambodia, and Siam. It was based on the Indian idea of the state. Four chief ministers represented the guardian gods of the cardinal points; eight ministers of middle rank; sixteen of lower rank; and thirty-two lesser officials (Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya*, p.126)

¹⁷⁸ The first *bendahara* or chief minister of Malacca was the king's father in law, Seri Wak Raja. Bendahara was placed as a second position in the political rank of Malacca Kingdom. He also took a responsibility as a policy maker when the king was in absence (Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.72-3; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.146).

¹⁷⁹ The first *perdana menteri* or prime minister of Malacca was Raja Anum. He received a title of Seri Amar Diraja. His position in the kingdom was a confusion, however his political function in the political life looked like a bendahara (Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.54; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.72-3; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.143 & p.146).

¹⁸⁰ The first *penghulu bendahari* or treasurer of Malacca was the bendahara's son in law, Raja Kecil Muda. He had a title of Seri Nara Diraja (Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.54; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.72-3; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.146).

¹⁸¹ *Hulubalang Besar* was a principal military commander of Malacca. He was responsible for securing and defending the town of Malacca (Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.143 & p.146).

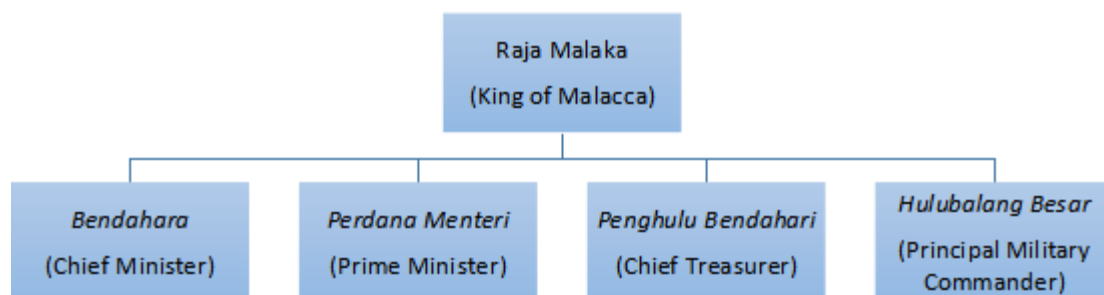
¹⁸² Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.142-3.

¹⁸³ The Malay seamen were given a title of Mandarins by Parameswara. Parameswara gave the title for their loyalty and assistance in accompanying him in his escape from Palembang, Tumasik (Singapore), to Malacca (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (edited by Cortessão), p.235).

foreign merchants to Malacca. The presence of the Malaccan seamen ensured the flourishing of Malacca¹⁸⁴.

After Parameswara's death in 1414, the Chinese fleet under Admiral Zheng came to Malacca. The Chinese admiral invited the king of Malacca to visit China. The crown prince named Raja Ahmad or Raja Besar Muda took this opportunity to get Chinese recognition and strengthen his position as a ruler of Malacca. However, the Chinese Emperor left Nanking for the northern border to lead his troops against his enemy, but the Malaccan king was well-welcomed by the royal officials in Peking. He asked the Chinese officials to inform their emperor of his father's death and returned to Malacca in 1415. The new king had the title of King Megat Iskandar Shah (1414-1424). His royal family and some senior officials conducted a second visit to China in 1419. He asked for help from the Chinese Emperor to warn the Siamese King. For Malacca, the 1418 Siamese invasion was unfair. Both Malacca and Siam were under the Chinese tributary trade. The Chinese Emperor should treat them equally. The king continually visited China for some years (1420, 1421, and 1423) before his death in 1424¹⁸⁵.

Figure 1 Chief ministers during the reign of King Parameswara Iskandar Shah (1394-1414)



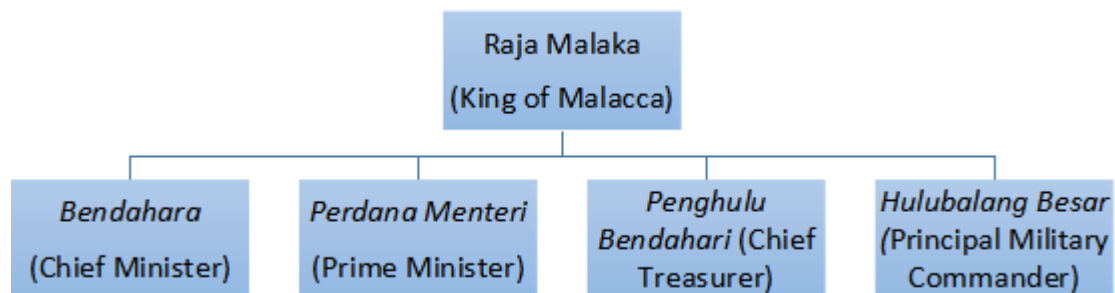
Sources: Author's diagram based on Shellabear (Ed) (2016, pp.72-3); Hashim (1989, p.143 & p.146); Brown (Ed) (1954, p.54).

¹⁸⁴ Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.144-6.

¹⁸⁵ Ming shi-lu, Vo.14, p.2269, 20 May 1421 in SEAMSL; Halimi. 1999. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan Melayu di Selat Melaka*, p.45; Adil. 1974. *the History of Malacca*, pp.11-4; Liji. 1996. *Hubungan Empayar Melaka dan Dinasti Ming*, p.45.

King Megat Iskandar Shah seemed to continue his father's political statecraft to run Malacca. He was assisted by four chief ministers of *Bendahara*¹⁸⁶, *Perdana Menteri*¹⁸⁷, *Penghulu Bendahari*, and *Hulubalang Besar*. To strengthen his position in the local geopolitics of Malacca, he got his three sons to marry the three daughters of Bendahara Perpatih Tulus of Tumasik (Singapore). When the *Bendahara* passed away, he appointed his oldest son, Raden Bagus, and changed his name to Tun Perpatih Permuka Berjajar. King Megat also appointed some lesser officials in his *balairung* (royal audience hall). They were *menteri* (minister), *Bentara* (royal troop), and *Biduanda* (king's servant in the audience hall). Assisted by his officials, King Megat transformed Malacca into a trading centre in the Malay Archipelago. Therefore, King Megat transferred the lucrative trade of Malacca to his descendants before his death in 1424¹⁸⁸.

Figure 2 Chief ministers during the reign of King Megat Iskandar Shah (1414-1424)



Sources: Author's diagram, based on Brown (Ed) (1954, p.52); Shellabear (Ed) (2016, p.70); Adil (1974, pp.11-4); Hashim (1989, p.148).

The death of King Megat Iskandar Shah forced his son, Raja Kecil Besar, to take the throne. He received the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-1444). He kept sending an envoy to China regularly. In 1424, he and his royal family visited China. He brought the gifts to be exchanged and to strengthen the Malacca-China relation. From 1426 to

¹⁸⁶ Bendahara was the chief minister and usually was the descendants of the chief of seamen.

¹⁸⁷ Perdana Menteri had the same duty as the Bendahara but Perdana Menteri was the royal descendants.

¹⁸⁸ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.52; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.70; Adil. 1974. *the History of Malacca*, pp.11-4; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.148.

1433, he sent his envoys to China three times¹⁸⁹. This good relation drove the Chinese merchants and multinational merchants from other Chinese tributaries to populate Malacca. However, the Chinese Emperor changed his policy in 1434. He ceased to send his fleet to Malacca. The visit of a Malaccan envoy, Radin Bala, to China in 1435 did not change anything¹⁹⁰.

The Malaccan King tried to find another political trading partner. He saw that the Islamic networks were well-established during the 14th century. He embraced Islam¹⁹¹ and attempted to attract Muslim merchants to conduct trade in Malacca¹⁹². The Islamic and wealthy merchant from Benua Keling (South India), Mani Purindan, came to Malacca with seven ships. Sultan Muhammad Shah and other elite of Malacca received him well. He was allowed to marry Tun Ratna Sandari, the daughter of Penghulu Bendahari (the chief treasurer) of Malacca, Seri Nara Diraja. From his marriage, he had a son, Tun Ali. When Tun Ali grew up, he replaced his grandfather's position as Penghulu Bendahari¹⁹³. Due to the Islamic network, the Indo-Malayan trade overgrew and forced Sultan Muhammad Shah to insert the new officials in his political administration.

¹⁸⁹ Ming shi-lu, vol.14, p.2440, 20 April 1424, in SEAMSL; Ming shi-lu, vol.17, p.459, 18 June 1426, in SEAMSL; Ming shi-lu, vol.19, p.1576/77, 29 June 1430, in SEAMSL; Ming shi-lu, vol.20, p.1762/63, 20 March 1431 in SEAMSL; Ming shi-lu, vol.21, p.2377/78, 28 November 1433 in SEAMSL.

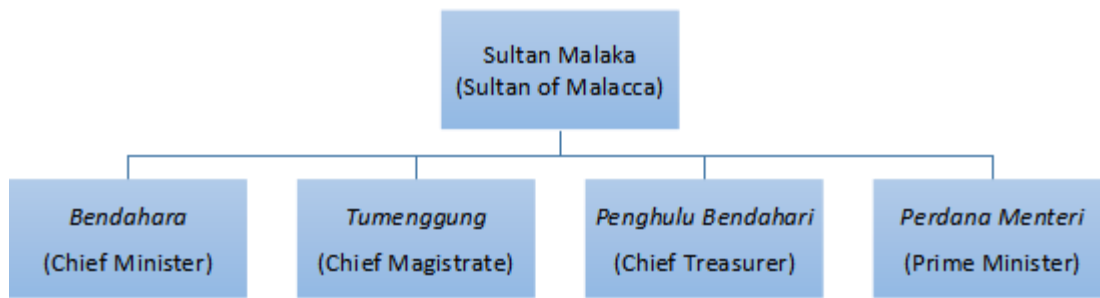
¹⁹⁰ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.15-22; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.148.

¹⁹¹ Raja Kecil Besar embraced Islam when he listened to the preaching of Saiyid Abdul Aziz of Jeddah. His step to embrace Islam was followed by his senior officials and his Malaccan inhabitants. Saiyid Abdul Aziz suggested to the king to use Islamic name of Sultan Muhammad Shah (Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.54; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.72; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, p.16).

¹⁹² Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.54; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.72; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.148.

¹⁹³ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.60-1; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.79-80; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.15-22.

Figure 3 Chief ministers during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-1444)



Sources: Author's diagram, based on Brown (Ed) (1954, p.61); Hashim (1989, p.148); Shellabear (Ed) (2016, p.79).

Besides Bendahara, Penghulu Bendahari, Hulubalang Besar and lesser officials, the Malaccan Sultan appointed *Tumenggung* (the police chief) to ensure the security of the port-town of Malacca. He also introduced Seri Bija Diraja, who was responsible for protecting Malacca from its enemies by *orang laut* (the seamen), together with the sea men, and by land together with the *hulubalang* (the military commanders). During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah, Malacca could enlarge its influence to Beruas Ujung Karang in the west of Malacca and Trengganu in the east of Malacca¹⁹⁴.

Sultan Muhammad Shah died in 1445 and left two sons, Raja Kasim (son of Tun Wati) and Raja Ibrahim (son of Princess of Rekan). Raja Ibrahim was appointed to take his father's throne. He received the title of Sultan Abu Syahid (1445-1446). The same officials assisted him as they did with his father. However, the chief ministers disliked his rule. Sultan Abu Syahid ruled Malacca under Raja Rekan (the cousin of his mother). Raja Rekan had stayed in Malacca since the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The chief ministers were impatient when Raja Rekan steered Sultan Abu Syahid to expel Raja Kasim from Malacca. Therefore, the chief ministers, including Seri Nara Diraja (the chief treasurer) and Seri Wak Raja (bendahara), plotted with Raja Kasim, Islamic merchants under Maulana Jalaludin, and some Malaccan inhabitants to invade the sultan's palace and murder Raja Rekan. A civil war broke out at the court. One of the

¹⁹⁴ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.61; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.148; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.79.

attackers stabbed Raja Rekan. Before he died, Raja Rekan also stabbed Sultan Abu Syahid. Sultan Abu Syahid was killed in 1446 and was replaced by Raja Kasim¹⁹⁵.

Raja Kasim was the fifth ruler of Malacca and was known as Sultan Muzaffar Shah (1446-1456). During his reign, Bendahara Seri Wak Raja and Perdana Menteri Seri Amar Diraja passed away. The sultan appointed Tun Perpatih Sedang, the son of Seri Wak Raja, to continue his father's role. However, the sultan favoured Seri Nara Diraja Tun Ali and did not oppose Tun Ali's words and decision. This situation complicated Tun Perpatih Sedang as *Bendahara* of Malacca. Tun Perpatih Sedang (Seri Wak Raja II) could not properly run his role as a *bendahara*. He felt angry and humiliated when the sultan did not notice his presence at the palace. He decided to commit suicide by drinking poison. Seri Wak Raja II left two sons, Tun Perak and Tun Perpatih Putih. However, the sultan did not appoint them as bendahara. He sent Tun Perak as Penghulu of Klang and promoted Seri Nara Diraja as Bendahara. In 1456, Seri Nara Diraja married the sister of Tun Perak and the widow of the sultan, Tun Kudu. After the marriage, Seri Nara Diraja and Tun Perak became good friends. Seri Nara Diraja proposed Tun Perak as a new bendahara to Sultan Muzaffar¹⁹⁶.

Sultan Muzaffar Shah enlarged the laws of Malacca¹⁹⁷ to ensure the city's security to the merchants of Malacca. The laws of Malacca comprised several law concerning constitution, crime, poverty, contract, family, judicial procedure and maritime affairs¹⁹⁸. The sultan realised that its inhabitants had a fierce character. If they were poor, they did not hesitate to steal¹⁹⁹. The sultanate should thus enforce criminal law, including the law concerning the thief. The law on the thief ordered that the criminal should have his right hand amputated²⁰⁰. He should have to pay the value of the stolen

¹⁹⁵ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.62-3; Adil. 1974. *the History of Malacca*, pp.23-4; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.82-4; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.75-82.

¹⁹⁶ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.63-4; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.85-6; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.25-7.

¹⁹⁷ The laws of Malacca began as a sort of decree issued by Sultan Muhammad Shah (Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.182).

¹⁹⁸ Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", pp.185-192.

¹⁹⁹ Hai-yu (1537) in NMAM, pp.126-8.

²⁰⁰ Fang (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*, p.75; Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.193.

property if he stole a buffalo, a cow, or a goat. No fines were applied as long as he paid the compensation²⁰¹. The law also considered the rank and status of the victim. If a man killed a buffalo owned by a high dignitary, the slaughter would be a slave of the buffalo owner. In contrast, if an ordinary person owned the buffalo, the offender should have to pay the value of the buffalo and a fine²⁰².

The other offenses outlined in the criminal law were homicide²⁰³, assault and battery²⁰⁴, and sexual offences²⁰⁵. The Malaccan law did not consider the guilty mind. Therefore, all crimes were prohibited. However, the process should take into account the rank and the status of the offender and his means. The chief minister (Bendahara), the chief magistrate (*Tumenggung*), the harbourmaster (*Shahbandar*), and the sea captain (*Nahkoda*) could murder without royal sanction under certain circumstances. It applied also to visiting merchants. The harbour-master was allowed to murder the merchants in the estuary of Malacca if the merchants did obey the harbour-master's rule. Finally, the last high dignitary, the sea-captain, was allowed to murder the ship's passengers when they conducted an offence²⁰⁶.

The standing laws led Malacca to be more prosperous. The Siamese King, Boromoraja II, was unhappy with the growth of Malacca. He wanted to insert Malacca under his control. In 1456, He prepared large troops, led by Okya Chakra. They travelled to Malacca through Pahang. The Malaccan troops defeated the Siamese invasion of

²⁰¹ Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.193.

²⁰² Fang (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*, p.113.

²⁰³ All assassins should be sentenced to the death penalty. However, the law did not allow to execute a Muslim for killing an infidel; a free man for killing a slave; and a father for killing his son (Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.186).

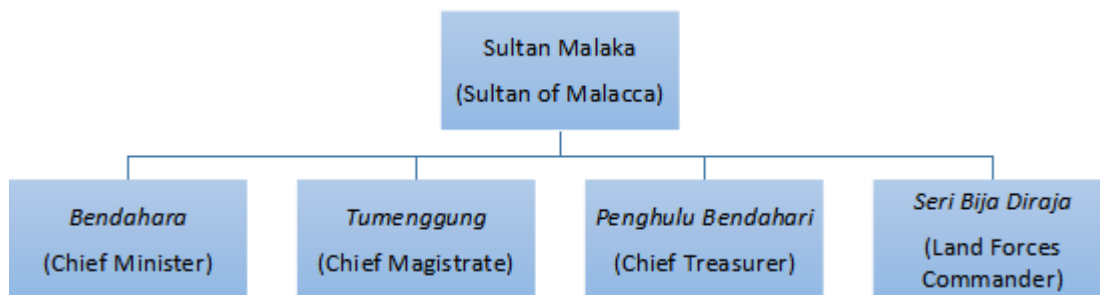
²⁰⁴ The Malaccan law considered any assault seriously. A free man, slapping a slave or abusing his slave's wife, had to be murdered. If a slave slapped his master, the slave would have his hand amputated. However, if a master slapped his slave, he should pay a fine (Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.187).

²⁰⁵ The digest treated sexual offences lightly. A man seduced someone's daughter, he would only be fined. If the female victim wanted, the seducer had to marry her. If a man raped a free woman, he should pay a fine and marry her. However, if it was under the Islamic law, the offender should be sentenced to death (Fang. 1983. "The Undang-Undang Melaka", p.187).

²⁰⁶ The high dignitaries were allowed to murder someone under certain circumstances. The chief-minister (bendahara) could murder without royal sanction when he was in the outside of his area or the sultan was absent. The chief magistrate could arrest or murder a criminal without waiting for a royal order (Fang (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*, pp.76-8).

Malacca. The Siamese failure forced them to invade Malacca by the sea under the command of Okya Tejo. The Malaccan defensive troops also succeeded to block the Siamese siege. They throw the Siamese vessels back to Siam. After the second Siamese invasion, Sultan Muzaffar Shah died and was replaced by Raja Abdullah²⁰⁷.

Figure 4 Chief ministers during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (1446-1456)



Sources: Author's diagram based on Brown (Ed) (1954, pp.63-4); Shellabear (Ed) (2016, pp.85-6); Adil (1974, pp.25-7).

Raja Abdullah received the title of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477) and became the sixth ruler of Malacca. During his reign, Malacca was more prosperous and flourished. The four chief ministers of *bendahara*, *tumenggung*, *penghulu bendahari*, and *seri bija diraja* accompanied the sultan to rule Malacca. The sultan had a more aggressive policy. He attempted to expand the Malaccan territories comprising Pahang, Sening Ujung (Sungai Ujung), Jeram, Langat, Palembang, Jambi, Lingga, Tungkal, Siantan, Brunei, Bentan, Kampar, and Siak. He also reinforced political connections with Siam, Majapahit, and China.

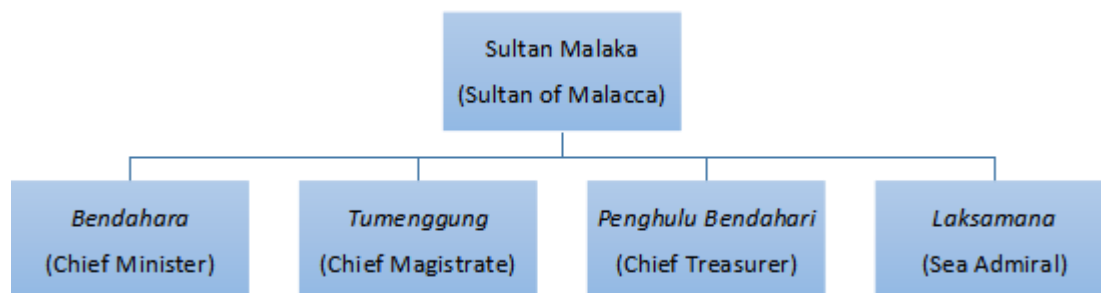
The Siamese King welcomed the Malaccan envoy under Tun Telanai and Jana Putera. The Malaccan brought a letter of peace and the elephants for a gift. The Malaccan embassy was received friendly by the Siamese King²⁰⁸. The Majapahit King also well-received the Malaccan visit comprising Sultan Mansur Shah, Seri Nara Diraja, Seri Bija Diraja, and Hang Tuah. Hang Tuah impressed King Majapahit with his various self-

²⁰⁷ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.64-6; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.87-93; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.26-8; Wyatt. 1967. "The Thai Kata mandiarapala and Malacca", p.286; Marrison. 1949. "The Siamese Wars with Malacca", pp.61-4.

²⁰⁸ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.250.

defence skills. King Majapahit called him Laksamana Hang Tuah. Therefore, the Malaccan Sultan also gave the same title to him. King Majapahit also allowed the Sultan of Malacca to marry his daughter, Princess Galuh Candra Kirana. He also granted Inderagiri and Siantan to the Malaccan Sultan²⁰⁹. After his visit to Majapahit, the sultan seemed to reshuffle his political administration. He demoted Seri Bija Diraja and promoted *laksamana* (the sea admiral) to be the chief minister²¹⁰. The sultan also attempted to repair the Malacca-China friendly ties. He sent an envoy to China, led by Tun Perpatih Putih. The Chinese Emperor welcomed them and granted his daughter, Princess Hang Li Po, to be married to the Malaccan Sultan²¹¹.

Figure 5 Chief ministers during the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477)



Sources: Author's diagram, based on Brown (Ed) (1954, pp.72-82); Shellabear (Ed) (2016, pp.105-120); Salleh & Robson (Eds) (2011, pp.139-155); Hashim (1989, pp.148-151).

During Sultan Mansur Shah rule, Malacca was the greatest kingdom in the Malay Archipelago. The trade security of Malacca attracted multi-national merchants to Malacca with their junks and boats laden with goods. Malacca also became the centre for the Islamic spread in the Malay Archipelago. After reigning Malacca for twenty-one

²⁰⁹ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.72-82; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.105-120; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.139-155.

²¹⁰ During the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah, four chief ministers of Malacca were bendahara, penghulu bendahari, tumenggung and laksamana. They seemed to be the nucleus of the native administration. Those political posts were inherited. The position of Laksamana emerged and acted in the same role as Seri Bija Diraja. However, Laksamana was more influential and was acted as one of the chief ministers. Seri Bija Diraja dropped to the eight rank position (Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.148-151).

²¹¹ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.89-91; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.122-4; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.29-31.

years, Sultan Mansur Shah died in 1477. Raja Husain was promoted to be a sultan and known as Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1477-1488)²¹².

Malacca under Sultan Alauddin Shah rule was prosperous. The life competition made people conduct behaviours that might be considered a crime. Some people used to steal the merchant's merchandise. The sultan intended to ensure the internal security of Malacca. He asked Tumenggung Seri Maharaja Tun Mutahir to be more responsible for his duties. The Tumenggung exercised tight security. If authors or the robberies were caught, they were not imprisoned but were murdered on the spot. There were no thefts that occurred in the town when the tight security was carried out. Sultan also instructed the Bendahara Paduka Raja to establish a pavilion in the centre of the city. The pavilion became an official post to control the town²¹³.

Besides the internal threats, Malacca also faced external menaces. The Aru Kingdom launched some invasions to the Malacca dependencies of Tanjung Tuan and Jugra. The Malaccan Sultan attempted to protect those dependencies. He sent the fleets under the command of Bendahara Paduka Tua, Seri Bija Diraja Tun Hamzah, and Laksamana Hang Tuah. The powerful fleets succeeded to defeat Aru. Pahang also gave another threat. The admiral of Pahang murdered Telanai Trengganu. In reaction, the sultan decided to invade Pahang, led by Laksamana Hang Tuah. Sultan Ahmad of Pahang disliked his younger brother's decision. He arranged a plot and poisoned Sultan Alauddin Shah in 1488²¹⁴.

After his father died, Raja Mahmud was appointed as a sultan. He got the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511). He was still young when he took the throne. Bendahara Paduka Raja Tun Perak²¹⁵ and other senior officials administered Malacca. Those officials were Penghulu Bendahari Tun Tahir Seri Nara Diraja in charge of the

²¹² Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.111-2; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.144-6; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.37-9.

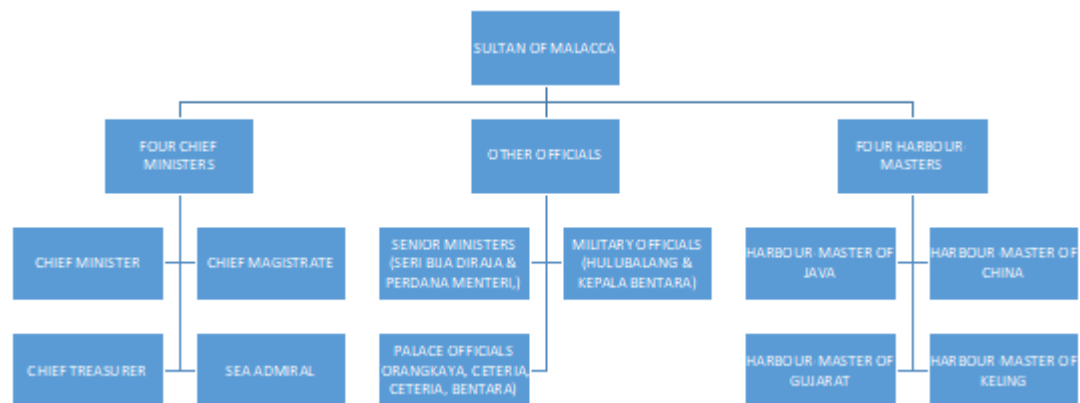
²¹³ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.40-6

²¹⁴ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.40-6.

²¹⁵ Bendahara was the leader of the four chief ministers in the kingdom. The Bendahara was a kind of chief-justice official in all civil and criminal affairs. He also had a charge of the king's revenue. He could order any person to be put to death, of whatever rank and condition, whether nobleman or foreigner; but first of all he informed the king, and both decided the matter in consultation with the Laksamana and the Tumenggung (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, p.264; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya*, p.126).

state treasury²¹⁶; Tumenggung Seri Maharaja, in charge of internal security²¹⁷; Laksamana Hang Tuah, in charge of the Malaccan fleet; and Seri Bija Diraja Tun Kerutup, as the commander of the land forces. Besides the senior officials, other lower officials comprising the military officials and the palace officials also contributed to the administration of Malacca. During Sultan Mahmud's reign, he lost several bendaharas. Bendahara Paduka Raja died in 1498 and was followed by the death of his successor, Bendahara Tun Perpatih Putih. The habit of the sultan to execute people also led to the murder of Bendahara Tun Mutahir and his family before Albuquerque arrived in Malacca. The sultan felt guilty and surrendered his crown to his son, Raja Ahmad²¹⁸.

Figure 6 Chief ministers during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511)



Sources: Author's diagram based on Pires (1944, p.254 & pp.264-5); Moorhead (1957, p.126); Hashim (1989, pp.103-4 & p.172); Brown (Ed) (1954, p.166); Shellabear (Ed) (2016, p.265); Adil (1974, pp.47-52).

Besides the native administration, the sultan and some senior officials installed some wealthy and influential merchants to oversee the commercial activities in Malacca.

²¹⁶ Penghulu Bendahari was literally the chief treasurer and got the title of Seri Nara Diraja. It had been hereditary from the foundation to the fall of Malacca. His responsibilities included being the chief of all Malaccan treasurers, receiving and managing the royal revenue, leading all Malaccan harbour-masters, and controlling the king's slaves (Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.172).

²¹⁷ Tumenggung was the chief magistrate in the city. He was in charge of the guard. All prison cases went first to him and from him to the Bendahara, and his office always fell to persons of great status. He was also the one who received the dues on the merchandise (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, p.265).

²¹⁸ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.166; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.265; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.47-52; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.103-4; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.254.

There were four *shahbandars* (harbour-masters) in Malacca. Those were the Syahbandar of Gujarat, Keling, Java, and China. They were responsible for receiving the junks, accompanying them to be present to the Bendahara, allot them warehouses, dispatching their merchandise; provide them with lodging, and giving orders for the elephants²¹⁹.

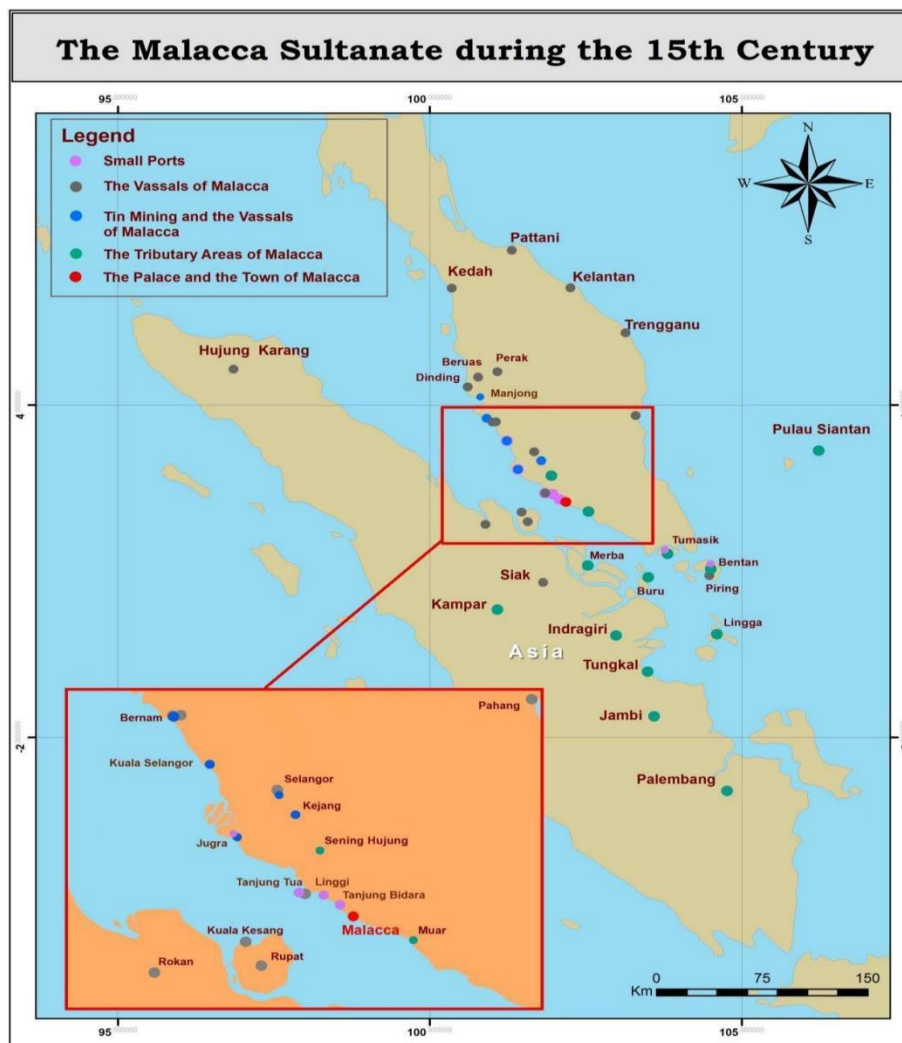
The sultanate managed its administration from the town of Malacca and administered its vassal territories and its tributary areas. When the Portuguese came and conquered Malacca, Malacca had several vassal territories in the Western Indonesian-Malay archipelago. Those were Kuala Linggi, Kuala Kesang, Beruas, Tungkal, Purim, Hujung Karang, Dinding, Selangor, Muar, Singapura, Bentan, Pahang, Indragiri, Kampar, Bernam, Perak, Siak, Rupert, Rekan, Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Patani, Kelantan and Kedah²²⁰. The sultanate used to send his representatives to govern his vassals. The sultanate also activated the indirect rule and allowed the previous kings to rule their kingdoms. However, those kings should submit themselves, their people, and their realms to the Sultan of Malacca. If the vassal kings did not obey the Malaccan rule and insurged by any kind of rebellion, the Malaccan Sultan would instruct his troops to dethrone them. Usually he would replace them by his royal family members or sons. The Malaccan Sultan also urged some officials to control the tin mining from Kuala Linggi to Kedah. Those officials were responsible to the sultan directly. The officials in the mining areas or the mandalika stayed in Kejang, Klang, Selangor, Bernam, Jugra, Beruas, Manjong and Perak²²¹.

²¹⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.265.

²²⁰ Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.189-190.

²²¹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), pp.260-1; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.192-3; YYS, p.111.

Figure 7 the Malacca Sultanate during the 15th Century



Sources: Author's map based on Hashim (1989, pp.189-193); Pires (1944, pp.260-1); YYS (p.111).

Besides the Malaccan vassals, Malacca also had some tributary areas. The sultan granted those areas to the exceptionally meritorious officials. The royal grants were given to those who succeeded in extending the Malaccan possessions and defending the Malaccan territory from its enemy. Those tributary areas were (1) Siantan and Sungai Raja under Laksamana; (2) Merba under Seri Udani; (3) Sening Hujung and Kampar under Seri Nara Diraja; (4) Indragiri under Tun Bija Sura; (5) Bentan and Muar

under Bendahara; (6) Buru Island under Paduka Tuan; and (7) Singapura under Seri Bija Diraja²²².

1.2.2. The Financial Revenue of the Malacca Sultanate

The growth of Malacca relied on commercial activities. Malacca succeeded to gain considerable profits from its trade networks. The basis of a trade network is the process of exchanging goods at a geographical distance, involving different agents. The place where the traders exchange and sell their products is known as a market²²³. This is usually placed as a nodal point of trading networks. The relation between a marketplace and other places could be understood as a market system²²⁴. This system could be run globally as it happens with world trade system²²⁵. In a global perspective, one has to analyze the diversity of merchants' partners, which are, frequently, cross-cultural and trans-national merchants. At the same time, local trade remains to be considered. Evers²²⁶ shows that trade between a port and other ports in the Malay world is a usual practice across centuries. He mentions several Malay-Indonesian maritime connections, involving, for instance, the Northern Straits of Malacca (Aceh), Riau-Singapore network, Buginese network, Butonese network, Minangkabau petty network, Sulu network, Trengganu-Thai network, and the network of the Java Sea.

Those commercial connections could be traced back to the Srivijayan and Malaccan periods. Both kingdoms are claimed to be represented as Southeast Asian Thalassocracies. Srivijaya statehood could be defined as a thalassocracy, since it dominated a confederation of semi-autonomous harbour cities in maritime Southeast Asia. Srivijaya controlled the transoceanic trade in the central Strait of Malacca²²⁷. They could secure the Asian waters from the privateering practice by hiring and

²²² Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.191.

²²³ Market could not simply be defined as a place where goods could be exchanged by merchants or be purchased by consumers. Trade in a market is not a two-way process between a producer and a merchant; and then between a merchant and a consumer. There are layers of different kinds of intermediary merchants. Goods are thus to be exchanged, transported, and exchanged many times before reaching the consumer (Pearson. 2007. *The Indian Ocean*, p.88).

²²⁴ Polanyi. 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process", p.247.

²²⁵ Wallerstein. 1974. *The Modern World System*, pp.347-351.

²²⁶ Evers. 1988. "Traditional Trading Networks", pp.92-3.

²²⁷ Kulke. 2016. "A Srivijaya Revisit", pp.45-95.

controlling the seamen. They also kept playing monetary gifts to the Chinese emperor and the Indian kings. As explained, the Srivijayan hegemony was destroyed by the Chola invasion in 1025. The Chola king reacted to the fact that his merchants were forced to pay high customs duties. The decline of Srivijaya encouraged the emergence of the new masters on both sides of the straits. On one side, Siam ruled the Malay Peninsula. On the other side, Sumatra was dominated by Javanese kingdoms. The centre of Southeast Asian trade was scattered from the 11th to 14th centuries. However, the Javanese kingdoms (Kadiri, Singhasari, and Majapahit) were dominant in the Java Sea. Still, the internal conflicts and the bloody political succession led them to lose their maritime hegemony and be confined to an agricultural economy²²⁸.

After replacing the Pasai hegemony in the Straits of Malacca, the Malacca Sultanate rose in the 15th century. With the mercantile facilities offered to the merchants, Malacca succeeded in attracting more merchants to populate the city after joining the Chinese world and gaining Islamic commercial connections²²⁹. According to Lombard²³⁰, the Malaccan political space during the 15th century was depicted in the Epic of Hang Tuah. Palembang, Bentan, Lingga, and Singapore were under Malacca Sultanate. This core alliance allowed the Srivijayan successor to gather the political legitimization to control the Malay States. If the neighbouring states (Trengganu and Indrapura) were defeated and placed as Malaccan vassals, Java and Brunei were seen as political partners. Malacca was known to have global networks as well. Many embassies were sent to India, China, Siam, Mecca, Egypt, and the Ottoman World.

From a commercial standpoint, Meilink-Roelofs²³¹ has identified the Malaccan commercial connections as comprising the Malay Peninsula (Kedah); the Indonesian Archipelago (Indragiri, Minangkabau, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and Lesser Sunda Islands); the Southeast Asian Mainland (Pegu); the China Sea (Ming, Ryukyu, and Luzon); and the Indian Continent (Gujarat, Coromandel, Bengal, and Ceylon). In line with this,

²²⁸ Das Gupta. 1997. "The Maritime Trade", p.83.

²²⁹ Liji. 1996. *Lembaran Sejarah Gemilang*, p.45.

²³⁰ Lombard. 1990. *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya*, pp.230-2.

²³¹ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.60-88.

Hashim²³² also analyses the Malaccan local trade networks. Its vassals, comprising of Kelang, Kedah, Beruas, Manjung, Selangor, Bernam, Siak, Minangkabau, Kampar, Rokan, Tungkal, Indragiri, and Riau-Lingga Islands regularly sent their local products to Malacca. In Sumatra, Malacca had some connections to Pidie, Pasai, Benkalis, Jambi, Palembang, and Aceh. The available commodities attracted the cloth merchants from Gujarat, Coromandel, and Bengal. The traffic trade in Malacca had also invited Ming embassies to come. After assuming themselves as subjects to the Ming Empire, all other Chinese tributary states, including Ryukyuan merchants, populated Malacca. Malacca was not merely waiting for the foreigner to come, but it also sent their merchants to India and Ceylon. The royal family bought ships from Pegu and sent their merchants to buy the cloths in the Indian subcontinent. The vast population of Malacca required the import of foodstuffs from Siam and Java. In return, they bartered their products with various cloths from India, along with the Eastern Indonesian merchants (Brunei, Lesser Sunda Islands, and Celebes).

The sultanate operated all these circuits throughout its government and military power. The Malaccan inhabitants lived and submitted themselves as subjects of the sultan. They provided free workers and military troops for the sultanate. Financially, the sultanate was supported also by the fines imposed in the law courts and the annual tributes from the Malaccan vassals and tributary areas, besides enjoying lucrative profits from the trade operations in Malacca. The sultanate regularly sent its royal ships overseas, and also welcomed multinational merchants with their junks and boats loaded with many products, levying the imported products. This fiscal revenue contributed significantly to the Malaccan financial income²³³.

The Malacca Sultanate might be considered the “fiscal state”. The fiscal system has a pivotal role for any government. The national income frequently relies on tax payments. Therefore, a political administration often rules by stipulating tax rates and tax payments, legalised by law. A tax itself is defined as the citizens' compulsory

²³² Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.242-250.

²³³ Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya and Her Neighbours*, p.126; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.187.

payments, while it is not imposed to the government in return²³⁴. Authorities were expected to return the fiscal income to the mass society, by, e.g., building public infrastructures. From a contemporary perspective, taxation is a revenue source to promote the welfare and protection of the citizens²³⁵ and finance every state's activity²³⁶. Taxation should not be analysed simply as to measure the sovereign income and its application in public affairs. It might be seen as the best starting point to investigate society. One might historically approach the tax policies as a symptom and a cause of large-scale changes in economic and social development. In this sense, taxation is viewed from a fiscal but also from a sociological perspective²³⁷.

Taxes are not a modern invention, they have been known since the ancient period and in many well-organised structures of power. In ancient Egypt, taxes had the form of shares or tithes of crops or other production items. The inhabitants were obliged to provide labour services in the form of military service or construction work. This was also a way of taxation. The Egyptian government attempted to build a well-organised bureaucracy to enforce and control the tax payments²³⁸.

In ancient Rome, the more recognizably modern form of taxes began to appear. The most significant example was those imposed on the import and export of goods or the sale of land and slaves. The Roman authorities also collected tax lands from the farmers. The decline of Roman income from taxation had determined Roman instability. The unwillingness of people to pay taxes affected the Roman capacity to pay the military costs. It might have contributed to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The feudal system adopted Roman taxation in early modern Europe. They kept collecting taxes in the form of crops and forced labour. They also took some taxes from the stable and regular levies based on commercial transactions and property. For the

²³⁴ Smith. 2015. *Taxation A Very Short Introduction*, p.7.

²³⁵ Riccardi. 2018. *Introduction to Chinese Fiscal System*, p.1.

²³⁶ Martin 2013. "Taxation, the State and Society", p.580.

²³⁷ Martin, Mehrota, & Prasad. 2019. "The Thunder of History", pp.2-3.

²³⁸ Smith. 2015. *Taxation A Very Short Introduction*, p.6.

central powers, taxation is the prime revenue to finance wars and other undertakings²³⁹.

Taxation, in general, could be categorised in direct and indirect taxation. Studying the Chinese fiscal system, Riccardi²⁴⁰ points out that direct taxation deals with a tax that an individual or an organisation pays directly to the authority, comprising individual income tax, company income tax, land and property-related taxes. Meanwhile, indirect taxation refers to a tax paid by a producer or retailer of the goods. These taxes are passed to the consumer when they purchase a product or pay for a specific service. The indirect taxes involve value-added taxes, consumption taxes, business taxes, resource taxes, vehicle and vessel taxes, social insurance, stamp duties, and customs duties.

The latter, the customs duties, are a chief source of central fiscal revenue. If the customs depend on the tax collector²⁴¹, the duty is defined as the levy on imported and exported products. The duty rates are influenced by the type and the original location of the commodities²⁴². The list of items along with the leviable rate of customs duty is known as a tariff. The customs duty aims to protect the “national” economy by controlling the flow of goods into and out of a defined political territory. However, its function is not entirely the same in different times and in different areas of the globe. In colonial states, for instance, customs duties were not used to create local social welfare. It was used to finance the colonial operation and gain profits for the metropolises²⁴³. The colonial treasury frequently raised and lowered the duties according to the colonial needs²⁴⁴. Studies on colonial tariffs had until now call for little attention. Hill²⁴⁵ claims that there are no complete records on the early colonial taxation legislation so that historians pay little mention on duties’ collection on

²³⁹ Smith. 2015. *Taxation A Very Short Introduction*, p.7.

²⁴⁰ Riccardi. 2018. *Introduction to Chinese Fiscal System*.

²⁴¹ Customs are the representative of the authority which have the main responsibility to collect duties levied on the imported and exported products.

²⁴² Riccardi. 2018. *Introduction to Chinese Fiscal System*, p.105.

²⁴³ Alexopoulou. 2018. *An Anatomy of Colonial States and Fiscal Regimes in Portuguese Africa*, p.19.

²⁴⁴ Hill. 1892. “Colonial Tariff”, p.78.

²⁴⁵ Hill. 1892. “Colonial Tariff”, p.78.

colonial territories. A more systematic and different approach to archival sources is required.

When the Europeans came to Asia, the Asians had already organised a well-established maritime and commercial system. The Ming Dynasty had a very regulated taxation system. There were a lot of taxes levied on its inhabitants. Those taxes included land tax, customs duties, and personal income taxes. Other revenues for the Ming Dynasty resulted from salt monopoly, commerce and industry, administrative income, cash income from commutation of services and supplies, and non-cash income, for instance, a tribute including rare and precious goods²⁴⁶.

In South Asia, the Moghul *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* was in place. These Moghul Laws attempted to regulate commercial activities and shipbuilding or boatbuilding in the Moghul seaports (Thatta, Laharibandar, Bhakkar, Sukhar, Nasrpur, Siwistan, and Rohri). The Moghul administration seemed to attract many foreign merchants. They imposed the merchants to pay no more than 2.5% of their cargoes. In return, the foreigners would have assistance during their transactions in the Moghul markets²⁴⁷.

In the fifteenth century Malacca Sultanate, the sultan instructed the *shahbandar* (the harbour master) to handle the commercial activities in Malacca. According to the laws of Malacca, the harbour master was responsible for regulating (1) the weights and measures, (2) the market, (3) the foreign merchants, (4) the masters of sea-going ships; and (5) the junks, cargo-boats, and other vessels²⁴⁸. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the sultanate appointed four harbour-masters to organise the port city of Malacca. Four influential and wealthy merchants represented the Gujarati, Keling, Javanese, and Chinese merchant communities in Malacca²⁴⁹.

Every *shahbandar*, assisted by the port officer, accompanied all incoming foreign merchants to trade in Malacca. When their ships entered the Malacca's seaport, the *shahbandar* (the harbour-master) directed them to the *bendahara* (the prime

²⁴⁶ Huang. 2009. *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China*.

²⁴⁷ Halimi. 2006. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan*, p.185; Dilnashin. 2010. *Cultural and Commercial Importance of the Ports and the Towns of Medieval Sindh*, p.25.

²⁴⁸ Fang (Ed). 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*, pp.63-5 & p.135.

²⁴⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.265.

minister). The *shahbandar* would then propose the concession of a trading license to the *bendahara*. After getting the permit, the merchants' commodities were unloaded and transported to the warehouses. The multi-national merchants should pay the duty before bartering and buying or selling the goods in the Malaccan bridge, streets, and bazaars²⁵⁰. The merchants from India, Ceylon, Arabia, Siam, and Pegu were levied 6%.

In comparison, the Chinese and the Ryukyuan merchants should pay 5% of import duties. The 5% duties were also imposed on the merchants from the east of Malacca. However, if they brought foodstuffs, they did not need to pay the duties, but they remained to present a gift to the sultan and his officials. Instead of the duties' payment, they should also offer gifts to the sultan, bendahara, tumenggung, and shahbandar. Its value was around 1% or 2% from the value of the commodities to be imported²⁵¹.

In the Malaccan digest, the sea captain also had administrative responsibilities. The Malaccan sea captains influenced the sultanate to create a maritime code, which was however only written in the age of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511)²⁵². Patih Harun, Patih Elias, and Captain Zainal Ishak acted on behalf of all captains and presented the maritime code draft to the Bendahara. The Bendahara forwarded the draft to Sultan Mahmud. This was approved as the maritime code of Malacca. The sultan also granted three captains with the titles of Sang Naradiraja, Sang Setiadipati, and Sang Utamadiraja, respectively²⁵³.

In the maritime code of Malacca, *nahkoda* (the sea captain) had a powerful field of action on the sea, as powerful as the king on the land. Several officials assisted the sea captain in operating and controlling the ships. Those lesser officials were *jurumudi* or malim (the steerman), *jurubatu* (the officer in charge of casting anchor and taking soundings), *tukang kanan* (petty officer), *tukang kiri* (petty officer), *tukang agong* (the

²⁵⁰ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), p.273.

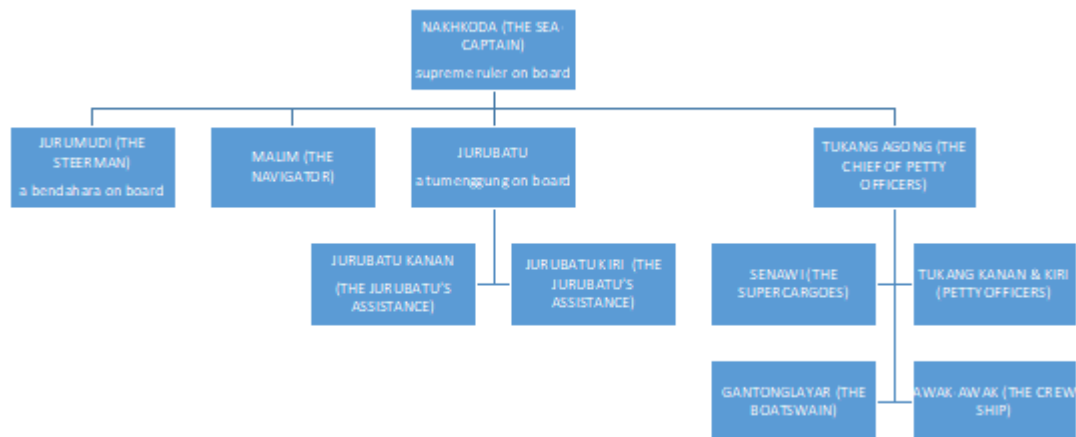
²⁵¹ Hashim. 2016. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.253-5; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.43-44; Takeshi. 1984. *The World of the Adat Aceh*, p.338.

²⁵² The Malaccan sea-captains have requested a maritime code for Malacca during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-1444). However, the maritime code was composed in the age of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511) (Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", p.51).

²⁵³ Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", p.51.

chief of petty officer), *jurubatu kanan* (the jurubatu's assistance), *jurubatu kiri* (the jurubatu's assistance), *gantong layar* (boatswain), *senawi* (the supercargoes), and *awak-awak* (the ship crew)²⁵⁴.

Figure 8 Hierarchy on Board



Sources: Author's diagram based on Winstedt & De Jong (Eds) (1956, pp.51-3); Hashim (1989, p.268).

On behalf of the captain, the chief of petty officer could punish the crew ship if the crew resisted to the captain's command. To ensure the ship's security, the captain could murder the offenders on board without royal sanction. The captain also regulated the procedures to take related to Malaccan trade in foreign ports. He permitted himself to trade on his account for the first four days. For the following days, the supercargoes and the crews could conduct their trade²⁵⁵. Considering the captain's benefit, he became a rich man. Besides other trading profits, he also stored many profitable merchandises including pepper, ivory, rhinoceros-horns, western calico, pearls, shells, and different kinds of incense²⁵⁶. The sea captain was responsible

²⁵⁴ Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", pp.51-3; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.268.

²⁵⁵ Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", pp.52-6.

²⁵⁶ Hai-yu published in NMAM, p.126.

for paying his ship crew and officers, if the trading ship completed its journey and back to Malacca²⁵⁷.

In the Malay world, the laws of Malacca were used and extended by other Malay neighbours during the following centuries. The statutes of Johor, Kedah, Perak, Patani, and Aceh were determined by the laws of Malacca. However, those laws also took some inputs from other customs. For instance, *Undang-Undang Kedah* (Kedah Laws) and *Adat Aceh* (Acehnese Customs) looked like the Moghul Laws²⁵⁸. The seaport of Kedah rose significantly after the fall of Malacca and the decline of Aceh in 1641. A lot of foreign merchants came to Kedah. They composed the Kedah laws to organise commercial activities. They depended on the customs duties as their primary revenue. When the foreign vessels entered and left Kedah, the merchants should pay two taels to the *panglima bandar* (harbour-master); 2.5 taels to the *panglima negeri* (the chief of town security); and 10-14 golds to the *panglima kuala* (prime minister). The merchants should also provide some gifts to the officials. The imported products, which were salt and tin, were levied in Kedah²⁵⁹.

In line, Acehnese also exercised an effective administration to organise its seaport. During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the port organisation in Aceh was divided into three components: (1) the personnel of the customs house comprising four *shahbandars*, the head of the customs house, the chief inspector and his deputy, and the weigher with his assistants; (2) the clerical department; and (3) the officers of the port security. The Acehnese's source of income also depended on the taxation of the royal licenses, anchorage dues, and customs duties. When the foreign vessels entered the Acehnese seaports, they should get a royal license and pay for the anchorage dues. For the royal right, there were three kinds of Acehnese seals. Those were the charges

²⁵⁷ All participants were to be given with 500 pitis, two strips of sail-cloth, and a bundle of rattan per share in the cargo; for successful trip to Bima, the bonus was 600 pitis, two strips of sail-cloth, and a bundle of rattan per share; for a trip to Timor, 700 pitis, two strips of sail-cloth, and a bundle of rattan per share; for a trip to Makasar, two gantang of gunpowder, three strips of sail-cloth, and a bundle of rattan per share; and for a trip to Tanjung Pura, 600 pitis, two strips of sail-cloth, and a bundle of rattan per share (Winstedt & De Jong (Eds). 1956. "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", p.58).

²⁵⁸ Halimi. 2006. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan*, pp.172-185.

²⁵⁹ Othman & Aziz. 2012. *Undang-Undang Pelabuhan Kedah*, pp.7-8; Kamarudin. 2015. *Manuskrip Undang-Undang Kedah*, p.94; Winstedt. 1928. *Kedah Laws*, pp.3-6.

for the seal, dues for the services rendered by the court officials and servants for its bringing, and a charge levied in cloth. For the anchorage dues, one hundred twenty-one taels and ten golds were levied on Gujarat, Bengal, and Coromandel ships. The European ships were required to pay for six taels and four golds. In contrast, vessels from the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, the Maldiv Islands, and other regions in the east of Aceh should pay 30 taels and five golds. For customs duties, English and Dutch merchants paid 7% in merchandise, whereas Muslim merchants had to pay the same tax in gold²⁶⁰.

1.2.3. Military and Defence Infrastructure

The Malay Sultanate transformed Malacca from a small-fishing village to a commercial entrepot during the 15th century. The well-structured military and defence infrastructures determined this achievement. The security of the port-town had built trust and established safety for every merchant community in Malacca. Malacca was not fortified by stone and lime. Palms were merely used to fortify the town of Malacca. In addition to the fortification, the Malays dug deeply the pits in front of wooden fences. These pits contained traps and pointed sticks treated with poison. They made use of holes covered with branches, and of traps set in ambush, with which they inflicted much damage. The Malays had various arms comprising the sword, shield, lance, bows and arrows, and blow pipes with poisoned darts. When the Malays defended their town from Portuguese invasion, they also used muskets, small artilleries, esmerils, falconets, and medium-sized sakers²⁶¹.

In the early sultanate, Parameswara played diplomatic games, using a policy of gift giving to the Siamese king. He submitted Malacca and himself to the King of Siam. He also requested the king to instruct his merchants to populate and to sell rice in Malacca. In return, the Siamese King ordered Malacca to pay a tribute of 40 golden taels every year²⁶². However, Parameswara had other ways to secure Malacca without

²⁶⁰ Takeshi. 1984. *The World of the Adat Aceh*, p.280, p.311, p.313, p.341, & p.343.

²⁶¹ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", pp.31-3.

²⁶² Halimi. 1999. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan Melayu di Selat Melaka*, pp.43-44; Liji. 1996. *Hubungan Empayar Melaka dan Dinasti Ming*, p.45; YYS, p.108; Hai-yu (1537) in NMAM, pp.126-7.

worrying about the Siamese invasion. When the Chinese accepted its tributary role, Parameswara did not hesitate to join the Chinese tributary system²⁶³.

For the Southeast Asian kingdoms, the Ming Dynasty of China became the dominant trading and political partner. All realms, including Siam, submitted themselves to the Chinese Emperor. Parameswara wanted to release Malacca from Siam. Thus, he also subjected and asked for the Chinese protection²⁶⁴. Malacca also enjoyed the lucrative Chinese trade for decades. The Chinese sphere of influence in Southeast Asia had declined since 1430²⁶⁵. Without Chinese protection, Siam prepared another invasion of Malacca. In 1456, the Siamese troops in Ligor, led by Okya Chakra, was instructed to invade Malacca. They attacked from the south and targeted the Malaccan palace. From Ligor, they passed Patani, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Pahang before sailing to the estuary of Muar River. Besides the Malaccan military power, the swampy area in the south of Malacca succeeded to resist the Siamese troops. They faced difficulty penetrating and invading the Malacca kingdom, so they decided to go back to Ligor via Muar River and Pahang²⁶⁶.

In the same year, Siamese fleets were sent to invade Malacca. The king launched the second siege and sent some vessels under Okya Tejo. The Siamese vessels sailed and surrounded the Malay Peninsula. The ship planned to anchor around Batu Pahat, Johor. Before invading Malacca, the Siamese commander surveyed the Malaccan military power and defence infrastructure. The Siamese commander did not know that Tun Perak, the Malaccan commander, also asked Tun Umar and his men to spy on the Siamese power. Knowing their weaknesses, the Malaccan troops succeeded to sink some Siamese ships. The Malaccan attack had surprised the Siamese commander. He and his troops were cautious of any Malaccan movement. The Malaccan commander,

²⁶³ Ming shi-lu, Vo.10, p.0711/12, 3 October 1405 in SEAMSL; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.188; YYSL, pp.108-9; Hai-yu (1537) in NMAM, p.126.

²⁶⁴ Ming shi-lu, Vo.14, p.2269, 20 May 1421, in SEAMSL; Halimi. 1999. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan Melayu di Selat Melaka*, p.45; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.189.

²⁶⁵ McRoberts. 1991. "A Study in Growth: An Economic History of Melaka", p.65; Wolters. 1970. *The Fall of Srivijaya in the Malay History*, pp.159-163.

²⁶⁶ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.65-6; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.89; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.26-8; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.116-7; Marrison. 1949. "The Siamese Wars with Malacca", pp.61-3.

Tun Perak, took advantage of the Siamese worry. He instructed his men to install some *jamung* (a long stick with burning material at one end that produces light) in every tree on the southern coast of Malacca. This tricky strategy created an illusion on the Siamese troops, beneficial to the Malaccan forces. The Siamese assumed that the Malaccan armies were considerable and hiding, during the day. This illusion succeeded to thwart the Siamese commander, who decided to go back to Siam²⁶⁷.

Even though, Malacca defended itself from the Siamese invasions, Sultan Mansur Shah attempted to re-build and reinforce the defensive policy of Malacca. He sent 200 vessels, led by Tun Perak, to invade Pahang. Further than receiving commercial products from Pahang, Malacca would also extend its defensive line to Pahang. From there, the Malaccan troops could defend Malacca from Siamese frets. It would secure the port city of Malacca from its enemy. After occupying Pahang from the Siamese Ligor, Sultan Mansur Shah aggressively extended the Malaccan defensive line. He tried to capture both sides of the Malacca Straits. Nevertheless, not even during the wartime period the merchant communities in Malacca seemed to have been severely affected²⁶⁸.

The Malaccan Sultan sent some armadas to invade Kampar. Seri Nara Diraja became a military commander in the invasion. He was assisted by Sang Setia, Sang Naya, and Khoja Baba. Tun Demang and the Kampar troops destroyed the Malaccan armies under Khoja Baba. Luckily, Khoja Baba was able to murder Tun Demang with his arrow. Seri Nara Diraja and his troops also murdered the King of Kampar, Maharaja Jaya, with a spear. The Kampar troops gave up after losing their commander and king. Besides being able to extend its frontier area, Malacca also gained a huge profit from the fiscal revenue, since they could force Kampar to export their products through Malaccan sea-ports. Kampar ended up being a beneficial dependency for Malacca.

²⁶⁷ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.68-70; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.92-3; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.26-8; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.117-9; Marrison. 1949. "The Siamese Wars with Malacca", pp.63-4.

²⁶⁸ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.92; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.95; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, p.29; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.119-120.

Sultan Mansur Shah also placed Siak as his primary target. Siak was situated on the eastern coast of Sumatra. It could provide Malacca with the gold of Pagaruyung and became the frontier area in the west of Malacca. Therefore, the main objective of Sultan Mansur Shah was to force Maharaja Permaisura of Siak to submit himself and his kingdom to Malacca. The Sultan of Malacca sent 60 vessels led by Seri Udani and assisted by Sang Jaya Pikrama, Sang Suran, and Akhtiar Muluk. Malacca succeeded to occupy Siak and murdered Maharaja Permaisura. The Malaccan troops brought the crown prince of Siak, Megat Kudu, to Malacca. In Malaccan palace, Megat Kudu was delivered to the King of Siak and was placed under Malaccan authority. Megat Kudu accepted and changed his name to Sultan Ibrahim Siak. The Sultan of Malacca also arranged a political marriage between this sultan and Princess Mahadewi of Malacca. The Malaccan Sultan claimed that the political union would sustain Siak's loyalty to Malacca²⁶⁹.

Malaccan vessels were also sent to Pasai. The Malaccan King received news that his brother dethroned sultan Zainal Abidin of Pasai. Bendahara Paduka Raja led the Malaccan troops to Pasai, in the northern Coast of Sumatra. The Bendahara of Malacca established the wooden bulwarks after anchoring on the beach of Pasai. He utilised his arrow troops to conquer Pasai. The Malaccan troops succeeded to destroy all Pasai troops. The Bendahara of Malacca returned Sultan Zainal Abidin to his crown. Pasai remained a Malaccan ally²⁷⁰.

The Malaccan expansion to the Malay world also continued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah. He forced the Malay Kings to submit themselves to Malacca, however, Sultan Mansur of Kelantan refused to submit to Malacca. The Malaccan vessels sailed and destroyed Kelantan. Other Malay Kingdoms, as Patani and Kedah, felt under

²⁶⁹ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.96-8; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.141-143; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, p.34; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.123-4.

²⁷⁰ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.105-8; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.160-5; Adil. 1974. *the History of Malacca*, pp.36-7; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.125-6.

pressure came to Malacca and submitted their kingdoms to Malaccan protection. They also requested the Malaccan Sultan to release them from Siam²⁷¹.

The Kingdom of Aru refused the Malaccan sovereignty and decided to invade the Malaccan dependencies of Tanjung Karang Tuan and Jugra. The sea war between Aru and Malacca could not be stopped. The Malaccan navy led by Paduka Tuan, Laksamana Hang Tuah, and Seri Bija Diraja succeeded in sinking a hundred of Aru's ship and thousands of Aru's troops around Areng-Areng Island, in the Straits of Malacca. The King of Aru did not want to surrender and sent other fleets to fight the Malaccan vessels in Pengkalan Dungun. In the second invasion, the Aru's armadas failed, and many of Aru's troops were murdered. The King of Aru raised the white flag and requested a friendly peace to the Malaccan Sultan. He also submitted his kingdom to Malacca. Malacca also had a responsibility to protect its other dependencies. For Beruas, Manjung was a real threat. Therefore, Bendahara Paduka Tuan Tepok and his Malaccan navy was sent to Manjung. He succeeded in capturing it and surrendered its sovereignty to the King of Beruas, Tun Aria Biajid Raja²⁷².

Malacca should still defend its territories from Siam. The Siamese King wanted to release Pahang from the Malaccan sphere of influence. Realising the actual damage from the Siamese invasion, Sultan Mahmud Shah instructed his men to establish several bulwarks in Pahang. However, even if Siam came with substantial military power, Pahang-Malacca joint forces could defend the town of Pahang. The Siamese failure to capture Pahang forced them to go back to Siam without any result²⁷³. The Siamese hope to destroy Malacca came true only when the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511.

In the first invasion, Malacca could defend itself successfully. The Malaccan troops remained in their bulwarks on the coast of Malacca during the Portuguese

²⁷¹ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", p.133; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.200-2; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.128-9.

²⁷² Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.120-2; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.173-6; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.126-130.

²⁷³ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.155-7; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.236-8; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.54-6; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.133-4.

bombardment. Realising that the Malaccan were inside the bulwarks, two thousand Portuguese soldiers boarded in seven ships landed and began to invade the Malaccan bulwarks. The Portuguese did not know that this was a trap. The land mines and the gunners were prepared to destroy the Portuguese soldiers. The Portuguese were forced to go back to their vessels²⁷⁴.

In the second invasion, sixty Portuguese ships invaded Malacca. They continually bombarded Malacca while the Portuguese soldiers tried to land. The Portuguese planned to land their troops on the bridge and the coast of Malacca. In the bridge of Malacca, the crown prince, Sultan Ahmad Shah, and his 3,000 men succeeded to block the Portuguese penetration. His 3,000 troops consisted of the gunners from the bulwarks, elephant troops, and arrow troops. On the coast of Malacca, 17,000 soldiers of Upeh were also ready to defend the town of Malacca. The soldiers of Upeh, mostly the slaves of the wealthy merchants in Upeh, also attacked the Portuguese from their settlement. The Portuguese succeeded to burn Upeh and began to invade the bridge of Malacca. Under this circumstances, Sultan Ahmad and his 3,000 men could not defend Malacca. The Portuguese were able to capture the bridge of Malacca²⁷⁵. The dangerous situation led the Malaccan royal family and the sultan to escape to Muar. The Portuguese conquered and colonised Malacca for 130 years.

1.3. The Port City of Malacca during the Malay Sultanate

The growth of Malacca depended on its commercial activities and the duties of the incoming vessels. Both foreign merchants and the inhabitant of Malacca anchored their ships along the coast of Malacca. To decrease the traffic of Malacca, several smaller ports performed as a transit point before entering Malacca. When the vessels were coming from the north of Malacca, they could anchor at one of the ports, for instance, Kuala Selangor, Jugra, Tanjung Tuan, Linggi, and Tanjung Bidara. Meanwhile,

²⁷⁴ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.167-8; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.243-5; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.57-8; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.135-6; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, p.527.

²⁷⁵ Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.168-9; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.267-270; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.60-8; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.136-8; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.527-530.

the ships from the south of Malacca could transit in Bentan or Tumasik (Singapore) before calling Malacca. The officials, mainly the harbour-masters, had provided stable anchorage for all vessels from both directions²⁷⁶.

The river of Malacca separated Malacca into two parts. The first part referred to the trading settlement of Upeh in the north of Malacca river. The second was the Malaccan palace and the Malay fishermen's settlement of Hilir in the south of the Malaccan river. The bridge of Malacca connected both parts. The bridge, made of wood, could be opened when the vessels entered the estuary of Malacca river and sailed to Hulu Village or Sabak, where the Javanese and the Malay lived, in the upstream of the Malacca river²⁷⁷.

Parameswara and his men established Malacca in the late 14th century. They founded Malacca when they escaped from the Siamese troops. The small fishing village called Malacca was a hill surrounded by the sea (the Malacca straits) and the rivers. Parameswara built his houses on the top of the mountain. After Megat Iskandar Shah ascended the throne, he expanded the royal houses beyond the Malacca bridge. Aru People, the local pirates and the fishermen started to populate Malacca and reached 2,000 inhabitants. King Megat Iskandar Shah also instructed the Bernam people to come and placed all seamen on the slopes of Malacca hill. The seamen acted as the royal guards for the Malacca kingdom. During the late rule of King Megat Iskandar Shah, the population of Malacca was up to 6,000 inhabitants²⁷⁸. The inhabitants of Malacca built their houses (and their boats) from coconut trees fastened with rattan. Malacca also established a wall to surround the royal houses. There were four gates in the wall. The officials provided the watch and drum-towers to patrol at night²⁷⁹.

²⁷⁶ Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.40-1 & p.105.

²⁷⁷ Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.45; Castanheda. 2006. *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*, published in ANM 2006-0023905, p.86.

²⁷⁸ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, Vol.II, pp.237-8; Eredia. 1930. *Declaração de Malaca* (edited by J.V. Mills), p.17.

²⁷⁹ Ying-yai Sheng-lan in NMAM, p.125; YYSL, pp.110-2.

The flourishing of Malacca, driven by commercial affairs, allowed Sultan Mansur Shah to build the new palace²⁸⁰, named “Mahligai”. Sultan Mansur Shah and his royal family lived in the court of Mahligai. He instructed the Bendahara and his men to build other buildings. The Bendahara asked the men of Tugal and Bentan Karangan to create three smaller palaces; the men of Panchur Serapong and Buru to construct the audience hall; the men of Suir to establish the pavilion; the men of Sayong and Sudar to build the waiting room; the men of Apong and Merba to make the drum-hall; the men of Tungkal to build the bathing-place; the men of Tentai to establish the beautiful mosque²⁸¹; the men of Muda to create the gate of the palace and the fort. The court of Malacca sultanate functioned as a sultan’s home and the official settlement and office to serve the Malaccan inhabitants²⁸².

²⁸⁰ Sultan Mansur Shah moved the Malaccan palace because he did not want to live in a place where Hang Kasturi died. Hang Kasturi was murdered by Hang Tuah, the Malaccan admiral (Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.132; Brown (Ed). 1952. “The Malay Annals”, p.86).

²⁸¹ The mosque of Malacca was built besides the Mahligai palace of Sultan Mansur Shah. The mosque was pivotal for the social activities of Malaccan inhabitants. It was not only a place for praying but also for learning the Islamic teaching (Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.238; Faria e Sousa in ANM 2006-0023905, p.90).

²⁸² Shellabear (Ed). 2006. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.132-6; Brown (Ed). “The Malay Annals”, pp.86-8; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.249; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.43-4.

Figure 9 The Port City of Malacca during the Reign of Parameswara, painted by Unknown Artist



Source: Picture reproduced from Maritime Museum of Malacca, on August 11, 2018.

Besides the royal palace in the south of the Malacca River, Malacca also had a trading settlement²⁸³ called Upeh in the north of the Malacca river. Trans-national merchants inhabited Upeh. They were not merely living but also utilizing it as a defence and trading infrastructure. The merchants and their slaves erected the bulwarks alongside the coast. Their houses functioned also as shops to display and sell their products. The inhabitants of Upeh ran their commerce from their houses. They also frequently rented their houses to other merchants. The Malaccan merchants also used the bridge of Malacca as an open market. In the Malacca bridge, there were 20 people in the different stalls. Considering the pivotal position of Upeh, all trading vessels preferred

²⁸³ There were around 30,000 houses in Upeh in the early 16th century. The houses were made of the jungle wood and sago-leaves as the roof (Castanheda in ANM 2006-0023905, p.86; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.45).

to anchor at Upeh. However, the officials only allowed the licensed merchants to stay and trade in Upeh²⁸⁴.

Most merchants stayed and sold their products in Upeh. However, some of them lived in the east of Malacca in Sabak and the south of the palace in Hilir. Living in the hinterland allowed them to establish big houses. Each house had clean water and a well. This healthy system contributed to decrease the infectious diseases in Malacca²⁸⁵. The officials also established the warehouses alongside the Malacca river to its upstream. Those warehouses were essential for foreign merchants. They could store their products while they waited for the next monsoon²⁸⁶.

1.4. Malacca Sultanate's Trade Networks

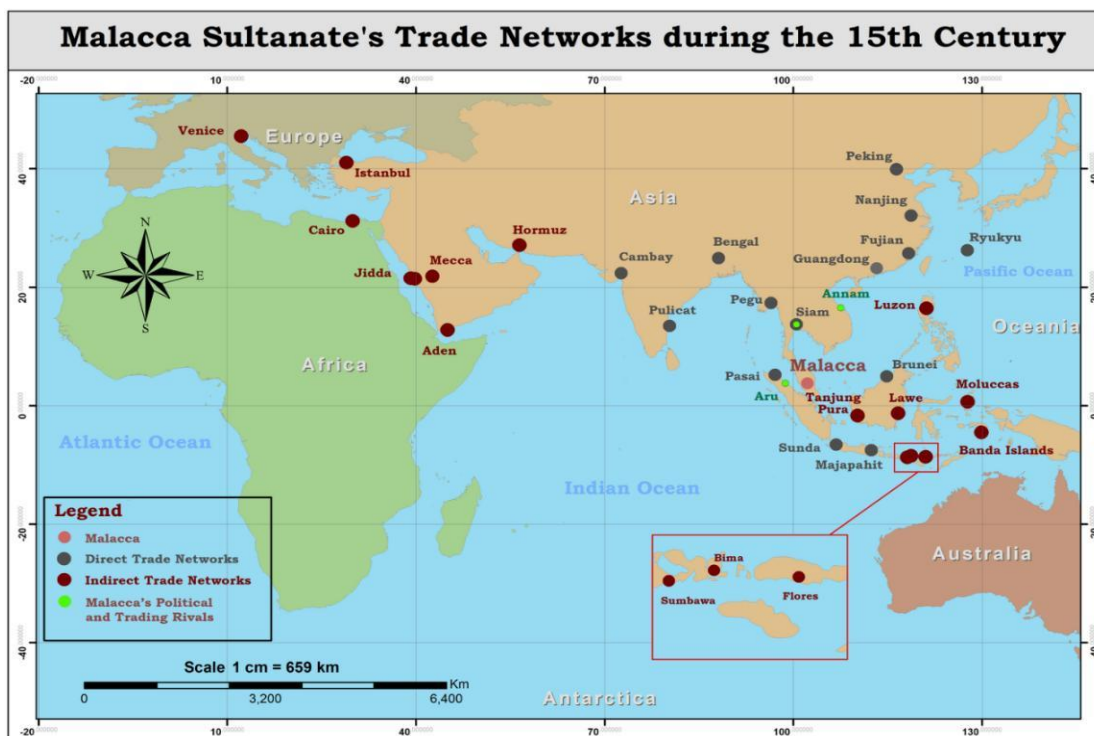
This subchapter explores the political economy of the Malacca Sultanate during the 15th century. Malacca had facilitated the multinational merchants to conduct trade since its foundation. Malacca also sent its embassies to the potential political trading partners. Malacca requested those kings to allow their merchants to populate Malacca, by playing a policy of diplomatic gifts with the Siamese Kingdom, the Ming Dynasty of China, the Majapahit Kingdom of Java, the Pasai Sultanate, the Vijayanagara Kingdom, and the Cambay Sultanate. Under the Chinese tributary system, Malacca began to expand its territory to the Malay World. Malacca should control both sides of the Malacca straits to determine political stability and to secure the port city of Malacca. By doing so, it also forced all Malay products to be exported from Malacca. The initiatives of the Malaccan rulers had transformed Malacca into a main seaport in Southeast Asia.

²⁸⁴ Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.34 & p.45; Castanheda. 2006. *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*, in ANM 2006-0023905, p.86.

²⁸⁵ Eredia. 1930. *Declaração de Malaca* (edited by J.V. Mills), p.20; Hashim. 2006. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.265; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, p.34.

²⁸⁶ Castanheda. 2006. *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*, in ANM 2006-0023905, p.86; Shuhaimi, 2018, pp.35-6 & pp.41-2.

Figure 10 Malacca Sultanate's Trade Networks during the 15th Century



Sources: Author's map based on Halimi (2017); Meilink-Roelofs (1962); Shellabear (Ed) (2008); Pires (1944); Salleh & Rosemary (Eds) (2011).

1.4.1 Malacca's Trade Network to China during the Ming Dynasty

The founding father of Malacca, Parameswara, ruled Tumasik (Singapore) for several years, after murdering the chief of Tumasik, Sang Aji in 1389, before he established Malacca. He transformed it into a pivotal port in the Straits of Malacca. He facilitated Chinese merchants to conduct trade in Tumasik. The Chinese merchandise could attract other merchants to barter their products. The growth of Tumasik had invited the Siamese kingdom to invade it in 1396. The joint attack of Siam-Pattani had driven Parameswara and his followers out from Tumasik. His followers, mostly the seamen, instructed him to settle a new port in the small fishing village called Malacca between 1396 and 1400²⁸⁷.

²⁸⁷ Halimi. 2017. "Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kesultanan Melayu Melaka", p.58.

Malacca began to be recognised when the Chinese merchants were looking for a transit port to replace Tumasik. Parameswara asked his seamen to pilot the Chinese to the new port of Malacca. Those merchants started to populate Malacca. The strategic location and the commercial facilities of Malacca were an additional incentive for the Chinese to visit and stay in Malacca. After the fall of Srivijaya in the 13th century, many Chinese pirates and their relatives populated Palembang, in the Eastern Coast of Sumatra. A lot of Chinese merchants also followed their fellow Chinese to establish a new settlement in Palembang. They escaped from the Ming intervention in China in 1371. The Hongwu Emperor did not allow its inhabitant to conduct a private trade to overseas. Considering the Chinese in Palembang had an influence over the maritime networks linking Coastal China to Indian Ocean, they might refer to Parameswara's trading partner in Tumasik and in Early Malacca²⁸⁸.

As said before, the flourishing of Malacca was also encouraged by Parameswara's initiative to send some envoys to the Siamese King. He requested a peace treaty and a friendly trade. He also asked the Siamese merchants to populate Malacca. In return, Parameswara should submit to Siam and pay an annual tribute. Parameswara was grateful when the first Chinese fleets, under Ying Qing²⁸⁹, arrived in Malacca on 28 October 1403²⁹⁰. The Chinese representative convinced him that the Ming Dynasty had a predominant power and a powerful navy in Asia. Parameswara was impressed and decided to submit to the Chinese Emperor. Since he resisted to pay the tribute to the King of Siam, he depended on the Chinese protection for the political stability in the Straits of Malacca and the security of the town²⁹¹.

²⁸⁸ Sen. 2017. "The impact of Zheng He's expeditions on Indian Ocean Interactions", pp.612-3 & p.621; Febrian & Hasan. 2015. "Perkembangan Permukiman Masyarakat Tionghoa di Palembang", p.19.

²⁸⁹ The expansion of the Chinese Emperor, Yong-le (1403-1425), to Southeast Asia aimed at legitimating his crown. He used his powerful and huge fleets to impress the Southeast Asian Kingdoms. He sent his envoys to pressure them to submit to Chinese tributary system. The Ming Dynasty offered protection and, in return, the protectorates should regularly send a tribute (Wade. 2005. "The Zheng He Voyages", p.45).

²⁹⁰ Usually, the Chinese junks from the South China coast dispatched to the Malay Archipelago during the northern monsoon season in January or February. The Chinese returned home when the wind was blowing from the south in June, July, or August (Chin. 2009. "The Portuguese on the Zhejiang", p.56).

²⁹¹ Halimi. 2017. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.58-9.

After staying and surveying the town of Malacca, in 1403, the Chinese fleets continued to sail to the Indian Ocean. On their way back to China, they called Malacca again on 3 October 1405. Parameswara asked his men to go along with the Chinese imperial representative to China. The Malacca's envoys were ordered to present local products²⁹² to the Chinese court in Peking. After following the Chinese tributary ritual, the Malacca's envoys told their purpose to the Chinese Emperor. Malacca wanted to be under the Chinese protectorate. The Chinese Emperor accepted and granted the envoys some presents. He also appointed and admitted Parameswara as a king in Malacca. The emperor instructed Yin Qing to bring the Malacca's envoys back to Malacca with some presents and a Chinese-inscribed tablet to be erected in the western mountain of Malacca. In 1407, Malaccan envoys on the Chinese ships led by Ying Qing sailed to Malacca. Parameswara was aware of his duty. He sent his envoys and an annual tribute when Ying Qing returned to China. The Malaccan envoys arrived in the capital of China on 2 October 1407. The other envoys also arrived in the capital city of China on 20 November 1407. The Malaccan envoys complained that Siam had sent some troops to disturb the peace in the Straits of Malacca²⁹³.

To keep the peace in Southeast Asia and show his powerful naval ships²⁹⁴, the Chinese Emperor instructed Admiral Zheng He to visit and bring some silks as a gift for the kings of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean on 11 July 1405²⁹⁵. When the Chinese admiral came to Palembang, he successfully forced the Chinese pirates, led by Chen Zu-yi, to surrender. However, Zu-yi secretly plotted to attack the royal troops. Zheng He and his troops counter attacked the plotters. Zu-yi faced a great defeat. He was imprisoned

²⁹² The local products comprised pepper, valuable kinds of wood, jewels and precious stones, and the highly coloured ornaments made from the plumage of the exotic birds of the Moluccas (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.75).

²⁹³ Ming Shi-lu, volume 10, page 0711/12 (3 Oct 1405), volume 11, page 987 (2 Oct 1407), & volume 11, page 1008/09 (20 Nov 1407) in SEAMSL; History of the Ming Dynasty, Book 325 in NMAM, p.129; Liji. 1996. *Hubungan Empayar Melaka-Ming*, p.45; Sen. 2017. "The Impact of Zheng He's Expeditions", p.615.

²⁹⁴ Zheng He's first expedition really impressed on various polities, merchant groups, and pirates in the South China Sea and the Bay of Bengal. He led 26,000 soldiers and the thousands of ships equipped by the most advanced weapons (cannons and other gunpowder-based firearms) of the day (Sen. 2017. "The Impact of Zheng He's Expeditions", p.612).

²⁹⁵ Ming Shi-lu, volume 10, page 685 (11 Jul 1405), in SEAMSL.

and was sent to be hanged when he arrived to China. Zheng He and his vessels anchored in Coastal China on 2 October 1407²⁹⁶.

Figure 11 The 17th-century Copy of the Chinese Map showing Zheng He's fleet route and the Chinese depot in the north of Malacca river



Sources: Picture reproduced from Wade (2005, p.48); Sen (2016, p.614).

The following year, the Chinese Emperor sent Admiral Zheng He and his fleet on October 17²⁹⁷. The emperor instructed Admiral Zheng He to promote the political rank to Malacca from a port-city to a country. The emperor also appointed Malacca (and Pasai in the northern tip of Sumatra) as the Chinese maritime base in Southeast Asia. The Chinese post (a government depot) was established in the north of the Malacca river²⁹⁸. The staging post was pivotal for the Chinese to maintain the tributary

²⁹⁶ Ming Shi-lu, volume 11, page 987 (2 Oct 1407), in SEAMSL.

²⁹⁷ Ming Shi-lu, volume 11, page 1114 (17 Oct 1408) In SEAMSL.

²⁹⁸ YYS, p.108; Ying-yai Sheng-lan (1416) in NMAM, p.123; Wade. 2005. "The Zheng He Voyages", p.48; Sen. 2017. "The Impact of Zheng He's Expeditions", p.614.

system²⁹⁹ and sail through the Indian Ocean to Africa³⁰⁰. For Malacca, the Chinese post and shipping had attracted other merchants to conduct trade in Malacca³⁰¹. When Admiral Zheng He and his fleets finished their mission to the Indian Ocean and returned to China, Parameswara sent his envoys and a tribute of local products along with the Chinese admiral. The Malaccan envoys arrived on 16 February 1409. They were welcomed and hence gained Chinese paper money and patterned fine silks³⁰².

Zheng He's armada had revived the Chinese long-distance trade. He led his armada to conduct a business at every port of call. The Chinese exported their goods and purchased tropical products, such as pepper and sappanwood³⁰³. Zheng He's expedition also extended the new system of commercial exchange at some Indian Ocean ports, including Malacca. The Chinese officials negotiated the price of the Chinese goods and exchanged them for the local products of Malacca. Besides achieving diplomatic missions and displaying military power, the Chinese also brought many trading commodities. Those were rhubarb, camphor, pearls, a small amount of gold and silver, large amounts of raw and woven silk, expensive fabrics such as damask, satin and brocade, and cotton materials. The Chinese bought or bartered their merchandise with pepper, some other spices and drugs, ivory, incense, tin, valuable woods like sandalwood, and woollen materials³⁰⁴. They also re-sold some local

²⁹⁹ The tributary system was one of the pillars of the Chinese traditional diplomacy and foreign trade system. This system was established in the late of 14th century, was expanded in the early 15th century, and collapsed by the mid-sixteen century (Nakajima. 2018. "The Structure and Transformation of the Ming Tribute Trade", pp.137-9). The ideas of the Chinese tributary system might be derived from the non-egalitarian Confucian social order. The Confucian social order symbolised China as the centre of culture and the barbarians surrounded the Chinese. Therefore, the outer tribes should appreciate the superiority of Chinese civilization. When the new ruler ascended the throne of a tributary state, he should send an envoy to obtain the Chinese imperial mandate. After he gained the mandate, he sent his envoys and a tribute of exotic products to gain the Chinese recognition. All Chinese tributaries should follow these main rituals before engaging their desired business, such as trade or military protection. Therefore, the tributaries not merely enjoyed the Chinese trading networks but also gained the Chinese protection (Fairbank. 1942. "Tributary Trade and China's Relation with the West", pp.132-6).

³⁰⁰ Malacca served the Chinese as their port of calling for stocking up with water, victuals, and trading commodities before the Chinese sailed to the west (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74).

³⁰¹ Wade. 2005. "The Zheng He Voyages", p.47.

³⁰² Ming Shi-lu, volume 11, page 1163 (16 Feb 1409) in SEAMSL.

³⁰³ Nakajima. 2018. "The Structure and Transformation of the Ming Tribute Trade System", p.144.

³⁰⁴ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.75-6; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.245.

products to different locations in the Indian Ocean and brought the rest to China. Some Malaccan and other Southeast Asian official merchants joined and travelled with Zheng He to China. In China, they offered the official tributes to the court. They also sold or bartered their private cargoes in the local markets after paying a 6 % commission. Southeast Asian merchants should sell their products to the licensed Chinese merchants. The Ming maritime prohibition of its inhabitants to conduct trade by their own stimulated the Chinese merchants based in Southeast Asia to smuggle foreign goods into the coastal regions of China to pass the royal supervision³⁰⁵.

From 1411 to 1509, Malacca had sent thirty tributary missions to China (see table 1). The Malaccan Kings (Sultans) went to China when a political succession occurred. When Indian and Chinese ships sailed to China via Malacca, they usually sent their envoys along with other Asian envoys and merchants. The Malay envoys brought and offered local products, including gold-leaf memorials, elephants, horses, cassowaries, white parrots, gold coins, leopards, and other products, to China. In return, the Chinese Emperor rewarded the envoys with a gold and jade belt, ceremonial insignia, two saddled horses, gold, silver, paper money, copper, fine silks and silk gauzes, thin silks, mixed gold patterned fine silks and two long-sleeved kneeling gowns interwoven with gold thread³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁵ Sen. 2017. "The Impact of Zheng He's Expedition", pp.621-2.

³⁰⁶ Ming Shi-lu, volume 12, page 1487 (4 Aug 1411), volume 12, page 1490/91 (14 Aug 1411), volume 12, page 1495 (20 Aug 1411), volume 12, page 1503 (18 Sep 1411), volume 12, page 1506/07 (2 Oct 1411), volume 12, page 1508 (5 Oct 1411), volume 12, page 1597 (12 Jul 1412), volume 12, page 1601 (27 Jul 1412), volume 12, page 1604 (31 Jul 1412), volume 12, page 1625 (20 Oct 1412), volume 12, page 1639 (18 Dec 1412), volume 13, page 1700/01 (20 Sep 1413), volume 13, page 1790/91 (5 Oct 1414), volume 13, page 1870/71 (11 Oct 1415), volume 13, page 1882 (20 Nov 1415), volume 13, page 1963 (19 Nov 1416), volume 13, page 1963/64 (26 Nov 1416), volume 13, page 1969/71 (28 Dec 1416), volume 13, page 1859 (12 Aug 1415), volume 13, page 1969/71 (28 Dec 1416), volume 14, page 2098 (3 Sep 1418), volume 14, page 2102 (22 Sep 1418), volume 14, page 2155 (23 Sep 1419), volume 14, page 2155/56 (29 Sep 1419), volume 14, page 2161/62 (30 Oct 1419), volume 14, page 2226 (19 Oct 1420), volume 14, page 2255 (26 Feb 1421), volume 14, page 2269 (20 May 1421), volume 14, page 2403 (24 Oct 1423), volume 14, page 2440 (20 Apr 1424), volume 14, page 2446 (30 Apr 1424) Ming Shi-lu, volume 17, page 459 (18 Jun 1426), volume 17, page 478 (13 Jul 1426), volume 19, page 1576/77 (29 Jun 1430), volume 20, page 1762/63 (20 Mar 1431), volume 21, page 2377/78 (28 Nov 1433), volume 21, page 2468 (26 May 1434), volume 21, page 2475 (4 Jun 1434), volume 21, page 2481 (20 Jun 1434), volume 22, page 71 (11 Apr 1435) volume 22, page 81 (28 Apr 1435), volume 24, page 1018 (23 Apr 1439), volume 24, page 1024 (1 May 1439), volume 27, page 2463 (23 Dec 1444), volume 28, page 2523 (28 Mar 1445), volume 28, page 2535 (20 Apr 1445), volume 28, page 2547/48 (5 May 1445), volume 35, page 5467 (30

King Muhammad Shah (1424-1444) encountered a difficult period when the Chinese ceased to send their fleets to Malacca and the countries of the Indian Ocean³⁰⁷. The last fleets sailed to Malacca in 1431 when Admiral Zheng He took imperial orders and conferred upon all the kings of tributary states with silks and cotton cloths³⁰⁸. The Chinese Emperor was more passive and received few tributes from Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Even though, the Ming court restricted the frequency of tributes to once every three years, the four countries of Champa, Siam, Malacca, and Java continued to send tribute. The Ryukyu Kingdom used this situation to conduct an intermediary trade between Malacca and Ming. The private Chinese merchants also ran the smuggling trade to supply Southeast Asian products to the Ming court³⁰⁹. The decline of the Chinese royal visit had decreased Malacca's financial income. Malacca decided to join the Islamic networks and transformed its system into a sultanate. However, Malacca did not cease to send its envoys to China³¹⁰.

Table 1 Malay and Chinese Diplomacy during the 15th Century

No	Year	Envoys	Exchanged Products
1.	1403	Ming Emperor, Yong Le, sent Yin Qing (Chinese embassy) to Malacca.	The Chinese Emperor conferred upon the King of Melaka "spangled-gold" silk gauze drapes and parasols together with fine patterned silks and coloured silks".

May 1455), volume 35, page 5523 (4 Sep 1455), volume 37, page 6425 (7 Jul 1459), volume 37, page 6451/52, (13 Sep 1459), volume 37, page 6729/30 (27 Apr 1461), volume 41, page 0969/70 (30 Oct 1467), volume 42, page 1207 (2 Nov 1468), volume 42, page 1315 (25 Apr 1469), volume 42, page 1335 (6 Jun 1469), volume 43, page 1850 (28 Nov 1471), volume 45, page 2553/54 (21 Jan 1475), volume 45, page 2624/25 (9 Jun 1475), volume 48, page 3767 (23 Aug 1481), volume 48, page 3769 (27 Aug 1481), volume 48, page 3785/86 (23 Sep 1481), volume 48, page 3793/94 (14 Oct 1481), volume 48, page 3807/08 (6 Nov 1481), volume 49, page 4553/54 (7 Oct 1485), volume 50, page 4872 (16 Apr 1487), volume 63, page 1026 (29 Dec 1508), volume 63, page 1028 (2 Jan 1509), published in SEAMSL; Ying-yai Sheng-lan in NMAM, p.125 & p.130; YYS, pp.113-4.

³⁰⁷ After the final voyage, China prohibited the foreign trade. The prohibition desired to protect the Chinese coast from the Japanese pirates. The emergence of those pirates contributed to the China Sea's unsafe state during the 14th and 15th centuries (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74).

³⁰⁸ Ming Shi-lu, volume 19, page 1576/77 (29 Jun 1430), volume 20, page 1762/63 (20 Mar 1431) published in SEAMSL.

³⁰⁹ Nakajima. 2018. "The Structure and Transformation of the Ming Tribute Trade System", pp.145-7.

³¹⁰ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74.

2.	1405	Bai Li mi su la or Parameswara sent an embassy to Ming, with some envoys from Pasai and Calicut, following Yin Qing set sailing back to Ming.	The Malays presented a tribute gift comprising kempa cap, various money (tin coins), royal cloths, and payung iram-iram kuning (royal yellow umbrella). In return, the Chinese granted seals and patents and that variegated silks and clothing be conferred upon them. The Chinese Emperor also gave the stele inscription. The Chinese confirmed that Malacca became a division of China and remained their subordinate state, which should have a duty to send a tribute annually to China.
3.	1407	The envoy Bi-zhe-ya-man-hei-di (Alt: Bi-zhe-ya-man-li-di) and others who had been sent by the kings of the country of Samudera, Calicut, Melaka, Xiao Ge-lan and A-lu, came to the Chinese Court.	The Malays offered tribute of local products. In return, the Chinese conferred them with paper money, silks and copper cash. The Ministry of Rites was ordered to confer brocaded fine silks, silks, "saddled horses", and other goods upon the Asian kings.
4.	1408	The Chinese emperor sent Zheng He to the countries of Calicut, Melaka, Samudera, Aru, Jia-yi-le, Java, Siam, Champa, Cochin, A-bo-ba-dan, Xiao Ke-lan, Nan-wu-li, and Gan-ba-li.	The Chinese Emperor granted brocades, fine silks and silk gauzes upon the kings of these countries.
5.	1409	The envoy A-bu-la Jia-xin and others who had been sent by Bai-li-mi-su-la, the King of the country of Melaka, came to Court.	The Malay King sent a tribute of local products to Ming, and the Chinese gave the embassy paper money, fine patterned silks, and variegated silks.
6.	1411	The King, wife, and followers boarded Cheng Ho's ship to Chinese Court.	The Malays presented local products, and the Chinese granted the sea-going ship. The Chinese also awarded a gold and jade belt, ceremonial insignia, two "saddled horses", 100 <i>liang</i> of gold, 500 <i>liang</i> of silver, 400,000 guans of paper money, 2,600 guans of copper cash, 300 bolts of embroidered fine silks and silk gauzes, 1,000 bolts of thin silks, two [bolts?] of "mixed gold" patterned fine silks, and two long-sleeved "kneeling gowns" interwoven with gold thread. These are for your receipt." In addition, headwear and a set of robes, 200 <i>liang</i> of silver, 5,000 guan of paper money and 60 bolts of fine brocaded silks, silk gauzes and thin silks, as well as four suits of clothing made from fine patterned silks and silk gauzes interwoven with gold threads were conferred upon the King's consort.

7.	1412	Xi-li Sa-ma-la-zha-ya (Alt: Xi-li Sa-ma-lan-zha-ya) had been sent with others by his uncle Bai-li-mi-su-la, the King of the country of Melaka	The Malays offered tribute of local products. In return, the Chinese granted paper money and silks. In addition, the eunuch Gan Quan was sent to proceed with them and confer upon Bai-li-mi-su-la brocaded fine silks, silk gauzes and variegated silks.
8.	1412	The eunuch director Zheng He and others were sent to take Imperial orders to the kings of Melaka, Java, Champa, Samudera, Aru, Cochin, Calicut, Nan-bo-li, Pahang, Kelantan, Jia-yi-le, Hormuz, Bi-la, Liu-shan and Sun-la.	The Chinese gave them brocaded fine silks, silk gauzes, thin variegated silks and other goods as appropriate.
9.	1413	Sai-di-la-zhe had been sent with others, a total of 165 persons, by his uncle Bai-li-mi-su-la, the King of the country of Melaka.	The Malays offered tribute of local products. Paper money, clothing made from fine patterned silks, and silk gauzes, as appropriate were conferred upon them.
10.	1414	Prince Megat Iskandar Syah visited Ming.	The Chinese Emperor granted the Malay prince gold, silver, fine brocaded silks, silk gauzes, headwear and a belt, together with a suite of clothing made from silk interwoven with gold thread.
11.	1415	The King of Malacca and other kings from Calicut, Cochin, Nan-bo-li, and Gan-ba-li sent their envoys to China.	The Malays offered tribute of local products. The Chinese gave paper money, silks and copper cash for each envoy.
12.	1416	The King of Malacca and other kings from Calicut, Java, Melaka, Champa, Samudera, Nan-wu-li, Sha-li-wan-ni, Pahang, Sri Lanka, Mogadishu, Liu-shan, Nan-bo-li, Bu-la-wa, Aden, Ma-lin, La-sa, Hormuz, Cochin and the Old Port Pacification Superintendency (Palembang) sent their envoys to China.	The Asian Kings offered tribute of horses, rhinoceros, elephants and other local products
13.	1418	Sa-li-wang-la-zha had been sent by his younger brother Mu-gan Sa-yu-er Sha (Alt: Mu-gan Sa-gan-di-er Sha),	The Malays offered tribute of local products.

		the King of the country of Melaka.	
14.	1419	Yi-si-han-da-er Sha was sent by the King of the country of Melaka.	The kings of 17 countries, including Yi-si-han-da-er Sha, the King of the country of Melaka, presented memorials inscribed in gold and offered tribute of precious stones, coral, ambergris he-ding, rhinoceros horn, elephants tusks, lions, rhinoceros, "spirit deer," and camels.
15.	1420	The envoy Duan-gu Ma-la-shi-di had been sent by Mu-gan Sa-gan-di-er Sha, the King of the country of Melaka, to Ming.	They offered tribute of local products. Paper money, ramie-silk, silk gauzes and clothing made from fine patterned silks interwoven with gold thread were conferred upon them, and they were then sent home.
16.	1421	The envoys were sent by the 16 countries of Hormuz, Aden, Zu-fa-er, La-sa, Bu-la-wa, Mogadishu, Calicut, Cochin, Jia-yi-le, Sri Lanka, Liu Shan, Nan-bo-li, Samudera, Aru, Melaka and Gan-ba-li.	They offered tribute of fine horses and local products. It was ordered that the Ministry of Rites banquet them in reward.
17.	1423	1,200 persons who had been sent by the 16 countries of Xi-yang, Calicut, Hormuz, Sri Lanka, Aden, Zu-fa-er, La-sa, Bu-la-wa, Mogadishu, Cochin, Jia-yi-le, Liu Shan, Nan-bo-li, Samudera, Aru and Melaka had arrived at the Chinese capital.	They offered tribute of local products, and in return, the officials gave them paper money equivalent to the value of the products in exchange.
18.	1424.	Seri Maharaja visited Ming with his wife, ministers, and followers	A banquet was conferred upon him at Xuan-wu Gate. In addition, 100 <i>liang</i> of gold, 500 <i>liang</i> of silver, 32,270 <i>ding</i> of paper money, six lengths of brocade, 58 <i>biao-li</i> of variegated silks, 22 bolts each of silk gauze (sha) and silk gauze (luo), 46 bolts of damask, 536 bolts of thin silks, 392 bolts of cotton cloth, one suit of clothing made from silk gauze interwoven with gold threads, and 13 (Alt: 18) suits of apparel made from plain silk gauze were conferred upon him. Twelve suits of women's clothing made from plain silk gauze and 17 suits of women's clothing made from thin silks were conferred upon the King's consort. Clothing, as appropriate, was conferred upon their attendants.
19.	1424	The envoy Na-la-die-ba-na and others had been sent by the country of Melaka	The Malays offered tribute of local products. Paper money, <i>biao-li</i> of silk, clothing and boots were conferred.

20.	1426	The envoy Ba-mu, who had been sent by Zai-nu-li A-bi-ding, the King of the country of Samudera; Yi-si-ma, who had been sent by Xi-li Ma-ha-la-zhe, the King of the land of Melaka; and He-zhe Li-yi-si, who had been sent by the King of the country of Bai-ge-da, came to Court.	The Malays offered the local products. In return, fine patterned silks and silk gauzes interweaved with gold thread and other goods were also given to Yi-si-ma and the others to confer, on their return home, upon the King of the country of Melaka.
21.	1430	The Eunuch Director Zheng He and others were sent with an Imperial proclamation to go and instruct the various <i>fan</i> countries.	The Chinese gave variegated silks to the rulers or chiefs of all 20 countries through which the eunuchs were to pass, including Hormuz, Sri Lanka, Calicut, Melaka, Cochin, Bu-la-wa, Mogadishu, Nan-bo-li, Samudera, La-sa, Liu-shan, Aru, Gan-ba-li, Aden, Zuo-fa-er, Zhu-bu, Jia-yi-le and so on, as well as the Old Port Pacification Superintendency.
22.	1431	The chieftain Wu-bao-chi-na and others from the country of Melaka arrived at the Court.	
23.	1433	Seri Maharaja visited Ming.	The Malays brought local products. In return, the Chinese gave clothing made from fine patterned silks, brocades, cotton cloth, boots and socks, padded jackets and other goods for their use.
24.	1434	With his brother, Raden Pala, and his bendahara wen dan, the sultan paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor.	The Malaccan sultan brought the horse and some crops for the Chinese Emperor. In return, gold and silver, variegated silks, damasks, embroidery, silk gauzes, thin silks, cotton cloth and suits of clothing made from silk interwoven with gold thread, as appropriate, were conferred upon Xi-li Ma-ha-la-zhe, the King of the country of Melaka, his younger brother La-dian Ba-la, the chieftain Wen-dan and others, a total of 228 persons. Further, headwear and a belt were conferred upon the country's King. As they were about to depart on their return home, Imperial encouragement and instruction were conferred upon them, and the Ministry of Works was ordered to repair their ocean-going ships.
25.	1435	The attendant minister Li Bing and others who had been sent by the country of Annam; La-dian Ba-la, who had been sent by his elder brother Xi-li Ma-ha-la-zhe, the King of the land of Melaka, came to the Chinese Court.	They offered tribute of camels, horses, local products and utensils. Variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

26.	1439	Malaccan representative, Mo jia zhe la zha man da li, was sent by King Malacca Seri Maharaja to visit Ming. He went along with The envoy Na-ding who had been sent by the country of Bengal; Liang Qiu-bao, who had been sent by the country of Ryukyu, came to the Chinese Court.	They offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet and variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.
27.	1444	The envoy Song-na-di-laye and others who had been sent by the country of Melaka came to Court.	They offered tribute of horses and local products. Biao-li of variegated silks, paper money, thin silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.
28.	1445	The envoy Mo-zhe-na who had been sent by Melaka, and the envoy Ye-ba-la Mo-di-li-ya and others who had been sent by Sri Lanka brought memorials and came to Court.	They offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet and variegated silks, suits of clothing made of silk interwoven with gold thread and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them. It was also ordered that the envoys take Imperial orders and <i>biao-li</i> of variegated silks to grant, on their return, on the kings of their countries and their consorts. The envoy Mo-zhe-na and others from the land of Melaka requested that a large ship be conferred upon them to facilitate the journey to and fro. The Emperor ordered that the relevant office manufacture a vessel and provide it.
29.	1455	The chieftain Ma-na-hong and others who had been sent by Su-lutan Wu-da-fo-na Sha (Muzzafar Syah), the King of the country of Melaka, came to Court.	They offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet, as well as biao-li of variegated silks, clothing made of silk gauze interwoven with gold thread and other goods, were conferred upon them.
30.	1455	The envoy Duan-ma-gu Ling-ding and others who had been sent by the country of Melaka presented a memorial and came to Court.	They offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet, as well as biao-li of variegated silks, suits of clothing made of ramie-silk interwoven with gold thread and other goods, were conferred upon them. It was also ordered that they carry Imperial orders and <i>biao-li</i> of variegated silks to grant, on their return, upon the King and his consort.
31.	1456	Li Ai was sent to visit Ming.	
32.	During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (1459-	The Chinese Emperor sent the envoys with a letter.	They brought gold, silk, kamkha dewangga, and other rare products.

	1477).		
33.	During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (1459-1477).	Sultan of Malacca sent Tun Perpatih Putih to China.	They brought sagu to be presented to the Chinese King.
34.	During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah (1459-1477).	Sultan of Malacca sent Tun Telanai and Minister Jana Putera, with the back of Di Po, to China.	
35.	1456	The Malay Sultan sent envoys to China.	The Malays offered tribute of horses and local products.
36.	1459	The crown prince, Sultan Mansur Shah, sent his embassy to give a tribute gift to the Chinese Emperor.	They offered coral, precious stones, frankincense, brocaded clothing, "he-ding",, rose-water and other goods. A banquet and headwear and belts, clothing made from fine patterned silks interwoven with gold thread, cotton cloth and thin silks, as appropriate, were conferred.
37.	1459	The Chinese Emperor sent Chen Jia You and Peng Sheng to Malacca.	
38.	1467	Jia-you was sent as an envoy to the country of Melaka.	
39.	1468	Malacca sent Ba La Si and Wu Sha to Ming.	They offered tribute of elephants, turtle shells and other goods. Headwear and belts were conferred upon Ba-la-si and Wu-sha, while clothing, variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon the <i>fan</i> attendants.
40.	1469	The envoy Duan-ya-ma-la-di-na-da and others who had been sent by Man-su Sha-er, the King of the country of Melaka, presented a memorial and came to Court to express gratitude for imperial grace.	They offered tribute of local products. A banquet and variegated silks, clothing and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them. It was also ordered that they carry Imperial orders together with variegated silks and other goods to grant, on their return, upon their King and his consort.
41.	1471	The person Qiu Hong-min from Long-qi in Fujian had, with his cohorts, sailed the seas and had dealings with the <i>fan</i> . They sailed to Melaka and other	

		countries and there engaged in trade. On their return, they came to the land of Siam.	
42.	1473	The Zhong-shan king of the country of Ryukyu previously sent people to the land of Melaka to purchase tribute products. However, the wind damaged their ship, and they drifted to Guang-dong. The officials then sent them to Fujian, waiting to accompany them back.	
43.	1475	Chen Jun carried much in private trade goods and had many merchants. They proceeded to the country of Melaka to trade.	The Chinese brought the Imperial proclamation and the gold-plated silver seal, variegated silks and other goods which they had been originally issued. The King of the country of Melaka had supplied them with food and other requirements and had been gracious in his hospitality.
44.	1475	Malacca sent Duan Ma Mi to Ming.	They presented a gold-leaf memorial and elephants, horses, cassowaries, white parrots, gold coins, leopards and other products. A banquet, as well as suits of clothing and biao-li of variegated silks, were conferred upon them. They were also given variegated silks, silk gauzes and brocades to grant.
45.	1481	The Chinese Emperor sent Lin Rong and Huang Qian Heng to Malacca to enthrone Mahmud Syah after the death of his father, Sultan Mansur Syah.	
46.	1481	Malacca sent Duan Ya Ma La Di Na Cha to Ming.	They offered tribute of elephants and local products. A banquet and clothing, variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them. In addition, variegated silks interwoven with gold thread, patterned brocades and other goods were given to the envoys to grant, on their return, upon the King of the country and his consort. Duan-ya-ma-la-di-na-zha and the others requested that headwear and belts be conferred upon them.
47.	1481	Malacca sent Duan Ya Ma La Di Na Cha to Ming.	
48.	1483	The Chinese sent Minister Lin Rong and Huang Qian Heng to	

		Malacca.	
49.	1484	Zhang Sheng, a supervising secretary in the Office of Scrutiny for Personnel, was sent as chief envoy, and Zuo Fu, a Messenger in the Messenger Office, was sent as deputy envoy to the country of Melaka.	They brought imperial proclamation and presents.
50.	1485	The Chinese embassy (Zhuo Fu and Guangdong authority) departed from Guangdong to Malacca.	the Sa-ma-er-han envoy is to return to his country through Guang-dong and will go via the land of Melaka to try to purchase a lion to present. The lion is a useless wild animal.
51.	1487	Zhuo Fu was back in China with some presents from the Sultan of Malacca.	He also submitted to the Court the valuables and Western Ocean cloth which the King had given him as farewell presents.
52.	1489	Sa-ma-er-han always came to offer tribute through Gan-su, where the mission was examined and sent on. At this time, the envoys who had been sent by King A-hei-ma, came on the route from the country of Melaka before they reached Guangzhou.	They offered lions, parrots and other goods in Guangdong.
53.	1508	The deputy envoy Duan Ya-zhi (Tuan haji) and others who had been sent by the King of the country of Melaka came to Court	They offered tribute of local products. On their homeward departure, they were given mang-dragon robes, variegated silks, silk gauzes and patterned brocades to confer, on their return, upon their King. Further, the envoys and attendants were rewarded with variegated silks, clothing, thin silks and paper money (silk gauzes) as appropriate.

Sources: Wade (Ed) (2005); Liji (1996); Groeneveldt (1876).

1.4.2. Malacca's Trade Network to Siam

The first ruler of Malacca, Parameswara, joined the Siamese tributary trade in the 14th century. Parameswara did not have other choices considering that all northeast coast of Malay Peninsula comprising Patani, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Perak also

submitted to the Siamese kingdom³¹¹. Parameswara sent envoys to Siamese court³¹² to negotiate Siamese protection and the Siam-Malacca trade. The Siamese king happily accepted the Malaccan proposal. In accordance with this, he allowed the Siamese merchants, mainly the rice merchants³¹³, to trade in Malacca. In return, the Siamese king instructed Parameswara to offer a tribute of 40 taels of gold annually. The Malacca-Siam tributary trade ran well for several years before Malacca joined the Chinese tributary trade. Malacca claimed that both countries were equal under the Chinese tributary system³¹⁴. Therefore, Malacca ceased to submit to Siam in 1405. The Siamese merchants remained to supply rice for 2,000 Malaccan inhabitants during the first two rulers of Malacca (1389-1424). The second ruler of Malacca, King Megat Iskandar Shah, even sent an ambassador to the Siamese court. The envoys were instructed to beg for Siamese foodstuffs and participation in the trade of Malacca³¹⁵.

When the Chinese ceased to send the royal vessels to Southeast Asia in the 1430s, the Siamese continually forced Malacca to send its annual tribute to Ayutthaya³¹⁶. The Siamese king claimed that Malacca was his tributary vassal. Malacca sent its envoys to China and sought Chinese protection. Malacca also tried to establish a friendly relation

³¹¹ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.71-3; Villiers. 1991. "Ayutthaya as a City of Commerce", pp.59-60; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, p.105.

³¹² The Siamese kingdom was founded in 1351. The Siamese kingdom was also known as Xian or Ayutthaya Kingdom. The capital of the kingdom was situated in Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya was located at the confluence of the Chao Phraya and two rivers in the middle of a large and fertile plain. Ayutthaya cultivated the rice in the sufficient water supply. Therefore, Ayutthaya could feed its inhabitants and exported its products comprising rice, fruit, vegetables. It was clear that Ayutthaya was not merely an agrarian state but also a trading state (Villiers. 1991. "Ayutthaya as a City of Commerce", p.59; Ishii. 1994. "Some Aspects of the 15th Century Ayutthayan Port Polity", p.57; Kasetsiri. 1991. "Ayudya", pp.75-6).

³¹³ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.238.

³¹⁴ Siam had joined the Chinese tributary system since 1371. Siam regularly went to the Chinese court (57 tributary missions had been dispatched by the Ayutthayan court) and offered tribute of local products. The Siamese king sought a recognition of the Chinese legitimacy and obtained trading privileges. The Siamese market began to be populated by the Chinese merchant community. The Chinese also provided the Siam with some naval ships and the Chinese crews or troops. The Siamese kingdom used the Chinese military support to defend its town from its neighbouring rivals (Villiers. 1991. "Ayutthaya as a City of Commerce", pp.60-1; Ishii. 1994. "Some Aspects of the 15th Century Ayutthayan Port Polity", p.57; Kasetsiri. 1991. "Ayudya", p.77; Phisphumvidhi. 2008. *La société d' Ayutthaya*).

³¹⁵ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.238; Baker & Phongpaichit. 2017. *A History of Ayutthaya Siam*, p.49.

³¹⁶ Baker & Phongpaichit. 2017. *A History of Ayutthaya Siam*, p.50.

with Siam. During the reign of Sultan Muzzafar Shah, he played a political marriage policy to strengthen political ties between Malacca and Siam³¹⁷. All Malaccan attempts were useless and could not stop the Siamese invasion of Malacca in 1455-6³¹⁸. Malacca were successful defending its town and defeating the Siamese troops.

After Sultan Muzaffar Shah died in 1459, his son took the throne and gained the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. He tried to enlarge the Malaccan defensive line. He tried to capture the northern Malay states. It was not merely to control the tin mining but also to prevent the Siamese from coming to Malacca by land. Sultan Mansur Shah maintained his power in Perak and tried to capture Kedah from the Siamese kingdom³¹⁹. The Siamese kingdom did not seem to pay attention to its Malay vassals³²⁰. Siam was busy handling its neighbouring rivals comprising Sukhotai, Pegu, Ava, Toungoo, and Angkor in the Chao Phraya Basin during the 15th century. Siam needed to defend its town from its successive rival incursions and took several missions to capture them³²¹. Considering the Siamese situation, Sultan Mansur Shah sent his envoys to the Siamese king. After the Malaccan envoys offered tribute of an elephant head and two cows to the Siamese court, they were instructed to establish a diplomatic relation and a peace treaty with Siam³²².

The Siamese king sent thirty junks laden with foodstuffs comprising rice, salt, dried fish, arrack, and vegetables to Malacca during the peace period³²³. They also carried benzoin, sappanwood, tin, silver, gold, ivory, dishes cast from copper or gold rings, and abundant Siamese cloth. In Malacca, they bartered their merchandise or purchased

³¹⁷ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.243.

³¹⁸ Wood. 1924. *A History of Siam*, p.88; Brown (Ed). 1954. "The Malay Annals", pp.65-70; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.89-93; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.26-8; Shuhaimi. 2018. *Tasjil Anis Salatin*, pp.116-9; Marrison. 1949. "The Siamese Wars with Malacca", pp.61-4.

³¹⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.248-250.

³²⁰ Ishii. 1994. "Some Aspects of the 15th century Ayutthayan port-polity", p.53.

³²¹ Villiers. 1991. "Ayutthaya as a City of Commerce", pp.59-60; Wyatt (Ed). 1971. "The Abridged Royal Chronicle of Ayudhya of Prince Paramanuchitchinorot", p.35.

³²² Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.100; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.425-432; Kamaruddin, Musa, & Ahmad. 2017. *Hang Tuah Catatan Vijayanagara*, pp.15-22.

³²³ Besides Siamese merchants, foodstuffs supply to Malacca also came from Pegu (Burma) and Bengal (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.72).

large numbers of male and female slaves. The Siamese merchants also looked for Chinese silks and Indonesian spices to be re-sold in Siam³²⁴.

In the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, Malacca dominated the Siamese tributary states on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Patani³²⁵ and Kedah submitted and offered tribute to the Malaccan court. Both countries also requested the Malaccan sultan to legitimise their authorities³²⁶. Sultan Mahmud Shah was arrogant and refused to send his envoys to Siam. He had broken the peace treaty and friendly trade between Malacca and Siam. Siamese king did not allow his merchants to keep trading with Malacca³²⁷. When the Portuguese invaded Malacca, Afonso de Albuquerque asked the Chinese merchants in Malacca to give his official letter to the Siamese king. The Portuguese commander informed that the Portuguese would capture Malacca and desired to establish the Portuguese fortress in Malacca. He also asked the Siamese king to allow the Siamese merchants to populate Malacca again, after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca³²⁸.

1.4.3. Malacca's Trade Network to Pegu

Malacca-Pegu³²⁹ trade might have been established in the early 16th century. In February or March, Pegu sent 15 or 16 large junks and 20 or 30 small vessels to Malacca. Those vessels carried precious stones, Arakan rubies, silver, musk, benzoin, and foodstuffs to Malacca. The Peguan arrived in Malacca around March or April. After presenting the gift to the Malaccan officials and paying some commercial dues, they began to purchase or barter their products with Chinese merchandise, seed-pearls, quicksilver, copper, vermilion, spices, gold, and tin. When they did not load any

³²⁴ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.72; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.248; Villiers. 1991. "Ayutthaya as a City of Commerce", pp.60-1; Baker & Phongpaichit. 2017. *A History of Ayutthaya Siam*, p.50 & p.59.

³²⁵ Patani seemed to be an Islamic state in the middle of 15th century. It was also a trading post for Islamic merchants. In 1457, during the reign of Sultan Syah Zillulah Fil'alam, Malaccan ship arrived in Patani. The Malaccan merchants carried precious commodities and bartered it with copper. The Minangkabau merchant in Patani, Syaikh Gombak, played as an intermediary merchant between Malaccan and Patani merchants (Teeuw & Wyatt (Eds). 1970. *Hikayat Patani*, p.76; Porath. 2011. "The Hikayat Patani", p.49).

³²⁶ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.242.

³²⁷ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.253.

³²⁸ Smith. 1963. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies*, p.7.

³²⁹ Pegu (the old name of Bago, in Burma) was the capital of Hanthawaddy Kingdom.

products to be brought back to Pegu, they would sell their vessels to Malaccan merchants. The Peguan used to leave Malacca at the beginning of July. On their way back to Pegu, they usually called at Pedir and Pasai to purchase pepper. In August, they used to sail to Pegu. The Malaccan merchants also actively conducted trade in Pegu. They brought the products of Malacca to Peguan ports of Martaban and Dagon. They were permitted to pursue their trade after paying the heavy duties of 12% and giving bribes and gifts to the officials³³⁰.

1.4.4. Malacca's Trade Network to Coromandel Coast

The Malacca-Coromandel³³¹ trade network was shaped during the reign of Parameswara (1394-1414). The Coromandel merchants went and exchanged cloths of Coromandel and Gangga for metals and spices in Malacca³³². Furthermore, the formal network was established when Mani Purindan³³³ and Admiral Khoja Ali Tandil Muhammad led seven vessels. They embarked from Pulicate to Malacca via Pasai. Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-1444) and his officials welcomed them in Malacca. Mani Purindan married Tun Rana Sandari, the daughter of Seri Nara Diraja. He was appointed as the official of Malacca and was socially accepted as part of the elite of Malacca. The sultan married Mani Purindan's daughter, Tun Ratna Wati. This political marriage might have strengthened the triangle trade networks between Pahili, Pulicate, and Malacca³³⁴.

During the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477), the sultan lowered the duties on merchandise for the Keling merchants. Those merchants had a privilege after the daughter of the Keling harbour master married to the sultan³³⁵. The sultan also sent the Malaccan admiral as an envoy to come to the Vijayanagara kingdom. The admiral

³³⁰ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.273; Hashim. 2016. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.248; Meilink-Roelofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.69-70.

³³¹ In Malay, Coromandel was known as Benua Keling or Keling Country.

³³² Eredia. 1930. *Declaração de Malaca*, p.34.

³³³ Mani Purindan was a Persian prince of Pahili Sultanate. He lived in Pulicate where both Muslim and non-Muslim lived side by side (Morrison. 1955. "Persian Influences in the Malay Life", p.55).

³³⁴ Shellabear (Ed). 2008. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.80; Meilink-Roelofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.69-70; Morrison. 1955. "Persian Influences in the Malay Life", p.55; Amin & Merican. 2014. "The Images of Keling", pp.180-1.

³³⁵ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.249.

offered tribute of gold and silver to the Vijayanagara court in Hampi. The Malaccan presence in the Vijayanagara court was to establish a peace treaty and friendly trade³³⁶. The Malaccan merchants seemed to come and conduct business in the Coromandel Coast. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511), Hang Nadim was sent to purchase *kain serasah* (an Indian textile). Hang Nadim was also accompanied by Hang Isap, a Malaccan merchant, to Keling. Hang Nadim and his crews failed to sail back to Malacca. His vessel was wrecked near Ceylon³³⁷.

In return, the Keling merchants came to Malacca in companies. The Keling merchants of Coromandel usually came from Caile, Kilakari, Adirapatnam, Nagore, Tirumalarajanpatnam, Karikal, Tranquebar, Tirmelwassell, Calapara, Pondicherry, and Pulicat. The Malabar merchants (from Calicut, Cannanore, and Kollam) joined the Coromandel fleets to Malacca. The Malabars brought the Gujarati merchandise, and the Coromandel merchants carried Coromandel cloth. Three or four fleets came to Malacca every year in January. Each cargo of the Keling ships had thirty different kinds of fabric. After paying the commercial dues of 6% and gifting the officials³³⁸, the Keling merchants could trade in the Malaccan market. The Keling merchants sold or bartered their products with white sandalwoods, camphor, alum, white silk, seed-pearls, pepper, nutmeg, mace, cloves, copper, tin, calambac, damask, Chinese brocades, and gold. They sailed back to Coromandel in October. Sometimes the Keling merchants also sailed to Coromandel in Malaccan junks³³⁹.

Keling merchants were very influential in the internal politics of Malacca. Whenever they had a dispute, they would attempt to drive the Malaccan officials to murder their rivals. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud (1488-1511), a Keling Merchant named Kitul spread slander to the Keling harbour-master, Raja Mendaliar. He told the harbour-master that Nina Sura Dewana and the Bendahara of Malacca wanted to murder the

³³⁶ Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.374-5 & p.389.

³³⁷ Shellabear (Ed). 2008. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.215-6; Amin & Merican. 2014. "The Images of Keling", p.181.

³³⁸ The Keling merchants should present a gift for the harbour-master, the Bendahara, the Tumenggung, and the sultan (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental II*, p.273).

³³⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.271-2; Hashim. 2016. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.246; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.66-7.

harbour master. According to Kitul's information, the harbour-master waived Kitul's debt of 600 grams of gold. Raja Mendaliar bribed the Malaccan admiral, Laksamana Khoja Hasan, with gold and jewels to spread the new slander to the sultan that the Bendahara wanted to seize the power of the sultan. After knowing the information, the sultan ordered Tun Sura Diraja and Tun Indera Segara to execute the Bendahara and his family. The death of the Bendahara and his family might have led Malacca to its weakening in 1511³⁴⁰.

1.4.5. Malacca's Trade Network to Bengal

Bengali Sultanate was powerful in the Bay of Bengal. It had some tributary states under its jurisdiction. Those states were Orissa, Arakan, Coos, and Tripura. The sultan also linked the port-city of Bengal (the ancient name of Gour), Orissa, and Satgaon to other Islamic ports, except to Delhi Sultanate and its dependencies. Therefore, many Islamic merchants such as Arabs, Persians, Turks, Abyssinians, and Malabars populated and lived in Bengal³⁴¹.

There was a direct trade between Bengal and Malacca. This route allowed merchants from both countries to visit each other³⁴². The Bengali and foreign merchants living in Bengal formed companies for the journey to Malacca. In the late 15th century, they sailed with four or five ships from the port-city of Bengal to Malacca via Pasai. They carried various foodstuffs and twenty different varieties of textiles. Those merchants should pay the commercial duties of 6% and present some gifts to the Malaccan officials. It was worth it considering that the merchants of Bengal earned large profits on the exported products to Malacca. Before they sailed back to Bengal, the Bengali traders loaded some merchandise to be re-sold. Those products were camphor, pepper, cloves, mace, nutmeg, sandalwood, pearls, silk, and white porcelain³⁴³.

³⁴⁰ Shellabear (Ed). 2008. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.255-6; Amin & Merican. 2014. "The Images of Keling", p.181.

³⁴¹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, I, pp.88-92.

³⁴² During the reign of Parameswara, the Coromandel merchants formed into companies on the journey on Malacca. They sailed and carried the cloth of Gangga. Bengali merchants were also part of the Coromandel fleets (Eredia. 1930. *Declaração de Malaca*, p.34).

³⁴³ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, pp.88-93; Hashim. 2016. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.246; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.68-9.

1.4.6. Malacca's Trade Network to Cambay and Its Islamic Networks

The third ruler of Malacca, King Muhammad Shah, encountered a difficult period when the Chinese stop sending their royal fleets to Malacca³⁴⁴. The Chinese absence in Malacca had decreased Malacca's financial income. Malacca decided to join the Islamic networks and transformed its system into a sultanate³⁴⁵. Malacca succeeded in negotiating a peace treaty and a friendly trade with Pasai Sultanate. The Malaccan envoys also convinced the Pasai officials to let Islamic merchant communities in Pasai, led by the Gujarati merchants, populate Malacca. Gaining Gujarati trust offered Malacca the opportunity to enter in the global Islamic networks. As Gujarati merchants always came in companies, many Muslims from various Islamic states joined the Gujarati merchants to trade in Malacca³⁴⁶.

Every year, the ports of Gujarat³⁴⁷ welcomed various merchants from Cairo, Istanbul, Mecca, Jeddah, Aden, and Ormuz. The Egyptian merchants carried European and Arabian products comprising gold, silver, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, rosewater, camlets, grain scarlets, coloured woollen cloth, glass beads, and weapons. If the merchants from Aden brought madder, raisins, opium, rosewater, gold, silver, and horse, the Arabian merchants carried rice, wheat, soap, indigo, butter, oils, carnelians, coarse pottery, all kinds of cloth and Malaccan products. The Persian traders also

³⁴⁴ After the final voyage, China prohibited the foreign trade. The prohibition was meant to protect the Chinese coast from the Japanese pirates. The emergence of those pirates contributed to the China Sea's unsafe state during the 14th and 15th centuries (Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74).

³⁴⁵ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74.

³⁴⁶ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.268; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, pp.43-4, Vol.II, p.240; Halimi. 2017. "Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kegemilangan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka", p.59.

³⁴⁷ Cambay Sultanate was a kingdom where the Gujarati merchants lived. Besides having many inhabitants and military troops, it also had abundant wheat, barley, millet, vegetables, and fruits; many horses, elephants, game-birds, and other animals in cages. The sultanate had several ports comprising of Cambay, Surat, Diu, Randir, Daman, Mahim, Patan, Gogha, Manar, Telaja, Gandhar, Dahanu, Agashi, and Bassein (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental I*, pp.33-8; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.247).

populated Cambay. They brought horses, silver, gold, aluminium, copper, and seed-pearls³⁴⁸.

Those merchants intended to pursue their journey further to the east, but they could not reach Malacca in a single monsoon. Therefore, they joined the locals and formed into companies for the trip to Malacca. About 5,000 Gujarati merchants and sea-men and their companies sailed with four or five vessels to Malacca in March, every year, at the beginning of the 16th century. After paying the 6% of commercial dues and presenting the gifts to the Malaccan officials, they could conduct trade in Malacca. The Gujarati and their companies sold and bartered their products with Chinese merchandise and Indonesian spices³⁴⁹.

Besides the establishment of the Malacca-Cambay trade, Malacca also extended its network to the Ottoman³⁵⁰ and the Arab World. Various Arabian people from Jedda and Mecca, including both merchants and Islamic preachers, visited Malacca³⁵¹. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-1444), the Islamic priest from Jedda, Saiyid Abdul Azis, came with the Gujarati ship to Malacca. He did not merely conduct trade but also spread the Islamic teaching in Malacca³⁵². Another Islamic priest from Jedda, Maulana Abu Bakar³⁵³, also visited Malacca during the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477). In 1487, an Islamic preacher named Ali and the merchants of Mecca

³⁴⁸ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, pp.43-4.

³⁴⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, pp.45-6, Vol.II, pp.269-270; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.247-9; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.61-2.

³⁵⁰ After the conquest of Constantinople, many Indian merchants went to conduct a trade. Those Gujarati merchants seemed to link Malacca to the Ottoman world. Malacca also began to establish a political friendship with the Ottoman Empire. In 1471, Sultan Mansur Shah and Sultan Muhammad Al-Fatih, the Ottoman Sultan, agreed to sign a peace treaty and a friendly trade. Both sultans also arranged a political marriage between the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Al-Fatih and the son of Sultan Mansur Shah, Raja Alauddin Shah (Yusof. 2019. *Menjejah Daulah Uthmaniyah & Kesultanan Melaka*, pp.122-4).

³⁵¹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.240; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.63.

³⁵² Shellabear (Ed). 2008. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.72.

³⁵³ Maulana Abu Bakar stayed in Malacca and brought the mystic book of *Durr Manzum* (necklace of pearls), authored by Sheikh Abu Isahak. The presence of Maulana Abu Bakar and the *Durr Manzum* provoked a strong reaction from the highest religious dignitary, the Kadi Maulana Yusuf. Sultan Mansur Shah ordered the sultanate's jurisprudence experts to mediate those pious men. Maulana Abu Bakar had emerged victorious and Kadi Yusuf recognised Bakar's authenticity and the value of his authority (Alves. 2012. "*Malacca: A Centre for Islamic Debate and a New Mecca*", pp.73-4).

called at Malacca before sailing to Yunnan to offer the tribute of Arabian and Malaccan products to the Chinese court³⁵⁴.

A mandatory religious duty to conduct an Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) had determined Sultan Mansur Shah to visit Mecca³⁵⁵. The sultan had instructed his men to build some junks in Java and Pegu. He planned to sail with his family and a large amount of gold in a junk³⁵⁶. He never realised his dream to visit Mecca until he died in 1477. Sultan Alauddin Shah also followed his father's mystical footstep to forever dream of Mecca. He never visited Mecca either. Sultan Mahmud Shah took a different direction. He did not want to visit Mecca and tried to transform Malacca into a new Mecca. He considered that Malacca was a hub for the Islamic merchants, sailors, and adventurers from the Indian Ocean and Indonesian archipelago countries. Therefore, Malacca had all the possibilities to become a spiritual destination³⁵⁷. Sultan Mahmud's vision to turn Malacca into a new Mecca might have led the city port to decline, since non-Muslim merchants might have not felt comfortable. It was reflected for instance on the fact that Utimutaraja of Java and Nina Chatu of Keling served the Portuguese to capture Malacca. The Chinese merchants also assisted the Portuguese to send a letter to the Siamese king.

1.4.7. Malacca's Trade Network to the Malay World

As we have seen, during the first two rulers of Malacca, Malacca benefited from the Chinese protection to reinforce its position and transform itself into an entrepôt in Southeast Asia. Malacca started to extend its sphere of influence to the Malay world. Situated in the centre between the west and the east of the Malaccan Straits, Malacca forced all Malay states to export all local products via Malacca. They captured Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Jambi, Kampar, Rekan, and Indragiri³⁵⁸.

³⁵⁴ Ming Shi-lu, volume 50, page 4877 (20 Apr 1487) in SEAMSL.

³⁵⁵ Sultan Mansur Shah sent his envoys, led by the Malaccan admiral, with 30-40 vessels to Istanbul via Jedda and Mecca (Shellabear (Ed). 2006. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.151; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. "The Malay Annals", p.479).

³⁵⁶ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.248-250.

³⁵⁷ Alves. 2012. *Malacca: A Centre for Islamic Debate and a New Mecca*, pp.74-6.

³⁵⁸ Halimi. 2017. *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kegemilangan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.59.

As already said, the Chinese ceased to send their royal fleets to Malacca. The Chinese absence in Malacca had declined Malacca's financial income, so Malacca decided to join the Islamic networks³⁵⁹. Malacca embraced Islam, and the third king of Malacca married the Pasai princess. The king had the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. Malacca could link Pasai to Malaccan market. The Javanese merchants' presence in Malacca also encouraged Pasai to trade in Malacca³⁶⁰. The Pasai merchants required the Javanese products to be exchanged with the Indian textiles. Even, Pasai could pay duties imposed by the Malaccan officials. Malacca provided some facilities for Pasai and its Islamic networks. The Malaccan king gave them a place to live and to pray. The Malacca-Pasai trade began to flourish. Malacca started to get a massive benefit from commercial activities and duties. The traffic trade in Malacca also attracted many Malays from Sumatra to visit Malacca³⁶¹.

When Sultan Muzaffar Shah took the throne, he acquired Manjung, Selangor, and Sungai Batu Pahat lands. From those lands, tin came to Malacca. The sultan also frequently had wars with the rival, as it happened with the dispute with Aru concerning Rekan. Malacca also had wars with Pahang, Patani, and Trengganu. Having defeated them, Malacca also played the political marriage to control the Malaccan vassals. Besides managing the Straits of Singapore via the Island of Bintan, Malacca should also handle Kampar and Indragiri if the Sumatran gold remained to come to Malacca³⁶².

The conflict and war between Malacca and the Malay states also happened during Sultan Mansur Shah's reign. Malacca and Kedah had a dispute on the tin mining areas. Besides the sultan handling Pahang and Kampar's rebellion, he also took the town of Rupert and Siak³⁶³. When situation at the Straits of Malacca was stable and secure, various trans-national merchants visited Malacca and bartered all foreign products

³⁵⁹ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.74.

³⁶⁰ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.268; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, pp.43-4, Vol.II, p.240; Halimi. 2017. "Perdagangan dan Perkapalan pada Zaman Kegemilangan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka", p.59.

³⁶¹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.240-1.

³⁶² Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.243-5.

³⁶³ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.248.

with the Malay merchandises. Sultan Alauddin Shah added the Islands of Lingga to the Malaccan possession, considering Lingga was the home for many sea-men. Malacca could use those sea-men against the pirates and ensured all shipping from the countries of the South China sea passing the straits securely³⁶⁴.

Sultan Mahmud Shah inherited some lands in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Therefore, he could control both sides of the straits to serve Malacca. Indragiri always supplied Malacca with gold from Minangkabau. Kampar and Siak also provided gold, pepper, forest products, and foodstuffs to Malacca. Kelang, Selangor, Bernam, Manjung, Beruas, and Kedah supplied Malacca with tin. Those merchants sold their products in Malacca and purchased the Indian textile for resale in their home market³⁶⁵.

1.4.8. Malacca's Trade Network to Java

In the early 15th century, the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit determined the geopolitics of the Straits of Malacca. Majapahit was connected by regular trade to Sumatra. Palembang and surrounding countries in South Sumatra submitted to the Majapahit king. Meanwhile, Majapahit had established trade with Pasai in the northern tip of Sumatra. King Megat Iskandar Shah, the second ruler of Malacca, sent his envoys to Java. King Megat Iskandar Shah instructed his men to inform the Majapahit king that his father had passed away and past differences between Malacca and Majapahit should be ended. The Malaccan king also proposed to establish a friendly trade between Malacca and Java. The envoys asked the Majapahit king to distribute the Javanese merchandise, including spices, to Malacca. The Malaccan ambassador argued that selling their products in Malacca could decrease the risk of sailing from Java to Pasai³⁶⁶.

The King of Majapahit did not have a problem with the Malaccan proposal. However, the Malaccan king should consider that the Java-Pasai trade had been established for a

³⁶⁴ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.250; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.244.

³⁶⁵ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.268; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.244.

³⁶⁶ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, p.239.

long time. The Javanese merchants also had a privilege. They received a huge profit and did not pay any customs duties in Pasai. The Malaccan king sent his envoys to Pasai to negotiate, directing the Javanese merchants to Malacca. He also persuaded the Pasai officials to allow their merchants to populate Malacca. Malacca could provide gold to be exchanged for Pasai's merchandise. Pasai would accept the Malaccan proposal if Malacca could embrace Islam. The Malaccan king tried to ignore the Pasai offer and kept sending his envoys to Java. He sent elephants and gifts to the Majapahit king. Some Javanese junks began to call at Malacca³⁶⁷.

The Java-Malacca trade began to establish. The Javanese merchants started to populate Malacca. They brought cloves, mace, nutmeg, and sandalwood to Malacca. Their presence in Malacca attracted Muslim merchant communities to come. They needed the Javanese merchandise to be re-sold in Pasai. Despite the duties imposed, it was still a lucrative trade for Pasai merchants³⁶⁸.

During the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah (1456-1477), the sultan sent the envoys accompanied by the Kings of Indragiri, Palembang, Jambi, Lingga and Tungkal to Majapahit. After gifting an elephant to the king, the Majapahit king conferred upon the Malaccan envoys with royal cloth and ceremonial knife. The king of Majapahit also allowed Sultan Mansur Shah to marry his daughter, Raden Galuh Cendera Kirana, and granted South Sumatra to Malacca. This political marriage not merely reinforced the Malaccan hegemony on Sumatra but also allowed Sumatran pepper to be re-exported from Malacca³⁶⁹.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1488-1511), Javanese merchants' role was pivotal. In Malacca, there were many Javanese rich merchants, such as Patih Adam, Patih Kadir, Patih Yusof, Patih Yunus, and Utimutaraja. Those merchants could link Malacca to the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Spice Islands. The Javanese merchants sailed and carried the Indian cloths to the Spice Islands via the Lesser Sunda Islands. They sailed from Malacca to the south and anchored at Sunda, where they loaded

³⁶⁷ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.239-240.

³⁶⁸ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.240-241.

³⁶⁹ Shellabear (Ed). 2008. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.112; Adil. 1974. *the History of Malacca*, p.31.

foodstuffs and pepper. They sailed along the northern coast of Java and called at a port in the Lesser Sunda Islands. If they called at Bima or Sumbawa, they could benefit from the abundance good drinking water and foodstuffs. They also exchanged their textile products with dyewood and slaves. If they called at Flores, they could swap their Indian textiles with Sulphur. If they preferred Timor to be visited, they could have sandalwood for their cloth. From the Lesser Sunda Islands, they sailed to the east and reached Banda where they found mace and nutmeg; and the Moluccas where the cloves came from³⁷⁰.

1.4.9. Malacca's Trade Network to Brunei

Before the Portuguese arrival, Malacca had had a commercial link to Brunei. For decades, Malaccan merchants sailed and conducted trade in Brunei. Brunei had a retail network to Luzon, the interior of Borneo where the gold was mined, and the south coast of Borneo (Lawe and Tanjung Pura), where the Brunei merchants went to take diamonds, gold, and foodstuffs. The merchants of Brunei exported their products comprising, besides foodstuffs, forest products, cowries, camphor, and gold to the Malaccan market. In Malacca, they sold their products to purchase Indian and Chinese merchandise³⁷¹.

1.4.10. Malacca's Trade Network to the Celebes

Malacca welcomed many Buginese merchants into its market. The Buginese went to Malacca to purchase Indian cloths and the large quantities of benzoin and incense to be exchanged with food products and gold. The people of Bugis were known as being mostly sea-men. They and their families sailed around, during their lives, and had the ocean as their home. They also used to capture the foreign junks and enslave the crews. They sold their slaves in the market of Malacca. During the sultanate, the Buginese were received and appointed as the Malaccan navy³⁷².

³⁷⁰ Shellabear (Ed). 2006. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.177; Meilink-Roelofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.86-7; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, pp.249-250.

³⁷¹ Meilink-Roelofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.84-5; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.250; Salleh & Robson (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, p.420.

³⁷² Meilink-Roelofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.85-6; Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.250.

1.4.11. Malacca's Trade Network to Ryukyu

The Malacca-Ryukyu³⁷³ trade was established when Sultan Mansur Shah tried to attract the Ming's fleet to Malacca. Both countries were under the Chinese tributary system. Their envoys might have met and bartered their products in Chinese markets as noticed in 1439³⁷⁴. If Ryukyu had a diplomatic relationship with China since 1392, Malacca joined the Chinese networks in 1405³⁷⁵. Interestingly, Malacca and Ryukyu started to communicate when the Chinese ceased sending their fleets to the Indian Ocean. Ryukyu tried to replace the Chinese role and to intermediate the Malacca-Ming trade³⁷⁶. In 1463, the first Ryukyuan envoys arrived in Malacca. The Ryukyuan King sent some envoys boarded on *Kushira naru* to sail to Malacca. They brought a royal letter and some presents to Sultan Mansur Shah. Those presents were five-bolt of dyed satin, five swords, 20 big blue vases, 2,000 blue bowls, 20 bolts of blue satin, 30 fans, and 40 small blue vases. Besides selling their products and purchasing the imported goods of Malacca, they were also instructed to establish a friendship and shared welfare³⁷⁷.

The Ryukyuan envoys were welcomed by the Malaccan. The local officials also facilitated them to conduct trade. In 1464, the Ryukyuan King sent the chief envoy Takushi and his interpreter Sai Kaiho to Malacca. The Ryukyuan envoys were instructed to maintain mutual trust and friendship between the two countries³⁷⁸. From 1465 to 1468, the Ryukyuan King regularly sent some envoys and merchants to maintain their

³⁷³ Ryukyu Kingdom (present-day Okinawa) was located at the intersection of South China Sea and East China Sea facing South China and Kyushu (Takeshi. 2003. "Ryukyu Networks in Maritime Asia", p.1).

³⁷⁴ Ming shi-lu, volume 24, page 1018 (23 Apr 1439) in SEAMSL; Liji. 1996. *Hubungan Empayar Melaka - Dinasti Ming*, p.68; Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, p.104; Musa & Kamaruddin. 2015. *Hang Tuah Catatan Okinawa*, p.104; Ryukyu did not conduct private trade with Southeast Asian polity (Smits. 2019. *Maritime Ryukyu*, p.75).

³⁷⁵ Akhir & Leong. 2017. "Sejarah Hubungan Ryukyu-Melaka", pp.105-7; Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, p.101; Ming Shi-lu, volume 10, page 0711/12 (3 Oct 1405) in SEAMSL.

³⁷⁶ Nakajima. 2018. "The Structure and Transformation of the Ming Tribute Trade System", p.147; Smits. 2019. *Maritime Ryukyu*, p.75.

³⁷⁷ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, p.104.

³⁷⁸ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.104-5.

mutual relations and trade in Malacca. They carried some gifts to be presented in the Malaccan court. After gifting the Malaccan officials, they could sell and barter their products with the exotic merchandise in Malacca³⁷⁹.

In 1468, the Malaccan sultan replied to the Ryukyuan letter stating that he was happy to establish a trade with the Ryukyu Kingdom. However, the sultan was disappointed with the Ryukyuan tribute. He felt that the Ryukyuan grant was unequal to the Malaccan tribute³⁸⁰. The sultan also instructed the Ryukyuan envoys to obey the laws of Malacca³⁸¹. On 7 February 1469, the Malaccan envoys arrived and went to the Ryukyuan court to offer the tribute of Indian cloths and some silks. The Malaccan sultan hoped that his envoys could obtain Ryukyuan gold, silver, and other precious goods³⁸². The Malacca-Ryukyu mutual trade went well. The Ryukyuan King sent his envoys to conduct a tributary trade to Malacca in September 1469³⁸³. In the following year, both the Malaccan sultan and the Ryukyuan king sent their envoys to offer tribute and make a trade³⁸⁴.

During the 1470s, Sultan Mansur Shah discontinued running his tributary mission to Ryukyu. He seemed to prioritise the political balance in the straits of Malacca. He sent some forces to invade the enemies comprising Kampar, Siak, and Pasai³⁸⁵. The uncertain security in the channels of Malacca had decreased the Ryukyuan visit. However, the Ryukyuan King forced his envoys to visit Malacca in 1472 and 1473. The Ryukyuan envoys were instructed to find rare local products in Malacca. Those

³⁷⁹ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.106-110.

³⁸⁰ Akhir & Leong. 2017. "Sejarah Hubungan Ryukyu-Melaka", p.117.

³⁸¹ The Ryukyuan envoys, having wako (armed mariners prone to marauding) background, frequently abused the system by inviting a group of people to stay at their official lodging. Their behaviour was disorderly consisting of freely cursing and brawling. The envoys refused to cease their fellow disruptive behaviour. The Malaccan sultan complained about the Ryukyuan sailors' disruptive behaviour in 1470 (Smits. 2019. *Maritime Ryukyu*, p.2 & p.67).

³⁸² Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.110-2.

³⁸³ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, p.112.

³⁸⁴ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.112-4.

³⁸⁵ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.34-5.

products were aimed to be a tribute to the Chinese court³⁸⁶. After Sultan Mansur Shah died, his crown prince ascended the throne and obtained the title of Sultan Alauddin Shah in 1477. He attempted to revive the Malacca-Ryukyu trade by sending his envoys in 1480 and 1481. During these missions, the Malaccan envoys, led by the Malaccan Admiral³⁸⁷, offered tribute of Indian textiles and Chinese silks to the Ryukyuan court. By that time, Ryukyu was in a bloody war with the people of Annam³⁸⁸. Even so, Ryukyuan king gave a present to the Malaccan sultan through the Malaccan admiral³⁸⁹. In the early 16th century, Ryukyu re-sent its envoys to Malacca. The Ryukyu king realised that his envoys should obtain rare products as a tribute to the Chinese court. The Ryukyuan vessel sailed to China via Malacca.

In 1513, on the way to China from Malacca, the Ryukyuan vessel was wrecked because of the great winds. One hundred fifty-two people floated to the coast of Hainan. When they came ashore, the Guangdong officials captured and sent them to Fujian. As the Chinese tributary envoys, they were well-served and provided a ship to return to Ryukyu³⁹⁰. In 1514, the Ryukyuan king tried to fill his tributary mission to China. Again, the Ryukyuan vessel sailed to China via Malacca. The strong winds wrecked the ship. This disaster resulted in the Ryukyuan king's failure to send his tributary mission once every two years³⁹¹.

During Sultan Mahmud Shah's reign, Ryukyu sent two tributary missions to Malacca. The Ryukyuan envoys carried a cargo of porcelain and other goods as a present to the Malaccan sultan. The Ryukyuan also aimed to purchase sapanwood and pepper in

³⁸⁶ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.114-6; Ming Shi-lu, Volume 44, Page 2225 (3 May 1473) in SEAMSL.

³⁸⁷ In the Malay culture, it was impolite to call the name of the officials. Therefore, the author of the Epic of Hang Tuah named the Malaccan admiral as *Laksamana* Hang Tuah. He preferred to use the nickname of "Hang Tuah" in order to describe the good leadership of the Malaccan admiral. He also created the designation of Laksamana Khoja Hasan to describe the bad temper of the Malaccan admiral (Adam. 2021. *Tawarikh Melayu dan Melaka*, pp.202-3).

³⁸⁸ Ryukyu and a local chief in Champa (Coastal Southern Vietnam) had launched a military attack on the Vietnamese kingdom of Annam (Smits. 2019. *Maritime Ryukyu*, pp.67-8).

³⁸⁹ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.119-121.

³⁹⁰ Ming Shi-lu, volume 59, page 3789 (27 Oct 1503) in SEAMSL.

³⁹¹ Ming Shi-lu, volume 60, page 4109 (26 Dec 1504) in SEAMSL.

Malacca. When the Ryukyuan tributary envoys entered the straits of Malacca on 4 September 1511, they changed their direction to Patani, considering the Portuguese had already captured Malacca since 15 August 1511³⁹².

³⁹² Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.123-5.

2. Managing Malacca, Expanding Trade Networks: Portuguese Malacca 1511-1580

This chapter elaborates on the political economy of Portuguese-Malacca from 1511 to 1580. This chapter comprises five sub-chapters: (1) Portuguese early trade in Malacca; (2) Portuguese conquest of Malacca; (3) Portuguese political administration in Malacca; (4) port city of Malacca during the Portuguese rule; and (5) Portuguese-Malacca's trade networks 1511-1580.

2.1. Portuguese Early Trade in Malacca

Dom Manuel I of Portugal (1469-1521) commanded his servants to protect his business in the East. The Portuguese King asked Dom Francisco de Almeida in Cochin³⁹³ to visit the Southeast Asian trading centre, which was Malacca, as soon as possible. The first viceroy had the complicated task to establish trade; to build a fortress in the most suitable place (a strong, healthy, and good harbour) in or close to Malacca; to place the pillar-stones or any other sign of possession; to collect all details on Malacca, Sumatra, and the Moluccas; and to build a fortress in Ceylon³⁹⁴.

To assist the duty of the viceroy, the King sent Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in February 12, 1508. As informed to the viceroy, the king instructed Sequeira to place the pillar-stones when visiting or staying in St. Lawrence Island, Sumatra, and Malacca; to spread the Holy Catholic faith; and to create peaceful and friendly relations with the native kingdoms through giving some presents³⁹⁵. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira departed from Lisbon on April 5, 1508 with four ships. As a captain-major of four galleons, Sequeira was accompanied by Captains Jerónimo Teixeira, João Nunes, Nuno Vaz de Castelo

³⁹³ Dom Francisco de Almeida was appointed as the first viceroy of *Estado da Índia*. *Estado da Índia* or the Portuguese India established as such in 1505. He controlled three forts on the South Western Indian Coast at Cannanore, Cochin, and Ceylon. The Portuguese got those lands after the King of Portugal signed treaties with the Kings of Cochin, Cananor, and Ceylon (Correia. 2012. *Lendas da Índia II* in PDOM, p.57). The Estado da Índia established its headquarters in Goa after the military appraisal of the city in 1510.

³⁹⁴ The letter from D. Manuel to D. Francisco de Almeida, 1506 (?), ANTT Maço de Leis, No. 22; published in CAA III, pp 268-276; published in PDOM, pp.3-11.

³⁹⁵ Standing Orders to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, sent to recognise the Town of Malacca; 12 February 1508, ANTT: CC-1-6-82; published in CAA II, pp.403-419; and published in PDOM, pp.15-17).

Branco, and Gonçalo de Sousa. The Portuguese vessels sailed and rounded the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa for around three months; anchored at *São Bras* on July 20, 1508; arrived in the Island of *São Lourenço* (St. Lawrence) on August 4, 1508; anchored at a kingdom called Turobaya, stayed at *Santa Clara* (St Clare) island, left for Matatana Kingdom in October 13, 1508, and reached Cochin via Cape Comorin on around April 1509³⁹⁶.

In Cochin, Sequeira and his men met the Viceroy of Portuguese India after his victory against the *Rumes* (Ottoman). He instructed his servants to repair the ships before sailing to Malacca and added a galleon to the fleet with Garcia de Sousa as its captain. Along with five galleons, Sequeira left Cochin on August 28, 1509³⁹⁷. They sailed to Malacca after staying at Nicobar Islands, Pedir (Pidie), Sumatera (Pasai), and the Island of Puloralla (Pulau Berhala). As his duty was to arrange a relation of friendship, Sequeira succeeded to seal a treaty of peace and friendship with both the Sultans of Pidie and of Pasai³⁹⁸.

After arriving in the prosperous seaport of Malacca on September 11, 1509³⁹⁹, the Portuguese ships were approached by some Muslims. They were merchants, trying to offer cloves, maces, nutmegs, musks, and ambers and in return get back some Portuguese stuff. However, Sequeira could not trade before signing a trade treaty, friendship, and peace with the Sultan.

The Chinese commander of the junks had heard about their arrival as well. He offered to meet Portuguese captain-major and tried to dig the captain's intention to come to Malacca. Their friendship became intimate, and the Chinese commander sent

³⁹⁶ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.35; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by an unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, p.21; The date when Sequeira arrived in Cochin is debatable. Barros believes that Sequeira arrived in April 20, 1509, while Castanheda and the unknown Portuguese chronicler mention that he anchored in April 21, 1509 and April 25, 1509 (PDOM, p.23 & p.75).

³⁹⁷ Castanheda mentions Sequiera left Cochin on August 18, 1509 (PDOM, p.81).

³⁹⁸ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.36; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by an unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, pp.25-7 .

³⁹⁹ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.57; Castanheda. 2012. *History of the Conquest of India by the Portuguese I*, published in PDOM, p.87; Goes. 2012. *Third Part of the Chronicle of the most Happy King D. Manuel of Glorious Memory*. Published in PDOM, p.117.

information of the Portuguese arrival to the Sultan. On the following days, the reply was received, and the sultan was happy to welcome the Portuguese⁴⁰⁰. They immediately knew that signing a peace and trade treaty with the Sultanate had to follow a specific maritime code. The Portuguese should negotiate and sign a pact with the Bendahara before doing any commercial activities⁴⁰¹.

The Portuguese captain-major sent his men⁴⁰² under Jerónimo Teixeira with a letter, written in Arabic, on behalf of Dom Manuel, the King of Portugal and some valuable presents comprising a length of cloth dyed in grain, three pieces of printed linen of a brown and white colour, four pieces of velvet, a size of coloured satin, a large mirror framed in gold, a sword with a gold-plated hilt, a dagger and a lance, all of the best craft, and six flasks of French perfume⁴⁰³. The Portuguese envoys were well-received by the Malacca officials. Jerónimo Teixeira was taken on a well-decorated elephant when he arrived in the Malaccan palace. The Sultan was happy to read the letter and composed the treaty of friendship and trade. He also instructed the Bendahara to load the Portuguese ships. The Portuguese representatives were delighted and, in return, gave the presents that they brought to the Sultan⁴⁰⁴.

Rui de Araújo began to trade after establishing the Portuguese factory. As a factor, Araújo was responsible for ensuring a smooth transaction. The trade in Malacca brought large profits for the Portuguese. Their earnings were larger than the other foreign merchants. The Portuguese could buy the desired spices and all commodities from Malaccan traders. They had higher quality goods and cheaper cloth. The

⁴⁰⁰ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.36; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by an unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, p.29; Castanheda. 2012. *History of the Conquest of India by the Portuguese I*. published in PDOM, p.87.

⁴⁰¹ Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", pp.157-8; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.243-4; Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, p.31.

⁴⁰² Barros believes that Diogo Lopes sent his men under Captain Jerónimo Teixeira while Correia and Castanheda stick to argue that Diogo Lopes asked Rui de Araújo leading the Portuguese to go ashore (PDOM, p.43, p.59, & p.89).

⁴⁰³ Correia. 2012. *Lendas da Índia II*, published in PDOM, p.59.

⁴⁰⁴ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58; Barros. 2012. *Decade of Asia II*, published in PDOM, p.44-5.

Malaccan, including the Sultanate, were happy to get the best products; however, the other merchants became afraid of losing their markets. The secure and enjoyable trade between the Portuguese and Malacca was over when plotters were formed to expel the Portuguese⁴⁰⁵.

The Bendahara, besides being a Muslim, had been well bribed by the (Gujaratis) Muslim traders residing in Malacca to oppose the Portuguese. His opposition was declared in the Sultanate's council. He planned to murder or captive all the Portuguese and sink their ships after warmly receiving the Portuguese representative. He was aware that his rival councillors, the *Laksamana* and the *Tumenggong*, would try to refute his plan in the council. The Bendahara had arranged before the committee was held, for the Sultan to listen to the voice of the traders. The Gujarati and Javanese merchants⁴⁰⁶ succeeded in convincing the Sultan to send an invitation and capture the Portuguese⁴⁰⁷. They reminded the Sultan that the Portuguese would use the same strategy as in Cochin and Cananor, where they established fortresses. Therefore, they would capture Malacca⁴⁰⁸.

The Bendahara, as had been arranged, had sent the Muslims to pretend purchasing and selling their commodities, but they also examined the conditions on the ships in detail. The Bendahara invited the Portuguese Captain to come ashore as well. He asked the captain-major to go to the banquet near the bridge of Malacca River where he would be murdered, but he refused his invitation because his ships had not been finished loading. The captain knew the Bendahara's intention from Garcia de Sousa after a renegade revealed it. The Bendahara tried to change his plan and attracted the Portuguese captain to go ashore. Considering the west monsoon would end, the captain-major asked Rui de Araújo to handle the promised four cargoes and transfer them to the ships without any mistrust. Meanwhile, the captain-major and his eight

⁴⁰⁵ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.36; Robson & Salleh (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, p.527; Correia. 2012. *Lendas da Índia II*, published in PDOM, p.61.

⁴⁰⁶ The chief (Shahbandar) of Gujarati merchants at that time was Nahodabeguea and the Javanese was led by a son of Utimutaraja. Utimutaraja was so rich and he owned six thousand married slaves. The son offered to murder the captain-major with his own hands (Castanheda in PDOM, 2012, p.89).

⁴⁰⁷ Barros. 2012. *Decade of Asia II*. Published in PDOM, p.45.

⁴⁰⁸ Castanheda. 2012. *History on the Conquest of India by the Portuguese 1*. Published in PDOM, p.89.

men remained on board. After many Javanese under the son of Utimutaraja came aboard and pretended to trade on the Portuguese ships, they waited for a signal to murder the Portuguese captain. The captain-major became afraid and started to believe the renegade's information and a native woman's alarm⁴⁰⁹ not to trust the native and not to come ashore. He and his men began to attack the Javanese, but they jumped back into their boats. The Portuguese bombarded them with artillery⁴¹⁰. The captain-major sent his men to find out if his men on the land were still alive or not⁴¹¹.

At the same time, the plotters had surrounded the Portuguese factory on the land. The Portuguese tried to defend it, but few troops were not enough to fight the Sultanate plotters. Many Portuguese were wounded, and eighteen men were murdered. The plotters asked Rui de Araújo to surrender, but he refused it. He did not want to submit to the plotters but wanted to offer to the sultan himself. The plotters then started to attack the Portuguese with small poisoned arrows. The Portuguese troops advised and forced Rui de Araújo to surrender if they wanted to survive. The factor then stayed as a prisoner with twenty-seven men. The Sultan and the officials went to meet the captives⁴¹². They went to take everything in the factory, but they did not loot as much as expected⁴¹³.

Knowing that many Portuguese were imprisoned and murdered either on the land or on the sea, the Bendahara wrote a letter to the captain. He pretended not to know anything, blamed the Muslims (Javanese and Gujaratis), and apologised to the Portuguese Captain. The captain was furious, reacting to Bendahara's apology, and

⁴⁰⁹ Barros believes that she lived in the residence of Utimutaraja (PDOM, p.45).

⁴¹⁰ Castanheda. 2012. *History on the Conquest of India by the Portuguese I*. Published in PDOM, p.93.

⁴¹¹ Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by an unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, pp.31-3.

⁴¹² It was the first time Rui de Araújo and his men meet Nina Chatu (Goes in PDOM, p.123). Later, in the prison, Nina Chatu protected them and mediated them to send a letter to Albuquerque (ANTT: Gaveta 14-8-21, in PDOM, pp.135-7).

⁴¹³ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58; Correia. 2012. *Lendas da India II*. Published in PDOM, p.65.

charged the Bendahara to release the Portuguese prisoners. The Bendahara should keep the validity of the peace treaty and promise to punish the murderers⁴¹⁴.

The captain received another letter. The Bendahara informed him that the cloves were being weighed. The Portuguese Captain believed that the Bendahara was deceiving him and playing for time. The Portuguese captured the Javanese ship and informed the Bendahara that the Portuguese had taken rice, murdered some Muslims, and paid for it from the king's treasury. The tense condition became worse when the five unknown galleons surrounded the Portuguese ships. The Portuguese, without further discussion, decided to remove the artillery and ammunition and sink them. The Portuguese started to ignore the deceitful Bendahara even though he gave them the cargo⁴¹⁵.

The captain major still hoped to get his men back, considering he felt a good relationship with the Bendahara. However, the good news was never received, and the captain decided to leave Malacca. The monsoon which brought him back to the West would end in the next eight days, and he would have to wait for the next monsoon for around three months if he remained to wait for the imprisoned Portuguese, including Rui de Araújo, in Malacca. Having suffered so much, the Portuguese set sailing back. They captured two Muslim ships and looted their commodities to load their cargoes on the way back. One of the junks, captained by Jerónimo Teixeira and his thirty men was sunk. The captive Javanese in the junk made holes in the hull, and water appeared in the junk. The wrecked junk was abandoned⁴¹⁶.

The surviving men anchored in the Polvoreira Island and remained there for twenty days. Captain Jerónimo Teixeira and his men survived for the second time after the ship of *Santa Clara* was wrecked on a reef. They were discovered and rescued by the vessel of João Nunes. The captain continued to sail and arrived at Pidie. He ordered to capture the coming Malacca junk and three Coromandel ships. He loaded the looted

⁴¹⁴ Adil. 1974. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, p.35.

⁴¹⁵ Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, p.35.

⁴¹⁶ Barros. 2012. *Decade of Asia II*. Published in PDOM, p.51.

rice to enable his ship to reach Portugal. Nevertheless, he instructed Jerónimo Teixeira and Garcia de Sousa to sail to Cochin and inform the new viceroy that they had failed to establish a good relationship with Malacca⁴¹⁷. Considering Dom Francisco de Almeida had returned to Portugal and Albuquerque was appointed to fill his position, the captain, who was at a different side from Albuquerque, was afraid that Albuquerque cause him trouble upon his arrival in Cochin⁴¹⁸. The captain-major decided to call at Travancore. He left Travancore for Portugal in January 1510, arrived at the Island of Terceira on April 27, 1510, and arrived at Lisbon via the Islands of Maldives and the Cape of Good Hope, without the cargo that the king had expected⁴¹⁹.

2.2. Portuguese Conquest of Malacca

The Portuguese attempted to establish a permanent position in the East, by the settlement of a political, administrative, and military structure representing the Portuguese Crown. Those were the bases of the State of India. One of its aims were to control the Persian Gulf and the traffic to the Red Sea. So, they invaded some towns in the Persian Gulf and Malabar Coast. After the Portuguese captured Goa in November 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque was appointed to be the second ruler in the East and resided in Goa. In the meanwhile, the Indian merchants residing in Malacca advised the Malacca officials to release Rui de Araújo and his men. The Malaccan could not

⁴¹⁷ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.37.

⁴¹⁸ The dispute started when the viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, was upset when Albuquerque was held responsible for the loss of Ormuz in 1508. The viceroy felt that Albuquerque would not listen and take advice from anyone. While the captains who were with him had advised him to not violate the peace treaty which had been signed before, Albuquerque imprisoned them. The brutal action which was conducted by Albuquerque had stimulated the native rebellion and the Portuguese lost their huge profits of fifteen thousand *xerafins* of *parias*. Albuquerque hoped that Diogo Lopes de Sequeira could change the viceroy's mind-set upon himself and suggested him to handle the governmental affairs. The viceroy soon persuaded Diogo Lopes to take his side and wrote a petition to the King. The petition was for the King to know the characteristics of Albuquerque and would not appoint him to take over the government. After the petition was signed, it was brought by Diogo Lopes when he set sail back to Portugal later (Castanheda in PDOM, 2012, pp.77-9) .

⁴¹⁹ Barros. 2012. *Decade of Asia Vol II*. Published in PDOM, p.53; Goes. 2012. *Third Part of the Cronicle of the most Happy King D. Manuel of Glorious Memory*. Published in PDOM, p.117; Castanheda. 2012. *History on the Conquest of India by the Portuguese Vol 1*. Published in PDOM, p.103.

remove them and forced them to live in a lodging in the town of Malacca. The Malays were vigilant and always watched them⁴²⁰.

The Portuguese Viceroy realised that Sequeira's fleet failed to establish a peace and trade treaty with the Malacca Sultanate. On March 12, 1510, the viceroy sent four ships, captained by Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos, to invade Malacca. When Vasconcelos' fleet was ready to depart to Malacca, Albuquerque ceased him to continue with that intent. The small fleet would be useless against the strength of Malacca. Albuquerque had information from Rui de Araújo related to the conditions in Malacca, its power, and its flourishing trade⁴²¹. At that time, Malacca had a hundred thousand soldiers residing from Kuala Linggi to the hinterland. The Malays had established strong fortifications in the town of Malacca. They also had many junks and Gujarati ships to defend Malacca⁴²².

Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos pretended to have given up his intention to invade Malacca. Vasconcelos and his vessels departed from Goa, but the royal ships blocked and forced them to return to Goa. Vasconcelos and his captains were sent to Portugal⁴²³.

In May 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque led a large fleet of nineteen ships, including two galleys, two brigantines, and a pinnace. Albuquerque also carried eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indian soldiers. The fleet sailed from Cochin to Sumatra. During the voyage, Albuquerque and his fleet captured five Gujarati ships before entering Pidie. The Portuguese arrived in Pidie on May 16, 1511. They were impressed with its great and prosperous trade. The port of Pidie welcomed many trading ships from Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, Martaban, Tenasserim, China; and had always been open for everyone wishing to go, come, and stay. Nevertheless, Pidie could not welcome the Portuguese, considering they had captured some Gujarati ships, which the king

⁴²⁰ Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.58.

⁴²¹ A Letter from Rui de Araújo and his Companions who were in captivity, to D. Afonso de Albuquerque, Malacca, 6 February 1510, published in PDOM, pp.131-9; Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.60; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.38.

⁴²² Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental II* (edited by Cortesão), p.279.

⁴²³ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.39.

invested on it. If the Portuguese returned what they had already taken, the king allowed them to buy and sell their products in Pidie. Albuquerque sent his men to offer a present of crimson cloth and camlets, buy pitch and fish oil for the Portuguese ships, and inform the king that the Portuguese did not want to return the captured ships. The locals began to murmur when the Portuguese were buying the pitch and fish oil. The locals were instructed to seize the Portuguese. The Portuguese could escape and flee back to the ship. They abandoned their merchandise and money, which they had paid in advance⁴²⁴.

The Portuguese left Pidie and moved to Pasai. When they anchored at Pasai, they found many junks and ships from various countries. Albuquerque tried to negotiate a peace treaty with the king. As Pidie King did, Pasai King also refused the Portuguese proposal. He did not welcome the Portuguese because they had taken the Gujarati ships on which the king had a share. The Pasai king also instructed the harbour master to protect all merchants and inhabitants in Pasai. The king was aware of the Portuguese threat, considering he had refused to establish a peace treaty. The Portuguese were in Pasai for ten days, without any success, and decided to continue sailing to Malacca. When they called at Berhala Island, situated between Sumatra and Malacca, they saw two junks. The first junk was big junks laden with various precious goods. The other junk was owned by the Prince of Pasai, who should have been king by right. The crowned king expelled the Prince of Pasai. He intended to go to Java and prepared a war with Pasai. Albuquerque persuaded him to capture Malacca jointly, and after that, Albuquerque would assist him in invading Pasai. The Pasai prince led Albuquerque's fleet to Malacca by a secure channel⁴²⁵.

The Portuguese reached the port city of Malacca on June 28, 1511. After the Portuguese vessels called at the land of Malacca, at the Chinese quarter, where many

⁴²⁴ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, pp.192-3; Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, p.143; Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.68-9; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", p.167; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.267; Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.60-1.

⁴²⁵ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, pp.193-5; Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.145-9.

Chinese ships were anchored, the Portuguese fired their cannons several times to announce their arrival. Some Chinese merchants came to the Portuguese and asked the Portuguese for protection. In return, the Portuguese asked the Chinese to send a message to the sultan. Albuquerque wanted the sultan to release the Portuguese prisoners⁴²⁶.

Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca sent his man, Tuan Bandar, to meet the Portuguese commander. The sultan's man inquired whether they came to make peace or to launch a war. The messenger informed Albuquerque that Bendahara Seri Maharaja, who imprisoned the Portuguese merchants, had been executed. Albuquerque told the messenger that he requested (1) the release of the Portuguese prisoners; (2) an indemnity for the ships of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, which should be paid at least 30,000 ducats by the property of Bendahara Seri Maharaja Tun Mutahir; (3) the Malacca sultan to erect a Portuguese fortress at his own expense; and (4) the Portuguese merchandise and trade should not be levied any duty. Sultan Mahmud would grant the Portuguese such proposal if the Portuguese came to make peace. However, Albuquerque initiated to invade Malacca⁴²⁷.

Albuquerque gave an ultimatum to Malacca and forced the sultan to release the Portuguese prisoners. If the sultan refused his proposal, Albuquerque would invade and burn the sultanate. The Portuguese waited for the sultan's response for six days. On the seventh day, the Portuguese began to burn few houses along the beach of Malacca and all the ships in the port, except for five Chinese and some Indian vessels. Realizing the dangerous situation in Malacca, the sultan released the Portuguese

⁴²⁶ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, p.195; Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.68-9; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", p.167; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.267; Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.60-1.

⁴²⁷ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, p.197; Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.61; Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.151-7.

captives and agreed to pay an indemnity of at least 30,000 ducats for the property looted from Sequeira's fleet⁴²⁸.

Besides the information provided by Rui de Araújo, Albuquerque had a Chinese informant. Albuquerque should be aware of the twenty-thousand Javanese merchants and other Persian and Muslim merchants residing in Malacca. Malacca also had twenty elephants of war, several cannons and firearms. The Javanese supplied the foodstuffs for the town of Malacca. The Chinese suggested that the Portuguese could defeat Malacca if they could block the Javanese supply to Malacca. The starving inhabitants would lead the sultan to surrender⁴²⁹.

Rui de Araújo also told Albuquerque that he should capture the bridge at the estuary of the Malacca river, linking Upeh in the north and the royal palace in the south. If the Portuguese could capture the bridge, the Portuguese could split the troops of Malacca, and neither group would be able to aid the other except by crossing the bridge. The Portuguese could defeat the Malacca troops, by preventing the locals to launch a violent attack⁴³⁰.

After receiving this information and meeting with his men, Albuquerque decided to land his soldiers at two places, at the northern and southern parts of Malacca. The two groups were directed to invade and capture the bridge of Malacca. The Portuguese launched the attack on July 25, 1511. The Portuguese used several boats and landed at dawn. When the Portuguese ships approached the land of Malacca, the locals attacked them with cannonballs. Nevertheless, the Portuguese could manage to land and launch a battle near Malacca hill. Both parties lost many men after fighting each other for a few hours. The Portuguese attempted to capture the bridge of Malacca. They began to build fences at both ends of the bridge. They also burned down many houses in Malacca and near Malacca Hill; and the royal palace. However, Sultan Ahmad and his troops invaded the Portuguese stockades by raining them with cannonballs, bullets,

⁴²⁸ Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.70-1; Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.62-3.

⁴²⁹ Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.63.

⁴³⁰ Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, p.163; Earle & Villiers (Eds). 1990. *Albuquerque Caesar of the East*, p.67; Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.63.

spears, lances, and poisoned darts. The Portuguese could not survive and escaped to their vessels anchored at the port. After the Portuguese left their enclosures, the Malay sultan repaired and strengthened their stockades near the bridge. The sultan also attempted to motivate the Javanese forces, who made up the majority of sultanate forces. The sultan provided them with three months' wages in advance⁴³¹.

While the sultan and his men were busy strengthening their defence, the Javanese harbour master Utimutaraja sent a sandalwood gift to Albuquerque. He requested protection from the Portuguese commander. The Javanese wanted peace and wished to serve the Portuguese king. Afonso de Albuquerque accepted his proposal and sent him a promise of protection. Their agreement also included that the Javanese should not give any help to the sultanate. However, Utimutaraja remained to send his few men to assist the sultan in preparing his defence. Utimutaraja did not have any other choice, and he should help the sultan if he wanted to live in Malacca. Albuquerque still trusted and provided him with protection⁴³².

On August 10, 1511, the Portuguese launched the second attack on the town of Malacca. During the night, the Portuguese fired their cannons on the city of Malacca from their vessels. At the same time, the Portuguese tried to land their soldiers in the northern part of Malacca, and they succeeded in landing after winning the battle with the local troops. António de Abreu and his large junk laden with soldiers and firearms also followed to recapture the bridge of Malacca. The Portuguese forced the Malays back to their post at the mosque in the Malacca hill, and the Portuguese hunted them and captured the Malay post at the mosque⁴³³.

On August 25, 1511, Albuquerque and his soldiers walked on the streets of Malacca. They murdered all people coming their way. The Portuguese soldiers were also

⁴³¹ Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.165-9; Earle & Villiers (Eds). 1990. *Albuquerque Caesar of the East*, pp.67-73; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", pp.167-8; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.267-8; Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.63-4; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, pp.42-3.

⁴³² Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.169-171; Earle & Villiers (Eds). 1990. *Albuquerque Caesar of the East*, pp.73-75.

⁴³³ Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.175-181; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", p.168-9; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.269; Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.65-6; Earle & Villiers (Eds). 1990. *Albuquerque Caesar of the East*, pp.77-85.

allowed to loot the town, and they stole several gold ingots, gold vases, precious gems, high-quality silks, expensive perfume, and aromatics. Albuquerque did not want to destroy Malacca, and he planned to restore Malacca and insert it into the Portuguese sphere of influence. He believed that Malacca would provide many benefits for the Portuguese⁴³⁴.

The royal family escaped to the south before the Portuguese burned down the Malacca palace and turned it into a fortress. Sultan Ahmad stopped at a place near Malacca called Bertam, and Sultan Mahmud stayed at Batu Hampar. The Portuguese also invaded those places and forced the Malays to retreat to the northern part of Muar. The royal family sailed to Bintan Island before going back to Johor. During his stay in Bintan and Johor, Sultan Mahmud established a new kingdom, called *Johor Darul-Alam* (the door to the world) which was known as Johor Sultanate. On the other side, the Portuguese remained in Malacca and erected a fortress of iron rocks around the hill, named A Famosa⁴³⁵.

2.3. Political Administration of Portuguese Malacca⁴³⁶

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss the political statecraft of Portuguese Malacca. The second section will describe the financial revenue of Portuguese Malacca. The final section discusses Portuguese military and defence infrastructure.

2.3.1. Political Statecraft of Portuguese Malacca

After the Portuguese conquest in 1511, Malacca was projected to be the Portuguese headquarters in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the second Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), composed the political bureaucracy of Malacca before instructing his men to explore the east of Malacca. As recommended by the viceroy, the King of Portugal appointed three or four years captaincies as a reward for

⁴³⁴ Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.66-7.

⁴³⁵ Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, p.72; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", p.169; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.270; Adil. 1970. *The History of Malacca Sultanate*, p.67; Robson & Salleh (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, pp.527-30.

⁴³⁶ The earliest version of this sub chapter was presented at 7th CITCEM Conference on Mobilities, organised by CITCEM, U.Porto, Porto, 22-24 November 2018.

distinguished service. Malacca was under the supervision of Goa but was also promoted with a governorship in 1571. Dom Sebastião of Portugal reorganised the Portuguese administration in Asia and Africa. He divided it into three zones: (1) between Cape Guardafui to Ceylon constituted the government of India under a viceroy; (2) between Cape Corrientes and Guardafui, that of Monomotopa (previously the Mutapa Kingdom); and (3) between Pegu and China that of Malacca, these last two zones being under governors⁴³⁷.

Several officers helped the Captain of Malacca to run the city's general administration. The city officers were appointed and elected by the government. In the first division, there was the Chief of Justice (*ouvidor*) and the secretary of the state. They had the responsibility to investigate individuals' complaints against the Crown. In the second group, seven elder men were elected each year by their fellow citizens. One of them was selected as the *vedor* or mayor. Their duties were to assist in the council's deliberations, act as magistrates under the direction of the Chief of Justice, and supervise the distribution of the income of the city. The bishop of Malacca and the Ministers of the House of Mercy were in the third category. Concerning the Ministers of the House of Mercy (*Misericórdia*), their mission was to give alms to the poor, orphans, and widows. They also visited the prisoners and made petitions for relief. They were commanded by the Prior, the Treasurer, and the Prior of Prisoners⁴³⁸. All according to similar statutes of the *Casas das Misericórdias* in Portugal.

The Portuguese recognised the success and sophistication of the port administration under the sultans. They continued the essential features of the predecessor Muslim administration. The Portuguese retained the office of Bendahara and used it to control all non-Christians and strangers. Besides appointing the Tumenggung to supervise the Minangkabau and Malays in Naning and Ringy, the Portuguese set the Shahbandar to control the customs and foreign shipping, receive the foreign envoys and assist the

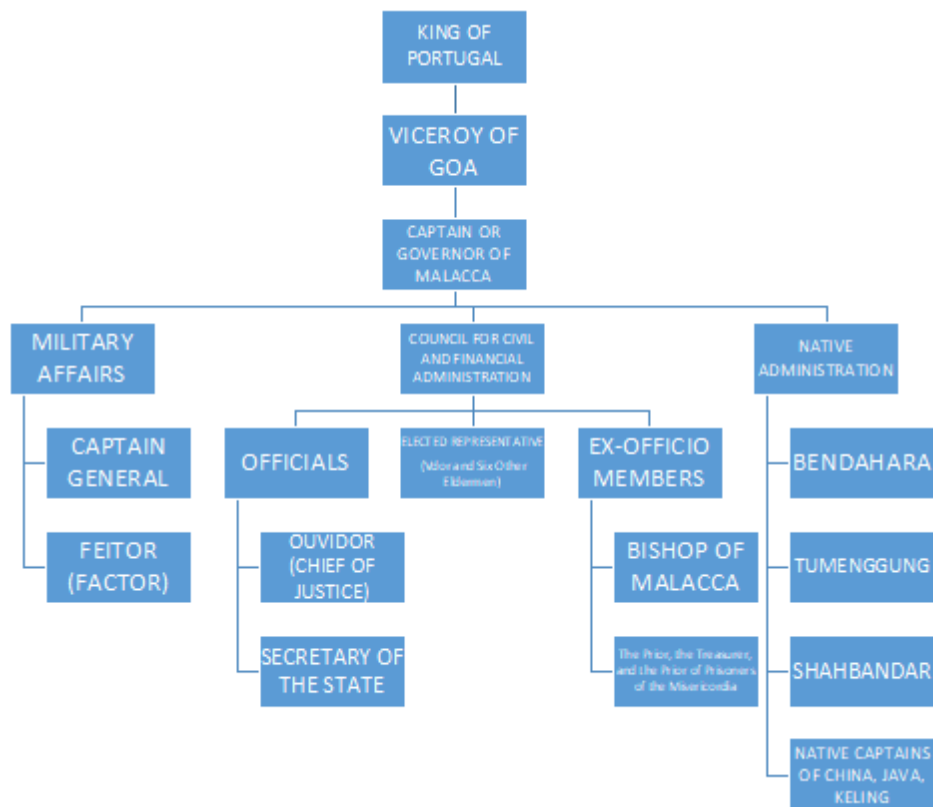
⁴³⁷ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.184; Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India II*, pp.1-2; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", p.510.

⁴³⁸ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, pp.184-6; Pissurlencar (Ed). 1951. *Regimentos das Fortalezas da Índia*, pp. 245-250; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", pp.510-1.

Bendahara. Moreover, the Portuguese also allowed each foreign community to have its captain⁴³⁹.

As for the military affairs, Malacca was under the protection of Goa. The Viceroy of Goa appointed the Captain-General of Malacca and gave him control over all troops by land and sea in wartime. The Factor assisted the Captain-General to organise food, ammunition, and ships of war. Both the Captain-General and the Factor had a duty to erect the defence structures, being in wood or stone and lime⁴⁴⁰.

Figure 12 Portuguese Administration in Malacca



Sources: Author's diagram based on Moorhead (1956, p.185); Pissurlencar (Ed) (1951, pp.245-250); Desai (1969, pp.510-1).

2.3.2. Financial Revenue of Portuguese Malacca

⁴³⁹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental II* (edited by Cortesão), pp.281-2; Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.184; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", pp.503-5 & pp.508-9.

⁴⁴⁰ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental II* (edited by Cortesão), pp.280-1; Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.186.

The Portuguese established the *Estado da India* to organise their network of colonial seaports from the East of Africa to Eastern Indonesia and East Asia. The Portuguese used taxation as a source of income to self-finance their intervention in Asia. Portuguese tax revenues varied from land tax to the *cartaz* system. The Portuguese imposed the land taxes when they had the territories integrated into the Empire, for instance, Goa, Salsette, Bardez, Bassein, Daman, and Ceylon. The Portuguese also established the *cartaz or* safe-conduct sailing system⁴⁴¹ for Asian shipping on the segmented trading zones of the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the South China Sea. This system had directed all vessels to call at one of the Portuguese trading ports. If the merchants unloaded their cargoes after landing at the Portuguese ports, they were required to pay the duties⁴⁴².

The Portuguese in Malacca extended their trade networks to gain significant profits. In terms of state-sponsored monopolies, those were commonly run by the Crown or frequently transferred by the Crown to individual persons⁴⁴³. After gaining friendly and peaceful trade with the Asian kingdoms⁴⁴⁴, the Portuguese in Malacca gradually resembled the Javanese role to control the spice trade in the Malacca-Moluccas axis in the 16th century⁴⁴⁵. However, Imperial diplomacy failed to seek a mutual business from China's Ming Dynasty. Still, the private agents were more effective, after helping the Chinese to minimise the presence of Japanese pirates or *Wako* in the South China Sea⁴⁴⁶. They understood that Chinese permission was crucial for controlling commercial affairs in the South China Sea. The Portuguese had the privilege to

⁴⁴¹ To seek other sources of revenue, the Portuguese adopted the Indian system of tolls on the merchants passing their lands. The pass and toll system were introduced by selling passports (*cartazes*) to Indian vessels plying up and down the west coast of continent. The *cartazes* then required their bearers to call in Portuguese controlled ports and pay customs duties. To make sure the merchants did so and to prevent piratical attacks, the Portuguese fleet headed them into convoys them to the royal *alfândegas* or customs houses. The revenues were used to defer the costs of Portuguese Indian administration (Winius. 1996. "The Maritime Empire of Portugal", p.116).

⁴⁴² Miranda. 2009. "The Center and the Periphery", p.3; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.137.

⁴⁴³ Antunes & Polónia. 2016. *Beyond Empires: Global, Self-organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks*, p.7; Antunes. 2012. "Free Agents and Formal Institutions", p.7.

⁴⁴⁴ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies*.

⁴⁴⁵ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.153-162.

⁴⁴⁶ Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*.

establish a settlement in Macao. They became the intermediaries of the China-Japan trade due to the Chinese ban for their traders to deal with the Japanese through the Macau-Nagasaki connection⁴⁴⁷.

The opening of the Macau-Nagasaki route in the second half of the 16th century, linked to Goa and Malacca, had been reviving the long-distance trade from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea, as previously conducted by the Persians, Arab, and Chinese merchants. The Portuguese gained regular and significant profits from the long trip between Goa, Malacca, Macao, and Nagasaki. By 1580, the *Estado da India* had 30 concession routes, participated by official and private merchants. Malacca was present on half of these concession routes as a destination or point of departure. Within the intra-Asian trade, the *Casados* (the Portuguese married men) and the private Portuguese merchants enjoyed the country trade in the Malay world where the Crown did not decide to participate⁴⁴⁸. The Portuguese Crown tried to establish a joint-stock company with private merchants' capital. However, limited capital and high custom duties imposed by the Crown in the *Carreira da India*, ceased its evolution⁴⁴⁹.

Besides earning a considerable profit from maritime commerce, the Portuguese also depended on fiscal revenue. In early Malacca, the Portuguese maintained the Muslim Malacca's rate of taxation. Realizing that many merchants escaped and preferred residing in Aceh and Johor, the Portuguese sent some embassies to the neighbouring countries. They requested all the neighbouring partners to send their merchants to settle communities in Malacca. For the colonial government, it would be highly profitable in terms of the colonial revenue from the customs duties, if many trans-national merchants made their transactions in Malacca⁴⁵⁰.

Between 1511 and 1543, the Portuguese revised the customs duties and their collection. In 1544, the Portuguese ran the new toll system to prevent the loss of trade. All merchants should pay 6% tax for all imported goods. They officially imposed

⁴⁴⁷ Boxer. 1986. *The Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries*; Boxer. 1991. *Estudos Para a História de Macau*; Boxer. 1993. *Macau Na Época da Restauração*; Boxer. 1963. "The Great Ship from Amacon".

⁴⁴⁸ Prakash. 1990. "Long Distance Maritime Trade in Asia", pp.29-33.

⁴⁴⁹ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp.31-3.

⁴⁵⁰ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.137.

a discriminatory tax of 8% on goods coming from Pegu, Sumatra, Singapore and Sabah. The Portuguese also imposed a duty on Indian goods, except Bengal, which amounted to 12%. The private Portuguese goods were charged 8% duties. If the private Portuguese merchants brought Chinese goods, they should pay 10% duties. The Malays merely paid 6% of duties if they got the Chinese goods to Malacca. The burden of the merchants was added since they should present a gift of 200 to 1000 cruzados to the Portuguese captain if they wished to make a voyage in an official Portuguese ship or sailing vessel. In practice, the Portuguese and the native merchants used the royal ships to transport their merchandises and sometimes to sell or buy for their own⁴⁵¹.

2.3.3. Military and Defence Infrastructure

Afonso de Albuquerque had established the military and defence infrastructure in Malacca before returning to India in 1512. Albuquerque left ten ships under the command of Fernão Pires de Andrade and a garrison of three hundred men of arms. Considering Malacca was not fortified during the sultanate, Albuquerque established the fortifications on the periphery of the town (Upeh) for defence. The fortifications were made of wood at first. However, the Acehnese attack forced the Portuguese to reinforce and reconstruct the palisades with mud and pugging-stuff during Dom Estevão da Gama (1534-9). The palisade reinforcement was paid by the Keling and helped by a subsidy from the Portuguese royal exchequer. The wall of the fortifications was reinforced in one of its corners with a bastion named the bulwark of Bendahara⁴⁵².

Afonso de Albuquerque instructed the Portuguese Captain-Major to erect a fortress which he named *A Famosa* at the river's estuary, using stone from the ruins of the mosque and some old tombs⁴⁵³. The Portuguese fortress's construction was

⁴⁵¹ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.166-8; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", p.504 & p.508.

⁴⁵² Earle & Villiers (Eds). 1990. *Albuquerque Caesar of the East*, pp.93-149; Macgregor. 1955. "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya", p.38; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, pp. 213-4; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.46; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.47 & p.161.

⁴⁵³ Instrução a Diogo Lopes Sequeira, 13 de Fevereiro de 1508, Published in CAA, II, p.403; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (edited by Cortesão), p.281; Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", pp.17-8; Correia. 1860. *Lendas da Índia*, II, p.252; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.46; Moorhead. 1956.

accomplished in July 1514 when Jorge de Albuquerque took over the captaincy of the town. The Portuguese erected a tower and five high storeys with large and small artilleries on all sides to avoid any attack from the hill⁴⁵⁴. The Portuguese built a wall to surround the mountain, which the locals called Bukit China. The hill had a well to supply the inhabitants of Malacca with fresh water. During the 1551 Javanese siege of Malacca, the Javanese poisoned the well and murdered a lot of Malaccans. During the rule of Pedro da Silva (1548-1552), he ordered his men to clean the well⁴⁵⁵. The invaders always concentrated on occupying the hill, since they could observe everything from this hill, including the Portuguese defensive activities⁴⁵⁶.

Jorge de Albuquerque planned to enlarge the town fortification to surround the main public buildings and protect the inhabitants of Malacca. The fortification commenced during Pedro de Mascarenhas (1525-6). In September 1527, the São Pedro bulwark⁴⁵⁷ had been already accomplished. Dom Estevão da Gama (1534-9) ordered the town to be encircled with lath and mud walls after he experienced the Acehnese invasion in 1537. Pedro de Faria (1539-1542) completed this work before the 1545 Acehnese attack. The Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, Dom Francisco Coutinho (1561-4), instructed to wall Malacca with stone and lime. The stone defence of Malacca was established between 1564 and 1568. The Portuguese seemed to realise that the Acehnese would use heavy artillery⁴⁵⁸.

During the 1568 Acehnese siege, the Portuguese had accomplished all bulwarks and encircled the town with walls. The Santiago bulwark, situated close to the sea on the

A History of Malaya, pp.177-8; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, p.173 & pp. 213-4; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.36-9.

⁴⁵⁴ Correia. 1860. *Lendas da Índia*, II, p.252; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.37-8; Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.4; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (edited by Cortesão), p.281.

⁴⁵⁵ Couto. 1626-75. *Decada Sexta da Asia*, fl.9; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.50.

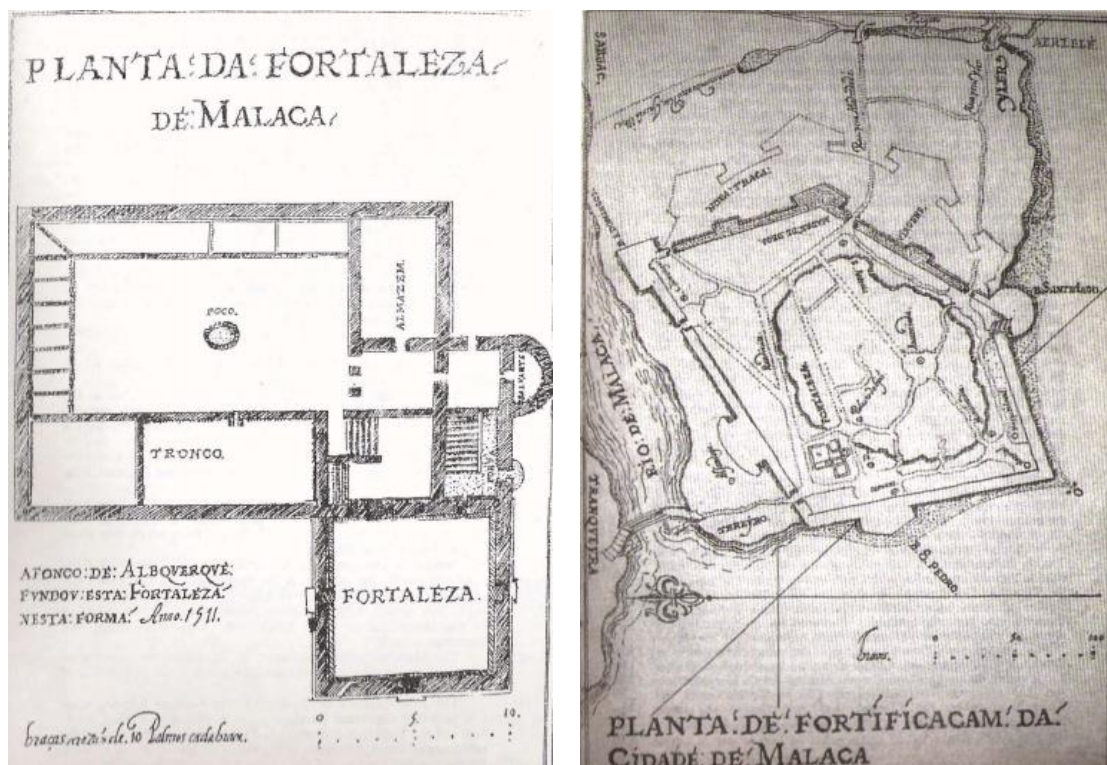
⁴⁵⁶ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.178.

⁴⁵⁷ The vast area along the coast to be defended made the Malacca's defence difficult. The artillery on the bulwark of São Pedro (St.Peter) could not cover all the coastal areas of Malacca. Sometimes, the enemies were bold enough to set fire to ships anchored in the port, and the Portuguese could not reach them with their artillery. For this reason, it was necessary for a ship, with artillery, to be anchored at Ilha das Naus, or to get ready to defend the harbour (Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.53).

⁴⁵⁸ Couto. 1586. *Decada Oitava da Asia*, pp.21-22; p.155; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.36-9; Manguin. 1988. "Of fortresses and galleys", p.614.

Hilir side, was next to São Pedro bulwark, located in front of the fortress. The primary bastion, a wall made of stone and lime forming a right angle, was built along the beach halfway between Santiago and São Pedro. Another piece of the wall, also made of stone and lime, started at the São Pedro bulwark and followed the river up to the Bulwark of São Domingos. From here to the Santiago, two curtains were made not of stone and lime but of wood and mud and a small bulwark called As Virgens⁴⁵⁹.

Figure 13 Ground Plan of Portuguese Fortress in Malacca



Sources: Maps reproduced from Mills (Ed) (1930, between p.20 & p.21); Thomaz (2000, p.27 & p.33).

Portuguese in Malacca could not depend on the Goan military support, considering that the Indo-Malayan states successively invaded Malacca throughout the 16th century. The Portuguese Malacca expected to receive five hundred soldiers from India.

⁴⁵⁹ Couto. 1586. *Decada Oitava da Asia*, pp.21-22; Carta da Fr. Lourenco Peres a Fr. Leao Henriques, S.J, Malaca, 3 de Dezembro de 1568, Published in DI, VII, Doc.110, p.516; Carta da Cristovão da Costa a Fr. Francisco Borgia, Malaca, 6 de Dezembro de 1568, Published in DI, VII, Doc.111, p.527; Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.178; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.40.

However, they merely had a hundred and fifty men. There were not enough human resources to face thousands of rival troops, even if they had five hundred soldiers in Malacca. The Portuguese Captain in Malacca frequently asked the merchants and their slaves to defend the town of Malacca. The captain also asked the Bendahara and the Tumenggung to organise and arm their subjects in a state of war. The native officials also structured the respective groups into several military units and the Portuguese utilised the descendants of the Portuguese-Eurasians and their slaves. In wartime, they were held as second-line defence troops. They were responsible for defending the Portuguese fortress⁴⁶⁰.

2.4. The Port City of Malacca during the Portuguese Rule

After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese did not inherit the sultanate's possession. Therefore, the Portuguese merely owned the town of Malacca, consisting of three main areas of the fortress, Upeh and Hilir. The Portuguese also controlled Naning⁴⁶¹. Sovereignty was embedded in the king in the Malay World instead of the land. The sultanate's vassals remained in the sultan's jurisdiction as long as he was alive. The sultan remained controlling the Malacca's vassals when establishing the Johor Sultanate, except they decided to separate from the Malacca Sultanate⁴⁶².

In practical terms, the Portuguese only used the coastal areas of Upeh or the Keling's settlement, the estuary of the Malacca River, and Pulo Melaka (*Ilha das Naus*), situated in front of Banda Hilir to receive the ships. The Portuguese used Pulo Melaka or Ilha das Naus as a main harbour in Malacca. They directed all vessels, from or to the east of Malacca, to anchor at this island. This island was never fortified and far from the reach of the guns of the fortress. From this island, the visitors would disembark in small

⁴⁶⁰ Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.160-2.

⁴⁶¹ In early Portuguese Malacca, the Portuguese had several tributary vassals of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri. They were also in partnership with Minangkabau, Aru, Pasai, Pegu, Siam, the Moluccas, Gresik, Tuban, Sidayu, Surabaya, Sunda, and Brunei (Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, II, pp.282-3).

⁴⁶² Hashim. 1989. *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, p.141; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.173.

boats which would take them to the town of Malacca. They could enter the fortress through the customs house gate or St. Anthony's gate⁴⁶³.

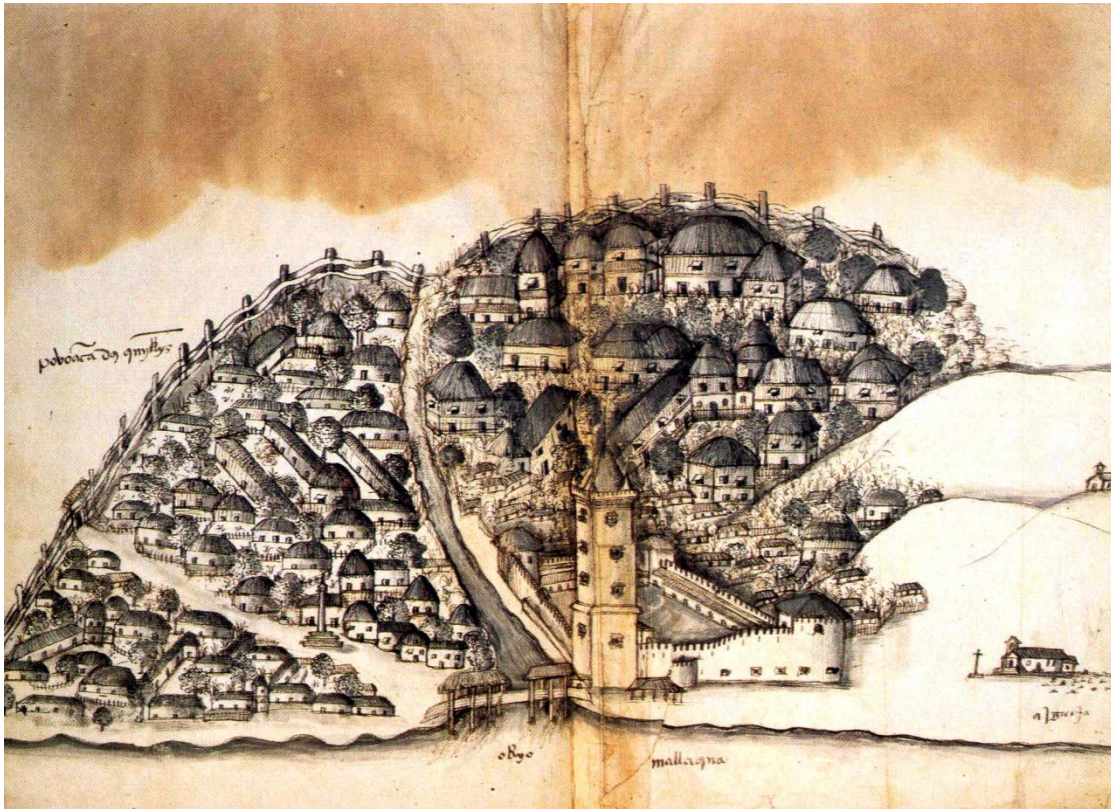
Upeh was the commercial quarters, situated in the north of the Malacca River and the Portuguese fortress. Most important merchants and the Bendahara⁴⁶⁴ resided in the wooden and tile-roofed houses. The Keling inhabited the place along the beach known as the parish of São Tomé or Kampung Keling (Keling Village). Many of them embraced Catholicism and worked under the Portuguese Crown. Along the river, the parish of Santo Estevão or Kampung Cina (Chinese Village) was inhabited by people from Fukien, a few Malay fishers, and foreign traders, staying on a seasonal basis. At the end of the bridge, there was a bazaar of the Javanese, where grain and rice were sold every day. Nearby the bazaar, there was the pillory where criminals were punished. Upeh extended along the sea for around one and a half kilometres from the bridge and was defended on the landward side by a palisade extending from the river around eight hundred and eighty metres upstream from the mouth to the beach at the end of the settlement⁴⁶⁵.

Figure 14 the Port City of Malacca seen from the Sea

⁴⁶³ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", pp.17-8; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.53; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya*, p.177.

⁴⁶⁴ During the Portuguese rule, the Crown functioned the Bendahara as a native chief to control the non-Christian inhabitants.

⁴⁶⁵ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.20; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.47-9; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.49 & pp.51-4; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.172-3.



Sources: Correia (1860-6, II, pp.250-1); Thomaz (2000, p.9); Loureiro, (2008, pp.80-1); Loureiro (2016).

The Portuguese erected their fortress, A Famosa, in the south of the Malacca River, after burning the Malacca's palace and several surrounding buildings. They used the scattered stones from the Malay tombstone to establish their fortress. The Portuguese fort was built at the river's mouth and not on the hill. To avoid any attack from the mountain, a tower and five storeys high was built to dominate the fortress area with its artillery. A Famosa had four bulwarks, involving Santiago (St. James), São Pedro (St. Peter), São Domingo (St. Dominic), and As Virgens (the Virgins). Besides establishing the military buildings during the 16th century, they also built several religious buildings inside the fortress. Those were the parish church of Nossa Senhora da Anunciada (Our Lady of the Annunciation), the Church of Nossa Senhora do Outeiro (Our Lady of the Hill), Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy), and the Church of São Tomé (St. Thomas). They also built civic structures, namely the customs office, the *hospital dos pobres* (hospital of the poor), the college of the Jesuits (today St. Paul Church), the Câmara da Cidade (municipality building), the chapel of Santo António (St. Anthony)

and other facilities. The Portuguese were not the only inhabitants of the fortress. Their Asian wives, descendants, and slaves also resided there⁴⁶⁶.

On the south of the fortress, there was the quarters of Hilir or Tanjung Pasir or Banda Colaskar (Tuanku Laskar). Malay fishers and some Javanese inhabited these quarters. These quarters had no defence and had straw-covered houses. Hilir extended along the beach for 110 metres from the Aerlele River, whose mouth was 183 metres far from the bulwark of Santiago. To the interior from Hilir, there was the well of Bukit Cina, which supplied water to the town. Nearby the well, there was a chapel named Madre de Deus. There was a road with houses on its sides from the wall to the sea along the Aerlele River. The rest of the place was surrounded by palm trees⁴⁶⁷.

On the right bank of the Malacca River beyond the fortress, there was a third quarter called Sabak. Some fishing families inhabited there. Their houses were made over the stockades considering the land was swampy⁴⁶⁸. Beyond the town and the suburbs, the hinterland was sparsely populated. The frontier was covered by dense forest where wild animals and various valuable trees grew. However, the land was flat and swampy and, the people of Malacca were not eager in cultivating and producing rice there. In the Ledang Mountain, a group of rough people lived there and were feared by the Malacca people. It was believed that they could become tigers and eat babies. The rest of the country was unpopulated, except Pengkalan Naning (Near the present Alor Gajah), where the people of Minangkabau lived as the betel-nuts traders⁴⁶⁹.

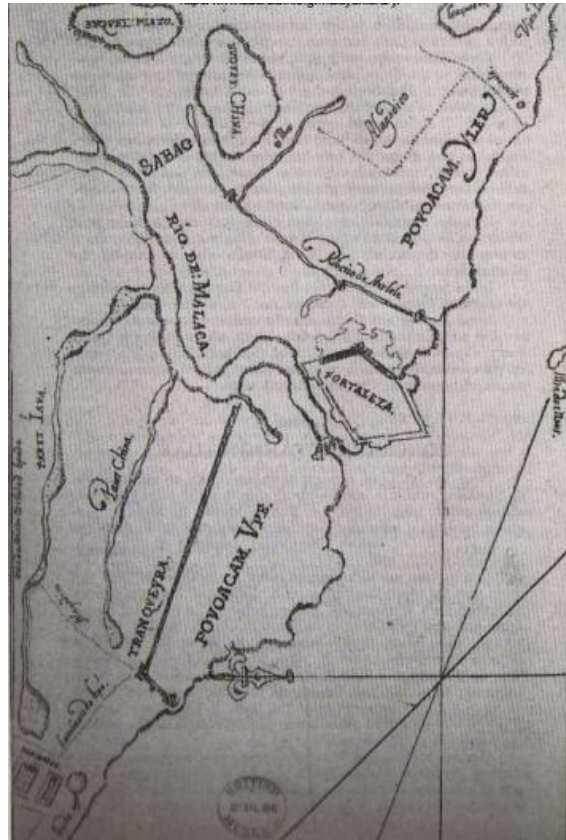
Figure 15 the Port City and the Settlement of Malacca

⁴⁶⁶ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", pp.17-8; Correia. 1860. *Lenda da India*, II, p.252; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.37-47; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.173.

⁴⁶⁷ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.20; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.49-51.

⁴⁶⁸ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.20; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.51.

⁴⁶⁹ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.41; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.54-5; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.55; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.172; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya*, p.177.



Source: Mills (Ed) (1930, between p.22 & p.23).

2.5. Trade Networks of Portuguese Malacca

During the 15th century, the spice trade from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean was dominated by Muslim merchants. They established the Islamic connection through a country-old trade. Javanese merchants brought these spices from Eastern Indonesia to the central market of Malacca and exchanged them for Indian cloths. The Gujarati, along with other Muslim merchants, sailed back to Cambay and re-sold the herbs to the Persian, Egyptian, and Turkish merchants⁴⁷⁰. The Italian merchants including Genoese, Florentine, and Venetian traders then organised the trade between those middle East merchants and Europe. They, chiefly the Genoese among them, supplied Northern Europe via the Portuguese ports⁴⁷¹. However, this commercial connection was interrupted when the Mameluks of Egypt forbade their merchants to trade with

⁴⁷⁰ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.63.

⁴⁷¹ Diffie & Winus, 1977. *The Foundations of Portuguese Empire*, p.26.

the Europeans⁴⁷². The Portuguese responded quickly by capturing Ceuta in 1415. Holding Ceuta could protect the Iberian Peninsula against an African invasion; it could ensure Portuguese commercial interests into the Mediterranean and back; and it prevented Castilian penetration into Morocco which threatened to dominate the Saharan gold trade⁴⁷³.

The Portuguese were aware that they could not compete with the well-established Islamic inter-oceanic commerce. They tried to re-route and find another way to obtain spices⁴⁷⁴. From Ceuta, they began to establish the factories and forts along the West Coast of Africa, comprising Senegambia and the Gulf of Guinea. They also captured some Atlantic islands (Porto Santo and the Madeira Islands, the Azores, the Cape Verde archipelago, São Tomé and Príncipe Islands). The Portuguese eventually succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. The first explorer to do so, Bartolomeu Dias, successfully surpassed it and returned to Portugal in 1487. Vasco da Gama was granted to continue Dias' project to India. After circumnavigating the Cape of Good Hope and calling at various Arab-Swahili ports, Gama arrived at Malindi. He met an Islamic pilot, for long identified, even without historical evidence, as the famous Ahmad Ibn Majid, who assisted him to cross the Indian Ocean. Vasco da Gama was able to reach Calicut, the primary market of the pepper trade in the Malabar Coast⁴⁷⁵. Gama failed, however, to establish a settlement in Calicut as his gift for the Samudri Raja was deemed unsatisfactory in 1498⁴⁷⁶.

After the route to India had been opened, the Portuguese sent missions to survey the entire East Coast of Africa, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf⁴⁷⁷. Securing a settlement in Cochin in 1505⁴⁷⁸ gave them a strategic position to expand their power into the

⁴⁷² Jayasuriya. 2008. *The Portuguese in the East*, p.1.

⁴⁷³ Diffie & Winius, 1977. *The Foundations of Portuguese Empire*, p.53.

⁴⁷⁴ Instead of maritime exploration by Bartolomeu Dias, Pero de Covilha was also sent overland to India. Covilha entered Abyssinia and visited the Malabar Coast, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Eastern Coast of Africa, and Sofala before returning in 1492 (Boxer. 1961. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, p.12).

⁴⁷⁵ Boxer. 1961. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, p.13.

⁴⁷⁶ Biedermann, Gerritsen, & Riello. 2018. *Global Gifts*, p.2.

⁴⁷⁷ Bethencourt & Curto, 2007. *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*, p.1.

⁴⁷⁸ Mathew & Ahmad. 1990. *Emergence of Cochin*, p.v.

Indian Ocean. They successively conquered Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), and Hormuz (1515)⁴⁷⁹. After Malacca had been conquered, similar missions were sent to the Far East. During the 16th century, the Portuguese were allowed to establish a settlement in the Moluccas (1513)⁴⁸⁰. These historical phenomena urge historians to classify the Portuguese empire as a seaborne rather than a territorial empire⁴⁸¹. Previous scholars⁴⁸² agree that the *Estado da India* (State of India) should be viewed as a collection of seaports controlled by the Portuguese Crown from the East of Africa to the Far East in China, Japan, and Eastern Indonesia.

Instead of informal mechanisms that will be discussed later, the means of formal empire-building could be divided into royal and chartered monopolies⁴⁸³. The Portuguese empire in the East, known as *Estado da India*, seemed to devise the first state-sponsored monopolies. The royal trusts were run by the Crown which frequently transferred them to individual persons⁴⁸⁴. After capturing Malacca, the Portuguese hoped to inherit the Malay mercantile networks, but they had to share the lucrative intra-Asiatic trade with Aceh and Johor. Instead of sustaining the geopolitical balance in the Straits of Malacca, the Portuguese actively sent various missions to survey the east of Malacca, comprising Siam in 1511, Ternate in 1512, Pegu 1512, and China in 1512. They also established a friendly and peaceful trade with the Asian kingdoms⁴⁸⁵.

⁴⁷⁹ Winius. 1996. "The Maritime Empire of Portugal", p.116.

⁴⁸⁰ Smith. 1969. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies*, p.44-7.

⁴⁸¹ The Portuguese did not attempt to expand their colonies into the hinterlands, except for the creation of Northern Province in India and the occupation of the series of fortresses in Ceylon (Bethencourt & Curto. 2007. *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*, p.3).

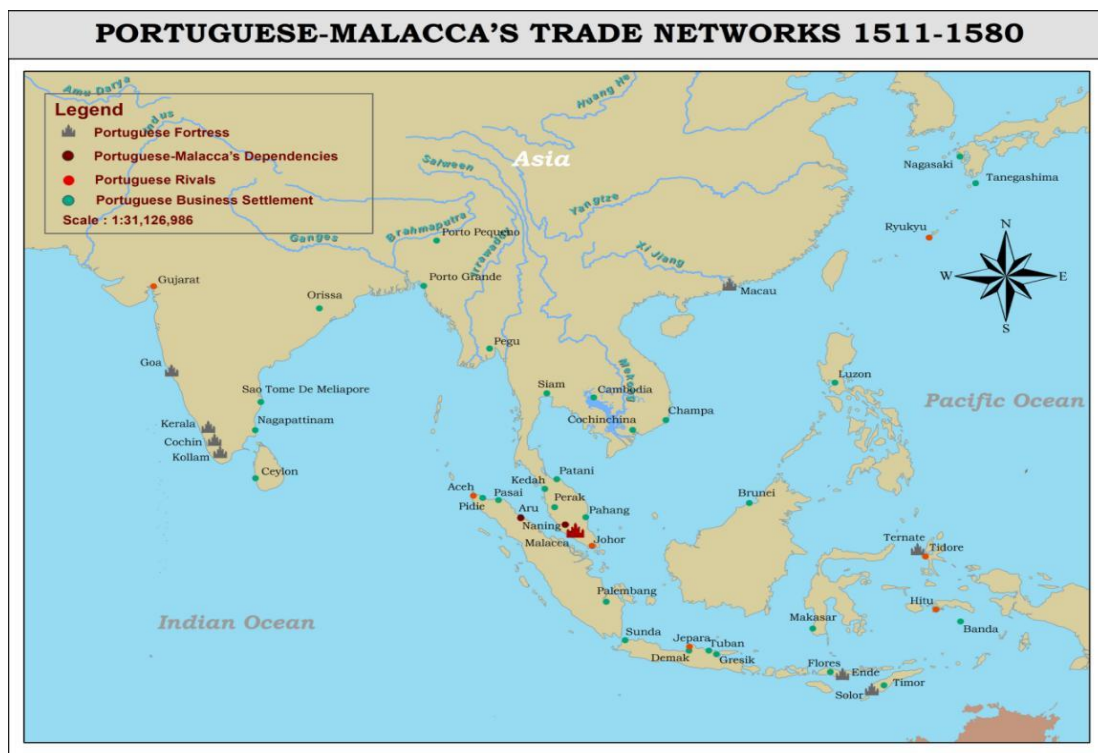
⁴⁸² Bethencourt & Curto. 2007. *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*, p.3; Boxer. 1961. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, p.18; Polónia. 2017. "Self-Organised Networks", p.137; Thomaz. 1994. *De Ceuta a Timor*, p.207; Souza. 1995. "Luis Filipe Thomaz and the Portuguese Expansion from Ceuta to Timor", p.135.

⁴⁸³ Whether the state was a monarchy or a republic, it used monopolies as the key to its relationships with overseas and imperial areas. These monopolies could be territorial (colonies of settlement), administrative (colonial or territorial governments), commercial (through the enforcement and use of trading monopolies, privileges and rights) or religious (tentative religious homogenization through missionary work) in character. And all these monopolies, often operating simultaneously, had the goal of bringing newly conquered areas under the umbrella of the state (Antunes & Polónia. 2016. *Beyond Empires*, p.9).

⁴⁸⁴ Antunes & Polónia. 2016. "Beyond Empires: Global, Self-organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks", p.7; Antunes. 2012. "Free Agents and Formal Institutions", p.7.

⁴⁸⁵ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies*.

Figure 16 Portuguese-Malacca's Trade Networks 1511-1580



Sources: Author's map based on Meilink-Roelofs (1962); Pires (1944); Villiers (1985); Matos (1995); Boxer (1968); Heuken (2002); Thomaz (2000).

The Portuguese gradually resembled the Javanese in controlling the spice trade along the Malacca-Moluccas axis during the 16th century⁴⁸⁶. However, imperial diplomacy failed to seek mutual exchanges with the Ming Dynasty of China. Still, the private agents could convince the Chinese after they helped them to protect the Chinese coast from the Japanese pirates or *Wako*⁴⁸⁷. They understood that Chinese permission was crucial for controlling commercial affairs in the South China Sea. The Portuguese had the privilege to establish a settlement in Macau. They became the intermediaries of the China-Japan trade due to the imperial ban preventing Chinese traders from dealing with the Japanese through the Macau-Nagasaki connection⁴⁸⁸. The Portuguese Crown also linked East to India. The Crown encouraged the Portuguese *Casados* to invest their

⁴⁸⁶ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, pp.153-162.

⁴⁸⁷ Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*.

⁴⁸⁸ Boxer. 1986. *The Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries*; Boxer. 1991. *Estudos Para A Historia de Macau*; Boxer. 1993. *Macau Na Época da Restauração*; Boxer. 1963. "The Great Ship from Amacon".

capital in this long distance trade. The *Casados* also exploited intra Asian trade after the Crown did not conduct the country trade in the Malay world⁴⁸⁹.

2.5.1. Portuguese Malacca's Trade with the Malay Peninsula

The exiled Malaccan Sultan established a new sultanate, known as Johor Sultanate, and still exercised authority over his territory, seriously threatening the Portuguese control over Malacca. The Johorese Sultan allied himself with Pahang and Perak and instructed his seamen to disturb the Portuguese shipping. The Johorese attempted to control export. Various merchants, including the Chinese traders, soon preferred trading with Johor over dealing with Malacca. The Johorese growth forced the Portuguese to attack. In return, the Malays also took revenge and tried to capture Malacca, while the Johorese failure to do so had weakened its power. When the Acehese invaded, Johor could not defend its town and soon asked the Portuguese for protection against Acehese expansion. The Luso-Johorese peace treaty was concluded in 1536⁴⁹⁰. Johor led the Malay states to supply the retail market in Malacca. However, the Acehese saw their friendship as a threat. When the Acehese invaded Aru in 1540, the Luso-Malay forces helped Aru defend its town. The Luso-Malay axis broke down when the sultan forced Asian ships to call at his ports and pay duty there. The Johorese also led their Islamic league to invade Malacca in 1551⁴⁹¹.

Besides handling Johor, the Portuguese also contacted the tin producers. The Portuguese captains in Malacca repeatedly ensured that Malacca would be reliably supplied with Malay tin. The Portuguese also established a trading post there. The King of Perak merely paid tribute, in the form of tin, to the Portuguese if the Portuguese assisted Perak against the Acehese. Therefore, the Portuguese exported the Indian textiles in exchange for the tin in Perak and other tin-producing states. The Portuguese

⁴⁸⁹ Prakash. 1990. "Long Distance Maritime Trade in Asia", pp.29-33.

⁴⁹⁰ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.139-141.

⁴⁹¹ A Carta do Francisco Peres a o Rey, 24 November 1551, BAL 49-IV-49, fl.131v-134, Published in DHMPPPI, II, No.9, p.57; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.24-5; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.141.

also exported their cloth and opium to Pahang. In Pahang, they could obtain rice and dyewoods⁴⁹².

2.5.2. Portuguese Malacca's Trade with Sumatra

In search of spices, the Portuguese had determined to visit Sumatra. They sailed from India to the Far East, where the spices originated. Before entering the Straits of Malacca, they called at Sumatran ports of Pasai and Pidie in 1509. Concluding a treaty of peace and friendship with both kings⁴⁹³. Their early encounter with the Malaccans, however, did not go well. Malaccan merchants plotted with officials to expel the Portuguese. While, the captain could escape and sail back to India, the Malaccans imprisoned some Portuguese crews causing the Governor of India, Afonso de Albuquerque, to launch a war against Malacca in 1511. He led the fleet and called at Pidie and Pasai. Pidie could not welcome the Portuguese, though, as they had captured some Gujarati ships. If the Portuguese returned what they had already taken, the king would allow them to buy and sell their products in Pidie⁴⁹⁴. The Portuguese rather left Pidie and moved on to Pasai. Albuquerque attempted to negotiate a peace treaty there. As Pidie had done, the Pasai King also refused the Portuguese proposal, so that they decided to sail on to Malacca⁴⁹⁵.

Even after capturing Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese could not dominate the straits. Aceh transformed its system to be a sultanate and welcomed Muslim merchant communities, whose growth threatened the Portuguese in Malacca. They in turn tried to control Pasai. Between 1512 and 1519, the Portuguese captains in Malacca sent six embassies there. They not merely traded but also established a peace treaty. Yet

⁴⁹² Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.164-5.

⁴⁹³ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.36; Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the unknown Portuguese, Codex Additional 20, 901 in the Egerton Collection of British Museum; published in PDOM, pp.25-7.

⁴⁹⁴ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, pp.192-3; Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, p.143; Noonan. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.68-9; Brown (Ed). 1952. "The Malay Annals", p.167; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.267; Adil. 1970. *the History of Malacca Sultanate*, pp.60-1.

⁴⁹⁵ A letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to Lionardo concerning the voyage to Malacca, 12 July 1514, published in JEHRAA, pp.193-5; Barros. 2012. *The Second Decade of Asia*, published in PDOM, pp.145-9

during the 1520s, the Acehnese expanded their sphere of influence and conquered all realms in the north of Sumatra, including Pasai and Pidie⁴⁹⁶. Throughout the 16th century, the Acehnese became an aggressive sultanate. They changed their trading route from passing the Straits of Malacca to sailing southward along the west coast of Sumatra. They also regularly attacked Malacca. On the other hand, there were peaceful period during the Luso-Acehnese dispute, and the Portuguese private traders exploited the Acehnese markets. At least eighty merchants went to trade there during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1588-1604)⁴⁹⁷.

2.5.3. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Siam⁴⁹⁸

During the Portuguese invasion of Malacca, Afonso de Albuquerque sent his envoy to Siam. As he had learned that there was a dispute between Malacca and Siam. Albuquerque took this opportunity to approach the Siamese King. His envoy Duarte Fernandes left Malacca on a Chinese ship, navigated the Straits of Singapore and the Gulf of Siam before entering the Menam River. The Siamese officials welcomed and directed the Portuguese to the Siamese capital of Ayudya (Bangkok). At the palace, the Portuguese informed the Siamese King, Rama Tibodi II, that Malacca would be under the King of Portugal who desired a peaceful and friendly relationship between Portuguese-Malacca and Siam. For Albuquerque, Siam was a potential trading partner to revive Malacca. He asked the Siamese merchants to populate Malacca. Duarte

⁴⁹⁶ Carta de Fernão Peres de Andrade, Capitão das Molucas, para o governador da Índia, em que dá conta de varios successos da guerra naquelle archipelago, 22 Fevereiro 1513, ANTT, CC, p.1, Maço.12, d.56, Published in CAA, III, pp.51-65; Carta Ruy de Brito a Afonso de Albuquerque sobre Cousas de Malaca, 6 Janeiro 1514, ANTT, CC, p.1, Maço.12, D.73, Published in CAA, III, pp.216-231; Carta de Simao Andrade a el-rei D. Manuel a respeito da Índia, 10 Agosto 1518, Published in AGTT, V, pp.123-7; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, pp.76-7, p.79 & pp.80-1; Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, pp.356-7; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.333-8; Alves. 1999. *O Dominio do Norte de Samatra*, p.102 & pp.109-111; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto (Eds). 2010. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*, p.28; Azra & Burhanudin (Eds). 2012. *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.23.

⁴⁹⁷ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.140-1 & p.144; Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh", p.426; Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, p.76; Pinto. 2002. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.76.

⁴⁹⁸ The earliest version of this sub-sub chapter was presented at Summer School in Global and Transnational History: Theories, Methodology, and Case Studies, organised by European University Institute, Florence, 9-12 September 2019.

Fernandes went and gifted the ornate sword to the Siamese King. In return, the Siamese also gave the sword to the King of Portugal. In Malay culture, ornate swords and daggers represented power and authority. Therefore, these presents might reflect they respected each other and were ready to collaborate⁴⁹⁹.

Albuquerque maintained his friendship with the Siamese for the security and supply of Malacca. He sent his envoys under Antonio Miranda de Azevedo to Siam in January 1512. He also asked Manuel Fragoso to survey Siamese manners, dress, trade, and harbours. The Portuguese envoys succeeded in establishing a friendly alliance and returned to Malacca in January 1513⁵⁰⁰. From then onwards, the Luso-Siamese business began to be regular, but dominated by the royal monopoly. In 1518, the Portuguese Captain in Malacca sent Duarte Coelho to the Siamese court in Ayudya. Duarte Coelho had an experience living in Thai society in 1516. Coelho accidentally entered the Menam River and resided in the Thai capital before returning to Malacca. The Portuguese ambassador was instructed to confirm Luso-Siamese peace and friendship in Siam. Duarte Coelho and his companions returned and arrived at Malacca in November 1519⁵⁰¹. From 1518 to 1523, the Portuguese Crown sent four junks to Siam, carrying Indonesian spices and other products to Siam. In the Siamese ports, they sold them or exchanged them for gold, silver, or food, mainly rice⁵⁰².

Interestingly, an informal initiative was established between Portuguese private merchant André de Brito and the Siamese Kingdom in 1523. It was a signal that the private merchants began to dominate the Luso-Siamese trade. This caused the Crown to change its policy after 1550, it granted and rented its trading privilege to private merchants. In 1564, Fernando Gonçalves Gavião obtained the concession for trade

⁴⁹⁹ Albuquerque. 1875. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque*, Vol.III, pp.156-9; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.137-8; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.7-9; Flores. 1991. *Os portugueses e o Sião*, pp.26-8.

⁵⁰⁰ Carta de Fernando Peres de Andrade, Capitão das Molucas, para o governador da Índia, em que dá conta de varios successos da guerra naquelle archipelago, Cananor, 22 de Fevereiro de 1513, Published in CAA, III, pp.51-65; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.9-15; Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o Sião*, pp.28-31.

⁵⁰¹ Barros. 1563. *Decada Terceira da Asia*, fl.35 & fls.41-3; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.17-20; Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o Sião*, p.39 & p.43.

⁵⁰² Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o Sião*, pp.33-5.

between Malacca and Tenasserim. He brought the Coromandel textiles and cotton to Tenasserim. Before returning to Malacca and India, he purchased gold, silver, and rice. Gaspar de Vasconcelos in 1568 and Duarte Machado in 1578, other private Portuguese merchants also gained the same concession. Other private merchants also traded in the Siamese ports. In 1544, Alonso Henriques de Sepulveda carried a cargo of pepper to be sold in Siam and China. In 1550, Francisco de Aguiar sailed on a Muslim junk to Tenasserim, where he met and assisted his trading partner, Pedro Henriques⁵⁰³.

The private merchants also self-organised their trade networks with the Siamese vassals of Patani and Kedah. After 1533, Manuel Godinho made huge profits after exploiting the markets in Patani. Patani seemed to be a place where various merchants from the Chinese World met and traded. Therefore, Godinho could purchase and re-sell the Chinese products. In Kedah, the private merchants also received the same treatment. They could buy high-quality pepper in Kedah and sell it to Bengal, Makasar, Perak, China, Pegu, and Malacca. Considering the lucrative trade in Patani and Kedah, the Portuguese captain in Malacca formalised the Malacca-Patani and Malacca-Kedah routes; and, starting in 1580, sold concessions for these for 400 Cruzados each⁵⁰⁴.

2.5.4. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Pegu

The Mon Kingdom was situated in the Irrawaddy Delta. Its capital, Pegu was located between Pegu Mountain in the west and the Sittang River in the east; some people also referred to the Mon as the "Pegu Kingdom". The country produced a lot of rice and the capital became a centre for collecting rice. Besides Pegu, the Mon Kingdom also had other three pivotal port cities of Cosmim (Bassein), Degum (Rangoon or Yangon), and Martaban (Mottama). For the Portuguese, the Mon Kingdom was a potential trading partner. Along with Java and Siam, Mon could feed rice to the inhabitants of Malacca. While also providing gold and some jungle products. Those

⁵⁰³ Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o Sião*, pp.81-3 & p.87.

⁵⁰⁴ Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p.107; Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o Sião*, pp.94-5 & p.99.

commodities attracted trans-national merchants with various items to sell in the Peguan markets⁵⁰⁵.

After he had conquered Malacca, Afonso de Albuquerque sent Ruy Nunes da Cunha to Pegu. Upon leaving Malacca, Nunes da Cunha sailed to Pegu via Perak, Tenasserim and Martaban. He proposed Luso-Peguan friendship and peaceful trade. The Peguan realised that they needed Malacca to export their agricultural products. In return, the Portuguese also wanted Peguan rice for the inhabitants of Malacca, so that the Luso-Peguan rice trade seemed to be reciprocal. In the following year, the Portuguese Captain of Malacca, Rui de Brito Patalim and Nina Chatu exported the Malaccan products to Pegu. In 1513, the Portuguese started to import rice from Pegu. Pero Pais was instructed to buy a Peguan junk and load it with rice for the fortress of Malacca, an enterprise he repeated the following year. António Diniz, as the royal scrivener, accompanied him to Pegu⁵⁰⁶.

In 1516, the Portuguese tried to solicit friendship with the Mon Kingdom again. Henrique Leme was instructed to travel to Pegu. Besides being an ambassador, the Portuguese Captain Jorge de Brito granted him a trading license to Martaban and Cosmim. Leme loaded his vessel with rice in Martaban, and established a factory in Cosmim. His crew, however, began to steal. Therefore, the Peguan officials expelled the Portuguese from Cosmim. The Portuguese envoys escaped and reached Pasai safely⁵⁰⁷. In 1519, the Portuguese tried to fix their relationship with the Mon Kingdom. They sent Francisco Lamprea and Jorge de Pyna. By then, the locals no longer wanted to sell their rice to the Portuguese. The unfriendly reception forced the Portuguese to return to Malacca. In September 1519, António Correia arrived at Martaban and

⁵⁰⁵ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.94-5; Thomaz. 1966. *De Malaca a Pegu*, pp.21-3; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.138.

⁵⁰⁶ Carta de Ruy de Brito, Capitão de Malaca, para El-rei Dom Manuel, Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514, Published in CAA, III, pp.91-7; Carta de Ruy de Brito a Afonso de Albuquerque sobre cousas de Malaca, Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514, Published in CAA, III, pp.216-231; Carta do Capitão de Malaca, Jorge de Albuquerque a el-rei, Dom Manuel, Malaca, 8 de Janeiro de 1515, Published in CAA, III, pp.133-9; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.21-2; Thomaz. 1966. *De Malaca a Pegu*, pp.27-8 & p.31.

⁵⁰⁷ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.22-5.

managed to win the local's trust. He asked the Peguan to direct his envoys to the palace as they had been instructed to conclude a treaty of friendship and peaceful commerce, in which they succeeded in establishing⁵⁰⁸.

2.5.5. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Cambodia

Cambodia is located in the Mekong Delta on the Southeast Asian Mainland. Its fertile land provided some agricultural products, but Cambodia did not have spices or other precious commodities. Cambodia also failed to attract the Portuguese and other foreign merchants. Between 1555 and 1556, the Dominican missionary Gaspar da Cruz visited Cambodia. He aimed to preach Catholicism, but Cambodia was a very infertile soil for the nurturing Christianity. Cruz never met the Cambodian monarch, as King Ang Chan of Cambodia (1516-1566) disliked his teaching. The Dominican decided to continue his journey to China⁵⁰⁹.

2.5.6. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Cochinchina and Champa

The voyage of the Portuguese to the land, that is known today as Vietnam, began when Fernão Peres de Andrade was instructed to sail to China. During the journey, his fleet called at Cochinchina and Champa. He also surveyed Vietnamese manners and commerce in 1516. The locals welcomed the Portuguese, and they began to establish their amity. Fernão Peres conciliated the locals through an interpreter and by returning the arms and property he had taken from them, but, they did not conduct any trade⁵¹⁰.

2.5.7. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Gujarat

The Gujaratis were the leading merchant community during the sultanate. Along with the Malays, they formed the networks of Islamic trade with Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and Siam. The Gujarati fleet sailed in convoys with various merchants from the west of Gujarat. When the Portuguese penetrated the Malay World, the Gujarati merchants opposed the newcomers. After the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511, the Gujaratis lost their place and escaped to Aceh and Java. In early Malacca, the

⁵⁰⁸ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.25-8.

⁵⁰⁹ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.29-31.

⁵¹⁰ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.32-8.

Portuguese did not appoint any Gujarati merchant as a Shahbandar of Malacca. The Malacca-Cambay trade began to decline. In 1520, the Portuguese Captain in Malacca, Jorge de Albuquerque, invited the Gujarati merchants to return and reside in Malacca. but, they were no longer interested⁵¹¹.

2.5.8. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to The Malabar Coast

For the Portuguese, colonializing Malacca meant controlling trade between India, China, and the Spice Islands. They could revive the Asian long-distance business from India to the Far East via Malacca⁵¹². After erecting the fortress in Ternate, the Portuguese sent regular clove ships from Malacca. From 1550 onwards, a routine voyage was started from Goa to the Moluccas and Amboina with a port of call at Malacca on both the outward and return journeys. The Portuguese usually took the sailing routes. In April, they departed from Goa, anchored at Malacca in May, embarked in August, and reached the Moluccas in October. They stayed in the Moluccas for around three months before returning in February. If they sailed via the southern route, they called at Ambon and arrived in Malacca in May. Due to waiting for the monsoon, they would depart from Malacca in November and arrive in Cochin in January. The vessels then reached Goa again in March⁵¹³.

The Portuguese vessels, commanded by private merchants, had to pay 8% duty on each product if they unloaded their cargoes on departure, in a Portuguese port of transit, and upon arrival in the Moluccas. The officials in Ternate taxed a third of the cloves at a rate of 1,500 *Reis* per bahar. The other two-thirds were charged at 30% as a *cukai* (duty). On the return sailing, the merchants paid another 8% if they unloaded their cargo in a transit port of Malacca and at their final destination, for instance, in Goa or Cochin⁵¹⁴. A half of Moluccan cloves, loaded by the Portuguese vessels, were sold in Malacca, considering it was primarily consumed in the Far East. From Malacca,

⁵¹¹ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (edited by Cortesão), II, p.240; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.63; Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp.71-2.

⁵¹² Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, p.27; Souza. 1975. *Goa-based Portuguese Seaborne Trade*, p.440.

⁵¹³ Matos. 1995. *On a Seaway*, pp.90-1; Jacobs. 1979. *Documenta Malucensia*, pp.8-9.

⁵¹⁴ Matos. 1995. *On a Seaway*, p.88.

the bulk of cloves was exported to China, Japan, and Pegu. They were also brought to Bengal and Coromandel with the rest going to India and Portugal⁵¹⁵.

During the 1570s, the Portuguese lost the lucrative spice trade. The people of the Moluccas expelled them and forbade them to trade in spices officially. By then, the Portuguese had developed another route to East Asia. After 1550, the Goan government had sent several fleets, the Macao Carrack, to East Asia. The annual carracks would leave Goa in April or May, laden with wool, scarlet cloth, crystal and glassware, Flemish clock, Portuguese wines, Indian textiles and calico piece goods. The carracks landed in Malacca, and part of the cargo would be exchanged for spices; aromatic woods like sandal, eagle and aloeswood; sharkskins and deer-hides from Siam. From Malacca, the carrack sailed for Macao and Nagasaki. The Portuguese returned to India after trading or bartering their commodities with the precious goods in Nagasaki, Macao, and Malacca⁵¹⁶.

2.5.9. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to The Bay of Bengal

The Bay of Bengal is situated between Coromandel and Pegu, covering the east coast of India, the south of Bangladesh, and the west coast of the Southeast Asian Mainland. During the 1510s, the private Portuguese merchant, who had retired from the military duties, autonomously made contact with Coromandel. On the Coromandel Coast, they visited the cosmopolitan port of Pulicat. They also went to other ports, including Satgaon and Chittagong. In the late 1510s, there were between two and three hundred Portuguese merchants. They tried to seek their trading post and the last resting place of the Apostle St. Thomas in southern India. In 1518, they found a tomb in Meliapor in the south of Pulicat. The Crown formalised their discovery and rationalised the extension of its administrative network to Coromandel. The Portuguese held Pulicat, São Tomé de Meliapor and Nagapattinam⁵¹⁷.

⁵¹⁵ Matos. 1995. *On a Seaway*, pp.92-3; Mukherjee. 2008. *The Struggle for the Bay*, p.67 & p.76; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.17-25 & pp.32-9.

⁵¹⁶ Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.15-6; Mukherjee. 2008. *The Struggle for the Bay*, p.67 & p.76; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.17-25 & pp.32-9.

⁵¹⁷ Winius 1983. "The Shadow Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal", p.86; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.25-30.

São Tomé de Meliapor transformed into an informal Portuguese settlement. Compared to other areas, from Pulicat to the Hughli area, São Tomé de Meliapor was far more populated. The Portuguese tried in vain to discover São Tomé when Diogo Lopes de Siqueira went to Malacca in 1509. When the Portuguese in Malacca, in partnership with Nina Chatu, sent their junks in 1514, while the Portuguese in Goa explored there in 1517. In 1522, the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, Dom Duarte de Menezes, sent Manuel de Frias to organise the provision of rice and other commodities for Goa. In 1523, Dom Duarte sent a ship with a skilled mason to repair the tumbledown house in São Tomé de Meliapor. Not long after, the post of *Capitão do Coromandel* was instituted with authority over the navigations in the entire Bay of Bengal. During the 1530s, São Tomé de Meliapor had fifty households and a hundred *Casados*. São Tomé de Meliapor was not under Goan control, and its inhabitants appointed their captain after establishing a settlement. The inhabitants of São Tomé de Meliapor were merely interested in becoming rich⁵¹⁸.

During the 16th century, the Portuguese succeeded in linking Bengal with Malacca. Three navigational routes were established: (1) Malacca-Bengal-Malacca; (2) Bengal-Syriam-Malacca-Bengal; and (3) Bengal-Goa-Malacca-Bengal. In 1550, the traffic of direct trade between Bengal and Malacca decreased significantly. The Crown re-oriented the navigational route via Goa. Therefore, the Portuguese on the Coromandel Coast carried their textiles via Goa and sailed to Malacca before returning to Coromandel. From 1550 onwards, the Portuguese Crown decided to grant or rent the concession trade between Coromandel and Malacca after losing royal ship in 1546. The trading concession system reached its peak around 1570. In 1580, the Portuguese Crown gained 6,000 Cruzados from leasing the concession voyage⁵¹⁹.

⁵¹⁸ Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.114; Winus. 1983. "The Shadow Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal", pp.86-8.

⁵¹⁹ Mukherjee. 2008. "The Struggle for the Bay", p.67 & p.76; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.17-25 & pp.32-9.

2.5.10. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Sunda⁵²⁰

The decline of Majapahit in the late 15th century encouraged the geopolitical change in Java. The port cities on its north coast had transformed themselves into sultanates. They succeeded in liberating themselves from Majapahit's control. Demak Sultanate seemed to dominate the political and trading activities in Central Java. Demak used its port of Jepara to welcome the spice traders, using the southern route from Malacca to the Moluccas and vice versa. After the Portuguese had captured, Demak could no longer trade freely⁵²¹ as the Portuguese attempted to monopolise the Indonesian spices. The Portuguese monopoly greatly disturbed the Javanese enterprise. The Javanese Sultanate of Demak could purchase the spices, but they could not distribute them to Malacca. Adipati Unus of Demak had no choice but to lead a Javanese armada to invade Malacca in 1512⁵²². However, the Portuguese destroyed the Javanese forces, although they still needed a transit port to reach the Moluccas. The Portuguese, then, welcomed envoys from Sunda.

Sunda was a Hindu kingdom in the western part of Java with several ports such as Banten, Pontang (Serang), Tangerang, Cigede, Kalapa (Jakarta), and Cimanuk. Sunda was well-known for its various commodities. They had better pepper than Cochin; slaves from the Maldives Islands; rice; unlimited vegetables; large quantities of meats, pigs, goats, sheep, and cows⁵²³. These merchandise and provisions had already attracted various merchants to visit from century to century. In the late 15th century, Muslim merchant communities began to inhabit Java, although the Sundanese harbour-masters restricted those Muslim merchants coming to the Sundanese ports. The Sundanese might have instructed this policy to decrease Muslim presence in West

⁵²⁰ The earliest version of this sub-sub chapter was presented at the Historical National Conference on Global Cooperation and Interconnection, organised by Indonesian Historian Society and Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, Jakarta, 8-11 November 2021; and at the 9th International Conference on Southeast Asia (ICONSEA) 2021, organised by Malaya University, Kuala Lumpur, 2-3 December 2021.

⁵²¹ Rahardjo & Ramelan. 1997. *Kota Demak sebagai Bandar Dagang di Jalur Sutra*, p.61; Thomaz. 1991. *Nina Chatu and the Portuguese Trade in Malacca*, p.32; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.67; Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol di Maluku*, p.20.

⁵²² Hayati, Yulianti, & Sugiyarto. 2000. *Peranan Ratu Kalinyamat di Jepara*, pp.12-13.

⁵²³ Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), I, p.166; Sedyawati & Djafar (Eds). 2021. *Kerajaan Hindu-Buddha, dalam Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.250.

Java. As seen in Java, the Sundanese seemed afraid of being converted to Islam⁵²⁴. Besides, the King of Sunda might have considered the influence of the strength of two neighbouring sultanates. There were also a lot of Javanese and Gujarati traders staying in Cimanuk⁵²⁵. Sri Baduga Maharaja of Sunda sent Prince Suruwisesa to Malacca in 1512 and again in 1521 to negotiate for Portuguese protection. In return, the Sundanese would annually supply pepper⁵²⁶.

In 1518, the Portuguese captain of Malacca sent Nuno Freyre to Sunda merely to visit and survey. For Freyre, Sunda had significant pepper, rice, slaves, and gold⁵²⁷. In 1520, Jorge Quaresma was sent to load the pepper and ask the Sundanese to give the land where the Portuguese could erect their fortress in West Java⁵²⁸.

The reinforcement of the Luso-Sunda alliance forced Demak to expand further, if they wanted to decrease the Portuguese influence in Java. Adipati Unus laid siege to Malacca in 1521. The Javanese invasion certainly positioned Sunda in a dangerous situation, causing the sultan's plea for Portuguese protection. In 1522, Jorge de Albuquerque as Portuguese Captain of Malacca sent Henrique Leme to Sunda. On August 21, 1522, the Portuguese representative and Prince Suruwisesa and his men consisting of *Tumenggung* (A High Official), *Sang Adipati* (Provincial Chief), *Bendahara* (A Treasurer), and *Shahbandar* (Harbourmaster) arranged for a peace and trade treaty. Sunda should barter the Portuguese protection with the pepper supply to Malacca and establish a Portuguese fortress in West Java⁵²⁹. The *Tumenggung* was instructed to assist the Portuguese to build the defence and guided the Portuguese to the mouth of the Ciliwung River where the land was situated. The Portuguese placed a *padrão*

⁵²⁴ Sedyawati & Djafar (Eds). 2021. *Kerajaan Hindu-Buddha, dalam Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.253.

⁵²⁵ Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, p.61.

⁵²⁶ Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, p.94.

⁵²⁷ Carta a el-rei Dom Manuel na qual se expõem a má administração que havia em Malaca e a necessidade de conservar esta terra, Malaca, 15 de Agosto de 1518, Published in AGTT, V, p.480; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies*, pp.61-2.

⁵²⁸ Carta de Garcia Chainho a el-rei, Malaca, 31 de Agosto de 1521, Corpo Cronológico, Parte III, Maço 7, Doc.115; Smith 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies*, p.64; Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, p.94.

⁵²⁹ Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, pp.69-85.

stone⁵³⁰ to declare that Kalapa was officially under the Portuguese Crown. They also gained a thousand sacks of pepper as proof of peace and friendship⁵³¹. After the treaty was agreed, Henrique Leme returned to Malacca with an agreement letter between the Portuguese and Sundanese representatives⁵³².

The Luso-Sunda alliance heated the political upheavals of Java. Sultan Trenggana of Demak aggressively extended his possession to Java. Demak allied with Cirebon to capture Banten in 1526. In the same year, Fatahillah led the Demak-Cirebon forces to capture Kalapa in November 1526 before Francisco de Sá arrived in December. The Portuguese fleet was prevented from anchoring at Kalapa, and sailed to Banten instead before returning to Malacca⁵³³.

2.5.11. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Java

Various mercantile Javanese towns had different interests regarding the Portuguese presence in Java in the early 16th century. Those handling the intermediary trade in spices seemed to be threatened. Some cities in Central Java, mainly Demak and Jepara, attempted to control Malacca. The Javanese chief in Jepara, Pati Unus, descended from a Malaccan merchant who had seized power in Jepara by force. Pati Unus and Jepara depended on the spice trade. Jepara could not sell the spices directly to the foreign merchants in Malacca. Rather, the Javanese were to sell it via the Portuguese market. Sometimes, the Portuguese also imposed extra duties for the imported products. Therefore, the Portuguese exclusivity led the Javanese to make a futile

⁵³⁰ The *Padrão* (stone-pillar) is written as follows: "(First line) There is a Cross of the Order of Christ, which is well known as the successor of the order of the temple of Jerusalem in the realm of the kings of Portugal. This cross is on the left side on top of the letter O or D; (Second Line) DSPOR which should be D.S.POR, a grammalogue for senhorio de Portugal, the lordship of Portugal; (Third and Fourth lines) ESFERA/Mo an other grammalogue of esfera do Mundo, which means the sphere of the world: the hope of the world or the sphere of influence; and (Fifth line) there maybe another cross similar to that in the first line but blurred (Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources*, p.81).

⁵³¹ Capitulação de el-rei de Sunda para que se fizesse no seu porto uma fortaleza. Porto de Sunda, 21 de Agosto de 1522, Gavetas XV-8-2, Published in AGTT, IV, p.196; Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, pp.76-78.

⁵³² Couto. 1602. *Decada Quarta De Asia*, I, 13, fl.82; Capitulação de el-rei de Sunda para que se fizesse no seu porto uma fortaleza. Porto de Sunda, 21 de Agosto de 1522, Gavetas XV-8-2, Published in AGTT, IV, p.196.

⁵³³ Heuken. 2002. *The Earliest Portuguese Sources for the History of Jakarta*, p.80 & p.94; Sedyawati & Djafar (Eds). 2021. *Kerajaan Hindu-Buddha, dalam Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.253.

attempt to invade in 1512. Instead, the Javanese ended up paying homage to the Portuguese. When João Lopes de Alvim and his fleet arrived at Jepara in 1513, the Javanese made them welcomed⁵³⁴.

In other Muslim ports, for instance, Gresik, Tuban, and Banten, the Portuguese could land and trade in peace. They first arrived in Java when, in early 1512, the fleet of António de Abreu anchored at the port of Gresik on the northern coast of East Java. Gresik was a transit port for the spice trading vessels from Malacca or the Spice Islands. Before the first Portuguese fleet, Afonso de Albuquerque had sent Nahkoda Ismael, the native merchant from Malacca, to spread the news of the Portuguese conquest of the town. Albuquerque hoped that the kings of Java would prefer to befriend and welcome the Portuguese fleet. At least, Ismael had influenced the chief of Gresik to receive António de Abreu and his fleet. After calling at Gresik, Ismael's ship sailed to the Spice Islands and brought cloves to Java⁵³⁵.

The fleet of João Lopes de Alvim with Tomé Pires as a factor (feitor) of the armada departed from Malacca on March 14, 1513. They visited the coast of Java between the Cimanuk River and Gresik, first calling at Jepara and then sailing east from Rembang towards Tuban. The Portuguese were received hospitably by Daria Tima de Raja of Tuban. At that time, Tuban was under Majapahit. On June 22, 1513, the Portuguese returned to Malacca and fetched 1,200 quintals of cloves⁵³⁶. During the following years, several Portuguese fleets landed at various ports in East Java. In 1514 and 1515, the fleets of António de Miranda de Azevedo called at Gresik. Other fleets, commanded by Álvaro de Cocho, Álvaro Diogo Coelho, Francisco Pereira, and Jorge de Lanções, were stationed in Gresik before continuing their voyages during the 1516s⁵³⁷.

⁵³⁴ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.138 & p.147.

⁵³⁵ Carta de Ruy de Brito, Capitão de Malaca para el-rei D. Manuel, informando sobre os produtos e commercio de algumas terras do Oriente, Published in CAA, III, pp.91-7; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.57-61; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.138.

⁵³⁶ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, pp.57-61.

⁵³⁷ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of Portuguese Embassies Navigations and Peregrinations*, p.63.

Besides looking for regular support from the Sundanese ruler during the 1520s, the Portuguese maintained a good relationship with the Javanese ports, as they wanted to ensure the food supplies for Malacca. They regularly traded in Gresik, Surabaya, and Tuban. By 1523, however, Gresik was already unsafe for Portuguese traders⁵³⁸. Gresik may have joined the Islamic league against the Portuguese. During the 1540s, the Javanese changed their policy. After Sultan Trenggana of Demak ascended to the throne, he merely focused on enlarging his sphere of influence in Java. This gave the Portuguese an opportunity to access the Javanese markets, as reported by Fernão Mendes Pinto. Mendes Pinto resided and traded in Banten before assisting Demak to invade Panarukan. He witnessed the death of Sultan Trenggana during the invasion of Panarukan⁵³⁹, which led to multidimensional upheavals involving social conflict. The absence of the king also allowed many merchants and their slaves to loot trading vessels, anchoring in various ports under the Demak Sultanate. They raided a hundred junks and murdered more than five thousand ship's crews⁵⁴⁰.

King Panarukan and Prince Blambangan showed their power. They captured all criminals and hanged them along the coast to terrorise the Demak officials. This in turn angered Patih Cirebon who led a thousand men to attack King Panarukan and his troops. The war could not be prevented. Both parties destroyed the town of Demak, burned more than thousand homes, and murdered three hundred thousand souls. Another three hundred thousand men were enslaved and sold⁵⁴¹. Only after the people of Cirebon defeated those attackers, peace was established in Demak. King Panarukan escaped and sailed back to his palace. He was afraid that the new ruler would take revenge⁵⁴².

Sunan Prawata replaced his father and became the Javanese King of Demak. Sunan Prawata was a pious man and tried to Islamise Java⁵⁴³. He also intended to send ten

⁵³⁸ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.148.

⁵³⁹ Graaf & Pigeaud. 1974. *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa*, p.66.

⁵⁴⁰ Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, pp.93-4.

⁵⁴¹ Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p.394.

⁵⁴² Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, p.395.

⁵⁴³ Informações de Manuel Pinto ao Bispo de Goa sobre Algumas Conversões em Macacar, Malaca, 7 de Dezembro de 1548, BAL: 49-IV-49, Published in DPHMPPOI, Vol.1, p.590.

thousand men to Makasar and convert the locals. The Portuguese Priest Manuel Pinto, who visited and talked with the Javanese King, reminded the king that Makasar already belonged to the king of Portugal and dissuaded him. The priest believed that the sultan was interested in the spread of Islam and seizing control of Makasar. Sunan Prawata assumed that he could trounce Malacca by cutting the rice supply from Makasar and Java⁵⁴⁴.

The rule of Sunan Prawata in Demak was short. Arya Penangsang of Jipang succeeded in murdering Sunan Prawata in 1549, his younger sister, Retna Kencana, who was later known as Queen Kalinyamat, to rule Demak and its dependencies. She moved the capital of Demak from Prawata to Jepara⁵⁴⁵. Queen Kalinyamat tried to develop Jepara as an depot on the Indonesian spice sailing and trading routes⁵⁴⁶. She eventually brought geopolitical stability to Jepara, which attracted many merchants to the port, and Jepara became prosperous. Moreover, Jepara also had diplomatic relations with other Javanese states, including Banten, Cirebon, Pajang, Tuban, Pasuruan, and Gresik⁵⁴⁷. Jepara also succeeded in extending its influence to Bangka and Tanjungpura in Sumatra and Lawai in Borneo. Jepara also had a commercial connection to the clove producer of Hitu⁵⁴⁸.

This Islamic spice trade networks might have created the idea of global pan-Islamism. On one side, Aceh took a role in establishing pan-Islamism when it sent its envoys to the Ottoman Empire⁵⁴⁹. On the other side, Jepara also played a pivotal role in building

⁵⁴⁴ Informações de Manuel Pinto ao Bispo de Goa sobre Algumas Conversões em Macacar, Malaca, 7 de Dezembro de 1548, BAL: 49-IV-49; DPHMPPOI, Vol.1, pag.590; Graaf & Pigeaud. 1974. *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa*, p.89; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.36.

⁵⁴⁵ Purwadi & Toyoda (Eds). 2005. *Babad Tanah Jawi*, pp.102-9; Hayati. 2000. *Peranan Ratu Kalinyamat di Jepara*, p.52.

⁵⁴⁶ Hayati. 2000. *Peranan Ratu Kalinyamat di Jepara*, pp.51-2; Achmad. 2019. *Ratu Kalinyamat*, p.26.

⁵⁴⁷ Daldjoeni. 1992. *Geografi Kesenjajaran Indonesia II*, p.135; Reid. 2011. *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga*, p.84; Mustakim & Jarwanto. 2019. *Gresik Kajian Sejarah Sosial dan Ekonomi Maritim*, p.160.

⁵⁴⁸ Daldjoeni. 1992. *Geografi Kesenjajaran Indonesia II*, p.135; Hayati. 2000. *Peranan Ratu Kalinyamat di Jepara*, p.29; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.148-9; Atmosiswartoputra. 2018. *Perempuan-Perempuan Pengukir Sejarah*, pp.34-5.

⁵⁴⁹ Kadi & Peacock (Eds). 2020. *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, pp.47-9; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, p.31; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.144-5.

Indonesian Islamic networks⁵⁵⁰. The Islamic union between Aceh and Jepara might have established a massive Islamic league against the Portuguese in Malacca. Both would have wanted to capture Malacca because of its fame as a trading centre. Portuguese-Malacca also had several trading networks with various countries. If the Islamic states captured Malacca, the Portuguese would lose the centre of its trading networks⁵⁵¹. In 1551, Queen Kalinyamat and Johor attempted an invasion of Malacca which, the Portuguese could defeat. She never gave up on resisting the Portuguese hegemony, joined forces with Aceh to attack Malacca in 1574, but again the Portuguese could defeat them⁵⁵².

2.5.12. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Borneo

The Portuguese had known about the northern route to the Moluccas via Borneo since Jorge de Albuquerque had obtained information from the Makasarese. In 1518, Lourenço de Gomes was the first Portuguese who called at Brunei (Northern Borneo) before sailing to China. Since 1520, the Portuguese began to use the northern route to reach the Moluccas in forty days. It was a shorter sailing than the southern way via Java. The Portuguese needed the quick route to send military reinforcements to the Moluccas. Besides becoming the transit port, Brunei also provided some saleable products⁵⁵³.

Brunei not merely linked Malacca to the Moluccas but also the Sulu Islands and the Southern Philippines. After departing from Malacca or Johor, the Islamic merchant communities frequently called at Brunei before reaching the Philippines. Most Islamic traders also resided in Brunei after the fall of Malacca in 1511. When Fernão de

⁵⁵⁰ Reid. 2011. *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga*, p.85.

⁵⁵¹ Carta de P. Cristovão da Costa a P. Francesco de Borja, Malaca, 6 de Dezembro 1568, Published in DI, Vol. VII, No.110, pp.530-531.

⁵⁵² Faria e Sousa. 1674. *Asia Portuguesa*, pp.256-8; Couto 1626-75. *Década Sexta da Asia*, pp.251-4; Carta do Francisco Peres a Seus Reino, 24 de Novembro 1551, BAL 49-IV-49, fl.131v - 134, Published in DPHMPPOI, Vol.II, No.9, pp.54-66; Lemos. 1585. *Os Cercos de Malaca*, fls.5-40; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, pp.148-9.

⁵⁵³ Carta de Jorge de Albuquerque, Capitão de Malaca, a El-Rei, Malaca, 8 de Janeiro de 1515, Published in DPHMPPOI, I, pp.76-80; Carta de António de Brito a El-Rei, Ternate, 11 de Fevereiro de 1523, Published in DPHMPPOI, I, p.153; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.18-20; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.93.

Magalhães in the Spanish ship *Vitoria* anchored in Brunei in 1521, the inhabitants of Brunei were Muslim. The Brunei King had embraced Islam and transformed Brunei into a sultanate. After joining the Islamic networks, Brunei became prosperous and extended its possession to Tanjung Pura and Lawai. Brunei's vassals seemed to supply Brunei's food (meat, fish, rice, sago, and wine) and other saleable products (camphor, gold, and diamond)⁵⁵⁴.

2.5.13. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Celebes

The Luso-Makasarese political and trading network was established when both tolerated each other. The Portuguese did not attempt any military conquest or built the fortress in Makasar. They were also permitted to settle among the Makasarese. They preferred to trade collaboratively rather than compete commercially⁵⁵⁵.

Previously, the Portuguese had imagined that Celebes (Sulawesi Island) had gold in great quantities, but had not found any. They merely found that the inhabitants of Celebes were ready and willing to embrace Christianity. In 1534, the Makasarese noblemen converted their religion to Catholicism. In 1538, Antonio Galvão the Portuguese captain of the Moluccas sent Francisco de Castro with two priests to evangelise Celebes. They succeeded in converting the inhabitants and rulers of Sarangani and Mindanao. Adverse winds stopped them from going to Makasar and forced them to return to Ternate⁵⁵⁶.

In 1552, Antonio Paiva with some Portuguese men visited Celebes for three months. Besides trading sandalwood, they also met King Siang in Pangkep (Pangkajene) who received Paiva well. But, Paiva's companions left him and Paiva returned to Malacca. In 1554, the Portuguese Captain of Malacca, Rui Vaz Pereira, was impressed with Paiva's

⁵⁵⁴ Graff. 1977. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Centuries", pp.128-9; Lach. 1994. *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol I, Book 2, pp.580-2; Barbosa. 1921. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (Edited by M.L. Dames), II, pp.206-8.

⁵⁵⁵ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.31-2.

⁵⁵⁶ Carta de Trystão de Ataíde a Conde de Vymyoso, Maluco, 20 de Fevereiro de 1534, Published in AGTT, IX, p.241; Carta de Trystão de Ataíde a El-Rei, Maluco, 20 de Fevereiro de 1534, Published in AGTT, IX, pp.321-4; Castanheda. 1924-33. *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (edited by Pedro de Azevedo & P.M. Laranjo Coelho), VIII, cap.200, pp.522-3; Galvão. 1872. *The Discoveries of the World* (edited by Bethune), pp.208-9; Barros. 1777. *Decada Quarta da Asia*, p.9; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.32-3.

adventure. He sent Paiva with twelve men to Makasar for the single purpose of trading sandalwood. Paiva arrived in Supa (near modern Parepare), where he converted the king to Catholicism, and also reached Gowa. At that time, Gowa was a large city which became a port in the early sixteenth century. Gowa allied with Tallo and agreed to establish the dual kingdom of Makasar in 1565⁵⁵⁷.

Makasar, in South Celebes and therefore within easy reach of the Moluccas via Ambon, was a market of various commodities, for instance, gold, sandalwood, aloeswood, rice, meat and slaves⁵⁵⁸. The Portuguese realised that Makasar was in a strategic location. However, while the Makasarese allowed them to trade, they would not be evangelised. They may have embraced Islam before the 1540s and still tolerated the Portuguese. The Portuguese could access the Makasarese Islamic trade networks, comprising Muslim Malays, Javanese, and Malukans⁵⁵⁹.

2.5.14. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to The Lesser Sunda Islands

The Lesser Sunda Islands consist of Solor, Adonara, Lomblen (Lembata), Flores, Ende, Pantar, Alor, Sumba, Savu, Roti and Timor. These islands were famous for producing sandalwood, as the Portuguese realised when António de Abreu and his fleet landed at Solor before leaving for the Spice Islands in 1511⁵⁶⁰. In 1514, the Portuguese Captain in Malacca, Rui de Brito Patalim, planned to send ships, but, did not have junks to sail to Timor. He wanted to fetch sandalwood, honey, and wax from Timor⁵⁶¹. 1515 saw first contact between the Portuguese and Timor. The Portuguese made regular voyages to the Lesser Sunda Islands, landing mainly in the Amabeno and Mena regions of Timor. They also visited Solor, facing a better climate and a safe anchorage to wait for the suitable monsoon to return. During their stay, they built some huts and loaded the

⁵⁵⁷ Informação sobre as Molucas, Texto II, Primeira Parte, Cap.3, BNL, Fundo Geral, Caixa 199, Doc.41, DPHMPPOL, III, p.362; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.33-4.

⁵⁵⁸ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.36.

⁵⁵⁹ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.38.

⁵⁶⁰ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.99; Teixeira. 1987. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.81.

⁵⁶¹ Carta de Rui de Brito Patalim a D. Afonso de Albuquerque, Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514, ANTT, CC-I-14-52, Published in DPHMPPOL, I, p.54; Carta de Rui de Brito Patalim a El-Rei, Malaca, 6 de Janeiro de 1514, ANTT, CC-I-14-49, Published in DPHMPPOL, I, pp.71-2; Teixeira. 1987. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.81.

cargoes of sandalwoods. While the Portuguese merchants returned to Malacca, the Dominican Order remained to establish a permanent settlement in Solor⁵⁶².

In 1516, the Portuguese fleet under Jorge Fogaça sailed to Timor. It succeeded in trading sandalwood and returned to Malacca. Jorge Fogasa shared the provision with Jorge de Brito, who sent his servants to accompany Jorge Fogasa. Both made a massive profit from selling sandalwood to private Portuguese and Asian merchants in Malacca⁵⁶³.

From 1516 to 1556, the Portuguese might have traded sandalwood with the local merchants. When the Portuguese merchants came to Solor, the trading vessels also brought religious preachers. In 1556, Friar Antonio Taveira came to Solor⁵⁶⁴. He converted a significant number of the local inhabitants. His presence in the Lesser Sunda Islands did not come about by chance. He might have been sent because he had previously been sent to Timor for a specific purpose⁵⁶⁵. In 1558, a secular priest was sent to preach to the newly converted Christians, but he did not visit them and preferred to trade instead⁵⁶⁶. During the 1560s, the Dominicans frequented the Lesser Sunda Islands. In 1561, four Dominicans left Malacca to preach the Catholic doctrine in Solor. In 1566, Fr. António Taveira baptised five thousand people on Timor, Flores, and Solor⁵⁶⁷.

Unlike Portuguese and Asian merchants who did not have permanent settlement in the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Dominicans opened the first Portuguese settlement and a monastery in Solor. By 1566, Fr. António da Cruz had built a fort with five bulwarks, made of lime and stone, to protect the Catholics from the Muslim invaders. The Javanese then besieged Solor from the sea, until a Portuguese ship from the Moluccas attacked and destroyed the Javanese junks, killing many of the crews. The rival threat

⁵⁶² Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.65; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, pp.101-2.

⁵⁶³ Smith. 1968. *the First Age of Portuguese Embassies*, p.56; Carta de Pedro de Faria a el-rei, Malaca, 5 de Janeiro de 1517, Published in AGTT, VI, pp.337-359.

⁵⁶⁴ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.102.

⁵⁶⁵ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.103.

⁵⁶⁶ Carta do Padre Baltasar Dias ao Padre Provincial da India, Malaca, 3 de Dezembro de 1559, BNL, FG, No.4.534, Published in DPHMPPOI, p.345; Teixeira. 1987. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.83.

⁵⁶⁷ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.65; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.104.

led Friar António da Cruz to strengthen his defence and build a solid stone fortress. With the help of the locals and a donation from the State of India, the fortification was started in 1566. While the defence was under construction, the Dominicans did not neglect their spiritual work. They continually opened new Christian communities, for instance, Lamala (Adonara) and Flores⁵⁶⁸.

2.5.15. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Banda Islands

The Banda Islands were a group of islands in the south of Seram Island and Buru Island, consisting of Neira, Banda Besar (Lontor), Ai, Rosengain (Hatta Island), Run, Gunung Api, Pisang (Sjahrir Island), Nailaka, Manukang, Suanggi, and Karaka. However, there were only five islands producing nutmeg and mace, namely Neira, Banda Besar (Lontor), Ai, Rosengain, and Run. The Bandanese spices had attracted various merchants to come, some of them Portuguese. After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque sent a fleet, commanded by António de Abreu, to the Spice Islands in 1512. The Portuguese fleet followed the regular route used by the Javanese. Nahkoda Ismail directed the Portuguese to sail southward from Malacca. The Portuguese fleet passed the west coast of Borneo and entered the Java Sea. They anchored at Gresik in East Java before reaching Banda via the Lesser Sunda Islands⁵⁶⁹.

The Portuguese knew that Banda Islands did not produce anything else but mace and nutmeg. The Bandanese frequently imported the cloves from Ambon-Lease and the Moluccas. They also bartered their mace and nutmeg for food such as sago and rice, carried by the traders from Seram, Kai, Aru, Bima, Makasar, and Java. The Bandanese also welcomed the Indian merchants. They exchanged spices and gold for Indian textiles. Bendahara Nina Chatu, the local administrator in Malacca, advised the Portuguese to bring the Indian textiles to be bartered for the Bandanese spices. After

⁵⁶⁸ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, pp.104-5; Boxer. 1948. *Fidalgo in the Far East*, pp.173-5; Teixeira. 1987. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.84.

⁵⁶⁹ Thalib. 2015. *Islam di Banda Naira*, pp.35-6; Kanumoyoso. 2020. "Banda Islands and the Treaty of Breda", pp.49-50; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.4; Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, pp.34-5; Hikayat Banda Lonthoir, the only existing local source, was inaccurate to inform that the Portuguese came to Banda in 1509 after the Timorese King directed them to Banda (Neirabatij. 1922. *Hikayat Banda Lonthoir*, fl.67). In fact, the Portuguese reached Banda in 1512.

landing at the Banda Islands⁵⁷⁰, Abreu placed a padrão of his discovery in the island of Banda Besar (Lontor). He purchased a cargo of nutmeg, mace, and clove. He also bought a Chinese junk for Serrão. Business concluded, Abreu's fleet proceeded to Malacca. A giant vessel was needed to load the spices. Abreu wanted to ask the Portuguese viceroy to send another fleet soon. On the return voyage, the ship commanded by Francisco Serrão was wrecked in the Banda Sea. At the same time, the vessels commanded by Antonio de Abreu and Simão Afonso arrived safely in Malacca in late 1512⁵⁷¹.

After António de Abreu's return, the Portuguese captain of Malacca, Rui de Brito, sent António de Miranda de Azevedo with three ships to Banda and from there to the Moluccas via Ambon. The Portuguese fleet left Malacca on December 28, 1513, and followed the regular southern route to the Banda Islands. They purchased the spices in Banda before continuing to the Moluccas⁵⁷². In 1515, Jorge de Albuquerque, the new Portuguese captain of Malacca, sent António de Miranda to Banda again. The captain not merely asked him to load the spices but also sent Jorge Mesurado to establish a treaty with the King of the Moluccas. Ternate welcomed and allowed the Portuguese to erect the Portuguese fortress in Ternate. Ternate also asked a Portuguese to send a large vessel to load the clove⁵⁷³. In the same year, Álvaro do Cocho was sent to Banda, where he loaded mace and returned to Malacca⁵⁷⁴.

In 1516, the Portuguese continued sending the ship under Francisco Pereira and Jorge de Lancões. Unfortunately, on its way back to Malacca it was wrecked in the Banda

⁵⁷⁰ The Portuguese might have arrived in the island of Banda Besar (Lontor), considering Banda Besar was the only island having the ports of Celamme, Orantatta, Lontor and Combir. However, Neira was also an important island and was frequently to be visited by the Javanese, but Neira, along with other islands, did not have harbours and transported their products to Lontor, having the best and safest anchorage (Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.13; Barros. 1563. *Década Terceira da Asia*, fls.136-8).

⁵⁷¹ Barros. 1563. *Década Terceira da Asia*, V, 6, fl.136; Depoimento de Diogo Brandão em o processo das Molucas, Tomar, 25 August 1523, ANTT Gaveta 13-6-1, Published in DPHMPPOI, I, p.176; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.41; Kanumoyoso. 2020. "Banda Islands and the Treaty of Breda", pp.51-2; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, I, p.268; Villiers. 1985. *The East of Malacca*, pp.15-18; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.95; Neirabatij. 1922. *Hikayat Banda Lonthoir*, fls.67-8.

⁵⁷² Barros. 1563. *Década Terceira da Asia*, V, 6, fl.140; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.45-7.

⁵⁷³ Papéis pelos quais constava que em 1508 (sic) se descobrira Malaca e ilhas de Maluco, published in AGTT, IV, 3241, XV, 10-8, p.257; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.48.

⁵⁷⁴ Carta de Álvaro do Cocho Escrita em Malaca a El-Rei, Malacca, 2 Janeiro 1516, ANTT, CC: Parte III Maço 6, Doc.3; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.49.

Sea⁵⁷⁵. In 1517, Manuel Falcão was dispatched and returned to Malacca loaded with herbs. Falcão succeeded in concluding a treaty on peace and trade. However, the Luso-Bandanese peace treaty was harmful to the Portuguese future trade. The spice price in Banda rose from two or two and half cruzados to eight or ten cruzados. In the following year, Nuno Vaz Pereira sent Simão Vaz to Banda. He tried to negotiate a lower price of spices with the Bandanese⁵⁷⁶. In 1520, the Portuguese captain of Malacca, Garcia de Sá, dispatched Diogo Brandão to Banda. Brandão did not proceed to the Moluccas, merely loaded the spices in Banda and returned to Malacca⁵⁷⁷.

The Bandanese still welcomed the Portuguese to trade, but they did not permit them to create a trading post in Banda. The private Portuguese merchants also joined the lucrative trade in Banda. They could sell Indian textiles and purchase spices from the locals. The private Portuguese merchants in the Moluccas and Ambon frequently took local boats to trade⁵⁷⁸. They had a good business, but drove the price of spices up. As a consequence, in 1522 the Bandanese forced the Portuguese captain, António de Brito, to conclude a new trade treaty with higher prices⁵⁷⁹.

The Portuguese Crown had little to gain from the spice trade in Banda. Besides, the Bandanese were often unable to pay for the Portuguese products⁵⁸⁰; the travel cost was higher due to the Portuguese using the largest ships available. Therefore, the Portuguese Crown annually sent a large vessel to the Banda Islands during the 16th

⁵⁷⁵ Carta de Pedro de Faria a el-rei, na qual lhe falava a respeito da Fortaleza de Malaca e dos seus negocios que iam de mal a piro, Malaca 5 Janeiro 1517 (alias 1518), Published in AGTT, IV, p.348 & p.355; Depoimento de Diogo Brandão, ANTT, CC, Gav.13, Maço 6, Doc.1; Published in CAA, IV, p.173; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.50-51.

⁵⁷⁶ Carta de Pedro de Faria a el-rei, na qual lhe falava a respeito da Fortaleza de Malaca e dos seus negocios que iam de mal a piro, Malaca 5 Janeiro 1517 (alias 1518), Published in AGTT, IV, p.349 & p.354; Depoimento de Diogo Brandão, ANTT, CC, Gav.13, Maço 6, Doc.1; Published in CAA, IV, p.173; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.51-2.

⁵⁷⁷ Depoimento de Diogo Brandão, ANTT, CC, Gav.13, Maço 6, Doc.1; Published in CAA, IV, pp.171-2; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.55-6.

⁵⁷⁸ Carta de Gaspar Nilio a el-rei D. João III, Malacca 10 de Agosto de 1545, DPHMPPOI, I, p.458; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.22.

⁵⁷⁹ Barros. 1563. *Decada Terceira Da Asia*, V, 7, fl.142; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.161; Diffie & Winius. 1978. *Foundation of Portuguese Empire*, p.370; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.8.

⁵⁸⁰ Carta de Francisco Palha a el-rei, Goa, 26 de Dezembro de 1553, DPHMPPOI, II, pp.102-129; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.104-5.

century. The Portuguese merely sailed to Banda with privately-owned vessels. Earlier, these voyages were organised in Malacca, but during the second half of the 16th century, a regular journey was sent from Goa. The ship's captain, who commanded the fleet to Banda, was appointed by royal decree⁵⁸¹.

The Portuguese failed to monopolise the Bandanese spices. The Bandanese were active merchants, importing and exporting the Malukan cloves. Besides the Bandanese constructing massive trading vessels to transport the spices to the West Indonesian Archipelago, most merchants from Java and Malacca preferred to purchase the clove in Banda rather than in the Moluccas and Ambon⁵⁸². The Bandanese enjoyed their lucrative trade and gained Indian textiles, gold, ivory, and other goods⁵⁸³.

The Portuguese in Malacca regularly visited Banda in a single monsoon. They conducted their business and returned to Malacca without waiting for the next monsoon. The Portuguese did not become aware of the Banda-Hitu partnership. The Hitunese regularly traded and resided in Banda⁵⁸⁴. When the Portuguese had a dispute with the Hitunese, the Bandanese also sent fourteen junks equipped with warriors and cannons to assist Talele of Hitu to invade the Portuguese in Ambon⁵⁸⁵. The Bandanese saw the Portuguese as their rival for the clove trade. The Bandanese stopped importing the clove from Ternate, where the Portuguese resided. They decided to collect the clove from Tidore which was under Spanish influence. After Ternate

⁵⁸¹ Thomaz. 1975. "Maluco e Malaca", p.43.

⁵⁸² The voyage from Malacca to the Moluccas and back took almost twice as long as the return voyage to Banda. They would leave Malacca in January or February of each year and, having completed their business and loaded their ships in Banda by the beginning of July, would set sail for Malacca, which they would reach in August. To go to the Moluccas, they needed to leave Banda before the end of May and, because of the northeast monsoon, had to remain in the Moluccas until the following January, when favourable winds would enable them to return to Malacca. The round voyage would thus take almost a year, as against only six months for the Banda voyage (Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.10-11).

⁵⁸³ Descrição Sumária das Molucas e de Banda, Dezembro de 1529, Published in DPHMPPOI, IV, p.17; Pires. 1944. *Suma Oriental*, II, 207.

⁵⁸⁴ Carta do Irmão Fernão do Souro aos Confrades do Colégio de Santo Antão, em Lisboa. Molucas, 15 de Fevereiro de 1563, BAL 49-IV-50, Published in DPHMPPOI, III, pp.24-5; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.20.

⁵⁸⁵ A Capitania de Amboino, BNL, Fundo Geral No.474, cap.91 & cap.99. Published in DPHMPPOI, IV, pp.435-6 & p.451; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.20.

expelled the Portuguese, the Bandanese returned and traded in Ternate and its dependencies⁵⁸⁶.

The Portuguese failure to control the Bandanese spice trade led to their difficulty establishing a fortress in Banda. In the late 16th century, the Portuguese began abandoning the spice trade there, as they could purchase spices in other places like Makasar. During the 17th century, the Portuguese had no immediate contact with the Bandanese. In addition, the Bandanese allied with the Dutch to control the spice trade. The Dutch promised to protect Banda from the Portuguese, and, in return, the Bandanese allowed the Dutch to erect their fort in Lontor Island. Eventually, the Dutch abused the Bandanese loyalty, cruelly murdered Bandanese rebels and enforced the Dutch monopoly in Banda. The Bandanese then began to move and reside in Makasar⁵⁸⁷.

2.5.16. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Ambon⁵⁸⁸

In the early modern period, Ambon was strategically placed on both the northern and southern spice trading routes. It was a port linking China, Luzon, Cebu, the Moluccas, and Banda Islands on the northern route. If the merchants followed the southern path, Ambon linked the spice islands to the north coast of Java, the Malay world, and the Indian sub-continent⁵⁸⁹. Ambon had two peninsulas of Leihitu and Leitimor. While the Hitu Kingdom ruled Leihitu, Soya dominated Leitimor. Hitu harbour was well-known as a transit port for merchants who went to the Moluccas or Banda Islands.

Hitu became a pivotal kingdom in the Moluccan Sea. It began to gain power after sending envoys to potential realms in the Indonesian archipelago. Pati Tuban was sent to Gresik. Apart from studying Islam, he also tried to find some allies. At the same time, Sultan Zainal Abidin of Ternate was also studying Islam in Gresik. They became

⁵⁸⁶ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.162.

⁵⁸⁷ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.8 & p.23; Thalib. 2015. *Islam di Banda*, p.72.

⁵⁸⁸ The earliest version this sub-sub chapter was presented at the Spice Route International Forum on Maritime Spice Trading Routes and Cultural Encounters in Indo-Pacific: Past, Present, and Future, organised by Universitas Kristen Maranata and ICOMOS Indonesia, Bandung, 15-16 June 2021.

⁵⁸⁹ Xu. 2018. "Junks to Mare Clausum"; Ptak. 1992. "The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands"; Ptak. 1993. "China and the Trade in Cloves".

friends, religious brothers and political partners. However, Sultan Zainal Abidin died on his way back to Ternate, but Pati Tuban transferred all their treaties to the new sultan of Ternate. Hitu transformed into a sultanate and maintained excellent relations to Ternate's dependencies in Leitimor Peninsula and West Seram. The Ternate's envoy, Kiayaicili Darwis, came to Hitu and strengthened their good relationship⁵⁹⁰. Besides sending Pati Tuban to Gresik, Perdana Jamilu also went to Jepara. He met Prince Jepara and Nyai Bawang (Queen Kalinyamat), and they agreed to be commercial partners, allowing the Javanese merchants, including Jepara merchants, to trade in Hitu⁵⁹¹.

Other foreign merchants also came and resided in Hitu. The Portuguese vessel, commanded by Francisco Serrão, accidentally landed in Nusa Telo. The locals welcomed the Portuguese. In return, the Portuguese helped the Asilulu people to invade their enemies in Hoamoal. After their victory, Asilulu acknowledged the Portuguese to Perdana Jamilu, one of four prime ministers of the Hitu Sultanate. The presence of Pilot Ismail in Hitu certainly eased Perdana Jamilu to identify who the foreigner was. The Hitunese welcomed Francisco Serrão and his crews⁵⁹².

The Portuguese presence in turn attracted other foreign merchants. Although, the Hitunese harbour facilities were not good⁵⁹³, the Hitunese still enjoyed a lucrative clove trade⁵⁹⁴. The considerable profit from the spice trade led to the Luso-Hitunese dispute. The Portuguese lived without appreciating the local custom. They preferred spending their spare time drinking alcohol⁵⁹⁵ and looted foreign properties in the market of Hitu. The Hitunese reported them to the Court of Justice and the Ulama

⁵⁹⁰ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, pp.163-4.

⁵⁹¹ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.165.

⁵⁹² Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol di Maluku*, pp.22-3; Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, p.5.

⁵⁹³ Pires. 2014. *Suma Oriental* (edited by Adrian Perkasa), p.295.

⁵⁹⁴ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.168.

⁵⁹⁵ The Luso-Hitunese relationship worsened since 1523. The Hitunese asked António de Brito to assist them against the pirates from Seram. After the Portuguese succeeded in destroying the Hitunese's rival, the Portuguese and the Hitunese celebrated their victory and organised a party. During the party, one of the Portuguese army drank and tried to hug the daughter of Perdana Jamilu. Perdana Jamilu had already noticed him. But, the Portuguese slapped the Hitunese chief. Most Hitunese were angry and tried to murder the Portuguese. Perdana Jamilu stopped his troops. The Hitunese sent the Portuguese back to Ternate with a letter informing the Portuguese Governor that the Hitunese wanted to cut their partnership (Kantor Waligreja Indonesia. 1974. *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, p.81).

(Islamic Priest). They eventually realised that they could not expel the Portuguese from Hitu but requested them to move their home base to the south⁵⁹⁶.

The Hitunese were also angry when faced with the Portuguese spice monopoly. When António Galvão was in charge in Ternate, he instructed Captain Azevedo to lead twenty-five armadas to expel the foreign merchants from the spice islands, including Ambon. For him, the arrival of other European merchants was bound to disturb the Portuguese monopoly. Azevedo's vessels arrived in Ambon in 1538 and began to conduct a military mission. They captured Mamala and the northern coast of Ambon⁵⁹⁷. They also established a small bulwarks in the river estuary in Batu Merah, in Leitimor Peninsula. Portuguese greed led them into conflict with the Hitunese⁵⁹⁸.

Hitu established a political network with Ternate and Luhu. Attempting to expel the Portuguese from Ambon in 1558, they succeeded in capturing most of the Christian villages in the coastal areas of Ambon. Hatiwe close to the Portuguese bulwark, was the only one left. In 1561, Henricus Sá led the Goan armada to assist the Christians in Ambon, by invading the Islamic league of Ternate, Hitu, and Luhu. The Portuguese also rehabilitated the Portuguese town. With Javanese assistance, after 1565 the Hitunese kept invading the Portuguese in Ambon⁵⁹⁹. They burned the Christian villages, but they hesitated before the Portuguese bulwarks, situated between Mamala and Hitulama. Waiting for more Javanese assistance. However, the second Javanese armada did not come. The first armada sailed back to Java, and the Hitunese had to retreat to the Leihitu Peninsula⁶⁰⁰.

The Ternate people hated the Portuguese after they learned that the Portuguese had murdered their sultan. Ternate conducted a mission to drive the Portuguese out from the Spice Islands. Rubohongi and his Ternatenese armies came to Ambon in 1570⁶⁰¹.

⁵⁹⁶ Kantor Waligreja Indonesia. 1974. *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, p.81; Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, pp.168-9.

⁵⁹⁷ Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, pp.6-7.

⁵⁹⁸ Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, p.7; Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.169.

⁵⁹⁹ A Capitania de Amboina, BNL, FG, No. 474, published in DPHMPPOI, II, pp.199-200; Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, p.8; Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.176.

⁶⁰⁰ Leirissa, Pattikayhatu, Luhukay, Thalib, & Maelissa. 2004. *Ambonku*, p.19.

⁶⁰¹ Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, p.8.

The Portuguese realised that they could not stay in Galala, Batu Merah, and Hukunalu. They moved and established the fortress of *Nossa Senhora de Anunciada* in 1588 to ensure their safety⁶⁰².

2.5.17. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to The Moluccas⁶⁰³

The Portuguese realised that the spices were not actually being cultivated in Malacca. The herbs comprising cloves, nutmegs, and maces grew in the Eastern Indonesian Archipelago. Some islands in the Moluccas produced cloves, while mace and nutmeg⁶⁰⁴ were found in Banda Islands. The Moluccas were the producers of the cloves before their seeds were transported illegally to the Central Moluccas (Hoamoal and Hitu) in the late 15th century. Knowing that the cloves were the most-wanted commodity during the early modern period, the Portuguese attempted to monopolise the Asian clove trade. After Malacca had been occupied, the Portuguese sent their embassies to the Moluccas.

Afonso de Albuquerque arranged an expedition to the Spice Islands. Three vessels were prepared to depart to the Moluccas. Albuquerque appointed António de Abreu as a captain major in the Eastern Indonesian mission. Abreu deserved to have a privilege from Albuquerque, considering his service to attack the bridge of Malacca during the Portuguese invasion. António de Abreu in the *Sabaia* was accompanied by Francisco Serrão and Simão Afonso in the *Santa Catarina* and *Latina*. Albuquerque also sent three pilots of Luis Botim, Gonçalo de Oliveira, and Francisco Rodrigues⁶⁰⁵; two

⁶⁰² Leirissa, Pattikayhatu, Luhukay, Thalib, & Maelissa. 2004. *Ambonku*, pp.19-20

⁶⁰³ The earliest version of this sub-sub chapter was presented at the 7th International Conference of the International Council for Historical and Cultural Cooperation-Southeast Asia (ICHCC-SEA), organised by Philippine Historical Association (PHA), Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (PSM), and Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia (MSI), Cebu, 29-31 October 2020.

⁶⁰⁴ Nutmeg is a dark-leaved evergreen tree cultivated for two spices derived from its fruit. If nutmeg comes from its seed, mace comes from the seed covering.

⁶⁰⁵ He was the Portuguese cartographer. He started to draw the first cartographic material of the area by personal observation and copying indigenous maps (Timme 1998. *A Presenca Portuguesa na Ilhas das Moluccas*, p.4).

native pilots (one of them was Nahkoda Ismael); the factor João Freire; the scrivener Diogo Borges; twenty captive slaves; and one hundred and twenty Portuguese men. He was tasked to establish friendly relations and observe the local customs. He was also ordered to give the local kings some gifts (scarlets and velvets from Mecca). These vessels were laden with various commodities, for instance, Indian cloths, owned by Nina Chatu and Khoja Kirmani. The ships left Malacca in November 1511⁶⁰⁶.

The native junk, piloted by Nahkoda Ismael, departed first. Ismael was asked to spread the news of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca. Albuquerque hoped that the local kings would be afraid and would welcome Abreu's vessels when they anchored in their ports. Abreu himself followed Ismael's route to the Spice Islands. They passed the northeast coast of Sumatra, stopped over in Gresik⁶⁰⁷, then passed Buru, Ambon and Seram before arriving in Banda. The Portuguese bartered their merchandise for maces and nutmegs, before returning and arriving back in Malacca in late 1512. However, Serrão's ship was wrecked when leaving Banda Islands. Serrão and his men were lucky to be rescued by the people of Asilulu in Nusatelo. In return, the Portuguese helped the Asilulu people to invade their enemy in Hoamoal. After their victory, the people of Asilulu acknowledged the Portuguese to Perdana Jamilu of Hitu. The myth of iron men⁶⁰⁸ and Portuguese power spread and reached the two sultans of Ternate and Tidore, who were in conflict at that time. The embassy of Ternate came first to Hitu and then brought the Portuguese to Ternate. Serrão befriended the Ternate Sultan⁶⁰⁹ and was granted the monopoly of clove trade with terms and conditions⁶¹⁰.

⁶⁰⁶ Albuquerque. 1557. *Comentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, pp.162-3; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.39; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway*, p.69.

⁶⁰⁷ During the early Portuguese-Malacca, the Portuguese frequently called at Gresik during their sailing from Malacca to the Moluccas in the southern zone (A Carta da Capitania da Malaca á Dom Manuel, 20 Agosto 1518; published in Albuquerque (Ed). 1989. *Tratado das Ilhas Molucas*, p.127).

⁶⁰⁸ There was a prophecy, believed by the Sultans of the Moluccas, that the iron men would come and inhabit the Moluccas. They would give the economic welfare for the people of the Moluccas (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.23; Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, p.42).

⁶⁰⁹ Sultan Bayan Sirullah or Boleif or Abu Lais.

⁶¹⁰ Timme. 1998. *A Presenca Portuguesa*, p.4; Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.21-3; Sultan Bayan of Ternate gave the right to monopolise the clove trade to the Portuguese because he wanted to increase the level of welfare of the Ternate people and to establish the political and military power to compete with other kingdoms in the Moluccas. In return, the Portuguese should buy the cloves at a more expensive price than that was proposed by Javanese, Arab, Chinese, and Malay traders. The

During Serrão's stay in Ternate, some vessels were prepared to be sent by the Captain of Malacca, Ruy de Brito Patalim. The captain appointed António Miranda de Azevedo as a captain-major with the primary mission of sending letters to the kings of Java; securing the trade network to Banda, trying to find Francisco Serrão, and loading nutmegs and maces for the Peguans and the Gujarati in Malacca. António de Miranda was accompanied by Francisco de Melo in the *São Christóvão*; Martim Guedes in the *Santo Andre*; and Diogo Borges as a factor. Miranda's vessels left Malacca for Banda via the northern coast of Java on December 28, 1513⁶¹¹.

Knowing Miranda was in Banda and sailing to Ambon, Serrão departed from Ternate with some rowing vessels. When they met, Serrão gave three things to Miranda: his letter to Fernão de Magalhães⁶¹², the sultan's letter to the King Portugal⁶¹³, and his cargo of cloves. After the return of António de Miranda, in 1515, the new captain of Malacca, Jorge de Albuquerque dispatched, Jorge Mesurado with the royal letters and presents to the Sultan of Ternate. The Portuguese were very well-received in Ternate and returned to Malacca with a friendly note asking the captain of Malacca to regularly dispatch ship to Ternate as well as establish a factory and a fortress there⁶¹⁴. After Álvaro de Cocho arrived at Malacca from Banda, in 1516 Jorge de Brito sent Cocho as an ambassador to the Moluccas. He was placed as a captain and a factor and accompanied by Álvaro Pessoa for scrivener; and Luis Leity as the pilot. Cocho and his men were well received by the King. Instead of fixing the merchandise price and being laden with the cloves, Choco also carried a message from Sultan Ternate and Serrão,

Portuguese should assist the Ternate when they were in a war with their rivals. Their friendly treaty merely survived for ten years (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.25).

⁶¹¹ Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.44-5.

⁶¹² Francisco Serrão and Fernao de Magalhaes befriended when they were in India and in Malacca. Magalhaes had been in Malacca with Diogo Lopes Sequeira in 1509 and had taken a part in the conquest of Malacca in 1511. He stayed in Malacca when he received information from Serrão's letter (Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.72).

⁶¹³ The letter informed that the Sultan wanted to subject to King of Portugal and Ternate Sultanate became the Portuguese vassal.

⁶¹⁴ Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.46-8; Pires. 2014. *Suma Oriental*, p.215.

confirming the peaceful commerce between Portuguese-Malacca and Ternate Sultanate had been agreed⁶¹⁵.

The Portuguese lost their ships when the vessels of Gonçalo Álvares and Sebastião Barbudo were wrecked during a journey to the Moluccas in 1517. In 1518, Dom Tristão de Meneses continued to sail after staying in Malacca. He departed from Portugal in 1517 in the *Santiago* and two junks with merchandise and a royal letter to the Moluccan King. Meneses took the typical route through Java and Banda before going north to Ternate. In the Moluccas, he got some petitions from the kings of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan to build Portuguese fortresses in their lands. Dom Tristão could not do so in any of these territories (although he left a Portuguese factory in Ternate), considering he merely brought a letter to the King of Ternate. King Bayan offered the provisions and merchandise, and Dom Tristão accepted the conditions. The King also asked Dom Tristão to leave his artillery behind, but Dom Tristão could not agree to. He told the King that he could ask the King of Portugal whether he wanted to keep the Portuguese artillery. The King of Ternate arranged to send his son with some letters to the Captain of Malacca, Governor of Goa and Dom Manuel, King of Portugal. Dom Tristão left the Moluccas with five vessels to Banda. During the passage, two ships encountered a storm and were wrecked. The rest continued sailing and arrived in Banda in April 1520. There, Dom Tristão dispatched the Prince of Ternate in a junk to Malacca. Before returning to Malacca, he managed to find the lost captains, Francisco Serrão and Simão Correia. Dom Tristão, with the cargo, sailed past the northern coast of Java before arriving in Malacca in 1521⁶¹⁶.

In October 1521, António de Brito was sent to Banda and the Moluccas. He captained five vessels and 300 armed men. Before entering the Java Sea, on October 28, 1521, Brito attacked the Johor in Bintan. His ships anchored in Tuban and Gresik to load some supplies while waiting for the western monsoon. In January 1522, when Brito was ready to sail, he met Garcia Henriques with his three junks and the Javanese merchants in Gresik. From the Javanese, they got the naval trading license from the

⁶¹⁵ Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.49-50.

⁶¹⁶ Smith. 1968. *The First Age*, pp.52-3; Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.38.

King of Portugal when they were in the Moluccas. Brito and Henriques decided to depart together from Gresik. However, the storm separated their vessels during their passage and made Brito arrive early in Ambon. Brito continued his sailing to Banda in February 1522. He brought two primary missions: first, to make a friendly spice trade with the chief of villages in the Banda Islands; second, to erect a fort in Ternate. After signing an agreement with the Banda chief, he sailed north and called in Bacan, where he and his armies massacred the local people, in revenge for the death of the Portuguese crews of Simão Correia in 1521⁶¹⁷. Arriving in Ternate, De Brito was surprised by the sad news of Sultan Bayan's and Francisco Serrão's death. Their death made the Portuguese re-negotiate their friendly treaty with the Nyai Cili Boki Raja Nukila, the Queen of Ternate⁶¹⁸ and Taruwese, the Prime Minister of Ternate⁶¹⁹.

Brito and Taruwese agreed to erect the Portuguese fortress in Ternate. The fort functioned as the centre of the Portuguese political administration, military operations, and commerce. Using both three hundred local workers and two hundred Portuguese men, the fortress was accomplished within about eight months. Initially, the officials named it *São João Baptista de Ternate*. However, the Portuguese changed and renamed it *Nostra Senhora del Rosario* when the fortress was officially opened on February 25, 1523. The locals called the Portuguese fort "Benteng Gamlamo", mainly after they ousted the Portuguese in 1575⁶²⁰. The Portuguese King appointed António de Brito as the first governor in Ternate and as captain of the fortress. If Brito could

⁶¹⁷ Some Muslim crews in the Portuguese ships escaped and inhabited Bacan. Simão Correia looked for the escaped crews and charged the Bacan Sultanate to return his crews. His charge was not responded by the locals. The Portuguese occupied the holy mosque with some weapons. Seeing that their holy mosque was occupied, the people of Bacan were angry and invaded the mosque. Almost all Portuguese died, only one man was safe and escaped to his vessel (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.37).

⁶¹⁸ King Bayan Sirullah left two sons (Deyalo and Boheyat or Abu Hayat) and his wife, Nyai Cili Boki Raja Nukila, King Almansur's daughter. The king's widow was appointed by the board of kingdom to be a queen. She was accompanied by Prince Taruwese (King Bayan's brother) as a prime minister to represent her child sultan of Deyalo. Both run the government of Ternate Sultanate (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.40).

⁶¹⁹ Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.38-40.

⁶²⁰ Sultan Baabullah of Ternate successfully expelled the Portuguese from Ternate in 1575. Baabullah, afterwards, instructed his people to reinforce the fortress as their bastion. He added a 100 meters wall directing to the sea to make a defend from the rival invasion from the sea. Ternate occupied the fortress from 1578 to 1606 before the Spanish conquered this fortress in 1606 (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.44). During the Dutch rule in Ternate, the Dutch re-named with Gamalama fort and the locals called it Benteng Kastela.

take any political decisions and take part in the spice trade, but as captain of the fortress he was responsible for Portuguese military security in the Moluccas⁶²¹.

After the fortress and the political administration in Ternate had been established, the Portuguese could regularly send ships to the Moluccas⁶²². From Abreu's to Brito's time, the Portuguese departed from Malacca to the Moluccas via the southern route passing the east coast of Sumatra, the northern coast of Java, the Lesser Sunda Islands and Banda Islands or Ambon-Lease. As the first governor in Ternate, António de Brito realised another sailing route from Malacca to the Moluccas after the Spanish also arrived in Tidore in 1521, sailing via Borneo and Sulu Zone. Brito attempted to do a survey. He sent Dom Garcia Henriques to Borneo and Malacca in 1522. Henriques failed to reach the South China Sea and returned to Ternate. In 1524, the sailing route past Malacca and Brunei was discovered after António de Pina reached Brunei. In 1526, Dom Jorge de Menezes took a northern route from Malacca to the Moluccas. He succeeded in getting to Ternate with the help of local pilots. From Malacca, he sailed to North-Eastern Borneo and passed the islands of San Miguel (Cayagan Sulu), Mindanao, and Basilan. To ensure the safety of the northern route, Dom Menezes sent a *kora-kora* (local vessel) to Malacca via Brunei. After the armada reached Malacca, the voyage via Sulu Zone had been discovered⁶²³.

The Portuguese could cut the long duration of the Malacca-Moluccas voyage through Brunei, compared to the southern route via the Java Sea. They could embark from Malacca in August and reach Ternate in October. On the return journey, they could pass Ambon and the Java Sea before reaching Malacca in June. These sailing routes gave the Portuguese an advantage in trying to monopolise the Asian clove trade. Firstly, the armed Chinese vessels would not enter and patrol the South China Sea due to the Portuguese naval power in Sulu Zone. Secondly, the Portuguese could control the local chiefs in the ports of call and prevent the local clove farmers from selling their

⁶²¹ Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.41-3.

⁶²² Before the Portuguese arrival, the clove trade was dominated by two principal merchants. A Indian Keling of Malacca, Nina Suria Deva and A Javanese, Pate Yusuf sent junks to the Moluccas every year. Nina sent eight junks to load cloves and nutmegs in the Moluccas and Banda Islands. Yusuf sailed with three or four junks to the spice islands (Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, p.67).

⁶²³ Ptak. 1992. "The Northern Trade Route", p.45.

product to other, especially, Javanese and Gujarati merchants. Thirdly, the Portuguese could decrease the higher costs of maintaining the stability of the Malacca-Moluccas trade. The ports of call along the southern route might give more friction between the Portuguese and their competitors than the northern route. However, the Islamic world in the Philippines could be a threat for them, but they could manage that by erecting a trading post in Brunei. Its function was not only to facilitate the Malacca-Brunei trade but also to monitor the Luzonese movement⁶²⁴.

The Portuguese Crown attempted to attract the Portuguese Citizens in India⁶²⁵ to inhabit and trade in the Moluccas. The Crown allowed the citizens to load the cloves, but they should sell a third of their cargo to the Crown. From Goa⁶²⁶, they loaded Indian cloths from Cambay, Chaul, Coromandel, and Bengal before setting sailing for the Moluccas via Malacca⁶²⁷. On its way back, a half of Moluccan cloves loaded by the Portuguese vessels were commercialised in Malacca. The rest of the cloves were also carried to India and Portugal⁶²⁸.

The Portuguese maintained the monopoly of the clove trade although with a lot of risks, due to themselves, the locals (Ternate, Tidore, and Jailolo), and the Spanish. The latter succeeded inland in the Moluccas after being welcomed by Sultan Almansur of Tidore in November 1521. The Spanish and the Tidore Sultanate agreed on a friendly treaty. The Spanish promised to defend Tidore from the Portuguese-Ternate invasion. In return, the sultan granted the monopoly of the clove trade and permitted the Spanish to load the cloves in Tidore. In December 1521, the Spanish vessels embarked

⁶²⁴ Ptak. 1992. "The Northern Trade Route", p.46.

⁶²⁵ The freedom to trade in cloves had not been granted to the married men of Malacca, even though they had requested this privilege from the king in 1546 (Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, p.90).

⁶²⁶ During the first half of the 16th century, the voyages to the Moluccas and the Banda were generally organised from Malacca, but in the second half of the century, at an unknown date, a regular voyage was started from Goa to the Moluccas and Amboina with a port of call at Malacca on both the outward and return journeys. The Portuguese usually took the sailing routes as follow: they departed from Goa in April, anchored at Malacca in May and embarked in August, and reached the Moluccas in October. They stayed in the Moluccas around 3 months before returning in February. If they sailed via the southern route, they called at Ambon and arrived in Malacca in May. Due to waiting for the monsoon, they departed from Malacca in November and arrived in Cochin in January. The vessels ended in Goa in March (Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices*, pp.90-1; Jacobs. 1979. *Documenta Malucensia*, pp.8-9).

⁶²⁷ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway*, p.88.

⁶²⁸ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway*, pp.92-3.

and sailed back to Sevilla. The successful expedition to the Moluccas had directed the Spanish to send other two trips. Garcia Jafre de Loasia commanded an expedition in 1525 and Álvaro de Savedra one in 1527⁶²⁹. The Portuguese protested the Spanish presence in the Moluccan seas. Both of them had their argument. On the Portuguese side, the Spanish could enter into the Portuguese possession considering the Portuguese had already erected the fortress in Ternate.

In contrast, the Spanish argued that the Portuguese had trespassed the Treaty of Tordesillas by going to the west of the American continent. The Iberian countries had tried to reconcile and discuss the dispute scientifically in 1522 and 1524. However, they were deadlocked and brought the problem to the Pope. Encouraged by the Iberian political marriage of King Carlos V and Princess Isabel of Portugal, the resolution came out in 1529, known as the Zaragoza Treaty. This treaty regulated that the Spanish should sell the Moluccan rights to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats (500,000 cruzados) and not join the Moluccas clove trade. This was advantageous for both parties. The Castilians obtained a lot of money and found a new trading base in Manila, in the Philippines. The Portuguese also gained payback when the Spanish could not join the lucrative trade in the Moluccas⁶³⁰.

The clove trade monopoly imposed by the Portuguese was obstructed by the locals as well. It would be complicated when the Portuguese monopoly ran side by side with the Ternate's crown succession and the local dispute between Ternate and Tidore⁶³¹. After Sultan Bayan died, Queen Nyai Cili Boki Raja Nukila and Prince Taruwese (Dom Darwis) represented the child king of Deyalo to govern Ternate. This political succession was the beginning of Ternate's political upheavals. Prince Taruwese was the younger brother of Sultan Bayan. He claimed that he was qualified to replace his brother as a sultan. He saw Nyai Cili and Deyalo as barring him from the crown, and he tried to get the support of António de Brito, the first Portuguese captain in Ternate, to isolate them. As Nyai Cili was Sultan Tidore's daughter, Brito believed that she and her father

⁶²⁹ Amal. 2007. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, p.155.

⁶³⁰ Timme. 1995. *A Presença Portuguesa*, p.6; Amal. 2007. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, p.155.

⁶³¹ Raman & Bau. 2020. *Monopoli Rempah*, p.111; Hanna & Alwi. 1996. *Ternate dan Tidore*, p.13.

(Sultan Almansur of Tidore) planned to expel the Portuguese from Ternate. Brito decided to imprison Sultan Deyalo and Prince Boheyat (Abu Hayat) after invading Tidore⁶³².

Ternate's political upheavals continued until the time of Menezes. During the terms of office of the two governors, Garcia Henriques and Jorge de Menezes, the Portuguese were largely concerned about the Luso-Spanish dispute. After the Treaty of Zaragoza was agreed, Gonalo Pereira seemed to pay attention to the local rights. Nyai Cili charged Prince Taruwese with disrespectful behaviour. However, Prince Taruwese's troops took part in the Brito's invasion of Tidore, but the prince also led a rebellion against the Portuguese in 1530. In 1531, Pereira lowered Taruwese's position in the Ternate bureaucracy⁶³³.

When the Portuguese Governor, Gonalo Pereira, rejected pleas from the locals to liberate Sultan Deyalo from prison, the locals⁶³⁴ murdered him in 1531. Upon his arrival, the new governor, Vicente de Fonseca, eventually released the sultan. The governor allied himself with Ternate's Prime Minister, Patisaranga. The prime minister who wanted to govern Ternate drove the governor to imprison Deyalo and replace him with his stepbrother, Tabariji. Deyalo escaped to Tidore and fled to Jailolo to save his life. Patisaranga married Nyai Cili Boki Raja and directed his stepson (Tabariji) in Ternate. The Portuguese were afraid of the growth of Tabariji and Patisaranga's power. When Admiral Samarau told the governor that Tabariji and Patisaranga planned treason, the Portuguese⁶³⁵ imprisoned and transported them to Goa in 1535. The Portuguese promoted Hairun Jamil as the new sultan. Hairun was a son of Sultan Bayan and his Javanese wife. Samarau was believed to accompany Hairun to rule Ternate. Living in exile, Sultan Deyalo kept resisting the Portuguese. He created Islamic-political networks with Bacan, Tidore, and Jailolo (Halmahera). Most Ternatense,

⁶³² Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.50-3.

⁶³³ Raman & Bau. 2020. *Monopoli Rempah*, p.111; Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.64.

⁶³⁴ The locals were also angry because of custom policy issued by Pereira. All people usually paid the small retribution but Pereira raised the tax rate (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.66).

⁶³⁵ Governor Tristao de Atayde blamed Tabariji because he abandoned the Galela invasio of Mamuya in Moro (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.182).

however, did not want Deyalo and Hairun and their sultan, but they wanted the Portuguese to return to Tabariji⁶³⁶.

In Goa, Tabariji had embraced Catholicism and baptised Dom Manuel. All titles and powers of Dom Manuel Tabariji were to be returned when he arrived in Ternate. At the same time, the Portuguese imprisoned and transported Hairun and Samarau to Goa via Malacca in 1545. Dom Manuel Tabariji, however, died during his voyage to Ternate⁶³⁷. Sultan Hairun was to be transported back to Ternate in 1546⁶³⁸, and sailed back accompanied by Bernardim de Sousa. Bernardim de Sousa declared that he was the official governor of Ternate and replaced Jordão de Freitas in 1547 had to return to India disappointed⁶³⁹.

During their time, Bernardim de Sousa and Francisco Lopes de Sousa, could maintain the monopoly of the clove trade while maintaining excellent relations with Sultan Hairun. Francisco Lopes de Sousa could even re-enact the rule of clove trade in Ternate as agreed by Sultan Bayan and Francisco Serrão in 1513. The nightmare started when Duarte de Eça enforced increased trade duties⁶⁴⁰. Sultan Hairun protested against this policy which left him at a disadvantage. Eça lifted the burdens on clove-selling for Ternate. The sultan believed that his people would suffer, considering the Portuguese competitors; the Spanish, Javanese, and Malay merchants could buy cloves at a higher price. Eça commanded his troops to imprison Sultan Hairun and his family. Both the locals and the Portuguese *fidalgos* cursed Eça's attitude. They knew that Eça kept the clove duties, paid by the clove peasants and merchants, for himself. While in prison, Hairun asked his men to send a message to a Catholic priest named Frater Alfonso de Castro. Eça's men succeeded to imprison Castro and asked Eça to negotiate. Eça refused their proposal and abandoned Castro to his death. All Portuguese imprisoned Eça in 1558. Eça was transported to Goa, but died on the journey. Manuel de Vasconcellos replaced Eça at his post until Henrique de Sá arrived to rule as governor.

⁶³⁶ Raman & Bau. 2010. *Monopoli Rempah*, pp.112-3.

⁶³⁷ Dom Manuel Tabariji committed suicide. Sultan Hairun belived that Dom Manuel lost his right to be Sultan Ternate when he embraced Catholicism (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.184).

⁶³⁸ Raman & Bau. 2020. *Monopoli Rempah*, p.113.

⁶³⁹ Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.184.

⁶⁴⁰ Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.97.

Henrique de Sá again maintained good relations with Hairun, but disputes arose again when Diego Lopez de Mesquita replaced Henrique de Sá in 1564⁶⁴¹.

Mesquita seemed to blame Hairun for his unsuccessful work. He saw the sultan as the leading actor behind the Islamic invasion of Christian villages in Moro. Mesquita claimed that Hairun sent the armada to supervise the Portuguese vessels led by Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. On the other hand, Hairun was anxious that Marramaque might come to invade Ternate. Mesquita believed that if Marramaque and his armada left the Moluccas, the Christians in Moro would be in danger. Mesquita realised that Sultan Hairun was a barrier for him. Considering the Portuguese could declare open war with Ternate, he prepared a scenario to murder him. Mesquita invited Hairun to discuss the peace treaty. They agreed and ratified taking oaths on their holy books, Sultan Hairun on the Holy Quran, and Mesquita on the Bible. After this had run smoothly, Mesquita invited Hairun for a second time, this time to Mesquita's house. On February 28, 1570, in a meeting room, Sultan Hairun was stabbed to death by António Pimenta⁶⁴².

Diego Lopes de Mesquita assumed he could fulfil the duties of his office⁶⁴³ without any trouble once Sultan Hairun was dead. However, the sultan's assassination was a turning-point for Portuguese-Ternate relations. His son, Baabullah, held Mesquita responsible. He brought the case to a court of justice, but the Portuguese governor in Goa could not charge the governor while he was on duty. The Portuguese had a convention to evaluate and punish their governors after they accomplished their tasks. After Baabullah was promoted as a sultan, he laid siege to the Portuguese fortress. For lack of logistical support, the Portuguese had no choice, but to surrender⁶⁴⁴.

After occupying the Portuguese fortress in 1575, Sultan Baabullah seemed to declare the free trade of cloves in Ternate. In 1578, the sultan welcomed the English merchant Francis Drake, and Drake was allowed to load the cloves and go back to England. Drake

⁶⁴¹ Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.187-189.

⁶⁴² Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.189-193.

⁶⁴³ His main duties were to monopolise the clove trade and to convert the locals to Christianity (Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, p.195).

⁶⁴⁴ Amal. 2007. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, p.151; Amal. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol*, pp.196-7.

also brought a sultan's letter to the Queen of England informing her that Ternate would welcome the English merchants⁶⁴⁵. Even so, the sultan also allowed the Portuguese to load the cloves there. The Portuguese came between 1575 and 1578, but they did not sail to Ternate from 1579 to 1581⁶⁴⁶.

During the 1570s, the Portuguese suffered, but they tried to keep trading. The Portuguese moved their trading base to Ambon Bay, where they erected a factory in 1572. The Portuguese realised that the Islamic networks between Ternate and Ambon-Hitu were reinforced after Sultan Hairun's death. They had the same mission to drive the Portuguese out from the Moluccas. The joint Islamic armies encircled and sieged the Portuguese in Ambon Bay. To defend their base, the Portuguese established the new fortress *Nossa Senhora de Anunciada* in 1576⁶⁴⁷. The first Portuguese captain in Ambon, Sancho de Vasconcelos, also established friendly relations with the Sultan of Tidore, who was afraid of a Ternate invasion and granted land to the Portuguese. In 1578, the Portuguese established a fort on the east coast of Tidore and named it *Fortaleza de Tidore* or Fort of the Magi⁶⁴⁸.

The Iberian union in 1580 allowed the Portuguese to be assisted by the Castilians in Manila. The combined forces failed to retake Ternate in 1582, but they succeeded in occupying Ternate in 1603 before the Dutch came and expelled them in 1605⁶⁴⁹. In the same year, the Dutch also captured two other Portuguese forts in Ambon and Tidore. Empat Perdana of Hitu welcomed the Dutch arrival in Ambon-Hitu in the late 16th century, and asked the Dutch to expel the Portuguese from Ambon. After treaty of friendship was agreed upon, the combined forces besieged the Portuguese in Ambon, who had to surrender the fortress after the locals stopped supplying food. The Dutch

⁶⁴⁵ Timme. 1998. *A Presenca Portuguesa*, p.8.

⁶⁴⁶ Amal. 2007. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, p.151.

⁶⁴⁷ Leirissa, Pattikayhatu, Luhukay, Thalib, & Maelisa. 2004. *Ambonku*, pp.19-20.

⁶⁴⁸ Lobato. 2011. *Fort of the Magi*.

⁶⁴⁹ Timme. 1998. *A Presença Portuguesa*, p.8; Ternate preferred to ask the Dutch, than the English, to expel the Iberian forces. The Dutch might have had a good relation with the chiefs of Hitu since the late 16th century. According to Naidah in her Ternate Chronicle (*Hikayat Ternate*), Ternate asked the white Europeans to heal their sick king. The Ternatan ambassadors asked both the Dutch and the English in Banten. However, they were more confident to ask for help from the Dutch. The belief came to them when the Dutch survived after they drank the poison from the Ternatan ambassadors (Crab (Ed). 1878. *Geschiedenis van Ternate*, p.399).

renamed it “Victoria Fortress”⁶⁵⁰. In Tidore, the Dutch destroyed the fort and forced the Portuguese captain, Pedro Alvares de Abreu, to surrender in May 1605. The Dutch also burned the Portuguese settlement after allowing them to withdraw from Tidore. The Spanish tried to retake it in 1606, but the Dutch succeeded in re-occupying Tidore in 1607⁶⁵¹. During the second half of the 17th century, the Dutch were challenged only by the locals (Ambon-Hitu), whom they managed to repulse.

2.5.18. Portuguese Malacca’s Trade Network to East Asia

The Portuguese attempted to revive Malacca’s trade network to the Chinese World. The Portuguese sent ships to China and entered the official port of Guangzhou in 1513. The Chinese allowed them, but they could only trade on board, as the Chinese forbade them to go further. From 1517 onwards, the Portuguese could send an ambassador to Beijing and other cities. The Portuguese aimed to attract the Chinese to populate Malacca. Luso-Chinese relationship deteriorated, though, when some Portuguese merchants arrived in Guangzhou without permission, refused to pay customs duties, prevented other traders from conducting business, and constructed a fortress. The Portuguese also captured, Malacca, by force, which had been subject to China. Chinese officials then forbade trade and expelled the Portuguese from the Chinese territories⁶⁵².

The Portuguese continued their trade illegally. Banned from Guangzhou during the 1530s, the Portuguese were involved in illegitimate business along the Chinese Coast in Fujian, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang⁶⁵³. They had a connection with local gentry from Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang. The locals lent them money, offered warehouses to store the merchandise, and provided political protection. At the same time, the Portuguese also engaged in illicit commerce in Tanegashima, on the southeast coast of

⁶⁵⁰ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.179 & p.182; Mu’jizah. 2008. *Pertemuan Antar Bangsa*, p.23 & p.25.

⁶⁵¹ Lobato. 2011. *Fort of the Magi in Tidore*.

⁶⁵² Zurndorfer. 2018. “Encounter and Coexistence: Portugal and Ming China”, p.41; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p.2; Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*, p.16.

⁶⁵³ Catz (Ed). 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, pp.333-6; Zurndorfer. 2018. “Encounter and Coexistence: Portugal and Ming China”, p.42; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p.2; Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*, pp.16-7; Igawa. 2012. “The Encounter between Europe and Japan”, p.91; Polónia. 2013. “Informal Self-Organised Networks in the First Global Age”, p.143.

Kyushu, Japan. After learning that the Japanese needed tropical products such as spices and Chinese silk, the Portuguese saw this as an opportunity to enter the illegal trade and bartered the spices and Chinese merchandise with Japanese silver and copper⁶⁵⁴.

During the 1540s, the Chinese officials of Guangdong saw that their trading rivals, mainly the Fujianese, become rich after collaborating with the Portuguese. They negotiated with the Portuguese, who were willing to accept their proposal if the officials in Guangdong granted them a trading base. The Portuguese needed a base to link China to Malacca and Japan. In return, the Portuguese would also protect Guangdong from the invasion of Japanese pirates. During the 1550s, the Portuguese began to erect their fortress in Macao and launched a regular trade from Goa to Japan. Malacca became the first port call before sailing to Macao, where the Portuguese loaded the raw and finished silks, and the bulk of the Japanese silver bullion was disposed of on the return trip⁶⁵⁵.

The Portuguese commenced trans-oceanic trade from India to China after establishing Macao in 1554. They shipped Indian merchandise and exchanged some of them for various merchandise in Malacca. After arriving in Macao, they could access the traffic market in Canton, where they could buy Chinese silk and gold. From Macao, they also established a network to Japan. The Portuguese usually bartered the Chinese silk for the Japanese silver bullion in the Japanese market. Before the foundation of Nagasaki in 1571, the Portuguese ships went successively to Bungo, Hizen and Omura ports. From 1571 onwards, Nagasaki became the official entrepôt for the Macao trade. The Portuguese fleets regularly visited it from 1575 onwards⁶⁵⁶. In the late 16th century, the

⁶⁵⁴ Zurndorfer. 2018. "Encounter and Coexistence: Portugal and Ming China", pp.42-3; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.2-3; Polónia. 2013. "Informal Self-Organised Networks in the First Global Age", p.145; Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*, p.17.

⁶⁵⁵ Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.4-5 & pp.7-8; Polónia. 2013. "Informal Self-Organised Networks in the First Global Age", p.145; Zurndorfer. 2018. "Encounter and Coexistence: Portugal and Ming China", pp.43-4; Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*, p.18.

⁶⁵⁶ Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.4-5 & pp.7-8, p.16; Boxer. 1963. "The Great Ship from Amacon", p.2; Polónia. 2013. "Informal Self-Organised Networks in the First Global Age", p.145; Zurndorfer. 2018. "Encounter and Coexistence: Portugal and Ming China", pp.43-4; Souza. 1986. *The Survival of Empire*, p.18; Costa. 1998. *O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, p.147

Spanish also participated the Chinese market after establishing Manila in 1571. The Spanish offered American silver in exchange for Chinese silk and other Asian goods. The Spanish tried to link Manila to Japan, but it did not last long because the Spanish did not need the Japanese silver. The Spanish collaborated with the Portuguese in East Asia.

& pp.159-161; Costa. 2007. "The Brotherhoods (Confrarias) and Lay Support for the Early Christian Church in Japan", pp.68-9; Costa. 2007. "Bibliography Japan and the Japanese in Printed Works in Europe in the 16th Century", pp.43-4.

3. Controlling Malacca, Privatising Trade Networks: Portuguese Malacca, 1580-1641

This chapter elaborates the political economy of Portuguese-Malacca, 1580-1641. It is divided into several sub-chapters: (1) the political administration of Portuguese Malacca during the Iberian Union; (2) the port city of Malacca during the Iberian Union; and (3) the Portuguese Malacca's trade networks from 1580 to 1641.

3.1. Political Administration of Portuguese Malacca during the Iberian Union

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss the political statecraft of Portuguese Malacca. The second section will describe the financial revenue of Portuguese Malacca. The final section discusses Portuguese military and defence infrastructure.

3.1.1. Political Statecraft of Portuguese Malacca

Portugal experienced a dramatic political change during the 1580s. Dom Sebastião of Portugal led his troops to invade Morocco in 1578. They were murdered at the battle of Alcácer Quibir and its chaotic retreat. King Philip II of Spain used the political crisis in Portugal to claim the Portuguese Crown via his Portuguese mother's link to the ruling dynasty. In 1581, the Portuguese representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the commoners recognised Philip II of Spain as Philip I of Portugal (1580-1598) at Tomar. Before leaving Portugal, the new king installed his nephew, Albert of Austria, as the Spanish Viceroy in Lisbon. He also established a Portuguese council to handle Portuguese affairs. However, the Spanish monarchy absorbed Portugal, but Spain indirectly ruled Portugal from Madrid. Spain did not interfere with the Portuguese laws and institutions, including the Portuguese overseas administration. For both parties,

the union had increased their revenues. The Portuguese State of India could increase its income by more than 20% following the union's quarter-century⁶⁵⁷.

During the Iberian Union, the Portuguese continued applying the same bureaucratic administration. The Iberian King appointed a Portuguese Governor in Malacca. The king appointed the governor for three or four years to run his duty in Malacca. The governor composed and appointed several officers to handle military, administrative (political-trading) and native affairs. For the military affairs, Malacca was under the control of the Captain-General and his factor. During the Iberian Union, Malacca was under the Goan protection and the influence of Spanish Manila. The Iberian naval vessels were ready to rescue Malacca from the besiegers during wartime⁶⁵⁸.

For administrative affairs, the Portuguese appointed city officers. There were (1) the chief justice (*ouvidor*) and the secretary of the state to investigate individuals' complaints against the Crown; (2) seven older men to assist in the council's deliberations, act as magistrates under the direction of the Chief Justice, and supervise the distribution of the income of the city; and (3) the bishop of Malacca to handle religious affairs in Malacca and east of Malacca⁶⁵⁹. Intriguingly, the Malaccan Bishop also took over the political-military affairs when Malacca was under the political crisis, as Dom João Ribeiro Gaio did when he was the Bishop of Malacca (1579-1601). He was a leading figure in political-military terms. He took command of the Malaccan captaincy to defend the town during the Acehnese siege in 1587⁶⁶⁰.

The Portuguese in Malacca continued the native administration. They still installed Bendahara, Tumenggung, Shahbandar, and local captains to handle the local society and trade⁶⁶¹. However, the rise of the *Casado's* influence might have forced them to appoint a *Casado's* representative in the native administration, as Dom Henrique

⁶⁵⁷ Paquette. 2020. *The European Seaborne Empire*, pp.59-60; Ribeiro. 2017. "Cooperative Rivalry", p.37; Polónia. 2013. "Self-Organised in the First Global Age", p.148.

⁶⁵⁸ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.186.

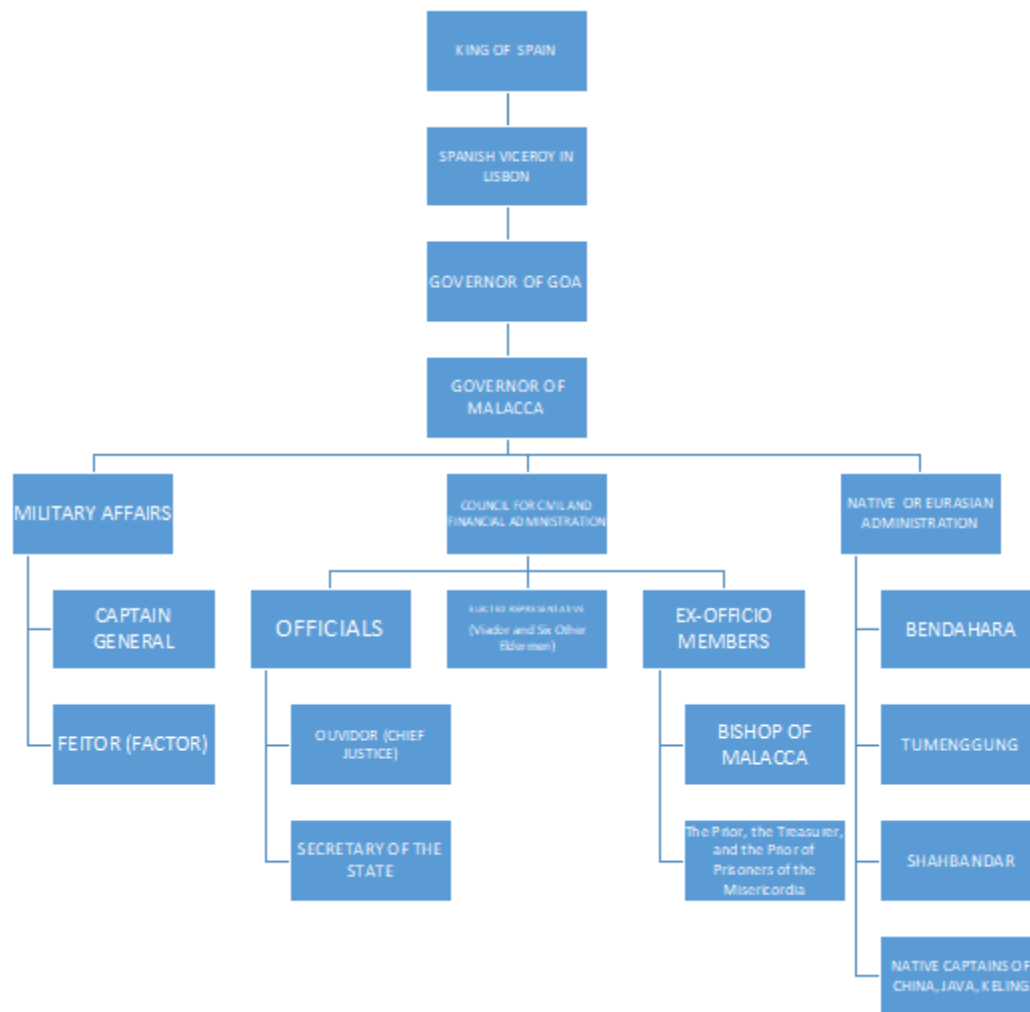
⁶⁵⁹ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, pp.184-6; Pissurlencar (Ed). 1951. *Regimentos das Fortalezas da Índia*, pp. 245-250; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", pp.510-1.

⁶⁶⁰ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, pp.195-9; Polónia. 2007. *A Expansão Ultramarina numa Perspectiva Local*, II, pp.271-2; Polónia. 2001. "Evangelização e Comércio", pp.302-4.

⁶⁶¹ Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.184; Desai. 1969. "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca", pp.503-5 & pp.508-9.

(1573-1588) and Paulo Fernandes (1620-?) became the Bendahara of Malacca. During the Iberian Union, the Bendahara ruled the local population and had the military function to defend the town of Malacca from the neighbouring sultanates. The Bendahara also became a Portuguese diplomat to Johor. The Portuguese hoped that the Bendahara could help stabilise the Luso-Johor relationship⁶⁶².

Figure 17 Political Bureaucracy of Portuguese Malacca under the Iberian Union



Sources: Author's diagram based on Paquette (2020, pp.59-60); Ribeiro (2017, p.37); Moorhead (1956, p.185); Desai (1969, pp.510-511); Pinto (2012, pp.195-208); Polónia (2007, pp.271-2).

3.1.2. Financial Revenue of Portuguese Malacca

⁶⁶² Pinto. 1998. "Purse and Sword: Dom Henrique Bendahara and Portuguese Melaka", pp.83-85; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, pp.204-8.

The Portuguese in Malacca depended on two main ways to gain financial revenue. First, they should exploit the numerous traffic lines that, in a way or another, terminated in Malacca. The Portuguese trading voyages were given out on lease or concession by the Crown to a beneficiary. Second, they issued a customs policy covering the traffic of various goods that passed through Malacca⁶⁶³.

The Portuguese encouraged private traders to participate trans-oceanic commerce from Goa to Nagasaki via Malacca⁶⁶⁴. In 1581, the Iberian Union was under the same king. The union had blurred the distinction between the two states. The Portuguese in Malacca could access the market of Spanish colonies. The Portuguese could supply slaves via Malacca and Manila to the Spanish colonies in America from 1595 onwards. The private Portuguese merchants also exploited the trading posts between Malacca and Manila⁶⁶⁵.

The Portuguese also kept depending their revenue on the customs houses' taxes. They began to collect duties from the private, the local, and the *Casados* merchants⁶⁶⁶. In 1588, the Bishop of Malacca, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio, took over the captaincy and decided to issue the majority of duties at 7%. However, the equal rate could not stop the captain to abuse his power. The Portuguese Captain, Pedro Lopes de Sousa (1590-3), tried to end the existing abuse of power by proposing the duties paid at the customs house. The captain and the merchants of Malacca agreed to regulate the new tariffs. The captain reserved one-third for himself, and the rest, for the residents and merchants, should pay duties of 12% at the customs house with a further 2% for the weight. The successor of Pedro Lopes de Sousa, Martim Afonso de Melo, did not honour the agreement, though he took control of the entire flow of spices and sold them to India without sharing them with other merchants⁶⁶⁷.

3.1.3. Military and Defence Infrastructure

⁶⁶³ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, p.4.

⁶⁶⁴ Prakash. 1990. "Long Distance Maritime Trade in Asia", pp.29-33.

⁶⁶⁵ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, p.1; Ribeiro. 2017. "Cooperative Rivalry", pp.36-8 & p.54.

⁶⁶⁶ Thomaz. 2018. "O Sistema das Viagens e a Rede Comercial Portuguesa na Ásia Oriental", p.58 .

⁶⁶⁷ Carta do Bispo de Malaca, Dom Joao Ribeiro Gaio a el-rei, Malaca, 31 de Janeiro de 1588, AGS (Archivo General de Simancas), Secretariat Provincial, Livro 1551, Published in Pinto, 2012, pp.289-297.

During the 1570s, Malacca was sieged successively by the neighbouring sultanates. The 1606 Dutch-Johor great siege of Malacca forced the Portuguese to ensure the security reinforcement urgently. They attempted to reinforce Malacca's military and defence infrastructure. The fortress remained unchanged throughout the Iberian Union. Malacca's fortification had several weaknesses. Two bulwarks of São Domingo and Madre de Deus became the first weak links in the system of fortifications. The second weakness was the wooden wall between São Domingos and Santiago. The Portuguese needed to replace it with a stone and mortar wall⁶⁶⁸.

Malacca's main weakness was famine⁶⁶⁹. However, the Portuguese King still ordered to reinforce the fortress. The king sent the Italian architect, Giovanni Battista Cairati or João Batista Cairato, to Malacca in 1588. He was instructed to rebuild the fortified bulwarks between São Domingo and Santiago. He never accomplished this defence work and returned to Portugal in 1595⁶⁷⁰. In 1635, the town of Malacca was surrounded by a stone and lime wall. The wall was 20 feet high, 12 palms wide at the bottom and seven palms broad on the top. The Portuguese fortress in Malacca had six bastions and had an entire circuit of 410 meters⁶⁷¹.

Outside of the fortress, the further palisade in Upeh was fortified by a trench made of stone and lime at the beginning of the 1580s. The pace of fortification was slow. Captain Dom João da Gama admitted that Malacca lacked sufficient funds to rebuild the defence infrastructure⁶⁷². The Portuguese commenced building a bastion on the Hilir bank, considering the rivals frequently invaded the town from the south of the fortress. The Portuguese also planned to fortify the *Ilha das Naus* and the city's main

⁶⁶⁸ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.214-5; Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.179; Loureiro. 2008. "Historical Notes on the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca", p.87.

⁶⁶⁹ The inhabitants of Malacca depended on the imported foodstuffs. The Javanese and Peguan supplied rice to Malacca. When the rivals blocked the food shipping to Malacca, the citizens of Malacca would suffer of starvation. This difficult situation might have led Malacca to surrender, as performed by the Portuguese in 1641 (Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.180).

⁶⁷⁰ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.18; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.215.

⁶⁷¹ Bocarro. 1635. *Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações*, fls.346-8; Loureiro. 2008. "Historical Notes on the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca", p.93.

⁶⁷² Royal instructions to the viceroy, 10-3-1584, ANTT, Fundo Portugues da Biblioteca Nacional Paris, No.48, fl.9v, Published in Pinto, 2012, Doc. 2, pp.279-283.

hill. They did not build the forts. The defence establishment on the Ilha das Naus was pivotal to ensure Malacca's defence, the security of shipping, and avoiding future incursions by Dutch armada⁶⁷³.

Figure 18 The Portuguese Fortress during the 1629 Acehnese Siege



Source: Map reproduced from Bocarro (1635, fl.348).

The reinforcement of the fortification system was not enough to ensure Malacca's security. As needed by all Portuguese colonies, Malacca also required naval armada from Goa or Manila to defend the town, considering Malacca did not have any shipbuilding yard. The city needed to be equipped with armaments, especially artillery, munitions, and supplies. Those weapons were vital for Malacca's survival. Malacca also demanded soldiers who were the most crucial corps for Malacca's defence. From the 17th century, the Portuguese troops suffered from the sea battle with the Northern European rivals. The military lack resulted in the burden of Malacca's defence. The

⁶⁷³ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.215-6.

responsibility to defend Malacca was transferred to the city's resources: the *casados* and their followers, the captain and his men, the priests and Asian communities, including the Kelings. The Portuguese authorities in Madrid, Lisbon and Goa agreed to provide Malacca with hundreds of soldiers. However, they went to Malacca as auxiliary troops. After the war in Malacca ended, they fled or sailed to other areas. Malacca did not have any other choice except to rely on the local human resources to the city's defence⁶⁷⁴.

3.2. The Port City of Malacca during the Iberian Union

During the Iberian Union, the port city of Malacca had few establishments. The town of Malacca was still divided into three areas of the fortress, Hilir and Upeh. Inside the fort, there were religious and administrative buildings. Those were the Castle, the Governor's Palace, the Bishop's Palace, the Council Hall, the Hall of the Brothers of Mercy, together with five Churches, namely, the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, with its chapter and episcopal see, the Church of Mercy of Our Lady of the Visitation, the Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation in the College of the Company of Jesus at the top of the hill, the Church of S. Domingos in the Convent of the Dominicans, and the Church of Santo Antonio in the Convent of Santo Agostinho. There were also two Hospitals for the inhabitants of Malacca⁶⁷⁵.

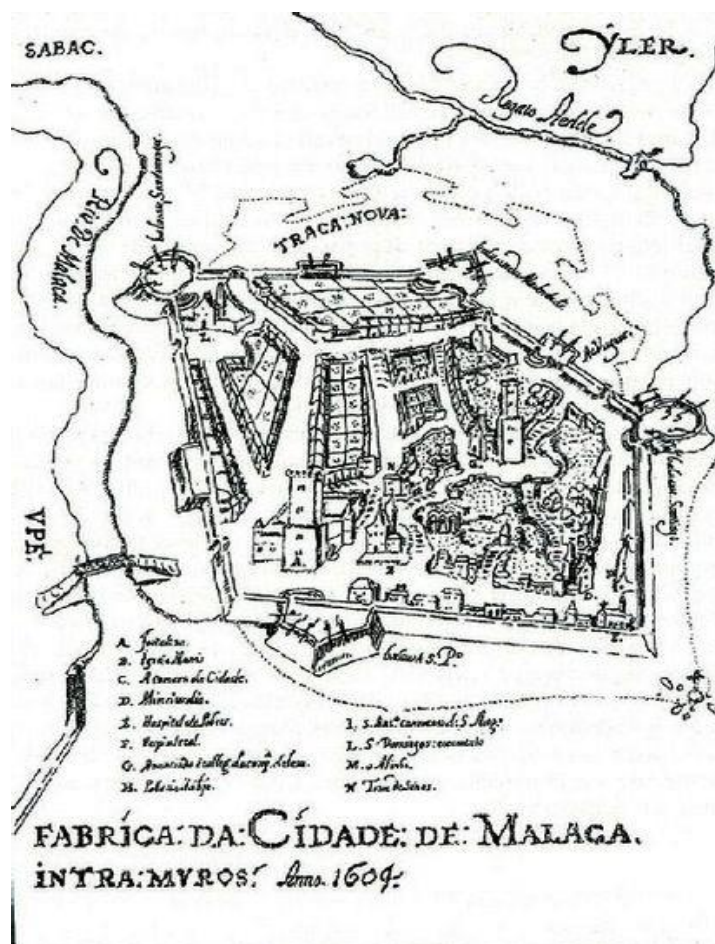
The Portuguese fortress of Malacca still protected the inhabitants, but the wooden wall between São Domingo and Santiago bulwarks remained, being Malacca's weakest point. The besiegers frequently exploited Malacca's defensive weakness. The Portuguese attempted to rebuild and replace the wooden walls with stone and lime, but its reconstruction was never accomplished. The Portuguese plan to fortify the *Ilha das Naus* was not executed. However, the Portuguese had reinforced Upeh's fortification and erected the palisade in Hilir⁶⁷⁶.

⁶⁷⁴ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.219-225.

⁶⁷⁵ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.18; Pinto. 2012. *the Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.173.

⁶⁷⁶ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.214-5; Moorhead. 1956. *A History of Malaya*, p.179; Loureiro. 2008. "Historical Notes on the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca", p.87 & p.93;

Figure 19 The Town of Malacca in 1604



Source: Map reproduced from Thomaz (2000, p.16).

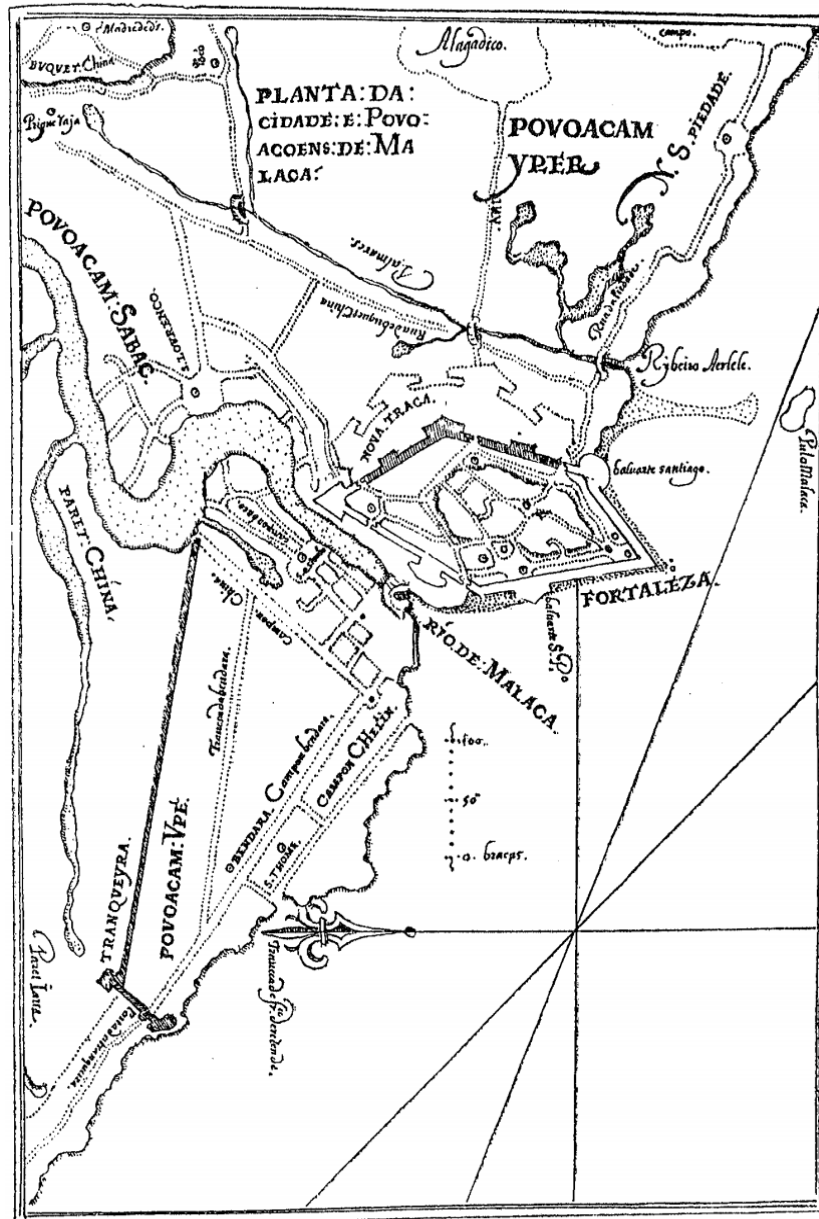
However, the Portuguese in Malacca benefited from the Spanish trade networks, although they faced several Dutch-Malay sieges. Therefore, the *Casados* preferred to live inside the wall, while some resided in Upeh. In the early 17th century, there were three hundred *Casados* with their families⁶⁷⁷. The *Casados* tried to safeguard the city's defence and ensure that Malacca remained in the hands of the Portuguese Crown. In

Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.18; Bocarro. 1635. *Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoaçoens*, fls.346-8.

⁶⁷⁷ Mills (Ed). 1930. "Eredia's Description of Malacca", p.21.

Upeh, there lived various Asian merchant communities comprising Keling, Chinese and Javanese. Some Javanese also resided in Hilir⁶⁷⁸.

Figure 20 The Ground Plan of the Malacca Town



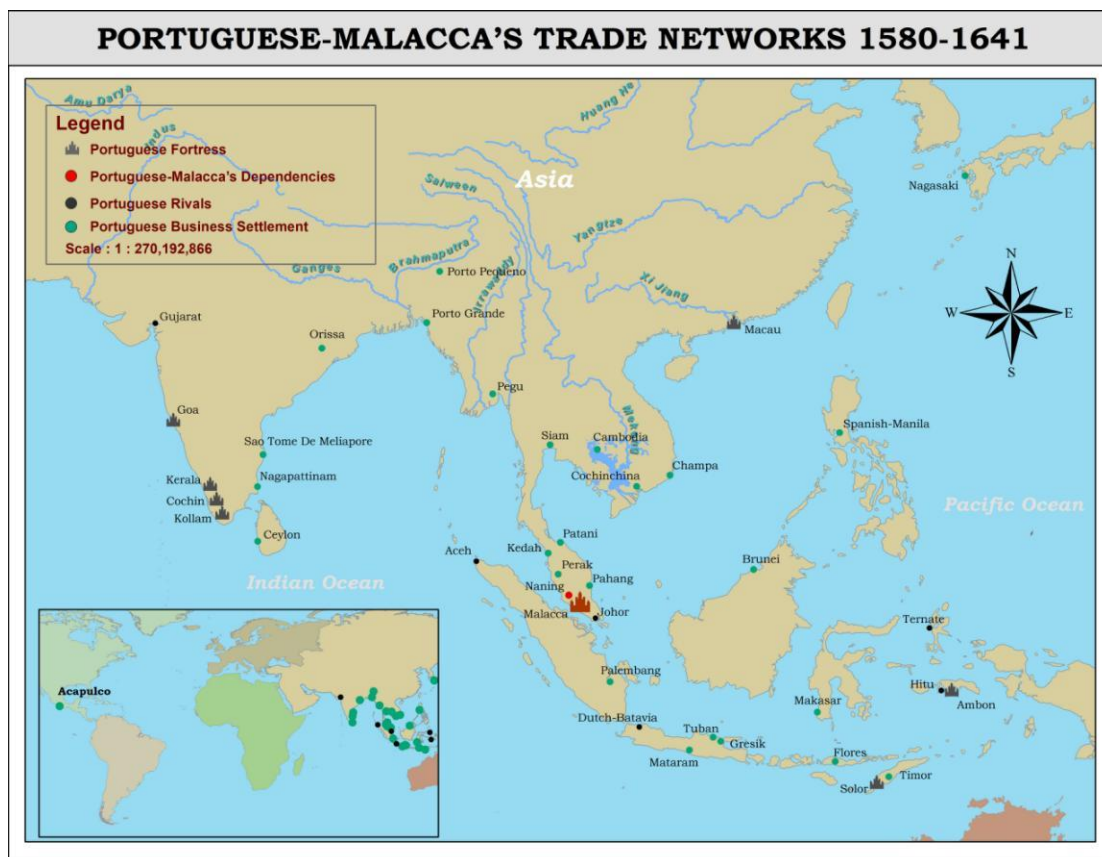
Sources: Map reproduced from Mills (Ed) (1930, between p.19 and p.20); Thomaz (2000, p.104).

3.3. Portuguese-Malacca's Trade Networks 1580-1641

⁶⁷⁸ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.173-4.

The Portuguese had changed their commercial expansion from the state monopoly to private hands since the 1550s. The Crown usually gave trading privilege as a reward for the servants' services and via simple leases to gain fixed profits without risk. During the period under study, the expansion of private trade transformed the Portuguese overseas venture from an aristocratic commercial regime into a genuinely retail empire, whose wealth came from the private business of merchants in Lisbon and overseas⁶⁷⁹. The Portuguese State of India motivated private merchants to visit and trade in the Far East after opening the Goa-Malacca-Macao-Nagasaki route in the mid of the 16th century. Besides enjoying a good income from the *cartaz* system, by 1580, the Portuguese *Casados* in Malacca also exploited intra Asian trade⁶⁸⁰.

Figure 21 Portuguese-Malacca's Trade Networks 1580-1641



Sources: Author's map based on Lobato (1995); Pinto (2012); Souza (1986); Boxer (1968);

⁶⁷⁹ Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.242; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, p.3.

⁶⁸⁰ Prakash. 1990. "Long Distance Maritime Trade in Asia", pp.29-33.

Boyajian (1993); Villiers (1985).

In 1581, the Iberian Union under the same king had blurred the distinction between the two spheres of influence. The Portuguese in Malacca could access the market of Spanish-Manila. In return, the Spanish had linked Manila to Macao. The Iberians continued working together, aiming to profit from the imperial trading routes and fighting their countries' monopolies by establishing informal partnerships to obtain trading licenses. However, the Portuguese lost the Indonesian spice trade in the late 16th century. Still, they could compensate their loss by entering East Asian business and Spanish trading networks ranging from Manila to Acapulco. The Portuguese had the opportunity to be the exclusive suppliers of slaves in Spanish America from 1595 onwards. They could export slaves via Malacca and Manila. The private Portuguese merchants also exploited the trading posts between Malacca and Macao to intervene in the Eastern Asian internal trading circuits and profit from imports of porcelain, silk, and Japanese silver⁶⁸¹.

3.3.1. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Malay World

The political upheavals in the Straits of Malacca determined the Luso-Malay trade during the 16th-17th centuries. The Portuguese in Malacca encountered a difficult period when Aceh and Johor agreed to establish a peaceful and friendly treaty. The incoming vessels to Malacca decreased significantly. The Portuguese tried to exploit the local trade in the Malay Peninsula. In 1594, the Portuguese Captain, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, sent his envoys and bought diamonds and bezoars in Pahang. The Portuguese Captains had also sold the right for the trading licenses of Malacca-Pahang for 500 Cruzados; Malacca-Patani for 400 Cruzados; and Malacca-Perak for 700 Cruzados⁶⁸².

⁶⁸¹ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, p.1; Ribeiro. 2017. "Cooperative Rivalry", pp.36-8 & p.54.

⁶⁸² The Life of Jacques de Coutre in JCSJ, pp.45-6; Memorials of Jacques de Coutre in JCSJ, pp.84-6; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.310; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Malacca*, p.150; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.155-7; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.24;

The Portuguese also attempted to secure their shipping through the Straits of Malacca. They invaded and defeated Johor in the late 16th century. In the early 17th century, Johor allied with the Dutch. They invaded Malacca jointly in 1606, but the Portuguese could defeat them. The Johorese power weakened after the Acehnese captured Johor during the 1620s. The Portuguese utilised this opportunity to ally with Johor. The Luso-Johorese partnership could not merely against the Acehnese during the 1620-30s but also conduct a friendly trade. After Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh died, the Johorese changed their minds and joined the Dutch networks. The Johorese still dreamed of taking back Malacca from the Portuguese. The Dutch-Johorese had launched several blockades in the Straits of Malacca since 1633⁶⁸³. The Dutch often privateered the Portuguese vessels laden with precious commodities from China and Manila. Their blockade forced the Portuguese to surrender in 1641⁶⁸⁴.

3.3.2. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Southeast Asian Mainland

During the period of the Iberian Union, the Portuguese still had a commercial connection to the Southeast Asian Mainland. The Portuguese Captains sold their rights to the private merchants for the trading license of Malacca-Pegu. The later frequently brought Indian textiles to Pegu and Syriam for rice. Both the Peguan and the Siamese merchants avoided purchasing immediately in Malacca. Due to the Portuguese levying the high duties for the Asian merchants, the Asians preferred to buy the Indian textiles in their ports⁶⁸⁵.

During the 1590s, very few Portuguese merchants visited Siam. Meanwhile, the private Portuguese merchants bought the trading concession of Malacca-Siam from 1564 to 1592. They were afraid after getting the information that the Siamese king had the bad reputation of a tyrant, fickle and deceitful. King Naresuan of Siam got this label after

Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.25-7; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*, pp.276-9.

⁶⁸³ Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.141-2; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Malacca*, pp.144-5.

⁶⁸⁴ *Carta de Nuno Alvares Botelho aos Governadores*. Published in ACE. p.501; *Carta do Capitao-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*, Published in ACE. p.509.

⁶⁸⁵ Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.165; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*, pp.275-6.

capturing Cambodia, where the Siamese destroyed the local Portuguese settlement. Friar Jorge da Mota tried to convince the Siamese King to send him to Malacca. The Dominican envoys attempted to talk with the Portuguese captain. He also informed that Siam could be the best market for Portuguese textiles in exchange for rice and other precious merchandise. The Portuguese Captain, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, sent Friar Mota and his envoy Manuel Pereira de Abreu to visit King Naresuan of Siam. The Portuguese asked the Siamese to release the Christian captive and bought some precious stones in Ayuthaya. The Portuguese envoys also asked the Siamese to populate Malacca. From 1595 onwards, the Siamese merchants re-populated Malacca⁶⁸⁶.

3.3.3. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Malabar Coast

The Portuguese kept running the long-distance trade from Goa to Macao (from 1555 onwards) and Nagasaki (from 1571 onwards) via Malacca. The Portuguese still granted or rented a royal trading license to a few of the king's aristocratic servants or private merchants. The trading concessions became the primary revenue for the Crown. In April or May, the Portuguese sent several fleets from Goa to East Asia via Malacca. They carried Indian merchandise, and some of them were sold at Malacca. In Malacca, they loaded Indonesian spices and sailed for Macao and Nagasaki. On the return voyage, the Portuguese vessels sailed the same routes and bartered their products in Macao and Malacca before returning to India⁶⁸⁷.

From the 1580s onwards, the Portuguese *Casados* could develop their commercial activities in the Malabar Coast. They organised the local trade from Kanara to Goa. They supplied Goa with rice, palm oil, areca and pepper. Besides residing in Goa, they also populated Cochin. They also expanded their trade networks from the Malabar Coast to the Red Sea, Pegu, Malacca and Sumatra. The *Casados* frequently organised themselves into companies, either in a partnership or other temporary pooling of

⁶⁸⁶ The Life of Jacques de Coutre, Published in JCSJ, pp.55-7; Meilink-Roelofs. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago*, p.165; Flores. 1991. *Os Portugueses e o S o*, p.82.

⁶⁸⁷ Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.15-6; Boxer. 1929. "The Affair of the Madre de Deus", pp.11-2; Mukherjee. 2008. "The Struggle for the Bay", p.67 & p.76; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.17-25 & pp.32-9; Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.59.

resources, for a single or many voyages. Most Portuguese companies usually consisted of family members. However, they also received funding from many smaller passive investors who were not their relatives. However, the private Portuguese companies could not survive and compete with the Northern European companies. The Portuguese king did not give any protection when they sailed, passing the Indian and South Atlantic Ocean. When the Portuguese Crown incentivised armed naval ships for trade, the Dutch Company had already very strong and well-organised armadas⁶⁸⁸.

3.3.4. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Bay of Bengal

During the 17th century, the Portuguese in Bengal had two networks. The first was self-organised and run from Masulipatnam to Aceh, Pegu and the Malay Peninsula. The other was the route under the concession system. The trading concessions covered several navigational lines: São Tomé-Malacca; São Tomé-Pegu; Nagapattinam-Mergui; and Nagapattinam-Malacca. For São Tomé-Malacca, the Portuguese merely departed a ship annually. In general, their vessels carried cotton and rice. They returned and brought tin, spices, gold, sandalwood and silk. Considering the sailing risks and the expensive cost from São Tomé to Malacca, the private merchants preferred to organise a large carrack with freight goods and a hundred merchants and slaves. In 1592, the Portuguese Casados organised and sent a big vessel, weighted six or seven hundred tons, from São Tomé to Malacca. The English privateered it in Nicobar⁶⁸⁹.

In the Nagapattinam-Malacca axis, the Portuguese Captains in Malacca had regular shipping. In 1606, Andre Furtado de Mendonça sent a large ship to Nagapattinam, which was also captured by the Dutch. On the reverse route, the Portuguese Casados in Nagapattinam frequently went to Malacca to sell the Coromandel textiles. The Portuguese Captain in Nagapattinam, António Ferreira da Câmara, also had a trading license to trade in Malacca. For the Portuguese in the Coromandel Coast, a trading

⁶⁸⁸ Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.56, p.108 & p.124; Disney. 1977. "The First Portuguese East India Company", p.242; Silva. 1974. "The Portuguese East India Company", pp.152-5.

⁶⁸⁹ Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.41-2; Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.61 & p.80; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*, pp.270-5.

concession from Coromandel to Malacca became the most profitable trade. Besides running the licensed business, the Casados in Coromandel also conducted unlicensed trade. The Portuguese naval forces weakened and could not protect the Casados' shipping. Therefore, many Casados shipped their cargoes for unlicensed trade. They earned huge profits from unlicensed trade in Malacca and did not pay customs⁶⁹⁰.

3.3.5. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Brunei

A deposed ruler of Brunei, Sirela or Maleka, arrived in Manila in 1578. He asked the Spanish Governor of Manila to help him against his domestic enemies. The Spanish Governor, Francisco de Sande, led his garrison against Brunei to lower it into vassalage. After the short combat, the Spanish restored Sirela and gained a friendly relationship. Brunei was under political upheavals. Therefore, the ruler of Brunei asked for the Spanish protection again in 1581. Captain Gabriel de Rivera commanded his men to defend Brunei from its enemy. The close relationship between Manila and Brunei also opened an opportunity for the Portuguese, frequently allied with Spanish merchants. Besides linking Malacca to Manila, the Portuguese also connected Malacca to Brunei. The Portuguese established a Portuguese trading post and a Catholic mission in Brunei (Bandar Seri Begawan)⁶⁹¹.

3.3.6. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Makasar

In the early 17th century, Makasar was a pivotal port for the Portuguese after the Javanese-Muslim captured Blambangan. Makasar provided rice and spices to attract the Portuguese and other trans-national merchants. The hinterland in South Celebes, Java and Bima supplied the Makasarese market for rice. Makasar also became a spice market from the Moluccas, Ambon and Banda. Other Indonesian merchants also exported their products via Makasar. The Portuguese brought Indian cloth, raw silk from Macao, silk cloth, gold, porcelain and other Chinese goods, and European and Japanese firearms and weapons to the Makasarese market. From November to

⁶⁹⁰ Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.42-3 & pp.75-6; Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.61 & pp.159-160.

⁶⁹¹ Lach. 1994. *Asia in the Making of Europe I*, pp.584-5; Paquette. 2020. *The European Seaborne Empire*, pp.59-60; Ribeiro. 2017. "Cooperative Rivalry", p.37; Polónia. 2013. "Self-Organised in the First Global Age", p.148.

December 1625, around ten to twenty-two Portuguese trading vessels arrived annually. They left Makasar in May 1626 and carried rich cargoes for Malacca, Coromandel and Bengal. Due to the sultan permitting the Portuguese to exercise their religion, around five hundred Portuguese resided in Makasar⁶⁹².

The Makasarese followed a free trade policy; therefore, Makasar was populated by many Malays, Javanese, Portuguese, English, Danish, and Dutch. Makasar became a cosmopolitan port city providing an abundance of rich Indonesian commodities and luxurious merchandise from various foreign merchants. Although, the Luso-Dutch dispute had ceased the Makasarese to remain neutral. They permitted the Dutch and the Portuguese to erect their fortress in Makasar. However, the Dutch attempted to monopolise the spice trade. The relationship between the Dutch and the Makasarese worsened. The Sultan of Makasar began buying firearms and military supplies from English, Danish, and Portuguese merchants. The sultan also allied with the Portuguese against the Dutch. The Luso-Makasarese alliance ran well before the Dutch destroyed Makasar in 1688⁶⁹³.

3.3.7. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to the Lesser Sunda Islands

During the 16th century, the Portuguese tried to find where the sandalwood came from after realizing the sandalwood price at Malacca was two and half times higher than the importers buying at Timor. After the Portuguese resided, married the locals and constructed the fortress in Solor, the Portuguese Casados took over the control of the sandalwood trade. The Portuguese began to export the sandalwood to Malacca and later to Macao. The Malacca-Solor business did not run without any risk. The Javanese and Dutch merchants frequently attacked the Portuguese crews. In 1564, the Javanese junks surrounded and blocked Solor. The Portuguese ship from the Moluccas rescued and forced the Javanese to escape. In 1568, the Javanese also had another siege, but the Portuguese could defeat them. The Portuguese had established a Christian

⁶⁹² Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.41-2; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p.177; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*, p.278; Borges. 2005. *Os Portugueses e o Sultanato de Macaçar*, pp.106-7.

⁶⁹³ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.44-7.

settlement and converted a thousand souls to embrace Catholicism in Solor and surrounding islands. Nevertheless, the local resistance had threatened the Portuguese authority, as the people of Lamakera did in 1598⁶⁹⁴.

In the late 16th century, the Portuguese Captains in Malacca had the exclusive right to send their vessels or sell their rights for the voyage of Malacca-Solor. The Portuguese in Solor organised a political administration, erected another fort in Ende in 1595, and levied the incoming vessels since 1611. They used these fiscal revenues to pay the official salaries. The growth of Solor attracted the Dutch to invade in 1613. The Portuguese moved their power and settlement to Larantuka. Larantuka became prosperous after being the Portuguese capital in the Lesser Sunda Islands. By the 1620s, the Portuguese linked Larantuka to Malacca and Makasar, where they could barter the sandalwood with various Asian merchandise. When the Dutch captured Malacca in 1641, The Portuguese in Larantuka still survived after running a long-distance trade with Macao since 1639⁶⁹⁵.

3.3.8. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Ambon

The Portuguese in Malacca lost their spice trade networks to the Moluccas, Hitu, and Banda Islands during the 1570s. The Portuguese were cornered in the Leitimor Peninsula. Therefore, they erected their fortress, *Nossa Senhora de Anunciada*, in Leitimor Peninsula in 1588. Besides being intended to defend from the Hitunese and their allies; the fort also became a place for the Portuguese settlement. In managing the Ambonese, the Portuguese administered bureaucracy. A captain led the Portuguese government. He was assisted by some civil servants, such as a secretary and the trading post chief, who was responsible for all mercantile activities. All servants were responsible for managing the Ambonese society and controlling the Leitimor's society in every village. However, the locals seemed to support the Portuguese, but they also resisted the Portuguese during the 1580s. The Portuguese

⁶⁹⁴ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, pp.124-5; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.70-2; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp.175-6.

⁶⁹⁵ Matos. 1995. *On the Seaways to Spices*, pp.126-7; Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.72 & pp.75-6; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia*, p.278; Boxer. 1968. *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p.177.

succeeded in controlling the rebels by laying a board consisting of several *ulis* (the local chiefs). These mediated the locals and the colonial government. In addition, they also provided the *kora-kora* (the local vessel) as a warship, the leading ship for the Portuguese ships to enter the Bay of Ambon, and a vehicle for the Portuguese nobles to visit various places like Haruku, Saparua, Buru, and Seram⁶⁹⁶.

In the late 16th century, the Dutch entered Ambon Island. They aimed to monopolise the spice trade. They learned that the Hitunese had the same enemy, the Portuguese. The Dutch and the Hitunese agreed to expel the Portuguese from Ambon jointly. The Dutch States General sent admiral Cornelis Sebastianszoon and Steven van der Hagen to negotiate the Hitunese. The 1603 agreement regulated that the Hitunese granted the Dutch spice monopoly and a trading base. The Dutch should assist the Hitunese in besieging the Portuguese in Ambon⁶⁹⁷.

After the treaty was agreed, the Dutch Admirals, Cornelis Matelief and Steven van der Hagen, and the Hitunese Commander Mihirjiguna led the joint attack to surround the town of Ambon in 1605. The locals did not supply Portuguese foodstuffs. However, the Portuguese had enough military weapons to defend themselves, but they preferred to surrender and leave Ambon. The Portuguese captain of Ambon, Gaspar de Melo, offered some conditions and gave the Portuguese fortress to the Dutch. Empat Perdana wanted to destroy the Portuguese fortress, but the Dutch persuaded them to give the fortress. The Dutch took the Portuguese fortress, known as the Victoria Fortress. The States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands appointed Frederik Houtman as the first Dutch Governor of Ambon⁶⁹⁸.

3.3.9. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Manila and Acapulco

⁶⁹⁶ Rumphius. 1910. *De Ambonsche Historie*, pp.9-14; Leirissa, Pattikayhatu, Luhukay, Thalib, & Maelissa. 2004. *Ambonku Dulu, Kini dan Esok*, pp.19-26; Jacobs. 1977. *Documenta Malucensia*, p.606; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Malacca*, pp.28-29.

⁶⁹⁷ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, pp.179-180; Mu'jizah. 2008. *Pertemuan Antarbangsa dalam Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.23; Kartodirdjo. 2014. *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru*, p.206.

⁶⁹⁸ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, pp.182; Mu'jizah. 2008. *Pertemuan Antarbangsa dalam Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, p.25.

The Spanish operated the Acapulco-Manila trade after establishing Manila in 1572. During the 1570s, the Spanish brought American silver and demanded Asian goods. Manila transformed into an entrepôt and attracted various Asian merchants to visit. The Portuguese in Asia also participated in Manila's commercial activities after the Iberian countries united in 1581. The Portuguese used their trading rights to Manila, alleging that they were under the same king. They supplied all Manila's demands and established a triangle trade of Malacca, Macao and Manila⁶⁹⁹.

In the axis of Manila and Macao, the Spanish exported silver to Macao after receiving a large quantity of silver from Acapulco. The Spanish exchanged American silver for Chinese silk in Macao during the 1580s. Diogo Fernandes Vitória and the Spanish in Manila collaborated to transport Chinese silk to Manila. Diogo Vitória also bridged the Spanish demand for other Asian goods. He used Chinese silk to import Indian textiles and diamonds, rubies, sapphires, spices, and slaves from Malacca. Before 1600, it was common for the Portuguese merchants in Goa, Cochin and Malacca to trade in Manila through Macao. The Portuguese from Indian ports and Malacca also transported their merchandise, including Indian textiles, slaves, gold, and jewels, to Spanish-Manila via Tidore. From Tidore, the principal Spanish merchant Thomas Neto brought Portuguese merchandise and cloves to Manila⁷⁰⁰.

During the Iberian Union, the Portuguese became the primary supplier for slaves in Manila⁷⁰¹. In 1625, some Portuguese departed from Bengal and carried rice, oil, textiles and slaves. There were two hundred slaves on board during the voyage between Bengal and Manila via Malacca. The Portuguese were not merely taking the slaves but also enslaving the free men. The Portuguese usually captured and enslaved the merchants or fishermen in the Bay of Bengal. They realised that Manila needed

⁶⁹⁹ Seijas. 2008. *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Spanish Manila*, pp.19-21; Barros. 2017. *The Manila Galleon, Macao and International Maritime and Commercial Relations*, p.128.

⁷⁰⁰ Boyajian. 1993. *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburg*, p.64, p.81, p.85, & p.237; Lobato. 1999. *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulândia*, p.330.

⁷⁰¹ One of Asian slaves' provider was Malacca. In Malacca, slaves were employed mostly as ship crews in the loading and unloading of ships. They also worked as craftsmen and as domestic help. Female slaves frequently became concubines to the members of the local aristocracy. As for the origin of slaves, they were enslaved due to trade, birth, and indebtedness (Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.131 & pp.134-5).

many slaves to conduct domestic and public works, so they brought them to Manila via Malacca or transported them to Acapulco and other Spanish-American settlements⁷⁰².

3.3.10. Portuguese Malacca's Trade Network to Macao and Nagasaki

From the 1580s onwards, the Portuguese established a triangle trade between Malacca, Manila and Macao. However, they had a challenge during the 17th century, when the Dutch frequently plundered and blocked the Portuguese shipping in the Indian Ocean, the Straits of Malacca, and the South China Sea⁷⁰³. In East Asia, the Dutch and English merchants established a trading post in Hirado in the early 17th century. They hoped they could compete with the Portuguese in Macao and Nagasaki. They played the same role as the Portuguese. They bridged the Chinese merchants with the Japanese in Hirado. However, the Chinese merchants did not protect them from the Chinese officials when the Europeans brought the Japanese silver to the Chinese mainland. Therefore, the English decided to leave their trading post in Hirado in 1623. On the contrary, the Dutch could survive after blocking and plundering the Chinese junks. They also tried to capture Macao in 1622, but the Portuguese could defend their town. They continually rivalled the Portuguese in Macao and Nagasaki after erecting Zeelandia Fort in Formosa (Taiwan) in 1624. However, the Dutch could not expel the Portuguese from East Asian trade. The Japanese were the only ones who could remove the Portuguese from Nagasaki in 1639. Dutch-Formosa began to replace the role of Nagasaki in the Sino-Japanese business. The Dutch-Formosa became a distributing centre for Chinese silks and Japanese silver and copper⁷⁰⁴.

⁷⁰² Seijas. 2008. *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Spanish Manila*, pp.23-5 & p.29; .

⁷⁰³ Boxer. 1963. *The Great Ship from Amacon*, p.3; Boxer. 1929. "The Affair of the Madre de Deus", pp.14-15; Boxer. 1934. "The Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan", p.32; Costa. 1998. *O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, pp.443-4, pp.500-2, & pp.516-7.

⁷⁰⁴ Boxer. 1963. *The Great Ship from Amacon*, p.4; Boxer. 1991. *Estudos para a História*, pp.57-66; Costa. 1998. *O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, p.147 & pp.159-161.

4. The Dutch Takeover: Dutch Malacca in the 17th Century

This chapter elaborates on the political economy of Dutch-Malacca during the second half of the 17th century. This chapter is divided into several sub-chapters: (1) the Dutch conquest of Malacca; (2) the political administration of Dutch-Malacca; (3) the port-city of Dutch-Malacca; (4) Dutch-Malacca and its local trade network; (5) the Portuguese-Eurasians' survival strategies; and (6) Portuguese shipping through the Straits of Malacca.

4.1. The Dutch Conquest of Malacca in 1641

Entering the 17th century, Malacca kept having to defend itself against repeated invasions from the Malay states. The Portuguese relied on the political balance between Aceh and Johor Sultanates to secure their interest in the straits. However, the stability of Malacca was interrupted when the Dutch arrived in Asian waters. The Acehnese permission for the Dutch to spend the winter in an Acehnese port had broken the Luso-Acehnese truce, which had been established during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1588-1604)⁷⁰⁵. In June 1606, the Portuguese invaded the city-port of Aceh in order to punish the Acehnese king and his subjects for having welcomed the Dutch. The Acehnese could counter-attack when Prince Perkasa Alam (Iskandar Muda) begged his father, Sultan Ali Riayat Shah (1604-6), to lead the troops against the Portuguese. Iskandar Muda succeeded in forcing the Portuguese to get back to Malacca⁷⁰⁶.

The powerful Acehnese had attracted Dutch offers of collaboration to expel the Portuguese. The Dutch-Johor failure to wipe the Portuguese out from Malacca in

⁷⁰⁵ Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade", p.426; Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, p.76; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.76.

⁷⁰⁶ During the reign of Sultan Ali Riayat Shah, Aceh was not in a good condition. The drought led to many ravages and starving people. The Sultan Ali Riayat could not handle the situation and followed a disastrous policy. He imprisoned Iskandar Muda over their dispute, but Iskandar apologised by going the war when the Dutch invaded Aceh (Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, p.75; Beaulieu. 1705. "Memoirs of Admiral Beaulieu", p.254).

1606⁷⁰⁷ made them realise that they could not only rely on Johor⁷⁰⁸, the weakest power in the strait. Although the Dutch agreed on a revised treaty with Johor on 23 September 1606⁷⁰⁹, they also had an additional agreement with the powerful Acehneese in 1607⁷¹⁰. After Iskandar Muda replaced Sultan Ali Riayat Shah, the Acehneese Sultanate became more aggressive. According to Nuruddin Ar-Raniri as recorded in his *Bustan Al-Salatin*⁷¹¹, Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), with financial support⁷¹² and the inherited power⁷¹³ started to invade the Malay states.

On the other hand, the Dutch also expanded their political-trading connections along the Asian coastal areas by establishing some factories in Banten (1596); Aceh (1601); Patani (1601); Gresik (1602); Ambon (1605); Batu Sawar (1606); Ternate (1607); Banda (1609); and Hirado (1609)⁷¹⁴. Considering their failure to take Malacca in 1606 and the unstable situation in Johor after the Acehneese invasion of 1613-4⁷¹⁵, the Dutch decided

⁷⁰⁷ There are some possible factors driving the 1606 joint military campaign's failure: (1) insufficient gunpowder and ammunition; the reluctance of the company's Malay allies to engage the Portuguese in hand to hand combat; (3) the arrival of the largest Portuguese armada from Goa (Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.5); and (4) the losses in men and ships during the blockade from 1633 to 1641 (Boxer. 1929. "The Affair of the Madre de Deus", p.26).

⁷⁰⁸ Relating to the Dutch-Johor joint attack, Hikayat Hang Tuah (*The Epic of Hang Tuah*) informs differently that the Dutch sought the Johorese assistance when they did not succeed in capturing Malacca (Robson & Salleh (Eds). 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, p.530). The author of Hikayat Hang Tuah might view this case from Johorese perspective and intended to praise the Johor Sultanate.

⁷⁰⁹ Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.14.

⁷¹⁰ The detail of the Acehneese-Dutch treaty is still unknown due to the fact that the written treaty is not available. However, the Dutch often went to Aceh and brought some cannon and gunpowder, in exchange for Acehneese pepper (Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, p.78).

⁷¹¹ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*.

⁷¹² Sultan Iskandar Muda had abundant gold reserves, resulting from his profitable trade from the sale of local crops, which add to the rich presents from all foreign visitors and their vassals' tributes. With this large income, he could hire trained armies from foreign countries: Ottoman, Cambay, Malabar, Abbyssinia, Luzon, and Borneo (Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.46 & 88-9).

⁷¹³ During the 16th century, Acehneese under the reign of Sultan Mughayat Shah conquered Daya to the west and Pidie (Pedir) and Pasai to the East. They had also joined Asian Islamic connections after they sent their embassy, along with rich gifts of gold, pepper and spices to the Ottoman Empire in 1563, asking for military assistance especially cannon, gunpowder, and gunners. They created the Islamic connection to the northern coast of Java after Malacca was captured by the Portuguese in 1511. The Javanese merchants from Demak, Cirebon, Banten, Jepara, and Tuban preferred to sail through the Straits of Sunda and the west coast of Sumatra before reaching Aceh, Ceylon, and the Middle East (Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea", pp.415 & p.420; Tjandrasasmita. 2009. *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*, pp.42 & 68).

⁷¹⁴ Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, pp.67-107; Borschberg. 2002. *The Seizure of St. Catarina*, p.31; Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.122-6; Matos. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spice*, pp.45-8.

⁷¹⁵ Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, p.109.

to establish their central base in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1619. The opening of Batavia was believed to signal the beginning of the decline of Portuguese-Malacca⁷¹⁶. The Dutch continually shadowed and invaded the Portuguese forts, as they did in Macau (1622)⁷¹⁷. They also began to block Portuguese commerce by taking the Portuguese ships in the straits of Malacca and Singapore⁷¹⁸.

Thanks to Javanese Mataram, their siege of Batavia between 1628 and 1629⁷¹⁹ might have prevented the Dutch from taking part in the Acehese campaign against Malacca in 1629. Jan Oosterwijk, a Dutch trader in Jambi, believed that the Acehese could capture Malacca from the Portuguese if the Dutch assisted them, with at least three or four ships, to block the Luso-Malay vessels⁷²⁰. Johor was hoped to assist the Acehese, but instead resisted the Acehese expansionism and preferred to be on the Portuguese side. Sultan Abdullah personally went to Malacca and shaped an alliance with the Portuguese against the Acehese armada⁷²¹. In 1629, the Acehese sent the largest war-fleet ever seen in Asia to invade Malacca. They encircled Malacca for a month, but the Luso-Malay joint-forces managed to defeat them⁷²².

After their failure, Acehese power and hegemony decreased dramatically. The Portuguese admiral, Nuno Álvares Botelho, was so proud of his victory against

⁷¹⁶ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.xxvi.

⁷¹⁷ Boxer. 1991. *Estudos para a Historia*, pp.57-66.

⁷¹⁸ Borschberg. 2010. *VOC Blockade*, pp.1-45.

⁷¹⁹ The Mataram project to control Java started after they conquered East Java in 1625. Knowing the failure of Banten invasion of Batavia in 1627, Mataram led by Tumenggung Baurekso of Kendal, emerged to challenge Batavia on August 26, 1628. The Javanese-Dutch war happened when the Javanese surrounded and invaded the Dutch fort in Batavia from September 21-28, 1628. The first Mataram siege ended with the loss on their side although they had operated the same strategy, which succeeded in Surabaya, of stemming river to Batavia. The Sultan of Mataram was aware that he needed an ally to capture Batavia. He then proposed a friendly treaty to the Captain of Malacca. The first Javanese embassy was sent to Malacca in 1628. This important request from Java was forwarded to Goa but the late Portuguese response and assistance forced Mataram to invade Batavia alone. The second Javanese siege was operated in form of trench warfare, but it ended with the same result. The Javanese Mataram kept maintaining contact with the Portuguese and hoped that they could send their armada to Java. However, because of the death of Nuno Álvares Botelho, the Portuguese could not fill their promise to the Javanese until the fall of Malacca in 1641 (Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, p.120; Graaf. 1990. *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram*, pp.149-238).

⁷²⁰ Letter from Jan Oosterwijk to Antonie Van Diemen, March 15, 1630, published in Iskandar, 1966, p.54.

⁷²¹ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.165.

⁷²² Bakar. 1988. "Impian yang Tidak Terlaksana", p.73.

Acehnese troops, that he continued to execute the next project to secure Portuguese vessels against the Dutch threat⁷²³, and sailed to the south of Malacca. There, however, he was killed in a naval battle in Jambi in 1630. Since Admiral Botelho's death, many Portuguese carracks from Macau and Manila to India via the Straits of Malacca were captured. From 1630, the *Estado da India* lost its profitable trade and could no longer send many ships to patrol and secure the straits⁷²⁴.

Without wasting time, the Dutch started to block the Iberian colonial and local ports in Southeast Asia. As of 1633, the Dutch stationed seven naval vessels in the Straits of Singapore, the mouth of the Johor River, and the north-north-eastern coast of Karimon, so that, they could monitor all traffic passing through the straits of Malacca. From 1633 to 1636, Cornelisz Simonz van de Veer and his naval ships captured twenty Portuguese vessels. He also captured a ship from Macao and destroyed nine vessels in the Dinding River. Furthermore, the Dutch managed to capture the nearby islands of Malacca, *Ilha das Naus* or *Pulo Melaka* and *Cape Rachado* or *Tanjung Tuan*. *Pulo Melaka* was the island where the Dutch could station artillery to prevent ships from entering or leaving the port. In the meanwhile, Tanjung Tuan was in a strategic situation allowing it to control and intercept the vessels from North Sumatra (Aceh) and the ports around the Bay of Bengal between June and September⁷²⁵.

The position of Malacca was in danger. The Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, afraid of it falling to the Dutch, attempted to fortify Malacca town and the outworks⁷²⁶. The Portuguese also attempted to break the Dutch blockade⁷²⁷. Borschberg⁷²⁸ argues that the Portuguese employed four strategies to respond to the blockade. First, they tried to divert the cargo beyond Dutch control, for instance along overland and riverine

⁷²³ *Conselho sobre Alguas Cousas que o Capitão Geral Nuno Alvares Botelho escreveu de Malaca*, 18 Abril 1630, in *ACE*, p.272.

⁷²⁴ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, p.222; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.281.

⁷²⁵ Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", pp.13-16; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore*, pp.279 & 281; Cardon. 2016. *The Fall of Portuguese Malacca to the Dutch*, p.13; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.2-3.

⁷²⁶ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.1.

⁷²⁷ Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore*, p.282.

⁷²⁸ Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", pp.19-28.

trading networks. Second, the Portuguese opened up the new sailing routes through and around the sprawling Lingga-Riau Archipelago. Third, the Portuguese used the Malay proxies for trade and transportation. Finally, they called at Malay ports, which were not under the Dutch influence.

Knowing that the power of the Portuguese had been declining, the Dutch began to persuade their rivals, Aceh and Johor, to invade Malacca. Unlike the former sultan, Sultan Iskandar Thani opened up diplomatic relations with the Portuguese as reflected by the coming of Portuguese ships into Aceh in July and September 1638. The Acehnese Sultan welcomed the Portuguese guests and released some prisoners. The sultan was displeased knowing the Portuguese were taking his slaves. Therefore, he had the Portuguese captain and crews executed when they returned to Aceh. The political upheavals in the Straits of Malacca became even more heated when Acehnese troops in Pahang were murdered by the combined forces of the Portuguese, Johor, and Patani. In October 1638, the Sultan sent the Acehnese admiral, Maharaja Lela, and his troops to invade Johorese in Pahang⁷²⁹.

The Luso-Johorese alliance was not in stable standing. Among the Johorese elites, Tun Abdul Jamil was strictly anti-Portuguese. He was the Laksamana of Johor who went to Batavia in September 1639. He agreed to the Dutch proposal to jointly invade Malacca by sea and land. In October 1639, he signed a formal agreement with Philip Lucasz, a VOC official in Patani⁷³⁰. The Dutch were aware of the Luso-Aceh-Johor dispute, played with that political unbalance and gained the Johor-Aceh support for the siege of the Portuguese in Malacca. By one side, the Dutch remained neutral in the Aceh-Johor dispute; and kept the Johorese commitment. On the other side, they also sought Acehnese assistance. Commander Cornelis Symonz van der Veer, on behalf of Director Philip Lucasz, initiated a negotiation with the King of Aceh about an expedition to Malacca, which, however, led to nothing. The mission was continued by Sergeant-

⁷²⁹ Basset. 1969. "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics", pp.432-3; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore*, p.280; Cardon. 2016. *The Fall of Portuguese Malacca to the Dutch*, p.14; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.1.

⁷³⁰ The Laksamana agreed to invade Malacca. In return, the Dutch would build the forts in Batu Sawar alongwith cannons and war munitions; and to protect Johor from the Portuguese and Acehnese threats (Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, p.26).

Major Adriaen Antonisz. After Antonisz arrived in Batavia on May 5, 1640, he was ordered to resume the negotiations. The Acehnese Sultan was ready to reinforce the Dutch forces in Malacca. In fact, the Acehnese could not assist the Dutch before Maharaja Lela returned to Aceh. Therefore, the Dutch merely relied on the Johorese support regarding the Malacca expedition⁷³¹.

The Dutch regularly patrolled the Straits of Malacca in order to block any relief for Malacca. The Dutch Governor in Batavia sent a supply ship, named *Limmen*, carrying 40 sailors, 20 soldiers, and enough provisions for eight-month sailing. This ship was under the command of Captain Jacob Cooper. He was instructed to cut the Javanese boats with a full cargo of rice sent by the King of Mataram. The Dutch began to invade Malacca when Sergeant-Major Adriaen Antonisz, accompanied by 242 sailors and 90 soldiers in four vessels, left Batavia on 20 May and landed in Malacca in June 1640. Yet, the Portuguese fortress was well-provided with cannons and all war materials. A garrison with two hundred and sixty men were ready to defend Malacca. Between two and three thousand Portuguese-Eurasians and the native inhabitants formed the best fighting men for the defence. It seemed difficult for the Dutch to conquer Malacca⁷³². Johor added to the Dutch military power by sending its naval boats to assist. In July 1640, a thousand and five hundred people in forty vessels joined the Dutch squadron stationed in Carimon. These fleets were instructed to monitor anything entering and leaving the Straits of Malacca.

Six hundred Dutch men arrived in Malacca on August 3, 1640⁷³³. It even included seven field guns. Two thousand Malays of Johor, Naning, and Rembau were also sent to assist the Dutch on the north side of Malacca. According to the Epic of Hang Tuah, Datuk Paduka Raja (the title of Johorese Laksamana) led the siege of Malacca. All the Portuguese escaped and took cover the fortress. They merely fought back from the fortress, encircled by the Malay-Dutch armies. The besiegers climbed the fortress walls using scaling ladders. When they met the Portuguese, the Malays fought with their

⁷³¹ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.11.

⁷³² Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.13.

⁷³³ Basset. 1969. "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics", pp.435-6; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.77; Winstedt 1932. "A History of Johore", p.36.

swords, cutlasses, arrows, and muskets. Others threw ironwood, iron chisels, and rocks. The Johorese also blocked the food supplies by land and prevented all enemies from escaping to the nearby gardens and jungles⁷³⁴. The Dutch started marching along the coast of Malacca towards the Portuguese bulwarks. There were two hundred Portuguese and some Eurasians in the frontline trenches ready to face the Dutch armies. From their battlements, the Portuguese continuously fired on the Dutch armadas, with the Dutch responding with a continual bombardment⁷³⁵.

Both the Dutch and the Portuguese suffered during the campaign. While most of the Dutch troops were sick, the Portuguese still had much food-left in their fortress. The Dutch were lucky that, when their troop strength had fallen to 1707 including 470 sick people in November 1640, six hundred Johorese men came to help. The Dutch also enjoyed regular logistic supplies. The Portuguese in the town of Malacca encountered insufficient supplies and famine, as they could not obtain rice from Arakan, Malacca having been blockaded by the joint Dutch-Malay forces⁷³⁶.

The main reason for the fall of Malacca was the Portuguese commander's lack of reaction. Manuel de Sousa Coutinho had very little experience of war and had been appointed as captain-general of Malacca, on behalf of his father's service. When Coutinho came to the Straits of Malacca, his vessel was caught by the Acehnese. While, he could escape, he suffered from malaria. His bad experience in the Malay world led him to take a rest. Father Queiroz encouraged the Portuguese *Casado*, Antonio Vaz de Pinto, to replace Coutinho. The faithful Pinto refused the priest's proposal and promised his commitment to the Portuguese Crown. In the early morning of January 14, 1641, six hundred and fifty Dutch soldiers, in a bad state with only 160 truly able men, stormed the Portuguese bastion. Manuel de Sousa Coutinho ordered his men to

⁷³⁴ Robson & Salleh. 2011. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, p.530.

⁷³⁵ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.14.

⁷³⁶ Basset. 1969. "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics", pp.435-6; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.77 Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.36; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, pp.26-7; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", pp.21-38 & 58; The state of Malacca, when it was surrendered to the Dutch, was described as a place of (M) mighty walls, (A) abounding in buildings, (L) land of charm, (A) attractive gardens, (C) chaotic after plunder, (C) climate feverish, and (A) anemic after the war. These situations were abbreviated into MALACCA (Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.58).

offer a truce. He asked Minne Willemsen Cartekoe, the Dutch Commander, for two things: liberty for all Portuguese liberty and that they should be allowed to keep their property. In return, the Portuguese captain would surrender Malacca to the Dutch. Cartekoe accepted the first proposal but he could not grant the latter. After entering the Portuguese town of Malacca, the Dutch plundered all Portuguese property involving gold and jewelry. Manuel de Sousa Coutinho died two days after the fall of Portuguese Malacca⁷³⁷.

4.2. Political Administration of Dutch Malacca

This sub-chapter elaborates the political administration of Dutch-Malacca during the second half of the 17th century. This chapter is divided into several sub-chapters: (1) political statecraft of Dutch-Malacca; (2) Financial revenue of Dutch-Malacca; and (3) Military and defence Infrastructure.

4.2.1. Political Statecraft of Dutch Malacca

Dutch statecraft in Malacca did not differ from other vast colonial territories⁷³⁸. Malacca and its dependencies were headed by a governor. Malacca was placed under Batavia (Jakarta) as a Dutch headquarter in the East⁷³⁹. The governor of Dutch-Malacca was assisted by other officials in a city council (*Raad van Politie*)⁷⁴⁰. After Johan van Twist had been appointed as a governor of Malacca in 1641, the city council was also elected. As recorded by Joost (Justus) Schouten⁷⁴¹, the governor occupied the first seat

⁷³⁷ Boxer. 1985. "Karl Marx and the Last Day of Portuguese-Malacca", pp.125-7.

⁷³⁸ The Dutch colonies from Ambon, Banda, the Moluccas (Ternate), Coromandel, Ceylon, Malacca, the Cape of Good Hope, the north coast of Java to Makassar were ruled by a governor. Other trading posts, as Bengal, Surat and Persia were headed by a director. In Malabar and on the west coast of Sumatra (Padang), there was a commander in charge. Cirebon, Banjarmasin and Palembang had a resident, while in Japan and on Timor (West Timor) there was a head of establishment (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC". pp.24-5).

⁷³⁹ The governor was appointed by the Company directors at Amsterdam. The directors were known as the Seventeen Gentlemen of East India Company, chosen from 60 Directors of the Chambers of Amsterdam, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC", p.24).

⁷⁴⁰ This council was appointed by the Governor-General in Batavia and the council of the Indies in Batavia and selected from Company servants of high standing status. The posts of merchants were important in the Dutch Company since the junior merchant could be promoted to the post of senior merchant and to governor (Andaya. 1983. "Melaka under the Dutch", p.203).

⁷⁴¹ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca*, in SCMP, p.119.

in the council, followed by Anthony Hurdt as a collector; Gerard Herbers as a fiscal; Sergeant-Major Lamotius as a major; Johan Verpoorten as a senior merchant; Jan Menie as a harbour-master; and Adriaen Hoff as a secretary.

Johan van Twist, the first governor of Dutch-Malacca, tried to balance the geopolitics in the Straits of Malacca between Aceh, Johor, and Malacca. He also repaired, gave new functions, and renamed all churches, buildings, and bulwarks. He started to reorganise the administration in Malacca. He recruited new administrators. The Portuguese-Eurasians had been appointed to manage the Portuguese community, as the captains and the ward superintendents⁷⁴², scattered in several areas outside of the walls⁷⁴³. Captain Diego Kesino was responsible for Portuguese-Eurasian citizens in the north of Malacca, while Captain João de Sampaio was drafted to manage the local society in the same area. The Dutch also permitted 125 people from Reccan (Rekan) to settle on the northern side to be under their Captain, Jacinto de Azevedo. Captain Alexandre Mendes and Pedro Fernandes were in charge of the Eurasians in Bunga Raya and in the south of the city, where many houses had been built⁷⁴⁴. Pedro de Gambo was appointed to manage the Portuguese fishermen. All of them were paid with a monthly salary⁷⁴⁵.

On February 25, 1641, Pedro de Abreu⁷⁴⁶ was appointed as a captain in a former Portuguese dependency, called Naning. Abreu, known as Raja Merah, was proposed by the people of Naning to be their captain but he failed to fulfill his promise in re-establishing Catholicism. He was disobeyed by his people and was forced to resign from his duty. The people of Naning began to be a severe threat for the Dutch government. Captain Alexandre Mendes went to Naning and succeeded in subjugating

⁷⁴² The Portuguese chiefs were promoted to be captains during the early Dutch Malacca (Schouten in SCMP, 1936, p.72).

⁷⁴³ During the Dutch period, the suburbs were divided into four main wards: (1) Tengker to the north (2) Bandar Hilir to the south, (3) Bunga Raya, and (4) Bukit China on the eastern part of the fortress (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.200).

⁷⁴⁴ Mendes' brothers in law, Antonio Pinhero and Manuel de Monte, were allowed to continue Mendes' duty as a head of community in the south of Malacca (Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", pp.287-8).

⁷⁴⁵ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca*, in SCMP, pp.72 & 124.

⁷⁴⁶ He had been sent as an ambassador to Aceh by General António Pinto da Fonseca and the Captain of Malacca, Gaspar de Melo. He was arrested at Acehnese court and was released in 1629.

its people. Mendes was an experienced commander. He knew how to command the natives who had struggled together during the Acehnese siege in 1629. On August 15, 1641, the Naning chiefs signed a treaty by which Naning was subjected to the Dutch Company. Mendes also joined Shahbandar Menie to explore the hinterland of Malacca, called Benua, in September 1642⁷⁴⁷. Besides assisting the Dutch to defend the town⁷⁴⁸, the Portuguese-Eurasians also worked as a civil patrol (*the Burgher watch*) under the Burgher. They functioned as the police in the town and the suburb. Their salaries were paid from the *Burgher* funding. Its funding was derived from taxes, collected from the Malays, Chinese, Kelings and Portuguese-Eurasians⁷⁴⁹.

The Dutch Company paid its officers' salaries from several financial sources. Along with other revenues⁷⁵⁰, the maritime commercial activities remained contributing the highest income for the Dutch in Malacca. When Johan van Twist was a governor, the toll and fiscal revenue⁷⁵¹ were collected by the collector Hurdt and Shahbandar Menie. Interestingly, Jan Menie was assisted by a Eurasian named Lázaro da Costa to run his duty in controlling all arriving and departing vessels. He acted as a secretary and custom officer. He also helped the Shahbandar to ensure his master to bridge the foreign ambassadors or skippers with the Governor of Malacca. The Portuguese also

⁷⁴⁷ Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, pp.306-8; Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca*, in SCMP, p.73.

⁷⁴⁸ 250 Portuguese-Eurasians accompanied the company troops to defend Malacca from the invasion of Naning in 1677 (Bort in RGBBM, 1927, p.73).

⁷⁴⁹ Hussin. 2007. *Two Colonial Port-Towns in the Straits of Malacca*. p.211.

⁷⁵⁰ Since the Dutch occupation of Malacca in 1641, 15 types of farm taxes were established by the Company in Malacca. There were also other taxes of the gentlemen's tavern, small shops, *forest* products, liquor, Chinese market, weight-house, fish market, gambling, cockfighting, weights and measures, rice market, slaughter of animals such as cows and pigs, livestock, drawbridges, riverboats, head tax on the Chinese, taxes on sea and river fish, betel leaf, and opium (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.217).

⁷⁵¹ The Dutch imposed a duty of 10% on imported commodities and 5% on all exported products. Every vessel with more than four crew members should pay three cruzados and the smaller vessels paid for each person two tangas or 1/4 real. When they called at Malacca, the bigger had to pay a cruzado and the smaller vessels paid a tanga or 1/8 real. Each vessel should have a permit; therefore, the owners should pay two tangas or 1/4 real. The Dutch also collected 10% (*os décimos*) of all native fish, cattle, and other provisions, sold in Malacca. The merchants should also present the gifts (*roeba-roeba*) to the harbour-master and the governor (Schouten in SCMP, 1936, p.120).

worked as naval crews' members, assisting the Dutch commander to capture all illegal vessels and direct them to Malacca⁷⁵².

The organization of Dutch Malacca during 1665-1677⁷⁵³, seemed to be more complex. The city council consisted of (1) Balthasar Bort as a governor; (2) Adriaan Lucasz as a senior merchant (*opperkoopman*); (3) Covert du Lavay as a military commander; (4) Abraham Borghers as a prosecutor (*fiscaal*)⁷⁵⁴; (5) Cornelis Verbugh as a harbour-master (*havenmeester* or *shahbandar*)⁷⁵⁵; (6) Jan van Assendelft as a secretary (*geheimschrijver*); (7) Adriaan van der Walle as the head of the company stores⁷⁵⁶, (8) Jacob Snickers as the head of pay office⁷⁵⁷, and (9) Steven Klaerbout as the equipage master (*commissie van de equipage*)⁷⁵⁸. All matters were mostly decided in the city council. Theoretically, the governor should consult his council before issuing any policy. In practice, the governor used to make his own decision⁷⁵⁹. In the absence of the governor, the senior merchant acted as the acting governor for the Malaccan citizens. He was also in charge of trade and as the head of police⁷⁶⁰. The Dutch and the *Burghers*⁷⁶¹ dominated the administration in Malacca. They run all official posts including the political and justice councils.

⁷⁵² Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca*, in SCMP, p.124.

⁷⁵³ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca*, in RGBBM, p.88.

⁷⁵⁴ The prosecutor oversaw detecting fraud and crime before going to the justice council (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC", p.25).

⁷⁵⁵ Shahbandar, alongwith the collector, assisted by the custom office were in charge of collecting taxes for VOC (De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.62).

⁷⁵⁶ The Warehouse masters supervised the bookkeepers in the warehouse office. All records were kept of all goods that had been purchased, which were sent to Asia, which imported goods had been received from Asia, and what prices these had fetched at the auctions. The directors also held another task to examine ministers of religion who wished to be considered for an appointment in Asia (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC", p.23).

⁷⁵⁷ The pay office was in charge of the extensive administrative personnel and the ships' pay-ledgers were held there (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC", p.23).

⁷⁵⁸ Equipage master was responsible for inspecting all matters to do with shipbuilding and the outfitting of vessels. These directors supervised the shipyards, they were present when vessels sailed from and dropped anchor in the Texel roads, and were responsible for recruiting sailors and soldiers (Gaastra. 2007. "The Organization of VOC", p.23).

⁷⁵⁹ Gaastra. 2007. *The Organization of VOC*, pp.24-5; Hussin. 2007. *Two Colonial Port-Towns*, pp.197-8

⁷⁶⁰ De Witt. 2007. *History of Dutch in Malaysia*, p.62.

⁷⁶¹ Burgher simply means a citizen, but it also refers to a member of a mercantile class. It referred to the Dutch agents in a colony who they were not immediately employed by the VOC. A vrijburgher (free-burgher) did not merely refer to the Dutch but it included other Europeans coming to the East in VOC ships and remaining loyal to the Dutch government (De Witt. 2007. *History of Dutch in Malaysia*, p.192).

The governor and the council also appointed the council of justice (*Raad van Justitie*)⁷⁶², the orphan chamber (*Weeskamer*)⁷⁶³, the regents of hospital, the regents of orphanage and poorhouse (*Diakonij*)⁷⁶⁴, the board of commissioners for matrimonial and minor judicial matters (*commisaris van huwelijks- en kleinen grechtssaken*)⁷⁶⁵, the church council (*Kerkraad*)⁷⁶⁶, and the head of city wards and captains of the Moor, Malay, and Chinese⁷⁶⁷. The Asians were merely permitted to hold the ward superintendents, the orphan chamber, and the harbour-master⁷⁶⁸. Those appointed to be the captains or the ward superintendents, were recruited among influential persons. As the Portuguese did, the Dutch also chose the captains of each Asian community from their leaders. The *Burghers*, Malay, Chinese, and Keling communities had their captains. These captains had additional responsibilities as Superintendents of the Wards and members of the Orphan Chamber. Due to religious persecution, many

⁷⁶² Serious disputes among the population of the town were solved in the court of the Council of Justice. When such disputes involved the Asian communities, the Council usually sought the assistance of community leaders as well as interpreters (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.199).

⁷⁶³ This orphan chamber (*weeskamer*) served as a fiduciary and educational institution but also functioned as a sort of local bank, which was an essential source of financial support for the merchants. It integrated members of the Malacca Dutch community. The institution was headed by its president. The *weesmeesters* received no salary but they enjoyed certain perquisites, including the right to borrow money from the chamber at a lower rate (De Witt. 2007. *The History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.63).

⁷⁶⁴ This charitable body also known as a weak relief board (*diakonij*) supervised poor relief, the town's orphanage (*weeshuis*) and even the leper house (*Lazarushuis*) (De Witt. 2007. *The History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.63).

⁷⁶⁵ This commission acted as a lower court for marriage disputes and petty crimes (De Witt. 2007. *The History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.62).

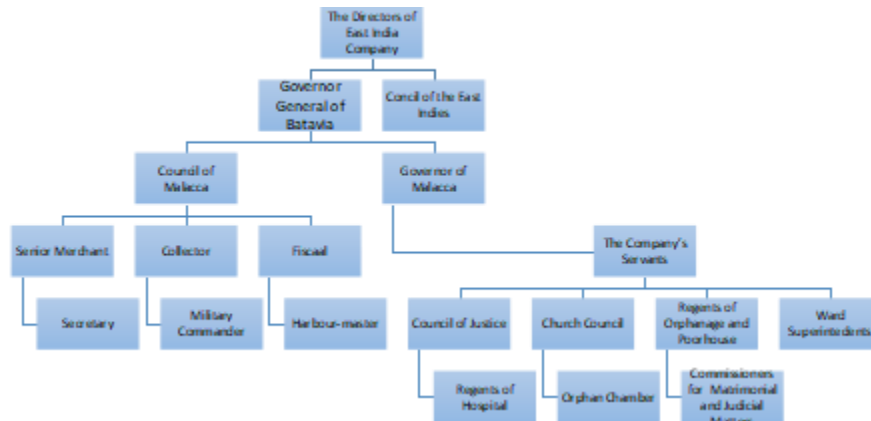
⁷⁶⁶ The Calvinist preacher or priest (*predikant*) undertook this administration. He was the only fully paid servant of the church. The church council was a body of eight (non-paid) notable church members comprising elders (*ouderlingen*) and deacons (*diakenen*). The preacher was assisted by the sexton (*koster*) who were both under the payroll of VOC. There were also visitors of the sick (*krankbezoekers*) who conducted their religious duties at the hospitals and provide religious instructions. The schoolteacher (*schoolmeester*) provided instructions for children (De Witt. 2007. *The History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.63; Zon. 2004. "The Disclosures from the Records of the Dutch Reformed Church". p.96).

⁷⁶⁷ The Superintendent of a Ward came under the jurisdiction of the Governor's office. Superintendents played a significant role in the day-to-day affairs of a port-town, as they were the eyes and ears of the administration at the ward level. Superintendents were required to provide regular reports to the Governor's office regarding the social, economic and political situation in their ward. The ward was the most essential unit in the VOC urban colonial administration, and reports submitted by the Superintendents were considered relevant intelligence material for the Governor. Decisions on defence, economic, political and welfare strategies were based on the information received by the governor (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.200).

⁷⁶⁸ Hussin. 2007. *Two Colonial Port-Towns in the Straits of Malacca*, p.199.

Portuguese left Malacca to the hinterland. The Dutch did not appoint a captain for the Portuguese, but the Portuguese had their unofficial captain⁷⁶⁹.

Figure 22 The Dutch Statecraft during Governor Bort



Sources: Author's diagram based on Bort (1927, p.88); Andaya (1983, p.203).

4.2.2. Financial Revenue of Dutch Malacca

The Dutch established a well-structured and united company under a chartered monopoly⁷⁷⁰. In 1600, Johan van Oldenbarneveltdt persuaded the Dutch government to formalise the company based on a national monopoly. In 1602, the States-General officially instructed all companies and merchants who wanted to go to the East Indies to be combined into a united company, *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United East India Company). The charter was granted a monopoly of Dutch trade from east of the Cape of Good Hope and the West Straits of Magellan. They also had other rights to wage defensive war, negotiate treaties of peace and alliance, and build the fortress⁷⁷¹.

During the 17th century, the Portuguese hegemony was rivalled by the Dutch. The Dutch began to operate commercial activities in Bantam (Banten) after considering the absence of Portuguese control in that market⁷⁷². The Portuguese seemed to show how

⁷⁶⁹ The Portuguese-Eurasian were not regarded as an important group in terms of their contribution to the well-being of the port-town. Therefore, they did not have official captains (Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.200).

⁷⁷⁰ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, pp.108-124.

⁷⁷¹ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp.31-3.

⁷⁷² Saldanha. 2011. "The Itineraries of Geography"; Meilink-Roeflofsz. 1962. *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p.173.

to trade profitably in areas with advanced civilizations and stable indigenous governments. They avoided large territorial possessions, built forts and naval bases around Africa, and thence to Ormuz, Diu, Goa, Calicut, Colombo, Malacca, Java, the Moluccas, and Macao. These goods were brought from other parts of India, the Indonesian Archipelago, China, and Japan⁷⁷³. Therefore, the Dutch also superseded to establish some factories and forts in the East⁷⁷⁴.

Jan Pieterszoon Coen firmly established their headquarters in Batavia in 1619⁷⁷⁵ when he held a position as a Governor-General (1618-1623). Anthony van Diemen (1636-1645) continued to rise to new heights the power of the Dutch seaborne empire. Resuming Coen's policy, he invaded the Portuguese possessions from Goa and Malabar to Ceylon and Malacca. Van Diemen swept the Portuguese in Malacca (1641), and later the Dutch also expelled the Portuguese from Makassar (1660) and the Spanish from Tidore (1663). The Dutch tightened their control on all local country shipping in the Indonesian seas⁷⁷⁶.

Besides gaining a profit from all commercial activities in Malacca⁷⁷⁷, the Dutch forced all vessels passing the Malacca straits to pay for the safe-sailing conduct. The Dutch ships patrolled and looted the goods on the ships if they could not show the Dutch permission. They also directed all vessels to call at Malacca⁷⁷⁸. As the sultanate and the Portuguese did, the Dutch levied all ships entering or leaving Malacca. The charges depended on the size and tonnage of the boats. Various details of each vessel also decided the rate of payment. The customs duties were pivotal for the Dutch-Malacca's financial revenue⁷⁷⁹.

The Dutch levied the imported and exported products from both foreign and domestic merchants. As a Dutch harbour-master, Jan Menie had regulated the rate of the tolls

⁷⁷³ Fieldhouse. 1965. *The Colonial Empires*, p.138.

⁷⁷⁴ Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, pp.67-107; Borschberg. 2002. "The Seizure of St. Catarina", p.31; Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.122-6; Matos. 1995. *On The Seaway to Spice*, pp.45-8.

⁷⁷⁵ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, p.187.

⁷⁷⁶ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp.50-8.

⁷⁷⁷ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", pp.57-8.

⁷⁷⁸ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", p.58.

⁷⁷⁹ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", p.59.

and the duties in Malacca. The harbour-master levied 10 % to all incoming vessels for the early Dutch revenue, except Johor⁷⁸⁰. Ships with five crew members or more had to pay a cruzado for their anchorage and three cruzados as poll-tax in the early Dutch Malacca. The smaller vessels with four crew members or less had to pay a tanga or a real for their anchorage. The merchants should give the customary presents to the Dutch governor, harbour-master, and admiral. The harbour-master also imposed 10% on imported wares and provisions and 5% on all exported products⁷⁸¹.

The Dutch also took taxes from the Malacca inhabitants. There were fifteen types of farm taxes imposed by the Dutch in Malacca. The Dutch also imposed other tariffs such as the gentlemen's tavern, small shops, *forest* products, liquor, Chinese market, weight-house, fish market, gambling, cockfighting, weights and measures, rice market, the slaughter of animals such as cows and pigs, livestock, drawbridges, riverboats, head tax on the Chinese, taxes on sea and river fish, betel leaf, and opium⁷⁸².

4.2.3. Military and Defence Infrastructure

Three thousand Dutch forces came and invaded Malacca in 1641. Half of these soldiers merely survived after the conquest of Malacca. To secure Malacca, the Dutch commander instructed his garrison of two hundred ninety men to be stationed in Malacca. Forty-six soldiers were in the main guardhouse at the watergate. Thirty men were stationed at the Frederik Hendrik gate. Twenty-five men were at the Mauritius corner. Twenty-eight men were at the Wilhelmus circular. Twenty-six soldiers were placed at the Hendriette Louise gate. Thirty-seven men were at the Amelia circular. Fourteen soldiers were at the Victoria gate. Twenty-six were stationed at the São Domingos steps. Fourteen armies were at Casimir steps. Twelve soldiers had a responsibility to secure the governor's house. Thirty-two soldiers resided in the hospital and its surrounding⁷⁸³. The company's soldiers had the primary duty to defend

⁷⁸⁰ The sultan and orangkaya were allowed to trade to Malacca toll-free and made the most of this dispensation (Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.25).

⁷⁸¹ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca*, in SCMP, p.120.

⁷⁸² Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, p.217.

⁷⁸³ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.110 & p.113.

the town. The Dutch private citizens and the locals also served as the company's forces⁷⁸⁴.

Besides organizing the military power, the Dutch also strengthened Malacca's fortification. They repaired and erected the bulwarks in Malacca, restored the gates of São Domingos and renamed it Victoria, and erected the ramparts of Frederick Hendrik and Mauritius. They also built and raised the walls between the gates and should repair the damaged walls between Victoria gate and Coração gate, the old and rickety walls between the steps of Casemier and the Coração, the wooden curtain between Amelia and Victoria, and the quay and the steps outside the river gate. They also provided many guns at all bulwarks. Therefore, the Dutch were not afraid of the rival attack considering the town was well supplied with all kinds of ammunition⁷⁸⁵.

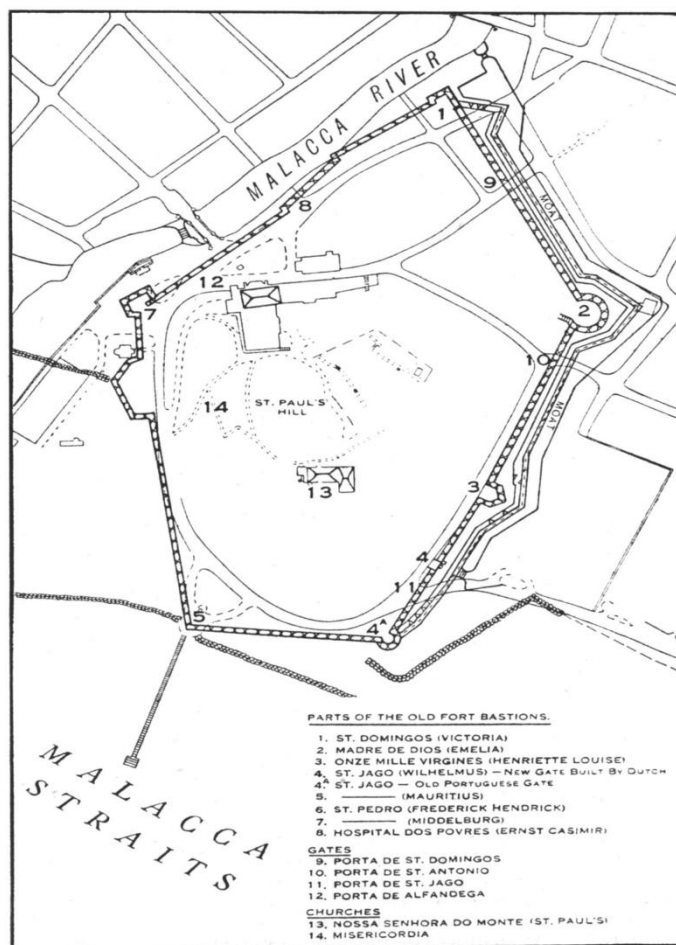
In early Dutch rule, the combined forces of Rembau and Naning invaded Malacca. The Dutch could defend Malacca and defeat the locals. However, the Dutch also decided to launch an invasion to Rembau and Naning. In 1645, they organised the military power under Joan Truijtmán and Lieutenant Hans Cruger. They led ten Dutch military officers, sixteen armed men from the burgher company, eighty Malaccan soldiers, sixty Dutch sailors, sixty locals as carriers of baggage and food, and fourteen slaves. They succeeded in destroying Rembau and Naning. They burned the houses, the orchards, and the rice plantations in both villages. The local resistant escaped and gathered together. Their number increased to two thousand soldiers. Governor Arnold de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn instructed Valerio van Gistelen as a commander to conduct the second invasion. Van Gistelen, with five hundred and seventy soldiers, burned the enemy's wooden houses and rice plantations. The enemy cut coconut palms and pinang trees, with which they made into a strong fortification. They did not, however, have enough food supplies and ammunition, so they hoisted a flag of truce after they suffered a lot of damage from the Dutch forces. On March 10, 1646, the Dutch forces returned to Malacca⁷⁸⁶.

⁷⁸⁴ De Witt. 2007. *The History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.63.

⁷⁸⁵ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, pp.110-2.

⁷⁸⁶ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.61-3.

Figure 23 The Ground Plan of the Dutch Fortress in Malacca



Source: Map reproduced from Hill (1950, p.86).

In 1678, Governor Balthasar Bort enlarged Malacca's fortification. The Dutch fort had four gates and was linked to the town and suburbs via three bridges. The defence also had six small towers as high as the hill. Those towers furnished with sufficient cannons were built at the foot of the mountain and close to the sea. The governor had a garrison of a hundred and eighty soldiers. The military forces were adequate to ensure security inside the fort. Inside the Dutch fort, there were some buildings, gardens, churches, and bastions. On the foot of St. Paul Hill, there was a Dutch church and cemetery. By the side of the church, there was a company's garden. In the park, there was a well. Another well was also available in the outer garden. Two wells could provide the daily water for the inhabitants. The governor's residence was situated in

line with the hill. On the other side of the mountain, there was a prison which the locals called *Miskurdi* as it was the remaining building of the Portuguese *Misericordia* (a place of repentance)⁷⁸⁷.

4.3. The Port-City of Malacca during the Dutch Rule

After the conquest of Malacca in 1641, the Dutch inherited the Portuguese possession of the fortress, the town, the suburbs, and the hinterland of Naning. However, the Portuguese fort laid in ruins. Most of the buildings comprising the churches, monasteries, hospitals, and houses were heavily damaged⁷⁸⁸. Only just a few buildings had remained there. Those were the *Hospital dos Pobres*, the Jesuit Church on the hill, St. Antonio Church, and St. Antonio Cemetery. The Dutch rebuilt Malacca and established several landmark buildings. The town hall (*stadthuys*) was built in 1650. the town hall served as the seat of the Dutch governor and the administrative centre of the settlement. The town hall also functioned as the secretary's office, a record room, a prayer room, a dining room, a guest house, servants' quarters, the home of the chief merchant, a prison, the trade office, and comprised warehouses, courtyards and a detached bakery⁷⁸⁹.

The Dutch also enlarged their possession and kept the boundary of Malacca on the northern at the Panaji River and the southern at Muar⁷⁹⁰. Malacca during the Dutch rule could be divided into three areas: (1) the fort where the Dutch servants and free men resided, (2) the town of Malacca, and (3) the outer suburbs of Tengker, Bandar Hilir, Bunga Raya, and Bukit China⁷⁹¹.

The Dutch repaired and rebuilt the Malacca fortress. The fort was situated in the south of the Malacca River. The Dutch enlarged and extended the surrounding walls to St.

⁷⁸⁷ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.138-9; Vande Walle. 2012. "Malacca under Dutch Rule", pp.95-6; Hill (Ed). 1955. *The Hikayat Abdullah*, pp.59-61; Hill. 1950. "Munshi Abdullah's Account of the Malacca Fort", pp.84-8.

⁷⁸⁸ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGGBM, p.112.

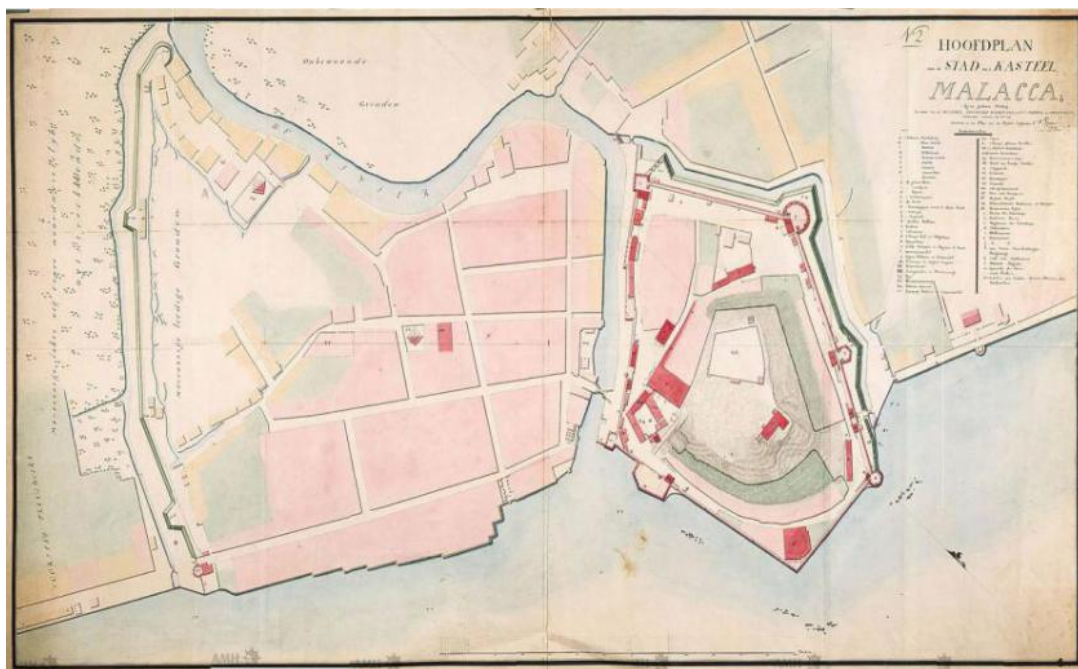
⁷⁸⁹ Vande Wallen. 2012. "Malacca under Dutch Rule", pp.92-86; De Witt. 2007. *The Dutch History in Malaysia*, pp.118-9.

⁷⁹⁰ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.135; Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGGBM, pp.78-83

⁷⁹¹ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.138.

Paul Hill. The fortress was a quadrilateral and had a well in the middle of the defence structure. The well also had another function. During the state of war, the Dutch inhabitants could take refuge inside the circular walls. The fortress had a ditch and six small towers equipped with some cannons oriented towards the sea and the channel. Inside the fort, there were some buildings, gardens, churches, and bastions. In 1678, there were forty-seven houses inhabited by the company's servants, administrators, merchants, clerks, soldiers, preachers, and Dutch slaves. The fortress had four gates and was linked by three bridges to the town and other parts of the suburbs. The main bridge was a drawbridge and was located on the Malacca river. All vessels entering the city through this bridge should pay a tax⁷⁹².

Figure 24 The Ground Plan of the Port City of Malacca during the Dutch Rule



Source: Map reproduced from ANM 2001/0026662.

Under the Dutch, the town remained as the marketplace. The town was located on the north of the Malacca River and inhabited by various merchant communities. Those

⁷⁹² Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.138-9; Bort, 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGGBM, p.41.

were the Dutch free-men, the Malays, the Chinese descendants, the Keling, the Portuguese-Eurasians, and many slaves⁷⁹³. Those merchant communities resided in the four wards of Tengkerah to the north, Banda Hilir to the south, Bunga Raya to the east, and Bukit China to the eastern part of the fort⁷⁹⁴. Those inhabitants lived in brick and wooden houses. In 1678, there were three hundred and ten houses in the northern suburb; forty houses on the outside of the north of the suburb along the seashore; ninety houses within the southern suburb; forty-seven houses on the way to Bukit China; nine houses on the riverside; thirty-eight houses at Bunga Raya up the river; and eleven houses on the Pankelaran above Bunga Raya⁷⁹⁵.

4.4. Dutch-Malacca and Its Local Trade Network

The Dutch downgraded Malacca and directed all the trade and shipping to Batavia. Malacca also functioned as a collecting centre for valuable goods. Considering its limitation, the Dutch officials in Malacca tried to control trade and shipping in the Straits of Malacca. They attempted to force all Malay states to export their local products via Malacca. The Dutch also tried to import Indian cloth and opium. They planned to re-sell the Indian products in the Malacca market or bartered them with Malay products. Even so, the Indian merchants also traded and sold their products in various Malay ports. Therefore, the abundance of Indian products in the Malay ports decreased their price, so the Dutch could not gain a significant profit from the Indian cloth trade⁷⁹⁶.

The Dutch in Malacca tried to oust the Indian traders from their textile trade between the East coast of India and the Malay ports. The Dutch in Malacca sought to force local people to buy textiles from them in exchange for tin and other local products. Since Indian traders had close links with the Malay rulers, it was difficult for the Dutch to dislodge Indian traders from the Malay states⁷⁹⁷.

⁷⁹³ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.138-141.

⁷⁹⁴ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.140 & p.200.

⁷⁹⁵ Bort, 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.41-2.

⁷⁹⁶ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", pp.57-8.

⁷⁹⁷ Fernando. 2012. "The Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.295.

The Dutch had negotiated some monopoly contracts with the rulers of Malay ports since 1641. They aimed to channel all the cloth sales and tin purchases to the Dutch company. The Dutch successively got the monopoly agreement from Kedah (1642), Ujung Selang (1643), and Bangkeri (1645). Those agreements forced the local rulers not to receive the Indian merchandises. However, the Malay rulers realised that they did not have profit from the tin trade as they did from the Indian merchants. During the 1650s, Dutch merchants were murdered in Kedah and Ujung Selang. The tin shipping to Malacca was stopped⁷⁹⁸.

The forced trade in the tin also happened in Perak. The Dutch expanded their trade network to Perak, the primary tin producer in the Malay Peninsula. However, Perak was subjected to Aceh. The combined forces of Aceh-Perak succeeded in expelling the Dutch from Perak, and they murdered twenty-seven Dutchmen. The Dutch used this humiliation to force Aceh to surrender. They were afraid of Indian and English trade to Aceh, and they aimed to clear other trading rivals from the Straits of Malacca⁷⁹⁹.

The Dutch were unable to prevent and compete with Indian and English private trade. Their rivals could successfully sell cloth and opium in the Malay ports. As a result, Aceh, Kedah and Selangor continued to serve as important commercial centres. Selangor and Riau became popular with English merchants. The Dutch could not block the tin smuggling from Perak and Rembau to Selangor and Riau. For the cloth trade, the Indian merchants preferred to sell their products in Aceh, where the Indians and the locals distributed them down the coasts⁸⁰⁰.

During the reign of Governor Balthasar Bort (1665-1677), Malacca lost its function as a commercial centre, and Malacca's primary function was to be a transit port. Many Dutch and other vessels from various ports⁸⁰¹ called at Malacca and waited for the suitable monsoon before sailing to the Indian Ocean, Java Sea, or the South China

⁷⁹⁸ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.20-1.

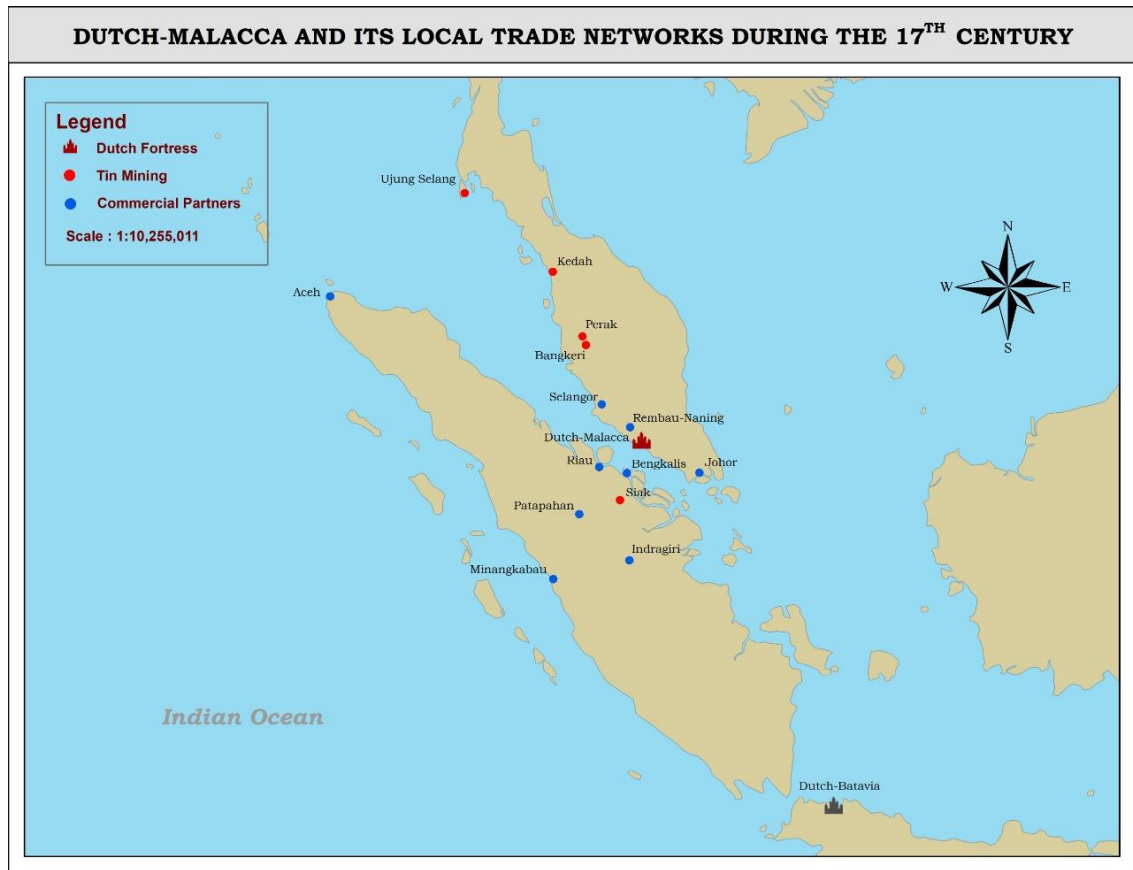
⁷⁹⁹ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.22.

⁸⁰⁰ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", pp.58-9.

⁸⁰¹ Malacca welcomed various vessels from Batavia, Bantam, The whole of the Java coast, Palembang, Jambi, Indragiri, Perak, Kedah, Lampung, Ujung Selang, Bangari, Tennaserim, Arracan, Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon, Cochin, Goa, Surat, Persia, Johor, Bintang, Pahang, Banjarmasin, Succadana, Manila, Patani, Ligor, Siam, Cambodia, Penang, Macau, China, and Japan (RBBM, pp.129-130).

Sea⁸⁰². During their stay, they purchased their daily needs. They proceeded to other places without unloading their cargoes in Malacca, except for the Dutch ships, which cargoes were needed for the inhabitants of Malacca⁸⁰³.

Figure 25 Dutch-Malacca and Its Local Trade Networks during the 17th Century



Sources: Author's map based on Fernando (2012); Lewis (1995); Hussin (2007); Bort (1927).

The Dutch ships from Ambon also annually sailed to the west through the Straits of Malacca. The vessels had a voyage to the Red Sea, the Netherlands, and Masulipatnam. Mihirjiguna of Hitu had a chance to sail with the Dutch ship to the Coromandel Coast via Batavia and Malacca. After passing the Indian Ocean, he visited some Indian cities including Pondicherry, Sirukandambanur, Tirumulavasal,

⁸⁰² Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.24.

⁸⁰³ Bort. 1927. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.130.

Conhomeira, Nagapattinam, São Thome de Meliapur (Madras), Pulicat and Masulipatnam⁸⁰⁴.

In 1676, Balthasar Bort began to run the Malacca-Siak trade⁸⁰⁵. Johor avowed the gold trade to the Dutch in Batavia, and Johor claimed sovereignty and prior rights to Siak. The growing friction between Malacca and Johor in the late 1670s had underlined a significant change in Malay politics after the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641. However, the Malacca-Johor dispute ended when Paduka Raja Abdul Jamil of Johor was ousted by a rebellion in 1688. The Dutch used this opportunity to send envoys to Johor in 1689. The new ruler of Johor received and granted the envoys significant concessions⁸⁰⁶. The Dutch and Johor agreed to renew the old alliance and friendship. The Dutch official and private merchants were allowed to freely enter all lands ruled by the sultan of Johor and trade there under fair conditions and tolls. In return, the Sultan, *orangkaya* (noblemen) of Johor, and their dependents would be permitted to trade on similar terms in Malacca⁸⁰⁷.

The Dutch trade in the Malacca Straits had declined significantly, and the arrival of the English merchants worsened the Dutch situation in Malacca. Two main factors contributed to the decline of Malacca during this period. First, the Dutch could not compete with the English and Indian traders in the Malay world. Second, the Dutch Batavia forced Malacca as a second-class port city. All international trade should be directed to Batavia. Therefore, Malacca did not provide a massive profit for the Dutch company⁸⁰⁸, nor did it significantly benefit, as a seaport, from the Dutch occupation.

4.5. The Portuguese-Eurasians' Survival Strategies⁸⁰⁹

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss the Portuguese-Eurasian population in Malacca during the 17th century. The second

⁸⁰⁴ Manusama (Ed). 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, pp.194-5.

⁸⁰⁵ Hing. 1986. "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Melaka", p.58.

⁸⁰⁶ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.27; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, p.181.

⁸⁰⁷ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.35.

⁸⁰⁸ Hussin. 2007. *Trade and Society in the Straits of Malacca*, p.24.

⁸⁰⁹ The earliest version of this sub chapter was presented at European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC), organised by International Institute of Social History, Leiden, 24-27 March 2021.

section attempts to highlight the Portuguese-Eurasians' trade and diplomatic mission during the Dutch rule. The third deals with the Dutch-Eurasian miscegenation. The final section discusses the religious conversion process and the defence of Catholicism during the Dutch official persecution.

4.5.1. Portuguese-Eurasian Population in Malacca

Being Portuguese in the East was not merely limited to the European Portuguese but also to anyone who served and subjected themselves for the Portuguese Crown. They emerged as a transnational community. In the early 16th century, Afonso de Albuquerque established this community in response to the social scarcity in the East. He issued the mixed-marriage policy to populate the Portuguese colonies. He encouraged the retired soldiers to marry Asian women and settled down in the East⁸¹⁰. In Mylapore, the married and retired soldiers, called the *Casados*, succeeded to establish a shadow empire of Goa and the State of India⁸¹¹. They organised urban life and the harbour system autonomously. They had no captain and only a tie with the Catholic Church and the Portuguese Patronage (*Padroado*)⁸¹². Moving to the Eastern Indonesia, Boxer⁸¹³ and Andaya⁸¹⁴ also point out the presence of other kind of *Casados*, called the *Topasses* in the Lesser Sunda Islands (Solor, Larantuka, and Timor).

Considering this, the Portuguese community in Malacca was not merely formed by the Portuguese descendants but also by other groups of people who had close contacts with the Portuguese, including the indigenous people and the slaves freed by the Portuguese. They claimed that they were Portuguese, considering they also embraced Christianity and spoke (creole) Portuguese. They named themselves with Portuguese names and lived as the Portuguese did⁸¹⁵. Albuquerque's children in Malacca have

⁸¹⁰ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, P.323.

⁸¹¹ Winus. 1983. "The Shadow Empire of Goa", p.83

⁸¹² The royal responsibility for the church and its missions within the area of the donation.

⁸¹³ Boxer. 1947. "The Topasses of Timor".

⁸¹⁴ Andaya. 2010. "The informal Portuguese empire and the Topasses".

⁸¹⁵ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", pp.274-5.

preserved the Portuguese culture and tradition⁸¹⁶. At least, the Portuguese folksong and dance still exist at present in Malacca⁸¹⁷.

Knowing the Portugueseness is vital to understand how to calculate the Malaccan population, Paulo Sousa Pinto⁸¹⁸ surveys the Malaccan population based on its social segregation during the early 17th century, instead of the temporary merchants calling at Malacca. He estimates that the inhabitants of Malacca, including suburbs, during 1600-1610 reached 1,200 people. However, the number of Malaccan population should be higher considering Malacca had 10,500 households of which 1,500 in each parish in 1605; had 7,300 Christians in 1613; 2,000 slaves in 1610; ±100-300 men of arms in 1600-10; and 200 *casados* in 1610. During the early 17th century, the number of the *casados* had declined sharply from 600 to 200 souls. The Dutch invasion of Malacca in 1606 might have murdered half of them. The *casados* did not merely play as private merchants but they were also responsible for the defence of the fortress.

After the 1629 Acehnese siege, the *Estado da India* encountered an economic backdrop. All forts and factories in Asia were financially dependent on the Portuguese central base in Goa. The decreasing revenue had limited the Portuguese to send the armada to secure their maritime trade to Macao, which was very profitable after the Portuguese lost their base in the Moluccas. The robust capital of the joint-stock Dutch company left the Portuguese in a difficult situation. During 1620s, the Dutch were able to send more ships than the Portuguese⁸¹⁹. Since 1633, the Dutch blockade had quickened the fall of Malacca. The Dutch also actively sent their embassies to Malay states. However, the Acehnese was late to join the siege, but the other Malay states including Johor, Naning, and Rembau were enough to force the Portuguese to surrender⁸²⁰.

Table 2 Portuguese-Eurasian Population in Malacca during the 17th Century

Year	Population	Portuguese-Eurasian	Emigration

⁸¹⁶ Sarkissian. 2000. *D'Albuquerque's Children: Performing Tradition in Malaysia's Portuguese Settlement*.

⁸¹⁷ Sarkissian, M. 2005. "Being Portuguese in Malacca".

⁸¹⁸ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.184-5.

⁸¹⁹ Boyajian. 1993. *Portuguese Trade in Asia*, pp.187 & 231.

⁸²⁰ Borschberg. 2010. *VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits*.

1600-1610	1,200 (inhabitants); 10,500 (households, 1,500 in each parish); 7,400 (Christians); 2,000 (slaves); ±100-300 (men of arms) ⁸²¹	200 (casados) ⁸²²	
1630s	2,000 (slaves) ⁸²³	250 <i>casados</i> (including 150 in Upeh) ⁸²⁴	
1635		250 (Portuguese) 2000 (slaves) ⁸²⁵	
1639	12,000 ⁸²⁶	300 (Portuguese) ⁸²⁷	
±1638-1651			±3,000 Portuguese escaped to Maccasar ⁸²⁸
1641	20,000 (before the siege) 2,350 ⁸²⁹	261 (Portuguese); 1,100 (Malaccans) ⁸³⁰	200-250 souls were sent to Negapatam. Others sailed to Batavia, Makasar, & Kedah as slaves ⁸³¹
1665		900 men, 745 women , 908 children, 436 male slaves, and 381 female slaves ⁸³²	
1667	7,560 ⁸³³		
1669		2,000 ⁸³⁴	
1675		1,463 ⁸³⁵	
1678	5,379 ⁸³⁶	1,469 ⁸³⁷	
1688		1,503 ⁸³⁸	
1695	±5,000 ⁸³⁹		

Sources: Schouten (1836); Bort (1927); Teixeira (1961); Coolhaas (1965); Sta Maria (1982); Villiers

⁸²¹ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.184-5.

⁸²² Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.184-5.

⁸²³ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.184-5.

⁸²⁴ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.184-5.

⁸²⁵ Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p..277.

⁸²⁶ Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.281.

⁸²⁷ Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.281.

⁸²⁸ Villiers. 1985. *The East of Malacca*, p.47; Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.304

⁸²⁹ Teixeira (1961, p.295) mentions that the Malaccan population after the Dutch capture in 1641 was ±3000 souls. However, Schouten in SCMP (1936, pp.113-6) surveyed merely 2,150 persons residing in Malacca during his visit. I think Schouten made a miscalculation of the Malaccan population in total. I recalculate all his survey and the number of Portuguese population and it reaches 2,350 persons.

⁸³⁰ There were ±2,150-2,350 Portuguese-Eurasian residing in Malacca (Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Malay Community", p.281. Although, Schouten records that 261 Portuguese and 1,100 Malaccans (Eurasians) remained to stay in Malacca (SCMP, pp.113-6).

⁸³¹ Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, pp.303-4.

⁸³² Coolhaas. 1965. "Malacca under Jan Van Riebeeck", p.180.

⁸³³ Coolhaas. 1965. "Malacca under Jan Van Riebeeck", p.175.

⁸³⁴ Barnard. 2004. "Metizos as Middlemen", p.150.

⁸³⁵ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.282.

⁸³⁶ Bort. 1927. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.42-4.

⁸³⁷ Bort. 1927. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.42-4.

⁸³⁸ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.282.

⁸³⁹ Maria. 1982. *My People My Country*, p.57; Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, p.322.

(1985); Daus (1989); Fernando (2012); Pinto (2012); Barnard (2004).

Besides the death of thousands of Malaccan inhabitants caused by ravages of famine and the epidemics⁸⁴⁰, the successive Acehnese invasions and Dutch blockade of Malacca forced the inhabitants to take refugee⁸⁴¹. John Villiers⁸⁴² mentions that $\pm 3,000$ Portuguese moved regularly to Makasar from 1638 to 1651. The *casados* and their descendants remained in Malacca and constituted the core of the city. They dominated the city with their slaves and acted as Malaccan soldiers during the wartime. $\pm 2,000$ -3,000 *casados* and native inhabitants (slaves) formed the best fighting men for the defence during the Dutch-Malay combined siege of Malacca⁸⁴³. However, their defensive attempt was useless due to fact that the Captain of Malacca surrendered the fortress to the Dutch.

The Captain of Malacca, Dom Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, realised that they could not resist the Dutch-Malay siege. The combined forces besieged the fortress from all directions. From the north, the Dutch destroyed the fort. On the other hand, the Malay joint-forces fortified entrenchments in the south of Malacca, destroying the hinterland's plantation, and blocking the foodstuffs supply from East Sumatra⁸⁴⁴. The captain surrendered the fortress and signed a treaty with the Dutch. In return, the Dutch facilitated a free and safe passage for the Portuguese officials, except for the soldiers, to move out from Malacca⁸⁴⁵.

The Portuguese commander, Luis Martins de Souza and his subjects boarded the Dutch ship, *Wassenean*, along with the Dutch Governor, John Van Twist to Batavia on March 7, 1641. Other Portuguese and Eurasians were permitted to leave Malacca because they would be a burden to the community. They left Malacca by the *Eendragt* and *Anna* via Jambi⁸⁴⁶. Other officers and Catholics went to Makassar. Portuguese

⁸⁴⁰ Boxer. 1985. "Karl Marx and the Last Days of Portuguese Malacca", p.125.

⁸⁴¹ Andaya. 1983. "Melaka under the Dutch", p.197.

⁸⁴² Villiers. 1985. *The East of Malacca*, p.47.

⁸⁴³ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.186.

⁸⁴⁴ Basset. 1969. "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics", pp.436-438.

⁸⁴⁵ Maria. 1982. *My People My Country*, p.58.

⁸⁴⁶ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.76.

prisoners of war were sent to Kedah as slaves. ±200-250 wealthy men including the priests⁸⁴⁷, led by Captain Lopes de Mello, asked the Batavian officials to be sent to Nagapattinam. They were boarded in the Dutch vessel, *Klein-Bredamme*, along with all their wealth and slaves⁸⁴⁸, consisting of more than 100,000 reais worth of gold and jewellery; the best slaves of both sexes; and the great artists and musicians in Malacca⁸⁴⁹.

When Schouten⁸⁵⁰ surveyed the condition of Malacca, the Malaccan population was accounted as 2,350 persons. Its figure decreased sharply from 20,000 inhabitants calculated as residing in and around the city before the Dutch-Malay siege. The whole population was composed by 544 Dutch garrisons' members on land and sea, 152 company slaves, 60 private slaves, 261 Portuguese in 51 families living inside of the wall, 1100 Malaccans comprising the women, the children, and the slaves living in the northern and southern suburb, 200 unknown children and older, and 33 Chinese coming from Batavia.

The Portuguese presence during the Dutch period seemed to be dependent on their offspring either the Eurasians or the *Mestizos*⁸⁵¹. When Jan Van Riebeck left his duty as a governor in Malacca in 1665, the Malaccan population reached 3,758 souls comprised of 200 Dutch soldiers, 167 company servants, 21 Dutch *burghers*, 2,553 Malaccans (Portuguese-Eurasians), and their 817 slaves⁸⁵². Riebeck's successor,

⁸⁴⁷ There were three priests in Malacca when the Dutch captured Malacca. Two of them were Portuguese by nationality and the other was French. They asked the Dutch to permit and legalise the Romish Church. However, the Dutch refused their charge. They transported them to Batavia and executed the French priest. Many Malaccans were transported to Batavia in the 1640s. One of them was a fourteen years old teenager, named João Ferreira de Almeida. He converted to Calvinism when he was in Batavia. In 1656, he became a Pastor, served as a missionary in Ceylon, and finally settled as Pastor to the Portuguese-speaking Protestants in Batavia (Cummins (Ed). 2010. *The Travel and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, pp.282 & 284).

⁸⁴⁸ Teixeira. 1961. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca*, pp.303-4; Maria. 1982. *My People My Country*, p.59.

⁸⁴⁹ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.80.

⁸⁵⁰ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, pp.113-6.

⁸⁵¹ The Dutch government in the Indies tended to distinguish the terms of *Eurasian* and *Mestizo*. The first refers to the sons of Portuguese men and Asian women; the latter deals with the descendants of Dutchmen and Eurasian women.

⁸⁵² Coolhaas. 1965. "Malacca Under Jan Van Riebeeck", p.180.

Balthasar Bort (1665-1677) published his report⁸⁵³ on Malacca in 1678. He also informs that the figures of the population in Malacca. The Malaccan population was estimated at 5,379 inhabitants, of which 1,469 were Portuguese. The Portuguese did not reside within the fortress of Malacca. They were scattered outside of the wall. In the outer side of the northern suburb, there were 777 Portuguese half-castes and blacks (Eurasian) living with 302 slaves. Other 289 Portuguese-Eurasians and their 165 slaves resided within the southern suburb. The rest, 403 Portuguese, lived on the way to Bukit China and the riverside towards Bunga Raya and Pakelaran up the river. By the end of 17th century, the Portuguese-Eurasians and their subjects became the major population in Malacca⁸⁵⁴.

4.5.2. Running Trade and Diplomatic Mission

Portuguese-Eurasians could not live without commerce, which was believed as the chief feature of survival strategy in Malacca. They carried out private trade since the second half of the 16th century. After the taking of Malacca by the Dutch, they did not merely continue the existing markets but also merged them into the Dutch mercantile connections. The Dutch permitted them to conduct their private trade if they were not connected formally to the Portuguese administration⁸⁵⁵.

In Malaccan bazaar⁸⁵⁶, the Portuguese helped the Dutch to sell foodstuffs, and other products, comprising cane, resin, jungle product, textiles, and other commodities coming from the Dutch warehouses in Malacca and Batavia. In 1641, Jacinto de Azevedo helped the Dutch Shahbandar to sell rice to Malacca inhabitants⁸⁵⁷. Instead of re-selling the products in Malacca, the Dutch also asked the Portuguese to conduct the local trade in tin from Perak, Ujung Selang (Phuket), Selangor, Rembau, and Linggi;

⁸⁵³ Bort. 1927. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.42-4.

⁸⁵⁴ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.282; Maria. 1982. *My People My Country*, p.57.

⁸⁵⁵ Prakash. 1990. "Long-Distance Maritime Trade in Asia", p.32; Pearson. 2007. "Markets and Merchant Communities", pp.104-5.

⁸⁵⁶ Some products were traded in Malacca including sea cucumbers, birds' nests, camphor, cloves, pepper, and other spices, cotton, cumin, elephant tusks, live elephants, gold, resins from plants, porcelain, quicksilver (mercury), sago, silk, tin, wax, wicker, and slaves (De Witt. 2007. *The History of Dutch in Malaysia*, p.63).

⁸⁵⁷ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.125.

pepper from Aceh; gold from Minangkabau and Bengkalis⁸⁵⁸. They also asked Portuguese-Eurasians to negotiate monopoly contracts with the neighboring countries⁸⁵⁹. These treaties allowed the company to sell cloths at lower price and purchase the tin at a fair price.

At some extent, Dutch mismanaged Malacca and had lowered its rank. The Dutch believed that the ruler of Malacca had a legal right to monopolise the local trade in tin, pepper, gold, and cloth. However, those local merchandises came to Malacca by Indian and Chinese merchants. The Dutch strategy was clear when the Batavian government discouraged and banned the Chinese trade in Malacca in 1654. The Chinese merchants had been redirected to Batavia. For the Dutch, the Chinese presence was a strong magnet, attracting vessels from all over the archipelago. Considering the journey to Batavia longer and the Dutch tolls higher, the Chinese tried to avoid the Dutch ports and decided to re-establish their trading route to Johor. Johor began to flourish and made the Dutch in Malacca resentful. Those had reported the development of Johor to Batavian government. However, the Batavian government ignored their servants' report and asked them added assistance for the Johorese siege of Malacca during 1641⁸⁶⁰.

After the Dutch capture of Malacca, the Dutch tried to negotiate some monopoly contracts with the rulers of Malay ports. They aimed to channel all the cloth sale and tin purchase to the Dutch company. The Dutch successively got the monopoly agreement from Kedah (1642); Ujung Selang (1643); and Bangkeri (1645). Those agreements made the rulers of Malay ports to expel the Indian merchants. However, the Malay rulers came to realise that they did not get more profits from the tin trade as much they got from Indian merchants. During the 1650s, Dutch merchants were

⁸⁵⁸ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.73 & p.120.

⁸⁵⁹ Malacca is on friendly terms with all the neighboring Kings and Princes: (1) The King of Johor (at least his Prime Minister (Laksamana)); (2) The Queen of Aceh; (3) The Queen of Patani; (4) The King of Perak; (5) The King of Quedah; (6) The Petty Kings or Governors of Ujong-Salang, Bangary and the adjacent places; (7) The Radjas of Siak and Rekan; (8) The Regents of Bancalis and Camphar; (9) the King of Siam, Cambodia of the island of Romeo of Palembang Bantam, the Prince of Coromandel, the Nabobs of Bengal, and also the Kings of Arrakan and Pegu (Schouten in SCMP, 1936, pp.122-3).

⁸⁶⁰ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.17-20.

murdered in Kedah and in Ujung Selang. The tin shipping to Malacca was stopped. This also happened in Perak. The Dutch also tried to expand their tin trade network to Perak, the main tin producer in the Malay Peninsula. However, Perak subjected to Aceh. The combined forces of Aceh-Perak succeeded to expel the Dutch from Perak. They murdered 27 Dutch men. The Dutch used this humiliation to force Aceh to surrender. The Dutch were actually afraid of Indian and English trade as they were being dominant in Aceh. They aimed to clear other trading rivals from the Straits of Malacca⁸⁶¹.

The Portuguese-Eurasians seemed to get a benefit from the Dutch-Malay dispute. The Portuguese enjoyed a free-trade agreement in Johor and purchased foodstuffs from Java and Indian commodities⁸⁶². They also purchased foodstuffs in Kedah and re-sold them in Malacca⁸⁶³. A Portuguese inhabitant of Malacca, Tomás Dias, gained a position as an Acehnese royal merchant. He facilitated his fellow Portuguese to sell Malaccan textiles and brought back local products including rice and pepper⁸⁶⁴. Tomás Dias also served the Dutch as a diplomat to the Malay States. He was one of the Dutch expedition members to the Malay States, involving Indragiri (1682), Patapahan (1683) and Minangkabau (1684). For Minangkabau, Dias could not accompany the Dutch in 1683. The Dutch failed to communicate with the leaders of Minangkabau. The Dutch then asked Dias to make a journey to Minangkabau⁸⁶⁵.

Dias followed the diplomatic custom of Minangkabau. He met the Minangkabau's trading representative for the Malay lands. The representative, Raja Melayu, and his 500 men accompanied Dias to enter the capital of Minangkabau, called Pagaruyung. At the edge of the royal district, Dias met two sons of the king. Dias presented the gifts and a letter from the Malacca Governor, Cornelis van Qualbergen. The king was really impressed with Dias' effort to come to his palace. The king offered the establishment of a Dutch post in Patapahan. The king also asked Dias to manage the tin trade

⁸⁶¹ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.20-2.

⁸⁶² Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", pp.274-5.

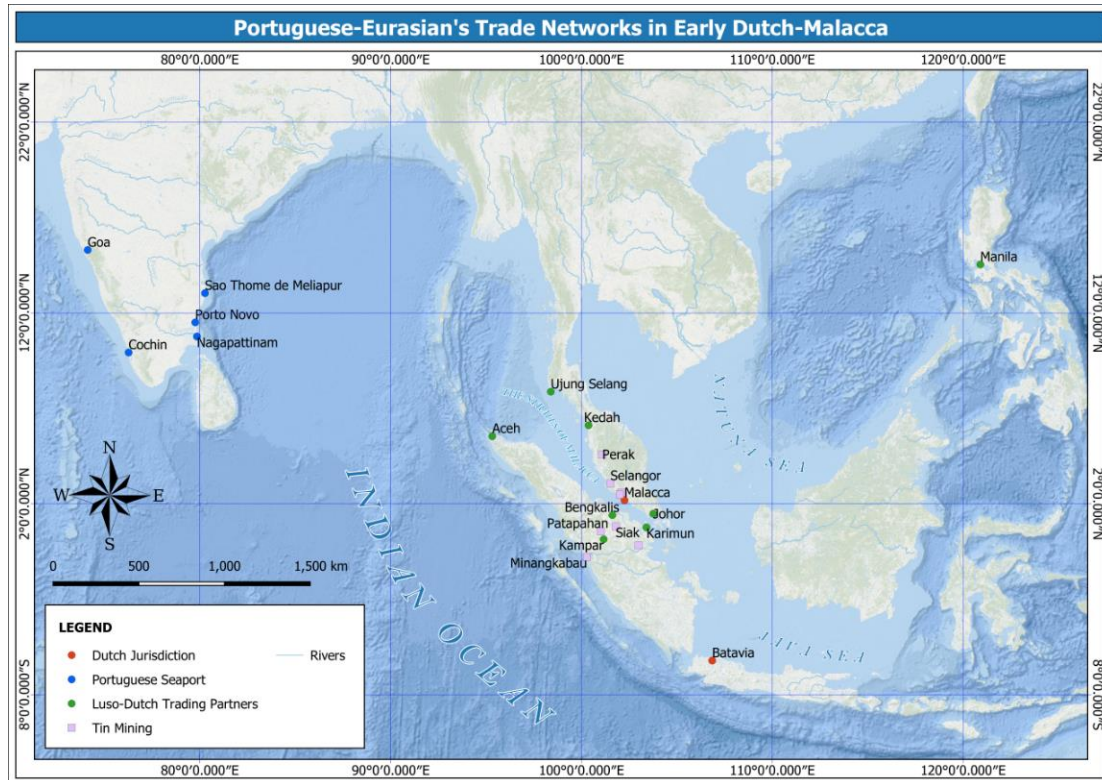
⁸⁶³ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.294.

⁸⁶⁴ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", p.295.

⁸⁶⁵ Barnard. 2013. "Thomas Dias Journey to Central Sumatra", pp.3-4.

between Siak and Indragiri Rivers. Dias tried to argue that Siak was under Johor but the king informed that Siak was under his sphere of influence. Dias could thus accomplish the Company's project to channel Malacca to the tin-mining states⁸⁶⁶.

Figure 26 Portuguese-Eurasian's Trade Networks in Early Dutch-Malacca



Sources: Author's map based on Prakash (1990); Schouten (1936); Bort (1927); Lewis (1995); Fernando (2012); Barnard (2013).

In Malacca-Batavia axis, there were several Portuguese-Eurasian or *Mestizos* operating on the small-scale trade in the late 17th century. Jan Christoffel brought 600 litres of oil; 120 pieces of textiles; and 750 pounds of powder sugar in May 1682. After selling the goods, he also purchased 17 kilos of iron and some barrels of liquor in Batavia. He went back to Malacca in September 1682. On a second occasion, he went to Batavia and re-sold tobacco from Manila. In September 1682, Domingos Dias was unsuccessful to sell the Malaccan textiles in Batavia. He gained few profits considering the textile

⁸⁶⁶ Dagregisters van Batavia, ANRI HR 2497, VANAF, fl. 1431.

price was cheaper in Batavia. He needed to know what was demanded by the Batavian market⁸⁶⁷. Unlike Christoffel, Domingos Dias conducted a medium scale trade. He failed in Batavia, but he successfully bartered the Malaccan textiles with the gold in Benkalis⁸⁶⁸.

The Portuguese-Eurasians went beyond the Dutch mercantile connections, though. They preferred to go out of Malacca and resided in the bigger cities, for instance, Goa or Macao, where the Portuguese Crown remained taking the control⁸⁶⁹. They kept a steady commerce from Indian ports (São Tomé de Meliapur, Porto Novo, Nagapatinam, Cochin, and Goa) to Malacca⁸⁷⁰. Pedro de Abreu might be another good example of how the Portuguese from Malacca managed to keep a maritime trade between Malacca and Coromandel via Bengal⁸⁷¹. The Dutch usually asked him to sell the resin for five reals per bhaar (a load) to the Coast of India⁸⁷².

4.5.3. The Portuguese-Eurasians' Responses to the Religious Restriction

The Portuguese started to find potential allies after they could gain their independence from the Spanish Empire in December 1640. Following the proclamation of the Duke of Braganza as Dom João IV of Portugal, the friendly treaties were signed with the Spanish long-established enemies: England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The Portuguese viceroy in Goa, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, was aware of the European rivalries between the Spanish Habsburg and the Northern countries. He began to propose a peace treaty with the English Governor of Surat, William Methwold, in January 1635. The treaty was formalised in London in January 1642. This convention promoted the friendly trade between England and Portugal both in Europe and in Asia. The Portuguese also negotiated a peace treaty with the Dutch. They got a ten year's truce in 1641. This truce was ratified at The

⁸⁶⁷ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", pp.300-1.

⁸⁶⁸ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", pp.274-5 & p.295.

⁸⁶⁹ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", p.296.

⁸⁷⁰ Arasaratnam.1969. "Some Notes on the Dutch in Malacca", p.481.

⁸⁷¹ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.294.

⁸⁷² Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.83-5; De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.125.

Hague on February 28, 1642. Its information reached Goa in the early September and Batavia a month later⁸⁷³.

The Luso-Dutch truce could not cease their disputes in the colonies. The Dutch Company asked the Portuguese to surrender Ceylon if they wanted peace. Anthony Van Diemen sent his ambassador, Pieter Boreel, to Ceylon and Goa in order to negotiate the transfer of the colony. However, the Portuguese claimed that Ceylon was not under Dutch jurisdiction. At the same time period, the directors of West India Company, the Hereen XIX, had ordered the Governor-General in Pernambuco to conquer as much Portuguese territory as possible. John Maurice was in charge of the conquest of Angola, São Tomé, and the Maranhão when the Portuguese thought they were secure from any Dutch hostilities. After the captures, the Dutch reduced their military troops in Pernambuco. The military scarcity encouraged the Portuguese to rebel in June 1645. At first, the Portuguese resisted secretly but later was openly supported by the Portuguese Crown. This revolt was heard by the Hereen XIX (The Nineteen Master, The Directors of the Dutch West Company). They urged the States-General and the East India Company to reopen hostilities with Portugal in Asia⁸⁷⁴.

The Governor-General and his council in Batavia ordered the Dutch Governor in Malacca, Vlammingh van Oudshoorn, to control Malacca. All Catholic priests coming to Malacca should be checked and ordered to leave Malacca, or at least, they should stay to wait for their vessels' departure in which they came. They were afraid the incoming priests initiated a revolt as their fellow priests did in Pernambuco⁸⁷⁵. The Dutch restriction for the Catholic priests to preach in public limited them to organise the public worship⁸⁷⁶. This religious persecution was responded differently by the Catholic

⁸⁷³ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.2; Boxer. 1965. *the Dutch Seaborne Empire*, pp.95-6; Boxer. 1958. "Portuguese and Dutch Colonial Rivalry", pp.14-5.

⁸⁷⁴ Boxer. 1965. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, p.98; Boxer. 1958. "Portuguese and Dutch Colonial Rivalry", p.15.

⁸⁷⁵ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.78-9.

⁸⁷⁶ Earlier, the Dutch gave the Catholics small space to worship in public. They cornered the Romish to a single church. This worship place was closed to the quarter, reserved for the surviving Portuguese and Luso-Asian Population. Other monasteries and churches were closed and refunctioned into the Dutch residences (the Franciscan monastery and two parish churches of Our Lady of Guadalupe and St. Jerome); a boarding house for company slaves (St. Anthony monastery); a hospital (the Dominican

Eurasians. Some of those who wanted to reside in Malacca decided to embrace the new faith. Others preferred to leave the town and live in a remote area of Malacca⁸⁷⁷.

In the town of Malacca, religious restriction generated uncertainty. On one hand, Governor van Oudshoorn forbade the practice of Catholicism and charged those who possessed buildings where the public worship was celebrated. The Dutch published the legal persecution on June 12, 1646⁸⁷⁸. On the other hand, he allowed public worship within the town. Concerning that the Portuguese were a majority of Malaccan community, Governor van Oudshoorn allowed the French Jesuit, Alexander Rhodes, to hold a public preaching when he visited Malacca in 1646. He was also invited by the governor to a dinner. The priest was used as a means to attract the Portuguese back to the town⁸⁷⁹. The Portuguese-Eurasians were needed to restore food production and economic activity in the port, shops and marketplaces⁸⁸⁰. Francisco de Souza, the Eurasian who had a close commercial link to Aceh, still assisted the Dutch to conduct the Malacca-Aceh trade⁸⁸¹.

In January 1651, Fr. Pedro de Mesquita and Fr. Manuel Henriques were sent to Makasar and Malacca. They found that the Catholics lived under Dutch persecution and hoped the Bishop of Japan, Paulo da Costa, could return the religious freedom in Malacca⁸⁸². Many Portuguese-Eurasian left Malacca and started to live in rural areas surrounding Malacca. They kept resisting the Dutch officials by establishing the *Irmãos da Igreja* (Brothers of the Church), a secret laymen's organization. They remained practicing the Catholic rituals but in secret and at remote areas. They could appear in public when they celebrated the Christian Feast or the Easter Day⁸⁸³.

monastery); a school and library (the Jesuit monastery); and the Dutch Reformed Church (the Church of the Misericórdia) (SCMP, p.131; Borschberg. 2010. "Ethnicity, Language, and Culture in Melaka", p.112).

⁸⁷⁷ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", p.288.

⁸⁷⁸ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.81-2.

⁸⁷⁹ Andaya. 1983. "The Dutch in Melaka", p.211; Smith. 2011. "Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies", p.27.

⁸⁸⁰ Borschberg. 2010. "Ethnicity, Language and Culture in Melaka", p.111.

⁸⁸¹ Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", p.289.

⁸⁸² BAL Códice 49-IV-61, *Missão do Reyno de Malaca*, 28 November 1651, fls.22v-23.

⁸⁸³ De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.67; Daus. 1989. *Portuguese Eurasian Communities*, p.10.

From 1642 to 1654, the church registered 225 baptised children, 56 of them being Portuguese descendants⁸⁸⁶. It seemed that their conversion to Calvinism was encouraged by economic reasons. On May 11, 1642, Dona Isabel de Moura married Jan Janz Manie. They went to the Reformed Church to baptise their daughter, Isabel. Dona Isabel chose her relative, Maria de Moura, as the godmother for Isabel because she was the wife of a Portuguese merchant, António Pinheiro⁸⁸⁷. António Pinheiro, as recorded by Schouten⁸⁸⁸, was a faithful Portuguese who was sent by the Dutch governor to Johor Sultanate to intermediate a peace treaty between Johor and Aceh. His reputation might have helped the Dutch to make several local trading transactions.

Hendrik Gonsalvis, certainly Henrique Gonçalves, and his wife, Rebeca, also went to the Reformed Church and baptised their daughter, Mauritia, on October 2, 1642. They might have converted to the new faith because they worked for the Company. They asked Maria da Costa to be the godmother for Mauritia. Maria de Costa could take care of their daughter considering she was the wife of Arent Andriesz, a Dutch *Burgher*⁸⁸⁹. The same Maria da Costa also acted as the godmother for Jaquemintje when she was accompanied by her parents, Lucia de Moura and Christiaen Janz, and was baptised on October 5, 1642⁸⁹⁰. Their conversion to the reformed church might have strengthened their position as Dutch servants in Malacca. In line, Tomás de Costa and Maria Dias baptised their daughter on October 22, 1643. They hoped that they could be treated as other company's servants⁸⁹¹. This tendency was confirmed when

⁸⁸⁶ It was assumed the Portuguese names in the baptismal records as identifying Portuguese descendants. They could be legitimate or illegitimate children considering it was common practice of having concubines during the Portuguese period. The Portuguese were certainly Catholics who converted to Calvinism when they baptised their children, as recorded in the baptismal records. I only found a Portuguese name linked to a Sephardic Jewish ancestral line, Abreu, when Soijse Abreu acted as a godfather for Mauritia, recorded in the baptismal record dated on 2 October 1642. However, in the Reformed Church, the godparents for the baptised children should be Calvinists as well.

⁸⁸⁷ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 11-5-1642.

⁸⁸⁸ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.74.

⁸⁸⁹ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 2-10-1642.

⁸⁹⁰ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 5-10-1642.

⁸⁹¹ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 22-10-1643; During the early Dutch Malacca, as recorded in baptismal records, many Da Costas also came to the Reformed Church to baptise their children. On August 24, 1642, Tiko da Costa with his wife baptised their daughter and asked Michiel Clarenbeeck, Isaak Joosten, Gracia de Costa, and Mauricia Sequeira to be the godparents for Marta (ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 24-8-1642). Simão da Costa, Tomás da Costa, Isabel da Costa and her husband, Francisco da Costa,

Friar Domingo de Navarrete visited Malacca on February 1, 1670. He witnessed many men that had already converted and pretended to still Catholics when the Portuguese Priests from Goa went to Malacca⁸⁹².

The few cases of religious conversion identified⁸⁹³ after the 1645 Catholic persecution seem to indicate that the Portuguese-Eurasian mostly left Malacca and kept defending the Catholicism in the interior of Malacca. The religious persecution reached its climax when Dom Manuel Fernandes incited the Portuguese to take action. The priest went to Malacca in 1665 and preached in a garden between Tengkerah and Bunga Raya in front of 1,500 Catholics. In order to expel the harmful Roman doctrine and to return the peaceful condition to Malacca, Governor Balthasar Bort (1665-1677) issued a fuller proclamation of anti-Catholic legislation on January 15, 1666.

Table 3 Portuguese Religious Conversion in the Baptismal Registers in Malacca (1642-1654)

Year	Cases	Registers	%
1642	9	15	60
1643	5	11	45
1644	4	14	28.6
1645	3	10	30
1646	1	8	12.5
1647	0	4	0
1648	5	15	33.3
1649	7	17	41.2
1650	4	24	16.6
1651	1	20	5
1652	1	16	6.25
1653	10	41	24.39

António da Costa, Joana da Costa and her husband, Isabel da Costa and her husband, Pedro da Costa, and Mateus da Costa also went to baptise their children and indirectly submitted their faith to the new Christian (ANM 2007/0056189, Entries on 14-12-1642; 22- 10-1643; 16-2-1645; 11-11-1646; 18-6-1648; 22-10-1651; 4-6-1654; 26-7-1648; 29-8-1648; ?-3-1652; 15-3-1653; and 17-8-1653).

⁸⁹² Cummins (Ed). 2010. *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, p.283.

⁸⁹³ Every year, the church must have confirmed between ten and twenty converts (Van Walle. 2012. "Malacca under Dutch Rule", p.153).

1654	6	30	20
Total	56	225	24.9
Source: Doopboek van Malakka 1642-88 (ANM 2007/0056189).			

The governor regulated that: (1) the Portuguese priesthood from Goa or Macau passing in Malacca should have an official permit; the priests should depart with the same ships they arrived in; if they disobeyed, they would be fined 200 reais; those who welcomed the priests ashore would be also fined; (2) the priests were not allowed to preach on shore or celebrate the Romish ceremonies in public. Those who attended any public worship would be fined 200 reais; (3) all passengers and crews could not practice Catholicism on board of the ships. If they did it, they would be fined 200 reais for a priest and 25 reais for a citizen; (4) the Dutch government could not legalise any Catholic baptism and marriage; and should suggest them to re-baptise their children and re-marry their spouses in the reformed church; (5) the priests were not allowed to collect money or goods from the Catholics; and (6) the Dutch forbade all Malaccan inhabitants to transfer any possession to the Portuguese⁸⁹⁴.

The Dutch continually persuaded the Portuguese to embrace Calvinism. They started to organise the Sunday worship with exceptional service in St. Paul Hill. This worship was mostly attended by the Eurasian women, married to Dutchmen⁸⁹⁵. However, their effort ended when Governor Cornelis van Qualberg (1680-4) allowed a Catholic priest, António Rodrigo de Brito, to celebrate a Catholic feast in public. A Calvinist Priest, Hubertus Leydekker, blamed the governor for permitting the Catholic service in public. He charged the governor to the city council and the council of Indies at Batavia because he failed to run his duties. However, the councils were less interested in forcing their religion into other affairs⁸⁹⁶.

⁸⁹⁴ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca*, RGBBM, pp.83-5; De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, pp.65-6.

⁸⁹⁵ De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia* p.66; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese missions in Malacca*, P.315.

⁸⁹⁶ Van Walle. 2012. "Malacca under Dutch Rule", p.135; De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia* p.42.

Table 4 Portuguese Religious Conversion in the Baptismal Registers in Malacca (1689-1700)

Year	Cases	Registers	%
1689	1	21	4.76
1690	6	24	25
1691	1	18	5.5
1692	1	19	5.26
1693	0	21	0
1694	2	26	7.69
1695	0	23	0
1696	2	21	9.52
1697	0	13	0
1698	0	18	0
1699	1	19	5.26
1700	0	29	0
Total	14	252	5.6

Source: *Doop Boeck van Malacca 1689-1709*, ANM 2007/0056192.

A bipolar policy seemed to be issued. In one side, the Dutch attracted the Portuguese back to the town. On the other side, the legal restriction to practice Catholicism went on. During the last decade of the 17th century, the number of Portuguese who baptised their children decreased significantly. There were merely 14 baptised children, recorded in the baptismal records from 1689 to 1700, equivalent to 5.6%, while that rate was 24.9% in the first period considered (1642-1654)⁸⁹⁷. The Portuguese remained Catholics and went to the hinterland. They could organise the public worship after they gained their religious freedom in 1702⁸⁹⁸.

⁸⁹⁷ *Doop Boeck van Malacca 1689-1709*, ANM 2007/0056192.

⁸⁹⁸ De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia* p.67; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese missions in Malacca*, p.322.

4.5.4. Marrying the Dutch Officials and Free-Men

Few European women travelled to the East. This fact encouraged the Europeans to marry Asian women. This miscegenation practice was started when Afonso de Albuquerque urged the Portuguese to marry and settle in the East. He aimed their offspring to populate the Estado da India, including Malacca and to serve the Portuguese Crown. Malacca's Portuguese community was shaped by miscegenation, either by means of concubinage or by marriage. As recorded by Fr. Nicolau Lancelote during his visit to Malacca, it had been known since around 1550 that the married settlers in Malacca had four, eight, or ten female slaves and slept with all of them⁸⁹⁹.

The Dutch seemed to copy the Portuguese model in populating their colonies. In Malacca, the Dutch urged their retired soldiers or retired Company's employees to marry Asian women. They were not permitted to leave Malacca. It would also prevent the Dutch to go back to the Netherlands with their *mestizo* families. The VOC children, called as *mestizos*, grew in number and populated Malacca⁹⁰⁰. The Dutch also married the Portuguese-Eurasian women. According to some sources, these women seemed to have had a high lifestyle and liked to spend money for pleasure and luxury⁹⁰¹ but the Dutch could financially afford it, according to some contemporary reports. The Dutch who lived in Malacca were mostly rich citizens known as the free burghers (men). After gaining wealth, the retired burghers invested their money by lending it at usury or conducting private trade. Some leading *burghers*, for instance Reijner Broeken, Hendrik Gerritz Merleman, Leendert Molenaar, Pieter Martens, and Hans Beckendrop married Eurasian women and registered their children during the 1680s⁹⁰².

Table 5 Dutch-Eurasian Miscegenation according to the Baptismal Registers (1642-1654)

Year	Cases	Registers

⁸⁹⁹ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and Straits of Melaka*, p.179; Fernando. 2012. "Luso-Asian Community", p.287.

⁹⁰⁰ De Witt. 2007. *History of the Dutch in Malaysia*, p.192.

⁹⁰¹ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, p.128.

⁹⁰² Fernando. 2012. "The Luso-Asian Community of Malacca", p.284; ANM 2007/0056189, entries on 5-11-1643 and 10-3-1644.

1642	8	15
1643	6	11
1644	4	14
1645	3	10
1646	3	8
1647	1	4
1648	1	15
1649	7	17
1650	7	24
1651	2	20
1652	2	16
1653	7	41
1654	5	30

Source: Doopboek van Malakka 1642-88 (ANM 2007/0056189)

The Dutch officials also married Portuguese-Eurasian women. Shahbandar Jan Jansz Menie married the Portuguese widow Dona Isabel de Moura on June 2, 1641. Some of them were the widows of Portuguese elites, as Dona Isabel, who was the widow of Manuel do Rosário, the Captain of Malaccan Fortress during the Portuguese period. Jan Jansz Menie and Dona Isabel de Moura, as recorded in the baptismal records, attended their daughter's baptism, Isabel, in the reformed church on May 11, 1642⁹⁰³. Jeremias van Vliet (1642-5), the second governor of Malacca, married Catarina Soares in 1642. They baptised their first daughter, Maria, on November 15, 1643. Anthonij van Diemen, the Governor-General in Batavia, went to Malacca and acted as the godfather for Van Vliet's daughter⁹⁰⁴. The port-entrance keeper, Lambrecht Jansz, married Doroteia Matias and baptised their son on March 13, 1644⁹⁰⁵. Cornelis van Qualberg, the Governor of Malacca (1680-4) also married a Portuguese-Eurasian woman. He was

⁹⁰³ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 11-5-1642.

⁹⁰⁴ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 15-11-1643.

⁹⁰⁵ ANM 2007/0056189, Entry on 13-3-1644.

the one that surprisingly allowed the Portuguese-Eurasian priest to conduct a public preach in 1680⁹⁰⁶.

Table 6 Dutch-Eurasian Miscegenation according to the Baptismal Registers (1689-1700)

Year	Cases	Registers
1689	3	21
1690	1	24
1691	2	18
1692	4	19
1693	2	21
1694	3	26
1695	3	23
1696	2	21
1697	2	13
1698	0	18
1699	1	19
1700	1	29

Source: *Doop Boeck van Malacca* 1689-1709, ANM 2007/0056192

As a result of Dutch-Eurasian miscegenation, Dutch surnames such as Goonting, Minjoot, Cornelis, Frederik, Sykerman, and Danker appeared in the baptismal records of Malacca during the end of the 17th century⁹⁰⁷. They also played a pivotal role in the Dutch administration. The baptismal records prove that a *mestizo* named Philippus Goting was placed as a member of the church council as well as the Calvinist preacher in Malacca. He baptised his son, Philipus, on March 20, 1692⁹⁰⁸ and acted as the godfather for Gerardus, Genandes, Adriaan, and Gorents⁹⁰⁹. Other *mestizo*, Jacob

⁹⁰⁶ Van Walle. 2012. "Malacca under Dutch Rule", p.135.

⁹⁰⁷ Daus. 1989. *Portuguese Eurasian Communities*, p.9.

⁹⁰⁸ ANM 2007/0056192, entry on 20-3-1692.

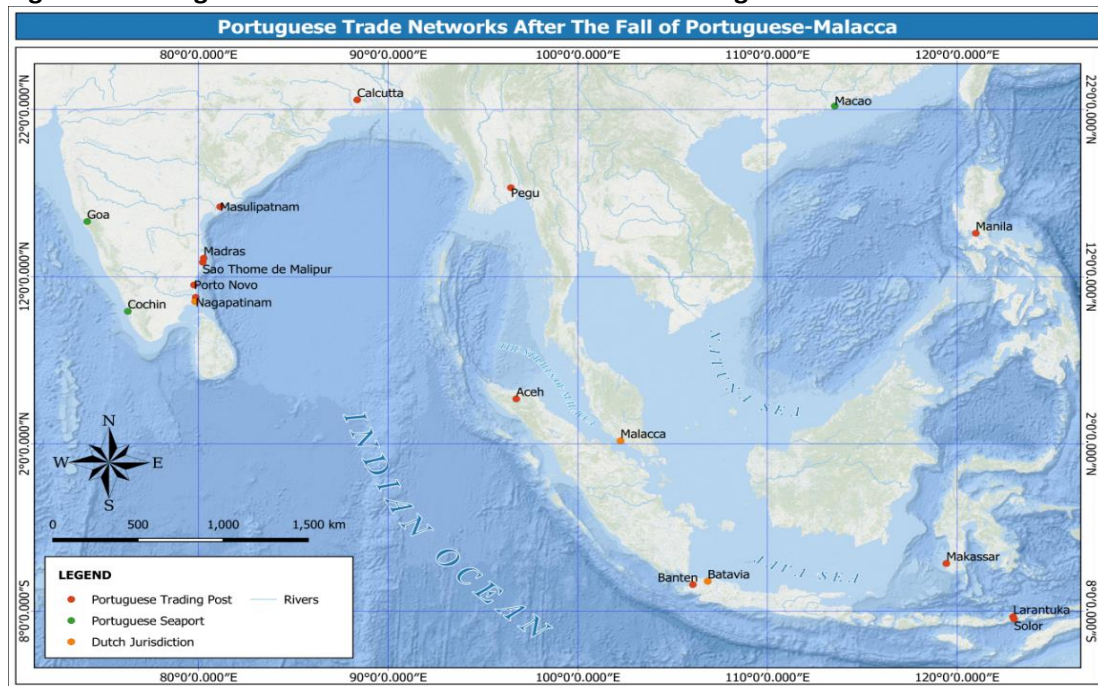
⁹⁰⁹ ANM 2007/0056192, entries on 24-7-1692; 11-9-1693; 19-2-1696; and 16-1-1698.

Cornelis was recorded as the godfather for Ceana and Magdalena⁹¹⁰; meanwhile, Cornelis Cornelisz and his Eurasian wife went to the church to baptise Grietje on May 11, 1690⁹¹¹.

4.6. Portuguese Shipping through the Straits of Malacca

This sub-chapter elaborates Portuguese shipping through the Straits of Malacca during the second half of the 17th century. It is divided into several sub-sub-chapters: (1) the formal networks: the Malabar-Macao shipping via the Straits of Malacca; (2) the informal networks: The Portuguese communities on the Coromandel Coast; and (3) Francisco Vieira de Figueredo: The Portuguese go-between agent.

Figure 28 Portuguese Trade Networks after the Fall of Portuguese-Malacca



Sources: Author's map based on Vink (1991); Bort (1927); Schouten (1936); Boxer (1967); Souza (2004); Seshan (2016).

4.6.1. Formal Networks: The Malabar-Macao Shipping

The Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641 changed the Portuguese sailing routes in Asia. The Portuguese attempted to replace Malacca with Makassar and Nagapattinam. They

⁹¹⁰ ANM 2007/0056192, entries on 30-1-1689 and 25-12-1690.

⁹¹¹ ANM 2007/0056192, entry on 11-5-1690.

also used Cochin as an alternative port for Goa. During the Dutch blockade, the Portuguese vessels remained to sail from Indian Sub-Continent to the East. In the Malaccan Straits, the Portuguese sailed via the East Coast of Sumatra to the Sunda Straits. Since, the Dutch sent some vessels to block the Portuguese sailing ships in Cochin and the Sunda Straits, there was no choice for the Portuguese. They decided to collaborate with the English to counter the Dutch ascendancy. In Europe, the Portuguese approached England and the Dutch. They negotiated a formal peace which ended their hostilities in Europe and in Asia. The Portuguese got the friendly treaty with England in January 1642 and with the Dutch in February 1642. The Luso-Dutch formal peace was ratified in 1642 but the treaty reached Asia only in 1643⁹¹².

Jeremias van Vliet, the Dutch Governor of Malacca, was instructed to control the Portuguese communities in the Coromandel Coast, for instance Nagapattinam, São Tomé, Porto Novo, and Tegenepatnam⁹¹³. In earlier times, in April 1642, the Dutch governor in Malacca sent his armada to invade the Coromandel Coast. However, the Dutch governor changed his mind, forgot his duty, and re-built the city. In June 1643, the Dutch Batavian and Malaccan Government agreed that all Portuguese vessels from Goa and Ceylon, attempting to pass the Malaccan Straits, should be considered enemies. However, the vessels from São Tomé and Nagapattinam were to be well-treated⁹¹⁴. The Dutch-Malacca apparently needed the Portuguese merchants of Coromandel to keep a regular and profitable trade.

The Dutch in Malacca executed that restricted policy and intercepted a Portuguese ship in the north of Malacca at *Cabo Rachado* (Tanjong Tuan), on June 20, 1643. While, a Portuguese vessel tried to slip through the straits, it was seized by the Dutch. The Dutch also operated the same mission on June 27, 1643. They captured the Portuguese ship named *Santo António* departed from Cochin on its way to Macao. Having some hostilities from the Dutch, the Portuguese in Goa also unwelcomed the Dutch vessels.

⁹¹² Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.289-290; Antunes. 2019. "Dutch-Portuguese Diplomatic Encounters", pp.461-2.

⁹¹³ The Luso-Dutch truce did not include the Portuguese informal seaports on the Coromandel Coast (Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.289).

⁹¹⁴ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.289-290; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *The Political Economy of Commerce*, p.248.

In May 1643, the Dutch *Pauw* anchored in Goa. They soon realised that Goa was not a safe place for them. The Portuguese officials, as instructed by Dom João da Silva Teles de Meneses, the Portuguese Viceroy in India, imprisoned the crew and looted the cargo⁹¹⁵. The Dutch did the same way, on January 6, 1644, to the small ship commanded under Manuel Jorge da Silva Pereira, which was intercepted near Cabo Rachado and directed to call at Malacca. After the cargo was auctioned and the owners had their bonds, the ship was provided a passport for a return voyage for the Macao-Goa route⁹¹⁶.

The Portuguese did not have a choice. They tried to smuggle their products, assisted by their trading partner, the English merchants. On July 12, 1643, a Portuguese ship, *Boa Esperança*, captained by William Gorle, brought a cargo of blood coral, agila-wood, cinnamon and elephant's tusk. The ship embarked from Goa and tried to slip past Malacca. The Dutch intercepted the *Boa Esperança* and directed it to Malacca. The Dutch found many Portuguese goods on the ship. The practice of Portuguese smuggling worsened when three English ships also passed the Straits of Malacca from Surat and Goa to Macao and Manila⁹¹⁷.

The Goa-Macao trade had already sunk. In one side, the Dutch had imposed nine consecutive blockades from 1636 to 1645. Those blockades ruined Goan fiscal revenue. It also led to decrease the Portuguese armada sailing to the East⁹¹⁸. On the other side, Macao and its surrounding were in danger. The war between the invading Manchu and Ming-loyalists or Coxinga had blocked the trade and supply routes inland⁹¹⁹. Portuguese *Estado da India* did not have the power to revive the inter-oceanic trade. The Portuguese King, Dom João IV, preferred to send his armada to Brazil, also under Dutch attack. Therefore, the Portuguese Crown was unable to send

⁹¹⁵ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.291-2.

⁹¹⁶ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.292-3.

⁹¹⁷ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.293-4.

⁹¹⁸ Bort. 1936. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.112; Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.295.

⁹¹⁹ Williams. 1913. "The Manchu Conquest of China", p.160.

the required powerful aid to India. The lack of military forces and armadas complicated the Portuguese defence infrastructures in Asia⁹²⁰.

The Portuguese were alive for a while when they got the ten year's truce from 1645 to 1652. The peace treaty instructed the Dutch not to violate the Portuguese contracts with others including the monopolistic treaties with the tin rulers in the Malay Peninsula⁹²¹. The Dutch also permitted the Portuguese navigation to pass the Malaccan Straits. However, the Dutch remained to force the Portuguese to pay the Malaccan tolls. All Portuguese vessels should pay the usual rate of 4,5%⁹²². Three Portuguese vessels called at Malacca in June 1645. Those vessels, which were *S. António* from Cochin; *S. Pedro* and *Sta. Cruz Fieis de Deos* from Goa, were instructed to pay 4,5% payment. On October 8, 1645, the Portuguese vessel, *Madre de Deos* from Nagapattinam, also paid a 4,5% toll on his cargo consisting of 214 parcels of cloth, amounting to 3000 reals of eight or fl. 7200. In 1646, eight Portuguese vessels sailed back from Macao to Goa. They did not pay 4,5% but each ship should pay 4 bars of Chinese gold⁹²³.

On April 18, 1646, Cornelis van Sanen got a provisional contract with the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Felipe de Mascarenhas in Goa. All Portuguese vessels navigating to Macao should hand over two bars of gold for a single journey and other two bars as a deposit for a return journey. If the Portuguese ships were passing Malacca without sailing to China, they should merely pay 4.5%⁹²⁴. In June 1646, two privately-owned brigantines and two royal galleons arrived in Malacca in their way from Indian Coast to Macao. They also paid 2 bars of gold. In 1647, however the royal vessel of *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré* from Goa was freed from the Malaccan tolls but four private ships from Indian Coast paid two bars of gold or 400 reals of eight or 960 guilders. On

⁹²⁰ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.295.

⁹²¹ Schouten. 1936. *Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of His Visit to Malacca* in SCMP, pp.122-3; Bort. 1936. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.137-141; Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.295-6.

⁹²² Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.296.

⁹²³ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.296-7.

⁹²⁴ Bort. 1936. *Report of Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.112-4; Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.297-8.

January 15, 1650, two small ships from Macao to Indian Coast called at Malacca. Due to the state of war in Macao, they had merely poor cargoes. They could not fulfil two bars of gold as ordinary tolls. When the Portuguese ship, *Santo António* from Macao called at Malacca, the mercantile city of Canton had already been captured by the Manchu army in December 1650. The inhabitants of Macao had been massacred. Therefore, the Portuguese commerce in Macao was very poor⁹²⁵.

The Luso-Dutch peace treaty expired in 1652. The Dutch began to intercept and capture all Portuguese vessels passing the Malaccan Straits. On June 13, 1652, Captain Francisco Bravo de Araújo led *S. António* to sail from Cochin to Macao. His ship was captured in Pulo Sambalang (in the west coast of Malay Peninsula). The same destiny had another Portuguese ship, *Espírito Santo de S. Jacinto*, which was taken in Perak⁹²⁶. The Portuguese asked the English for help. Considering the English had a peace treaty with the Dutch under the treaty of Westminster, English ships were allowed to pass the Malaccan Straits. On June 6, 1657, two English vessels passed the Straits of Malacca without calling at Malacca. In October 1657, the Malaccan Governor was ordered to force the English vessels passing the straits to call at Malacca⁹²⁷.

The Portuguese lost most of their footholds in Asia comprising Jaffna, Tutucorin and Nagapattinam in 1658. At that time, the Portuguese colonies were merely in Malabar, Makasar, and Macao. The Portuguese encountered difficulties to ship their cargoes from Makasar to Goa and vice versa. Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo and the Society of Jesus brought a Dutch safe-conduct to sail from Makasar to Goa. However, their ship was arrested near Bima on August 15, 1661 and directed to Batavia. The Dutch were afraid that if the vessel reached Goa, the Portuguese would be well-prepared and defend the Malabar Coast from the Dutch invasion. The growth of Makasar as a centre of spice trade forced the Dutch to invade. The 1663 Luso-Dutch peace treaty was too late to end the hostilities. The Dutch expedition led by Cornelis van Speelman sailed to Makasar in 1666. The Dutch ship was strengthened by the Bugis troops and by Dutch

⁹²⁵ Williams. 1913. "The Manchu Conquest of China", p.163; Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.297-8.

⁹²⁶ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", p.300.

⁹²⁷ Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.301-2.

armada from Ambon. The Dutch-Buginese joint-siege blocked all supplies to Makasar. The blockade forced King Hasanuddin to sign the treaty of Bongaya in November 1668. The capitulation summoned the king to expell all Portuguese from Makasar. Therefore, most of the Portuguese left Makasar for Larantuka and Solor⁹²⁸.

At the end of the 17th century, the Portuguese remained to run the Goa-Macao trade. However, the Portuguese should follow the Dutch fiscal policy⁹²⁹. They should pay the tolls and duties at higher rates than other foreign shipping when they passed the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch reported that they succeeded to gain 26,180 rijksdaalers as a result from the Portuguese payment of anchorage fees between 1684 and 1704. At that time, 34 Portuguese vessels called at Malacca. Those vessels departed from Goa for Macao and vice versa. The Cargoes laden by Goan vessels commonly included of cloth, incense, salt, slaves, bundle cane, and woods. In return, the Macao vessels brought silk, poetsjoek (mastic or incense), zinc, radix China, aluminium, porcelain, gold, tea, powder sugar, and sapanwood⁹³⁰.

4.6.2. Informal Networks: The Portuguese Communities on the Coromandel Coast

Besides the formal possessions of Goa and Cochin on the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese also expanded their trade networks to the Coromandel Coast⁹³¹. The Portuguese, especially the soldiers, could not survive in the East with their small regular income. They did not have any other choice than relying on their trading activity. They established merchant communities and mostly settled on the

⁹²⁸ Villiers, 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.50; Vink. 1991. "The Entente Cordiale", pp.304-5.

⁹²⁹ According to the 1668 Dutch laws of Malacca, all Portuguese vessels either the royal or private vessels should pay as follows: if they called at Malacca with small vessel, they should pay 300 Reais; a medium one 400 Reais; and a large ship 500 Reais. However, they should pay additional charge if they unloaded their cargoes in Malacca. They should pay 10% customs there (Bort in RGBBM, p.125).

⁹³⁰ Souza. 2004. *The Survival of Empire*, pp.129-30 & pp.162-7.

⁹³¹ The Portuguese also reinforced their self-organised networks, outside the formal empire. They inhabited the new areas and lived with the locals. If Winus (1983) called their presence as the informal empire, Subrahmanyam (1990) proposed to identify their initiative as the shadow empire. Seshan (2016) attempted to classify four Portuguese in the Indian sub-continent during the 17th century in four groups. The first group referred to the official presence in the Malabar Coast. The second dealt with the Portuguese private traders. They commonly conducted their trade with the local Indian merchants. Their trading post was in Porto Novo on the Coromandel Coast. The third group was the retired soldiers, related then to the British East India Company at Fort St. George, Madras. The last group was the go-between agents, for instance José de Brito. Brito was a Portuguese and an inhabitant of Manila. He assisted the British to conduct trade between Macao and Manila in 1654.

Coromandel Coast. In the early 16th century, the retired soldiers became the first wave of settlers. The flourishing of Coromandel commerce attracted many Portuguese to come. During the 17th century, the Portuguese garrisons re-established themselves in São Tomé de Meliapur and Nagapattinam⁹³².

After the Dutch blockade during the 1630s, the importance of São Tomé declined. Some Portuguese of São Tomé moved gradually to Madras where the English Company established Fort St. George in 1640. They totally relocated to Madras after São Tomé de Meliapur was captured by Golconda troops in 1662. In 1672, the French occupied São Tomé, but Golconda re-captured it. In Madras, the Portuguese worked as soldiers and clerks for the English East India Company⁹³³.

On the other side, the Portuguese mercantile activities in Nagapattinam continued to flourish up to 1650⁹³⁴. The Dutch remained to be the Portuguese threat in Nagapattinam. The Portuguese merchants attempted to defend their town. They requested to the Portuguese Crown in Goa to fortify Nagapattinam with walls and towers. During 1640s, Nagapattinam was fortified, and all the cost of fortification was paid by the settlers. They should also be responsible to pay the custom duties to the Portuguese Crown⁹³⁵.

The fall of Malacca in 1641 and the Portuguese independence from the Habsburg Empire had changed the Portuguese trade and shipping in Asia. The Portuguese switched their terminal point of the eastward route from Manila to Makasar. The situation worsened when the Luso-Dutch Ten Years' Peace in 1652 ended. The Dutch succeeded in exploiting the military weaknesses in Nagapattinam. Jan van der Laan and his armada forced the Portuguese to surrender Nagapattinam in 1658⁹³⁶.

⁹³² Maloni. 2012. "Portuguese Private Traders on the Coromandel Coast", p.311.

⁹³³ Love. 1913. *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.304; Seshan. 2016. "Transnational and Informal Networks in the 17th Century", p.346.

⁹³⁴ Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, p.218.

⁹³⁵ Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, pp.222-3.

⁹³⁶ Seshan. 2016. "Transnational and Informal Networks in the 17th Century", p.348; Shngreiyo. 2016. "Portuguese Settlement on the Coromandel Coast", pp.381-2; Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, p.224.

After the Dutch conquest of Nagapattinam, the Portuguese private merchants and mercantile communities relocated to Porto Novo. They joined the Indian merchants to expand their trade⁹³⁷. The Luso-Anglo cooperation allowed both merchants communities operate freely between Madras and Calcutta; and operate a commerce from those ports and all ports along the coast. In an early period, Luso-Indian merchants began with the rice trade with Jaffna and the Malabar Coast; and expanded to Southeast Asia⁹³⁸.

In Porto Novo, the Portuguese owned some ships which made them possible to ship their cargoes to Pegu, Aceh, Malacca, and Manila. During 1681-6, the Portuguese sent five ships to Pegu; fourteen vessels to Aceh; five ships to Malacca; six vessels to Goa; and two ships to Manila⁹³⁹. When the Portuguese called at Malacca, they encountered difficulties to sell the Coromandel textile. They should pay higher rates of duties on cloth than the re-seller of the Dutch cloth. According to the 1688 Dutch laws of Malacca, the Portuguese should pay duty of 13% compared to 2.5% for the Dutch cloth. Besides selling the Indian textile in Malacca, the Luso-Indian merchants were permitted to buy Japanese copper and sail back to Porto Novo⁹⁴⁰. The Dutch company in Malacca prohibited other merchants to buy tin, pepper, opium, cloves, mace, nutmeg and resin. The Dutch preferred to ship those commodities on their own ships to the Indian Coast comprising Coromandel, Bengal, Ceylon, Cochin, Surat and Persia⁹⁴¹. The Dutch attempted to patrol the Malaccan Straits. They wanted to prevent any ships passing Malacca without calling and paying the duties there. In 1675, the Dutch

⁹³⁷ Porto Novo had some multi-national merchant communities. Those were (1) the Muslim merchants, especially the Marakkayar community; (2) the Hindu ship-owners, dominated by Telugu Chetties; (3) the Spanish traders from Manila; (4) the Portuguese and their Eurasian descendants; and (5) the English and Dutch private traders (Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, p.226).

⁹³⁸ The Dutch reported that a Coromandel ship commonly loaded a cargo of cloth to the amount of around 1.5 tons (150,000 guilders). The Coromandel merchants used to send their vessels to or pass Malacca every year (Bort in RGBBM, p.130).

⁹³⁹ Subrahmanyam. 1990. *Improvising Empire*, p.233.

⁹⁴⁰ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.112 & p.125; Maloni. 2012. "Portuguese Private Traders on the Coromandel Coast", p.314; Seshan. 2016. "Transnational and Informal Networks in the 17th Century", pp.343-8; Asaratnam. 1984. "The Coromandel-Southeast Asia Trade", p.127.

⁹⁴¹ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.125.

captured 4 yachts, 7 sloops, and 4 rowing boats⁹⁴². Operational weaknesses or disguised interests might justify the Dutch to permit the Portuguese merchants from Coromandel to populate and conduct trade in Malacca in 1670. They allowed that probably due to the still significant Portuguese presence at the neighbouring ports. The Dutch in Malacca did not want to lose their fiscal income from the Portuguese ships. On one side, it would affect the sale of Dutch cloth in Malacca. On the other side, the Coromandel textile would attract all Malay and Javanese merchants to travel to Malacca. The Dutch seemed to have a strategic geo-economy. They attempted to re-direct and block the Coromandel merchants to call at Kedah, Aceh, Ujung Selang (Phuket), and Tenasserim (Tanah Kering Kra)⁹⁴³. So, as recorded by Balthasar Bort⁹⁴⁴, the Portuguese vessels began to anchor at Malacca. In 1677, a Portuguese ship from Porto Novo arrived in Malacca.

Besides relocating to Porto Novo, the Portuguese of Nagapattinam also moved to Madras. They arrived in Madras in 1661 and were provided the privilege to handle imported food and cloth in Madras. The English gained the Portuguese assistance to explore the potential of Indian sub-continent. Both might benefit, considering they had the same enemy in the Asian waters, the Dutch⁹⁴⁵.

After the fall of Malacca in 1641, the Dutch charged the higher rates of custom duties to the Portuguese from Coromandel and Bengal. They should pay a tenth of their merchandise according to the 1688 Dutch maritime laws of Malacca⁹⁴⁶. Therefore, Luso-Anglo merchants alternated their sailing and trade network to Banten, in Java. Before the Dutch invasion in 1684, Banten became a market of Coromandel textile. In Banten, the Portuguese not merely assisted the Coromandel merchants to sell the Coromandel textile and Bantenese pepper but also began to link Coromandel to Manila and Macao⁹⁴⁷. The Coromandel-Manila direct trade started in the late 1670s.

⁹⁴² Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.179.

⁹⁴³ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.131.

⁹⁴⁴ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, p.204.

⁹⁴⁵ Seshan. 2016. "Transnational and Informal Networks in the 17th Century", p.343.

⁹⁴⁶ Bort. 1927. *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca* in RGBBM, pp.107-110.

⁹⁴⁷ Jos de Brito, a Portuguese in Manila, assisted the British to conduct a trade to Macao and Manila (Seshan. 2016. "Transnational and Informal Networks in the 17th Century", p.349).

When the direct trade from Madras to Manila and vice versa was established, the Coromandel Hindu merchants and Muslim ship-owners accompanied Armenian, Portuguese, and English on the textile trade. If the multinational Coromandel merchants brought textile to Manila, they could bring back copper, gold, and silver to Madras and the Coromandel Coast⁹⁴⁸.

4.6.3. Francisco Vieira de Figueredo: The Portuguese Go-between Agent

Francisco Vieira de Figueredo was a pivotal figure enjoying the lucrative Asiatic trade. He went to Goa from Lisbon in around 1622 or 1623. He served the Crown as a soldier. Considering his small salary as a soldier in the East, Vieira decided to continue his life as a merchant after he retired. He joined the Portuguese communities on the Coromandel Coast during the 1630s. While, the Portuguese Crown faced difficulties when their inter-oceanic shipping was blocked by the Dutch, Vieira and his fellows of Nagapattinam remained conducting trade with places as far as Cambodia and Manila. For Vieira, instead of being a Portuguese merchant in Nagapattinam, he also acted as a Manila's envoy for Cambodia. He requested the King of Cambodia to assist the Spanish to build two galleons. However, the Portuguese independence from the Habsburg Empire in 1640 forced him to move his base to Makasar⁹⁴⁹.

Vieira followed his fellow Portuguese to move to Makasar after the fall of Malacca in 1641. They were well received by the King of Makasar. They were permitted to inhabit a quarter of the city and settle there⁹⁵⁰. The King also permitted the inhabitants of Makasar to freely choose their religion. Some of them embraced Catholicism. The King also gave some facilities to the Portuguese communities and Francisco Vieira as well. The Portuguese maintained good relationship with the Prime Ministers of Makasar, Karaeng Pattingaloang (1641-1654)⁹⁵¹ and Karaeng Karungrung (1654-1664). The Prime

⁹⁴⁸ Asaratnam. 1984. "The Coromandel-Southeast Asia Trade", pp.126-9.

⁹⁴⁹ Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueredo*, pp.1-2.

⁹⁵⁰ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, p.47.

⁹⁵¹ Karaeng Pattingaloang was a polyglot and able to speak Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, and Arabic. He always practiced foreign languages with foreigners in the Somba Opu harbor. He was motivated to learn the European languages because he wanted to read western books. For him, European languages were a key to access the latest knowledge. He often ordered European books. He carefully read the books and attempted to acquire the European science. So, he mastered European

Ministers were fluent in foreign languages. They often intermediated the King of Makasar with the Portuguese and other foreign merchants⁹⁵².

Vieira arrived in Makasar on May 16, 1642. He presented an elephant to the king. Vieira's offer to serve the Sultan of Makasar was welcomed. The Sultan considered the Portuguese as the potential ally to tackle the growth of Dutch power in the Moluccas. Both Sultans, Mohamad Said (1639-1653) and Hasanuddin (1653-1669) granted Vieira a privilege as a royal diplomat and merchant. After gifting the Sultan of Makasar in 1642, Vieira was granted a position as a royal merchant. He also acted as a Makasarese ambassador to the Dutch company in Batavia. Vieira was nominated also as a Makasarese ambassador to the King of Golconda in Masulipatnam. He had the responsibility to intermediate the Sultan of Makasar and the King of Golconda. His privilege made it possible to establish the commercial circuits Makasar-Masulipatnam via Batavia; Masulipatnam-Macao via Malacca; and Macao-Makasar via Manila during the period 1642-1665⁹⁵³.

In 1647, the Sultan of Makasar sent Vieira as an envoy to claim his cargo that had been captured by the Dutch. The Dutch agreed to pay the Makasarese Sultan his cargo. They also lent him 3,000 reals to buy baubles as a gift for the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, and gave him a passage to circulate freely. In 1648, Vieira sailed back to Makasar and called at Bantam and Batavia. He acted as the envoy for the Sultan of Makasar and for the Portuguese viceroy in Goa. On May 23, 1648, he dispatched a ship on behalf of Karaeng Pattingaloang to Macao via Manila. His successful trade to Macao attracted King Mohammad Said, Prime Minister Karaeng Pattingaloang, and the Spanish Pedro de la Mata to invest their money in his cargo,

math and technology. He also discussed with the foreigners in Somba Opu harbor if he did not understand a matter in a book. The foreign knowledge also led him to compose the standing law for Makasarese trade and sailing. His effort succeeded to increase the growth of Makasar (Tika & Syam. 2007. *Karaeng Pattingaloang*, pp.20-38).

⁹⁵² Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueredo*, pp.2-4.

⁹⁵³ Furber. 1976. *Rival Empires of Trade*, p.269; Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueredo*, p.6.

laden by Indian textiles, so as to purchase gold, ginger, China-root, and other Chinese merchandises⁹⁵⁴.

In 1651, Vieira sailed again to India via Batavia. He tried to sell a cargo of sandalwood, cloves, benzoin, gold and reals in Batavia and Masulipatam. As an envoy of Makasarese sultanate, the Golcondo king welcomed Vieira and treated him kindly. He sailed back and reached Makasar in 1652. The Sultan of Makasar was happy to receive him back. He wanted to invest his money in Vieira's cargo. On July 9, 1652, Vieira sent two ships laden with gold, pepper, cloves, benzoin, tutenaga, China-root, sappan, sandalwood, rice, and slaves. His ships were ceased by the Dutch in Japara⁹⁵⁵. The Dutch could not stop to consider Makasar as a threat for their spice monopoly. The Dutch forced the Sultan of Makasar to expel all Portuguese from Makasar, on the aftermath of the Dutch blockade from 1650s to 1660s which forced him to sign the treaty of Bongaya in 1668⁹⁵⁶.

The commercial and diplomatic path of Francisco Vieira de Figueredo was nevertheless impressive and quite illustrative of the role of individuals in establishing and keeping trade networks in the Asian seas, even during and after the fall of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* and its formal possessions in the East and Far East. He created and maintained multi-cultural and informal networks that were able to maintain important commercial flows involving trans-cultural connections.

⁹⁵⁴ Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueredo*, pp.3-7; Souza. 2004. *The Survival of Empire*, p.101.

⁹⁵⁵ Boxer. 1967. *Francisco Vieira de Figueredo*, pp.8-9.

⁹⁵⁶ Villiers. 1985. *East of Malacca*, pp.49-50.

5. Claiming Malaccan Successor, Resisting to European Malacca: The Political Economy of the Malay States during the 16th-17th Centuries

This chapter elaborates on the political economy of three sultanates: Samudra-Pasai, Johor and Aceh during the 16th-17th centuries. Over the Europeans rule in Malacca, three Malay sultanates attempted to replace Malacca's position and claimed its sovereignty to control the Straits of Malacca. Pasai, founded in the 13th century, could not compete and preferred to establish a trade network with the Portuguese. However, the Aceh Sultanate expanded its sphere of influence in Sumatra and captured Pasai in 1524. Aceh also attempted to control the straits and frequently invaded Malacca. Aceh failed to take Malacca, but the Johor Sultanate, assisted by the Dutch, succeeded in forcing the Portuguese to surrender. During the Dutch rule in Malacca, Johor had a privilege to welcome trans-national merchants in Batu Sawar and trade in the Malay World. If Johor became prosperous, Aceh encountered its decline after handling various internal political upheavals. Attentive to these considerations, this chapter will be divided into three sub-chapters: (1) Samudra-Pasai Sultanate; (2) Johor Sultanate; and (3) Aceh Sultanate. Each sub-chapter will provide the political-economic growth of the sultanates and its relationship with the Europeans in Malacca. This chapter will thus introduce, in detail, as main players, some Malay states which deserve, by their own, further explanatory analysis able to enlighten the struggle for the domain of the Straits of Malacca.

5.1. Samudra-Pasai Sultanate⁹⁵⁷

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss the political economy of Samudra-Pasai Sultanate. The second section attempts to highlight Luso-Pasai encounter and dispute. The final section discusses the fall of Samudra-Pasai Sultanate.

⁹⁵⁷ The earliest version of this sub chapter was presented at EuroSEAS Conference, organised by European Association for Southeast Asian Studies (EuroSEAS), Olomouc, 7-10 September 2021.

5.1.1. Political Economy of Samudra-Pasai Sultanate

Samudra-Pasai Sultanate was located in North Sumatra. Situated in the junction between Peusangon and Pasai Rivers, Pasai had fertile land and produced rice and pepper. Besides the agricultural products, Pasai also controlled the hinterland of Gayo and transported all jungle products via the river on the way to the port city of Pasai. The availability of the pepper attracted the Arab and the Chinese merchants to Pasai. The presence of Arab merchants in Pasai fastened its growth⁹⁵⁸.

The Arabs began to populate Pasai in the late 13th century. The Arabs of Mecca followed the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad and Islamised the Samudra-Pasai kingdom. The Muslim envoys, under Shaikh Ismail, went to Pasai and persuaded the local chief, Merah Silu, to embrace Islam. Merah Silu dreamed of meeting Prophet Muhammad and embraced Islam. The envoys also promoted Silu's kingdom as a sultanate and appointed Merah Silu as the first sultan. Merah Silu received the title of Sultan Malik Al-Saleh. Shaikh Ismail also ordered all Pasai inhabitants to recite the profession of faith. The whole population willingly repeated the *shahadat* words⁹⁵⁹. Therefore, the town of Pasai was given the name of Darul-Islam⁹⁶⁰.

Sultan Malik Al-Saleh (1267-1297) tried to expand his sphere of influence. He and his officials went to Perlak and presented a gift to the Perlak King. The Pasai Sultan proposed to one of the king's daughters, who accepted his proposal. The Pasai Sultan married the third daughter of the King of Perlak, Princess Genggang, after which he returned to his palace. Pasai became a powerful sultanate in the north of Sumatra⁹⁶¹. The traffic town of Pasai attracted multi-national merchants. Muslim merchant communities were the main ones. The Muslim merchants from the land above the winds adopted the local language and customs. They also married the local women,

⁹⁵⁸ Ismail. 1997. *Pasai dalam Perjalanan Sejarah*, pp.7-10.

⁹⁵⁹ The Islamic shahadat or the profession of faith is "*Asyhadu an laa illaha illahaahu, wa asyhaduanna muhammadan abduhu wa rasullullah*" (I bear witness that there is no other god except Allah he is one without partner, and I testify that Muhammad (Peace be upon him) is his servant and messenger).

⁹⁶⁰ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", pp.116-9; Shellabear (Ed). 2006. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.51-2; Dunn. 2012. *The Adventure of Ibn Battuta*, p.289; Di Meglio. 1970. "Arab Trade with the Malay and Indonesian Peninsula", p.117.

⁹⁶¹ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", pp.120-2.

owned many slaves, and conducted trade with the locals. They had a good relationship with the local chief. Therefore, they gained a good position and were well-supported by the locals⁹⁶². The Indian vessels from the Coromandel Coast came to search for gold in Pasai. The Keling merchants carried the various kinds of Indian textiles and exchanged for gold and other local products of Pasai⁹⁶³.

The Chinese vessels coming back from the Coromandel Coast anchored at Samudra-Pasai in 1282 before sailing to China. The Pasai Sultan sent his envoys, Husain and Sulaiman, along with the Chinese vessels to the court of Kubilai Khan. In 1286, Pasai also sent its envoys to offer a tribute to China⁹⁶⁴. In 1292, the Persian envoys embarked from Cathay to Persia. During the voyage, they called at Perlak and Sumatera (Samudra-Pasai) before entering the Indian Ocean. The great khan, Kubilai Khan, instructed his Venetian envoy to accompany them. The Chinese-Venetian envoy, named Marco Polo, resided in Pasai for five months. Marco Polo and his company bartered their products for food (fish, rice, and local wine) and other things. According to Marco Polo, Pasai had a rich and powerful king, but Pasai submitted to the great khan⁹⁶⁵.

After Sultan Malik Al-Saleh died in 1297, the crown prince ascended the throne and received the title of Sultan Muhammad Malik Al-Dhahir (1297-1326). Sayed Ali Ghiyatuddin accompanied Sultan Muhammad Malik as a chief minister. Under the reign of Sultan Muhammad Malik, Pasai was inhabited by a lot of prosperous people. The King of Siam saw Pasai as a threat. The Siamese king sent a fleet to invade Pasai and down-graded Pasai to be one of his tributary vassals. The Siamese troops could be easily defeated. Besides Siam, Pasai should have had a battle with Lamuri in 1321. Pasai should secure its market to attract foreign merchants to conduct a trade. At that

⁹⁶² Hill. 1963. "The Coming of Islam to North Sumatra", p.9.

⁹⁶³ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", p.123.

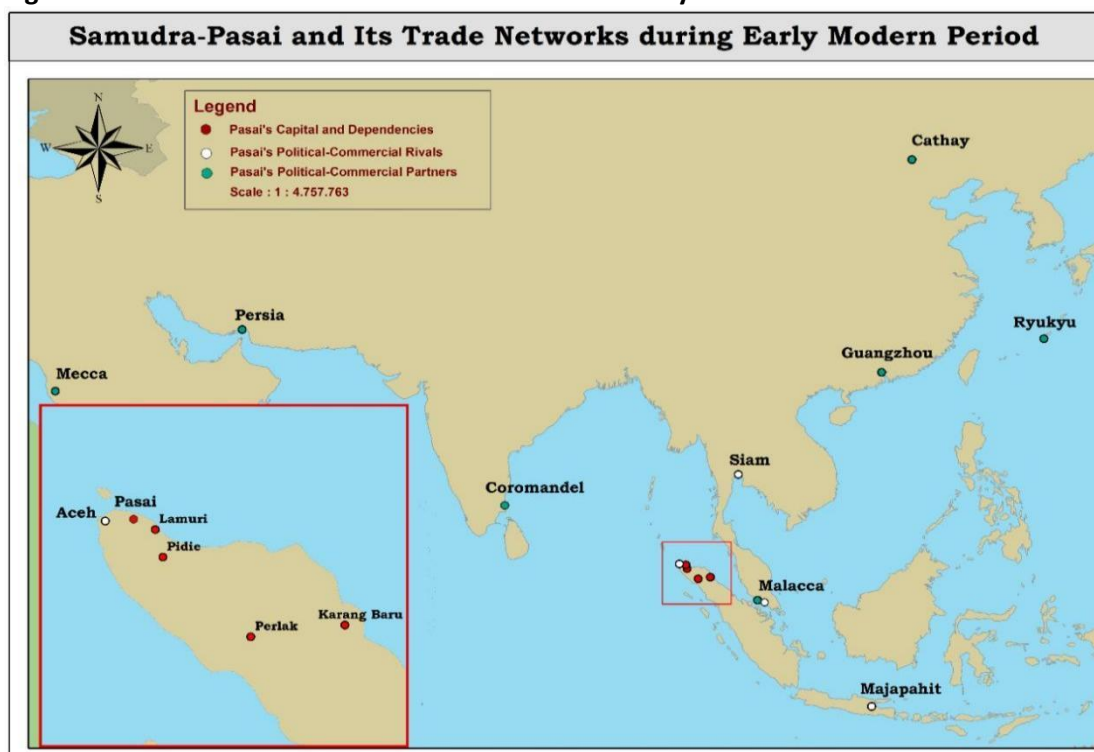
⁹⁶⁴ Hill. 1963. "The Coming of Islam to North Sumatra", p.6-7; Hall. 1981. "Trade and Statecraft in the Western Archipelago", p.29; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, p.33.

⁹⁶⁵ Cliff (Ed). 2015. *Marco Polo the Travels*, p.279; Komroff (Ed). 2002. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, pp.276-7; Hall. 1981. "Trade and Statecraft in the Western Archipelago", p.29.

time, the town of Pasai became a central market of foodstuffs in the Straits of Malacca and became even more prosperous for several decades⁹⁶⁶.

After the second ruler fell sick and died, his son became the third sultan in 1326. He received the title of Sultan Ahmad I (1326-?). He led his troops to enlarge his sultanate and defeated the Karang Baru Kingdom in Tamiang. His death was a mystery, and he was replaced by Sultan Malik Al-Dhahir II (?-1349)⁹⁶⁷. During his reign, Samudra-Pasai was visited by Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Moroccan, in 1345. Ibn Battuta and his companions entered the town of Pasai, a big city with wooden walls and towers. Ibn Battuta praised Sultan Malik as a religious man. He also thanked him for a junk with some provisions, for instance, incense, camphor, cloves and Indian aloes. Ibn Battuta could not sail to China and directed his boat to Java⁹⁶⁸.

Figure 29 Samudra-Pasai and Its Trade Networks in Early Modern Period



Sources: Author's map based on Gibb & Beckingham (Eds) (1994); Hill (Ed) (1960); Ismail (1997); Shellabear (Ed) (2008); Hill (1963); Yule (Ed) (1914); Pires (1946); Kobata & Matsuda

⁹⁶⁶ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", pp.125-7; Shellabear (Ed). 2006. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.57-60; Hill. 1963. "The Coming of Islam to North Sumatra", p.12; Yule (Ed). 1914. *The Travels of Fr. Odoric*, II, pp.146-150; Hall. 1981. "Trade and Statecraft in the Western Archipelago", p.25.

⁹⁶⁷ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", pp.133-4.

⁹⁶⁸ Gibb & Beckingham (Eds). 1994. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, IV, pp.876-880.

(Eds) (1969).

Sultan Zainal Abidin I (1349-1406) replaced his father and ruled Pasai in 1349. He encountered a problematic situation when Majapahit arrived to invade Pasai in 1350. Majapahit succeeded in forcing Pasai as its vassal⁹⁶⁹. For decades, Javanese merchants from Majapahit set Pasai as their transit port before sailing to the Indian Ocean and as their commercial market to barter their products to Indian merchandises. The rise of Malacca during the 15th century led Pasai to adapt. After the Javanese preferred to trade in Malacca, Pasai also linked its trade network to Malacca. Its merchants purchased Javanese products in Malacca and brought it to Pasai⁹⁷⁰.

Besides joining Islamic trade networks, Pasai also submitted to the Ming Dynasty and joined the Chinese tributary system. The Pasai-Ming trade network began when the Chinese Emperor sent envoys to present gifts to the Pasai King in 1404. When the Chinese returned to China, the Pasai King sent his envoys along with them. In 1405, Admiral Zheng He and his fleet called at Pasai before sailing to the Indian Ocean⁹⁷¹. In 1409, Pasai sent its envoys to offer the tribute of local products to the Chinese court. The Chinese Emperor received them and granted them some precious goods. The Pasai envoys returned in 1412. In 1415, Admiral Zheng He and his fleet arrived in Pasai. Besides giving some presents to Pasai King, he also sent his men to imprison criminals in Pasai. The Pasai King and his descendants began to send tribute to China regularly⁹⁷².

In 1426, Pasai envoys were sent to China. However, the Pasai King did not send his envoys in 1430. The Chinese Emperor sent Admiral Zheng He to remind the Pasai King of his tributary duty. However, the Chinese ceased sending their ships since 1433, but Pasai continued sending its envoys to China in 1433 and 1434⁹⁷³. The private Chinese merchants and other Chinese tributary states remained to visit Pasai. One of the

⁹⁶⁹ Hill (Ed). 1960. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", pp.153-165; Ismail. 1997. *Pasai dalam Perjalanan Sejarah*, p.24.

⁹⁷⁰ Pires. 1946. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.II, pp.239-241.

⁹⁷¹ Ming Shi Lu in NMAM, p.89.

⁹⁷² Ying-yai Sheng-lan in NMAM, p.86.

⁹⁷³ Ming Shi Lu in NMAM, pp.90-1.

Chinese tributary states, the Ryukyu Kingdom, sent its envoys to offer presents and establish a peace and trade treaty with Pasai during the 1460s. Ryukyu went to Pasai three times in 1463, 1467, and 1468, and carried satins, vases, swords, and bowls⁹⁷⁴.

In the early 16th century, the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511. The Muslims escaped and populated Pasai, and Pasai complicated the Portuguese to control the Malacca Straits. The Portuguese decided to invade Pasai in 1521. The Portuguese-Pasai no longer existed, and Aceh went to take over Pasai in 1524⁹⁷⁵.

5.1.2. Luso-Pasai Encounter and Dispute

The Portuguese attempted to extend their network to China after they captured Malacca in 1511. They used Sumatran pepper to be exchanged in the Chinese market. The Portuguese Governor in India instructed the Portuguese Captain in Malacca to import pepper from Pasai. Jorge de Brito and Pedro Pais were instructed, successively in 1512 and 1513, to purchase pepper from Pasai and brought it to Malacca before exporting it to China. The Portuguese Captain in Malacca instructed the Bendahara to lead the Portuguese expedition to China⁹⁷⁶.

In 1514, Afonso de Albuquerque dispatched Jorge de Albuquerque with four vessels and two hundred men. The Portuguese fleet crossed the Bay of Bengal and entered the Straits of Malacca. When the Portuguese arrived in Pasai, the King was preparing to defend his kingdom from the prince's rebellion. The Pasai King welcomed and asked for the Portuguese protection. The Portuguese captain did not recommend helping Pasai, considering the risks outweighed the advantages. Still, Jorge de Albuquerque, as the captain-major, decided to offer assistance to Pasai. The Luso-Pasai forces

⁹⁷⁴ Kobata & Matsuda (Eds). 1969. *An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan*, pp.169-171.

⁹⁷⁵ Hill. 1963. "The Coming of Islam to North Sumatra", p.18; Hall. 1981. "Trade and Statecraft in the Western Archipelago", p.30; Ismail. 1997. *Pasai dalam Perjalanan Sejarah*, p.25; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, p.31; Pires. 1946. *Suma Oriental* (Edited by Cortesão), Vol.I, p.142.

⁹⁷⁶ Carta de Fernão Peres de Andrade, Capitão das Molucas, para o Governador da Índia, em que dá conta de varios sucessos da guerra naquella archipelago, 22 de Fevereiro de 1513, ANTT, CC, p.1, Maç.12, d.56, Published in CAA, III, pp.51-65; Carta de Ruy de Brito a Afonso de Albuquerque sobre Cousas de Malaca, 6 Janeiro 1514, ANTT, CC, p.1, Maç.12, D.73, Published in CAA, III, pp.216-231; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, p.76.

succeeded in defending Pasai. Jorge de Albuquerque and his fleet continued sailing and arrived in Malacca, where Jorge de Albuquerque replaced Rui de Brito as the new captain of Malacca in 1514⁹⁷⁷.

Jorge de Albuquerque inserted Pasai in the Portuguese commercial world. Besides sending the factor and scrivener to Pegu, he also sent Gaspar Machado and Pedro Pessoa to Pasai as factor and scrivener, respectively. The Portuguese tried to export Sumatran pepper from Pasai. In 1516, Gaspar Machado dispatched some junks, laden with pepper to Bengal and China⁹⁷⁸.

The Portuguese in Malacca started to tighten the Straits of Malacca in 1516. The Portuguese Captain in Malacca instructed Manuel Falcão to patrol and force all ships passing the channels to call at Malacca. All ships were also forced to pay the tribute of five hundred cruzados. Manuel Falcão also went to Pasai and collected five hundred cruzados and pepper tribute from the king⁹⁷⁹. Sultan Zainal Abidin IV of Pasai felt that Falcão conducted his duty beyond his authority. Falcão could not force all ships, which wanted to call at Pasai, to Malacca. His corrupted action caused a financial loss for Pasai and destroyed the Luso-Pasai good relations. The Pasai Sultan charged the Portuguese admiral to reconsider their agreed peace and trade treaty⁹⁸⁰.

Fernão Pires de Andrade, with his fleet, sailed from Portugal and called at Pasai on his way to China in 1516. In Pasai, he sent Giovanni de Empoli as an envoy to the Pasai King and gave the royal letter to the Pasai King. The Portuguese King, in the royal letter, desired to establish a factory in Pasai. The Pasai King granted the factory and promised to erect it soon. After loading pepper in Pasai, Andrade and his fleet

⁹⁷⁷ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, pp.76-7.

⁹⁷⁸ Carta do Capitão de Malaca, Jorge de Albuquerque, para el-rey Dom Manuel, sobre os seus actos no desempanho desse cargo, 8 Janeiro 1515, ANTT, CC, p.1, Maç.17, D.37, Published in CAA, III, pp.133-9; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, pp.76-7; Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, p.105.

⁹⁷⁹ Carta de Pedro de Faria a el-rei, na qual lhe falava a respeito da fortaleza da Malaca, 5 Janeiro 1517, Published in AGTT, VI, pp.337-359; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, p.78.

⁹⁸⁰ Carta do Sultão de Samudera-Pacém ao Capitão-Mor em 1516, AN/TT, Cartas Orientais, No.59, Published in DAPHP, pp.12-130 and in Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, pp.228-230.

continued sailing to Malacca and China. On his return from China in May 1517, Andrade also anchored and stayed in Malacca and Pasai. During his stay in Pasai, Andrade had sufficient time to conduct pepper trade between Pasai and India from December 1516 to June 1517⁹⁸¹.

The Pasai Sultan continued welcoming the Portuguese merchants and officials. In 1518, the Portuguese Governor in India, Lopo Soares, sent Dom Aleixo de Menezes to Malacca. Besides gathering information related to Fernão Peres de Andrade, who did not go to Goa, Menezes also went to control Malacca as the new captain. Menezes departed from Cochin and called at Pasai before stationing at Malacca. Menezes merely resided four days in Pasai. During his short time in Pasai, he got some information related to the incapability of Nuno Vaz Pereira to control Malacca and the Johorese siege of Malacca⁹⁸². In 1518, The Portuguese captain of Malacca, Nuno Vaz Pereira, sent the Malacca fleet to carry the pepper to China. Between May and June 1519, The Portuguese factor Jorge Mesurado purchased two cargoes of pepper to be loaded in the ships of *Santa Bárbara* to Pegu and *Santiago* to China⁹⁸³.

The Luso-Pasai dispute emerged when Sultan Zainal Abidin IV of Pasai dictated all officials and merchants to follow his rule. Considering sultan's vision threatened Portuguese commercial affairs in the Malacca Straits, the Portuguese planned to invade Pasai. In June 1521, Jorge de Albuquerque and his fleet arrived in Pasai. The Pasai Sultan was aware of the Portuguese intention. The Portuguese and their allies tried to negotiate with the Pasai Sultan. However, the negotiation ended with a failure. The sultan refused the Portuguese proposal and declared war. He defended Pasai, but the Portuguese had more sophisticated artilleries and assistance from the foreign merchants in Pasai and the Aru troops. Jorge de Albuquerque defeated the Pasai

⁹⁸¹ Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, p.79; Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, p.102.

⁹⁸² Carta de Simão Andrade a el-rei D. Manuel a respeito da Índia, 10 Agosto 1518, Published in AGTT, V, pp.123-7; Smith. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations, and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia*, pp.80-1.

⁹⁸³ Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, p.102.

Sultanate and dethroned Sultan Zainal Abidin. Albuquerque installed Raja Kamis as the puppet sultan to serve the Portuguese Crown⁹⁸⁴.

During the Portuguese rule in Pasai, the political upheavals in North Sumatra heated. In 1520, the Acehnese began to invade Pidie. However, the Portuguese sent some forces to defend Pidie, yet the Acehnese could destroy Luso-Pidie forces. The Acehnese hunted Pidie King and his men escaping to Pasai⁹⁸⁵. The Acehnese surrounded the Luso-Pidie men in Pasai. In 1523, the Acehnese burned the Pasai town and forced the Portuguese to surrender⁹⁸⁶. The Portuguese could defend the fort, but they did not have sufficient supplies and ammunition. The Portuguese decided to burn their defence and left Pasai. The Acehnese took this golden opportunity to occupy Pasai in 1524⁹⁸⁷.

5.1.3. The Fall of Samudra-Pasai Sultanate

The rise of Aceh led the Portuguese-Pasai into its fall in 1524. When the Portuguese entered the Malay World, Aceh was under Pidie. The Pidie King placed his freed slave to be a ruler in Aceh. However, the Acehnese ruler's son, Raja Ibrahim, replaced his father and turned Aceh into an offensive kingdom. After embracing Islam, Raja Ibrahim received the title of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah. He led his men to release Aceh from Pidie in 1520. Pidie King asked the Portuguese protection in Pasai. António de Miranda de Azevedo sent his troops to Pidie. Even so, the Acehnese destroyed the Portuguese-Pidie forces. Pidie King and his men escaped to Pasai⁹⁸⁸.

The Acehnese prepared to invade the Portuguese fort in Pasai. The Portuguese commander in Pasai, Dom André Henriques, had merely few soldiers. He asked the Portuguese in Chittagong for assistance. His aid from Chittagong was captured by the

⁹⁸⁴ Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, pp.97-9.

⁹⁸⁵ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.356; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.333-4.

⁹⁸⁶ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.356; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, p.336; Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, pp.109-111.

⁹⁸⁷ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.357; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto (Eds). 2010. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*, p.28; Azra & Burhanudin (Eds). 2012. *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.23; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.335-8.

⁹⁸⁸ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.356; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.333-4.

Portuguese pirates. Aceh surrounded the Portuguese fort and started to burn the city of Pasai. Fifteen thousand Acehnese troops succeeded in forcing Dom André to surrender. He preferred to escape with his treasure to the west of India in 1523. He facilitated Daya and Pasai Kings to Aru and sent Pasai King and his royal family to Malacca. He also handed over the Portuguese fort in Pasai to his brother in law, Aires Coelho, after Lopo de Azevedo decided to leave Pasai for Malacca⁹⁸⁹.

Eight thousand Acehnese men surrounded three hundred and fifty Portuguese soldiers in the fort. With seven hundred scaling ladders, the Acehnese climbed the walls and attacked the Portuguese inside the fort. Outside the defence, the Portuguese ships began to fire and force the Acehnese backward. The Portuguese still survived but had to consider abandoning the defence. They did not have sufficient supplies and ammunition to defend their position in Pasai. They loaded all goods and garrisons on board the ships. The Portuguese also burned their fort of Pasai. They did not realise that some assistance from Malacca and Aru was going to Pasai. The Aru King and four thousand men sailed to Pasai. At the same time, Lopo de Azevedo was coming from Malacca with supplies and ammunition. Knowing that the Portuguese left Pasai, Aceh began to occupy and took Pasai as one of its vassals⁹⁹⁰.

5.2. Johor Sultanate

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss Johor Sultanate and the geopolitics of the Malacca Straits during the 16th-17th centuries. The second section discusses Dutch-Johor partnership and dispute.

5.2.1. Johor Sultanate and the Geopolitics of the Malacca Straits

The foundation of Johor was related to the escape of Sultan Mahmud after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. The Malays travelled inland and stopped at Bertam. Sultan Mahmud and his followers continued his journey to Batu Hampar. They

⁹⁸⁹ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.356; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, p.336; Alves. 1999. *O Dominio do Norte de Samatra*, pp.109-111.

⁹⁹⁰ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.357; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto (Eds). 2010. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*, p.28; Azra & Burhanudin (Eds). 2012. *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.23; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.335-8.

left Sultan Mahmud's son, Sultan Ahmad, and his men in Bertam. Sultan Ahmad intended to return to Malacca after the Portuguese had looted and left Malacca, what did not happen, since the Portuguese did not leave Malacca and erected a stone fortress. Sultan Ahmad instructed his men to establish defence infrastructure in Bertam. He planned to attack Malacca when he had already strengthened his security and military power. The growth of Bertam attracted Albuquerque to invade his former enemy. The Portuguese destroyed the city and forced the Malays to escape further upstream⁹⁹¹.

Sultan Ahmad and his men joined his father in Batu Hampar. They went upstream of Muar before sailing downstream to Johor. In June 1512, they settled in Pagoh and erected a fortress in Bentayan. Sultan Mahmud communicated secretly with the Javanese chief in Malacca, Utimutaraja, who informed that the Portuguese forces were weak and asked the sultan to attack Malacca. When the Malays prepared their military forces, Albuquerque suddenly sent his troops to attack Pagoh and defeat the Malays. The Malays retreated to Pahang⁹⁹² before going to Bintan and back to Muar. In Muar, Sultan Mahmud re-established his rule in Pagoh and Bentayan. The sultan instructed Hang Nadim to attack Malacca. The Malay naval fleet fought with the Portuguese vessels, commanded by Fernão Pires de Andrade, nearby the north of Muar Estuary. The Portuguese defeated and forced them back to Muar. The Portuguese continually invaded Pagoh in August 1512 and expelled the Malays from Muar⁹⁹³.

In 1513, Sultan Mahmud killed his son, Sultan Ahmad, and re-established his rule in Bentan, at Kopak, where he resided until 1519. He composed the political administration and appointed Tun Khoja Ahmad as the new Bendahara and Hang Nadim as the new admiral. Johor still inherited Malacca's possession of Kuala Muar, Pagoh, Kuala Selangor, Beruas, Manjung, Lingga, and Indragiri. Johor had sufficient

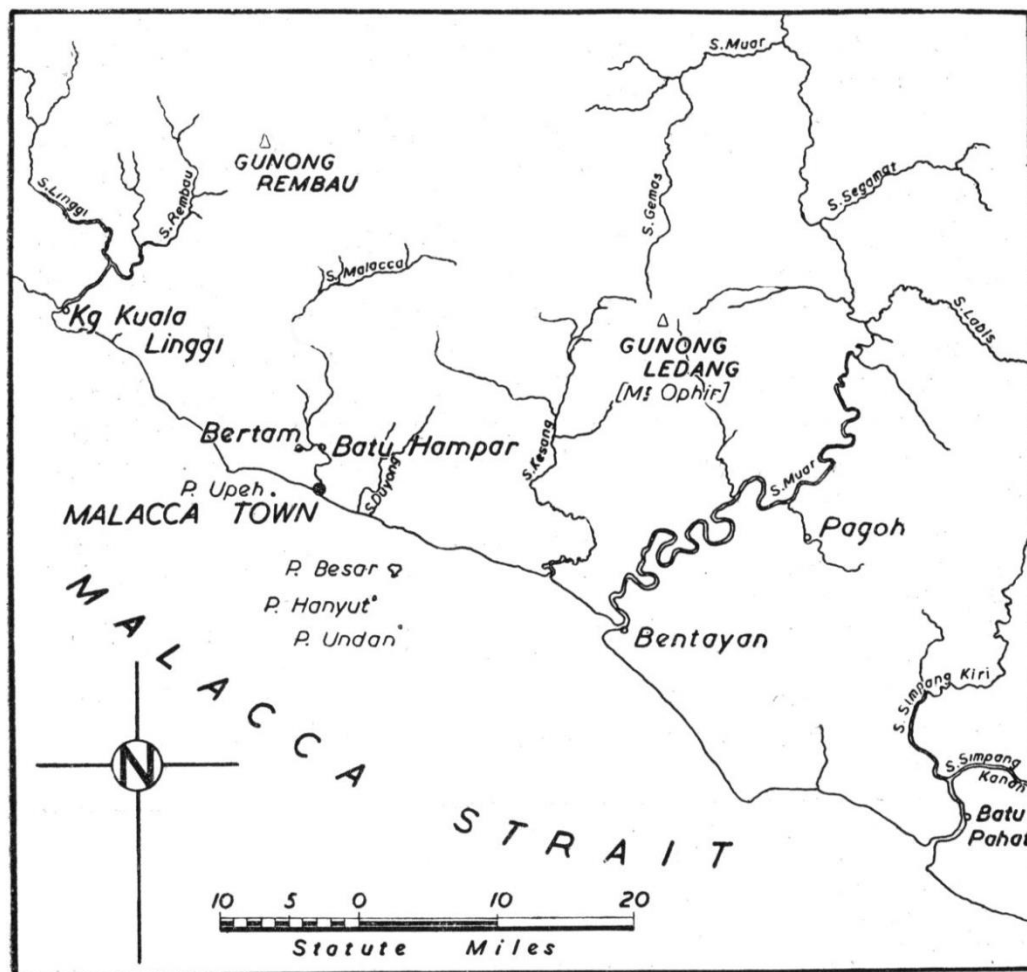
⁹⁹¹ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.270; Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, p.69; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.12; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.5.

⁹⁹² When Sultan Mahmud was in Pahang, he sent his envoys to China. He asked for the Chinese protection. However, the Chinese refused helping them due to the Chinese having also been threatened by their rival (Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, p.133).

⁹⁹³ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.271; Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.70-1; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.12; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.6.

men and military power to invade the Portuguese. Between 1516 and 1518, the Malay vessels were sent to Kuala Muar. The Malays blocked all ships laden with food to Malacca. The Malay blockade forced the Portuguese to import food from Pegu and also invaded Malacca. Hang Nadim and his naval forces failed to defeat the Portuguese and returned to Bintan⁹⁹⁴.

Figure 30 Some places visited by Sultan Mahmud and his royal family



Source: Map reproduced from Macgregor (1955, p.57).

⁹⁹⁴ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.271-2; Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.71-2; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.12-4; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.8-9

In 1519, Sultan Mahmud returned to Muar and strengthened his stockade at Pagoh and Kuala Muar. He also prepared his men to attack Malacca. The sultan did not realise that the Portuguese were sailing to attack Pagoh. Fortunately, the Malays could defend Pagoh and defeat the Portuguese. Sultan Mahmud sent several expeditions to Malacca, but his armada failed the capture. The Malay invasion had stopped the food supply to the town of Malacca. In May 1519 and June 1520, the Portuguese sent their envoys to Burma asking for food. In 1520, the Portuguese captain in Malacca, Garcia de Sá, instructed António Correia to lead five hundred soldiers to invade Pagoh. The Portuguese could destroy Pagoh and forced Sultan Mahmud to retreat to Bintan⁹⁹⁵.

In 1521, Sultan Mahmud took revenge and invaded Malacca. He sent the fleet under Paduka Tuan, Sultan Abdul Jalil, Tun Mahmud, and Admiral Hang Nadim to attack Malacca. The Malays invaded Malacca by land and sea, but they failed to defeat the Portuguese. In the same year, Jorge de Albuquerque led the fleet of eighteen vessels and six hundred soldiers to attack Bintan. The Portuguese faced in difficulties in capturing Bintan. The Malays had already strengthened their defence. They erected two forts of Kota Kora and Kopak. The Portuguese realised their failure and returned to Malacca⁹⁹⁶. Other Portuguese invasions of Bintan happened in 1523 and 1524. Both attacks failed to capture Bintan. The Portuguese succeeded in capturing Bintan after a Portuguese fleet from Malacca aided by Goa came with twenty-five large vessels and one thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers. In October 1526, the Portuguese destroyed Bengkalis before capturing Kota Kora and Kopak. Sultan Mahmud succeeded in escaping to Kampar. Considering Sultan Abdullah of Kampar served the Portuguese, the people of Kampar raised Sultan Mahmud as their king. Sultan Mahmud resided there until he died in 1528⁹⁹⁷.

Raja Ali replaced his father's throne and got the title of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II (1528-1564). Sultan Alauddin decided to leave Kampar. For him, Kampar was not safe

⁹⁹⁵ Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.72-3

⁹⁹⁶ Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.73-4; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, p.134; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.12-3.

⁹⁹⁷ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.275-281 & p.287; Adil 1974. *The History of Malacca*, pp.74-5; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.129-130 & p.134; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.12; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.9-12.

to stay. Minangkabau and the Portuguese in Malacca threatened his palace. He and his men returned to Johor and erected a castle in Johor⁹⁹⁸. Johor changed its foreign policy during his rule after Dom Estevão da Gama forced Johor to surrender in 1536. Along with the Malay league comprising Aru, Perak, and Pahang, Johor accepted a conditional treaty with the Portuguese⁹⁹⁹.

The Luso-Malay commercial partnership was established after Johor led Pahang, Perak, and Aru to supply the retail market in Malacca. However, the Acehnese saw their friendship as a threat. When the Acehnese invaded Aru in 1540, the Luso-Malay forces helped Aru to defend its town. The Luso-Malay peace treaty broke down when Johor and its Islamic league invaded Malacca in 1551. Johor led Jepara, Pahang, Perak, and Beruas to besiege the Portuguese fortress on Friday, July 3, 1551. They were around ten or twelve thousand men. On Saturday night, they invaded the eastern part of the Portuguese fortress. They combated with the Portuguese soldiers for two or three hours¹⁰⁰⁰.

After the battle in the east of the fortress ended, the Malay-Javanese forces realised the powerful Portuguese soldiers on the bridge of Malacca, linking the commercial town and the fort. The Portuguese began to fire and murder the Malay-Javanese troops one by one¹⁰⁰¹. After the Islamic union could not defeat the Portuguese fortress, they ran the trench warfare and dug the trench to surround the Portuguese defence. During wartime, Malacca inhabitants could not move out to fill their daily needs and find the spices, and they suffered and were starving. Fortunately, the inhabitant still had a lot of wheat and the sweet fruit of date¹⁰⁰².

⁹⁹⁸ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, pp.289-293; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.15; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.130-2.

⁹⁹⁹ Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, p.135; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.18-9; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.19-22.

¹⁰⁰⁰ A Carta do Francisco Peres a o Rey, 24 November 1551, BAL 49-IV-49, fl.131v - 134, Published in DHMPPPI, II, No.9, p.57; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.24-5.

¹⁰⁰¹ A Carta do Francisco Peres a o Rey, 24 November 1551, BAL 49-IV-49, fl.131v - 134, Published in DHMPPPI, II, No.9, pp.59-60.

¹⁰⁰² A Carta do Francisco Peres a o Rey, 24 November 1551, BAL 49-IV-49, fls.131v-134, DHMPPPI, II, No.9, p.60.

In 1564-5, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah Al Kahar of Aceh instructed his men to invade the weakened Johor. The Johor people escaped and moved from Johor River to Seluyut Valley. Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Johor (1564-1570) continually motivated his people to survive under the Acehne threat. He died in 1570 and was replaced by his nine-years-old nephew, Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah. The movement of the Johor Lama to Seluyut was not a profitable decision. Johor lost its trading networks, considering Seluyut was far from the sea. The young sultan was poisoned and was replaced by Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah¹⁰⁰³.

In 1574, Aceh and Johor ceased their conflict and agreed on a peace treaty. The Acehne Sultan asked the prince of Johor to marry his daughter. The Portuguese did not like their partnership and decided to besiege Johor in 1576 and 1578. The position of Johor weakened after Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Aceh invaded Aru. The sultan of Johor instructed his men and requested the Portuguese Captain in Malacca to defend in Aru. The Luso-Malay could destroy the Acehne soldiers and defend Aru. The Luso-Johor partnership, however, did not run well. In 1586, Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II sent his naval ships to block any vessels carrying food to Malacca. In 1587, the Portuguese took revenge and invaded Johor. However, Johor could defeat the Portuguese, but the Portuguese second attack could bombard Johor. Sultan Ali Jalla retreated to Batu Sawar and resided there until he died in 1597¹⁰⁰⁴.

During the 16th century, Johor was inferior compared to Malacca and Aceh. Johor was surrounded by the Portuguese and the Acehne. The Portuguese invaded Johor in 1518, 1520, 1521, 1523, 1524, 1526, 1535, and 1587. Meanwhile, the Acehne attacked Johor in 1564-5, 1570, and 1582¹⁰⁰⁵. Entering the 17th century, Johor allied with the Dutch in 1606. They launched a joint attack on Malacca. However, they failed to capture Malacca, but they continued to trade in peace. Johor remained to be Aceh's

¹⁰⁰³ Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.304 & pp.308-310; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.152-5; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.25.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Memorials of Jacques de Coutre in JCSJ, pp.84-6; Shellabear (Ed). 2016. *Sejarah Melayu*, p.310; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Malacca*, p.150; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.155-7; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.24; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.25-7.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Borschberg. 2015. *Jacques de Coutre's Singapore and Johor*, pp.28-9; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, p.140.

shadow. The Acehnese invaded Johor in 1613, 1616 and 1623. During the reign of Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III (1623-1677), the Johor-Dutch partnership continued and succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Malacca in 1641. Johor got the privilege to trade in Malacca and passed the straits without paying the sea toll. Johor flourished and established its commercial networks during the second half of the 17th century¹⁰⁰⁶.

5.2.2. Johor-Dutch Partnership and Dispute

The Dutch-Johor trade network was established after the Dutch assisted the Johorese to invade Patani. In June 1602, Raja Bongsu, the brother of Johor Sultan, asked for help from the Dutch when the Dutch ship *Heemskerck* was sailing to Patani. The Dutch trading vessel instructed Raja Bongsu to send his envoys, Megat Mansur and Encik Kamar, to Holland. In return, Johor gave the Dutch the privilege to establish a trading factory. In 1603, Jacob Pietersz van Enkhuizen led a fleet of three trading ships in Batu Sawar. In Batu Sawar, Van Enkhuizen presented a silver-hilted Japanese sword and a musket to the sultan before trading in the market. When the Portuguese arrived to invade Batu Sawar, he instructed his ships to leave Batu Sawar as soon as possible. The Portuguese captain of Malacca, André Furtado de Mendoça, sent the vessel to block the Johor River and invade the Malay settlements between Johor Lama and Batu Sawar from October 1603 to early 1604. The Dutch regularly visited Johor in the following years. In 1604, Admiral Wijbrand van Warwijk and his fleet arrived in the Johor River. He presented gunpowder and some balls to the sultan. In return, he got two and a half bars of pepper. In 1605, the Dutch had secured their position in Johor. The Dutch tried to assist the Malays to defend Johor and blow the Portuguese invaders. The Dutch realised that they could not establish their trade networks in Asia if the Portuguese remained controlling the Asian waters¹⁰⁰⁷.

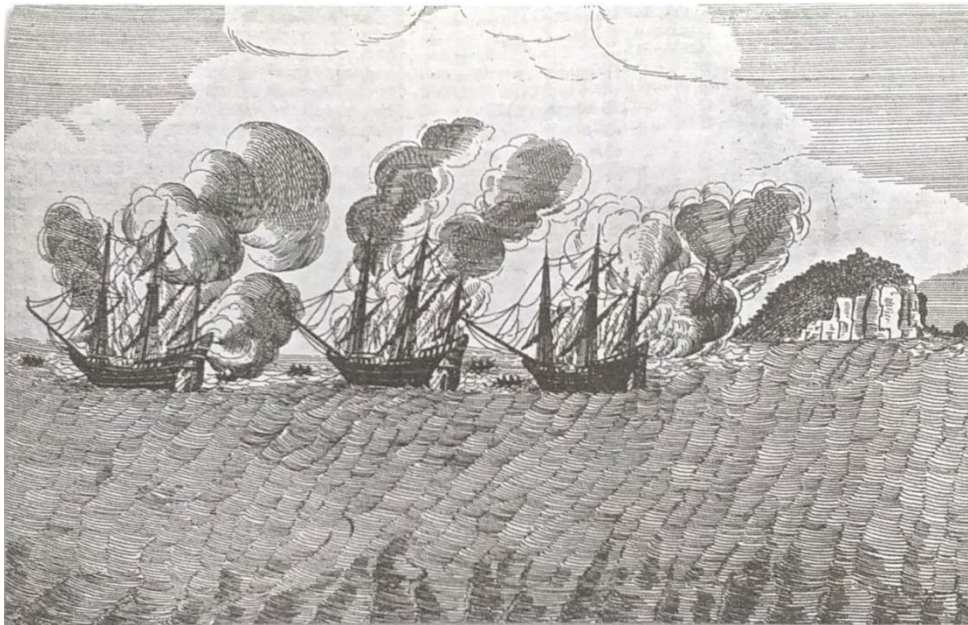
The Dutch States General instructed Admiral Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge to capture all the Portuguese fortresses. The admiral commanded eleven ships with one thousand

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.141-2; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Malacca*, pp.144-5.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Borschberg. 2015. *Jacques de Coutre's Singapore and Johor*, p.84; Borschberg. 2015. *Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, pp.64-5; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.26-7; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.55-7.

four hundred and forty men to sail to Asia via Annobon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. His fleet entered the Malacca Straits on 30 April 1606. The Dutch fleet also carried the Malay ambassador, Encik Kamar, on board. When the Dutch sailed to Malacca, the Dutch asked Encik Kamar to inform his sultan that the Dutch fleet had arrived. He also suggested the sultan assist the Dutch invasion of Malacca¹⁰⁰⁸.

Figure 31 Stranded Portuguese Vessels Burning off Malacca after an Attack by Matelieff



Sources: Picture reproduced from Commelin (1646, II, fols.38-39); Borschberg (2015, p.201).

When the Dutch approached Malacca, they burned some vessels anchoring before the town. The Dutch fleet anchored at *Ilha das Naus* and instructed the Dutch soldiers to invade the city of Malacca. The Portuguese captain merely had a hundred and eighty Portuguese soldiers to defend Malacca. The lack of human resources led the captain to burn and abandon the suburbs on the northern and southern sides of the fortress. The Portuguese were cornered in the fort after the Johor troops went and besieged Malacca on May 17, 1606. Raja Bongsu and Alauddin Riayat Shah led fifty vessels carrying three thousand soldiers to Malacca. Before launching the joint assault of

¹⁰⁰⁸ Instructions of the Gentlemen XVII to Admiral Matelieff and His Board Council in JMLCMJ, p.383; Historical Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Matelieff to the East Indies in AMSJ, pp.87-9, in JMLCMJ, pp.141-4; Borschberg. 2015. *Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, pp.64-5.

Malacca, the Dutch and the Johor elites had a negotiation on the Dutch flagship to prepare a coordinated attack and agree on a peaceful and friendly treaty. The Dutch-Johor operation began on May 18, 1606¹⁰⁰⁹.

Figure 32 Bird's View of Malacca around the Time of Matelieff's Attack in 1606



Sources: Picture reproduced from Commelin (1646, II, fols.28-9); Borschberg (2015, p.174).

The Dutch-Johorese forces landed on shore and encountered the well-armed and poorly organised Luso-Asian troops. The Portuguese soldiers could destroy the Dutch-Johorese forces. The Dutch lost some men and started to doubt the Johorese usefulness. The Dutch kept blockading the port and continually shelled the town. Meanwhile, the Johorese and other Malay allies invaded Malacca over the land. During the siege, the Malacca fortress inhabitants suffered from plague and starvation

¹⁰⁰⁹ Historical Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Matelieff to the East Indies in AMSJ, pp.90-103; Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.31; Borschberg. 2015. *Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, pp.65-7; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.27.

because they ate dogs and rats. The inhabitants could merely survive when the Johorese plotted and supplied them with some foods¹⁰¹⁰.

The Portuguese relief from Goa arrived at Tanjung Tuan on August 14, 1606. The Portuguese fleet comprised fourteen galleons, four galleys, and smaller vessels. Those vessels carrying three thousand Luso-Indian armies encountered and confronted the Dutch armada on August 18, 1606. The Portuguese succeeded in firing the Dutch ships and murdering many Dutchmen. The Dutch decided to retreat to Johor River and shifted their strategy from capturing the Portuguese fortress to blockading the Portuguese shipping. The Dutch also attempted to renew the previous treaty with the Johor Sultanate. They agreed on a plan against the Portuguese-Malacca on September 23, 1606. Johor also permitted the Dutch to erect their trading base in Batu Sawar. The Dutch could establish stores and warehouses. They were also allowed to trade with the transnational merchants in Batu Sawar¹⁰¹¹.

The Dutch also negotiated the peace and trade treaty with Aceh in 1607. The Dutch brought some cannon and gun powder in exchange for Acehnese pepper¹⁰¹². They did not realise that the Acehnese Sultan intended to control the Straits of Malacca, as he invaded Johor in 1613. The Acehnese succeeded in destroying Johor and forcing Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Johor and his royal family to escape to Seluyut Valley. Sultan Iskandar Muda tried to establish a close relationship with the Johorese and instructed his officials to marry the Johorese women. These political marriages could not synchronise both Acehnese and Johorese vision. In 1614, Aceh failed to capture

¹⁰¹⁰ Historical Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Matelieff to the East Indies in JMLCMJ, pp.162-3; Borschberg. 2015. *Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, pp.67-8; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.29-30.

¹⁰¹¹ Historical Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Matelieff to the East Indies in AMSJ, pp.105-110; in JMLCMJ, pp.187-8; Excerpt of a Letter by Matelieff to Admiral Paul van Caerden in AMSJ, p.136; Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.33; Borschberg. 2015. *Journal, Memorials, and Letters of Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, pp.70-4; Batu Sawar had been a pepper trading centre from the second half of the 16th century. Batu Sawar competed with the Portuguese to sell pepper. Besides reaching Banten, Patani, Kedah, and Aceh, a lot of pepper from Jambi, Indragiri, and Siak came to Batu Sawar. The Indian and Dutch merchants could purchase pepper and sold their Indian textiles. Batu Sawar was also a marketplace for diamonds from Borneo. The high-quality diamonds were brought from Brunei Bay, Sukadana, Sambas, and Banjarmasin (Excerpt from Matelieff's 1607 Memorial on the State and Trade of the Indies in AMSJ, pp.121-134; Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, pp.62-72).

¹⁰¹² Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.65.

Malacca because the Johorese preferred to assist the Portuguese. In 1615-6, Sultan Iskandar Muda too revenge and sent a huge fleet to besiege Johor and captured the Johorese towns of Batu Sawar, Seluyut, and Lingga¹⁰¹³.

Considering the Dutch failure to take Malacca in 1606 and the unstable situation in Johor¹⁰¹⁴, the Dutch decided to establish their central base in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1619. The Dutch continually blocked and captured Portuguese shipping in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore¹⁰¹⁵. Since 1633, the Dutch positioned seven naval vessels in the Straits of Singapore, the mouth of the Johor River, and the north-north-eastern coast of Karimon. They could monitor all traffic passing through the Straits of Malacca¹⁰¹⁶.

The Dutch recognised the Luso-Aceh-Johor dispute and tried to gain the Johor-Aceh support to the siege of the Portuguese in Malacca. On one side, the Dutch remained neutral in the Aceh-Johor dispute; and kept the Johorese commitment. On the other side, the Dutch also sought the Acehnese assistance. The Acehnese Sultan was ready to reinforce the Dutch forces in Malacca. He could not assist the Dutch before Maharaja Lela returned to Aceh. Therefore, the Dutch merely relied on the Johorese support regarding the Malacca expedition¹⁰¹⁷.

During the rule of Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III (1623-1677), the Johor-Dutch partnership continued. The Dutch had regularly patrolled the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch Governor in Batavia instructed to block any relief from Goa and the food supply laden by the Javanese boats. The Dutch started to besiege Malacca when Sergeant-Major Adriaen Antonisz, accompanied by two hundred and forty-two sailors and ninety soldiers in four vessels, left Batavia on May 20, 1640 and landed in Malacca in June 1640. Johor sent forty naval boats with a thousand and five hundred men to assist the

¹⁰¹³ Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.72; Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.117-122; Lombard. 1991. *Kerajaan Aceh*, pp.122-3; Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian Trade and Politics*, p.78 & p.92; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.31-5; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.72.

¹⁰¹⁴ Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, p.109; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.63-4.

¹⁰¹⁵ Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", pp.1-45.

¹⁰¹⁶ Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", pp.13-16; Teixeira. 1961. *Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore*, p.279 & p.281; Cardon. 2016. *The Fall of Portuguese Malacca to the Dutch*, p.13; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", pp.2-3.

¹⁰¹⁷ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.11.

Dutch. The Johore vessels joined the Dutch squadron to terminate in Carimon in July 1640. These fleets were instructed to monitor anything entering and leaving the Straits of Malacca¹⁰¹⁸. Dutch-Malay successive blockades had weakened the Portuguese and led them to surrender Malacca. The Dutch celebrated their victory by entering the town and plundering all Portuguese property including gold and jewelry¹⁰¹⁹.

The Dutch gave Johor a privilege to trade in Malacca and pass the straits without paying the sea toll. In return, the Johorese also permitted the Dutch to trade in the capital of Johor and its dependencies. Johor transformed its port city into a commercial emporium. Johor linked its capital to its dependencies comprising Sungai Kelang, Kuala Tinggi, Sungai Siak, Sungai Kampar, Bengkalis, Ungaran, Karimun Island, Bintan, Lingga, Singapore, Rio Formosa, Sungai Batu Pahat, and Muar. Johor also expanded its sphere of influence to Selangor, Pahang, Trengganu, Siak, Rekan, Aru, and Indragiri¹⁰²⁰.

The Dutch-Johor partnership, however, was shaken when they had friction over the Siak trade. On one side, the Dutch-Malacca accessed the gold business without asking permission to Johor. On the other side, Johor claimed that Siak was under its reign. The Dutch-Batavia seemed to be neutral, considering Johor had assisted the Dutch conquest of Malacca. Johor began to dominate the Malay World¹⁰²¹. Under Dutch protection, Johor could guarantee the security of its port. Johor also lowered the commercial dues. In 1687, the Johorese capital of Riau at Bintan Island annually welcomed around five to six hundred trans-national trading vessels from Siam, China, Palembang, Manila, Aceh, Perak, Kedah, Siantan, Buton, Java, Malacca, Kampar, Trengganu, Pahang, Sedili, Dungun, Rembau, Muar, Bengkalis, Siak, Pulau Tinggi,

¹⁰¹⁸ Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.36; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", p.13; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.75-9.

¹⁰¹⁹ Basset. 1969. "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics", pp.435-6; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, p.77 Winstedt 1932. "A History of Johore", p.36; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, pp.26-7; Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca", pp.21-38 & p.58; Boxer. 1985. "Karl Marx and the Last Day of Portuguese-Malacca", pp.125-7.

¹⁰²⁰ Wahyudi. 2019. *Berebut Kuasa Malaka*, pp.141-2; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and The Straits of Malacca*, pp.144-5; Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.25; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", p.36.

¹⁰²¹ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.26; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, p.127 & p.148.

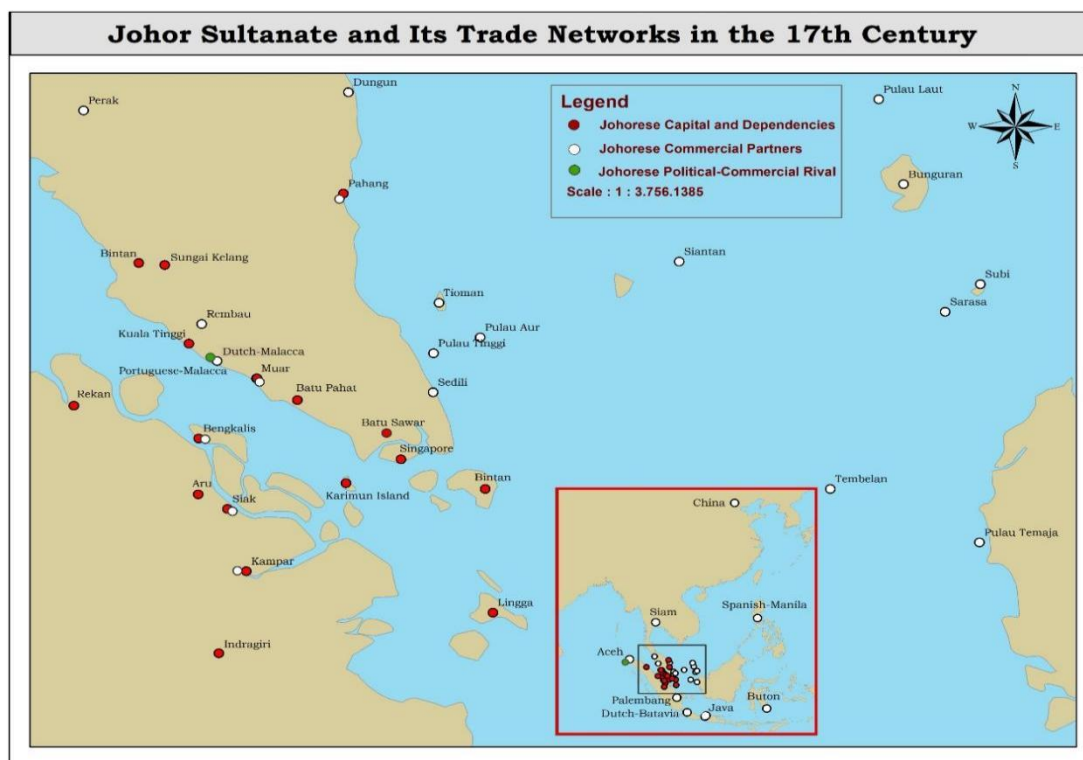
Tioman, Pulau Auer, Pulau Temaja, Bunguran, Pulau Laut, Sarasa, Subi, Tambelan, Sudala, and Lingga¹⁰²².

Besides arranging political marriages and sending the diplomatic envoys to the neighbouring states, Johor also sent its trading vessels to Batavia. In 1644, the Johorese royal court sent six trading boats to Batavia. Each Johorese ship carried fifteen to sixteen men and the cargo of sago, palm-matting, tin, rice, and salted fish. Merely a boat had sixty men and brought tin, rice, sago, and palm-matting cargo. In the same year, the sultan also sent another ship to Batavia. The sultan sent the envoys to present the local products of tin, pepper, camphor, and mats to Antonio van Diemen, the Batavian Governor-General. In 1648, the Johorese sultan continued maintaining the Dutch-Johor friendly trade. He sent Lela Wangsa and Tun Leia Pahlawan to submit to the Dutch Governor-General. In 1661, the Johorese also sent a fleet to Batavia. The exports from Johor to Batavia were slaves, wax, mats, tin, sago, wooden platters, oil, pepper, betel nuts, salt roes, and rice¹⁰²³.

¹⁰²² Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.26; Winstedt. 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.47-8; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, pp.148-9.

¹⁰²³ Winstedt 1932. "A History of Johore", pp.37-40; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.79-81.

Figure 33 Johor Sultanate and Its Trade Networks during the 17th Century



Sources: Author's map based on Lewis (1995, pp.25-6); Winstedt (1932, p.36 & pp.47-8); Andaya (1975, pp.148-9); Wahyudi (2019, pp.141-2); Pinto (2012, pp.144-5).

The Dutch-Malacca felt that Johor was a threat to the local Dutch trade in the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch officials suggested their superiors in Batavia to weaken and cut the Johor's trade networks. The Dutch Governor in Batavia tried to negotiate a new treaty in 1685. Paduka Raja Abdul Jamil of Johor did not want to lose Johorese commercial revenue and postponed signing the Dutch proposal. Paduka Raja Abdul Jamil continued hoping to maintain his excellent relationship with the Dutch. He tried to persuade the Dutch not to force their intervention and reminded them to remember their past alliance. Both parties had signed a new treaty. However, the treaty was confusing. The treaty had two versions, one in Malay and another in Dutch. The Dutch version had many commercial concessions, but the Malay version did not list them. This distinction resulted in the Dutch-Johor misunderstanding. The Dutch were aware

of this problem, but they preferred to cover it and wished to keep the peace with Johor. The Dutch tried to secure international shipping via the Malacca Straits¹⁰²⁴.

The Dutch had a chance to control Johor when the rivalry in the royal family heated. The Dutch supported the Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Majid to launch a coup d'état in 1688. They succeeded to remove Paduka Raja Tun Abdul Jamil, who had ruled in the name of the young sultan, Sultan Mahmud¹⁰²⁵. The Dutch officials in Malacca sent some envoys to Johor in 1689, and they were instructed to revise the 1685 Dutch-Johor treaty. The Dutch could not steer the Johorese commerce. Johor and its trade networks continued to flourish and used the new Dutch alliance to strengthen its position. They also used the conflict of interest between Batavia and Malacca to secure their commercial affairs. At the end of the 17th century, Johor became the Malay world's pre-eminent military and economic power¹⁰²⁶.

5.3. Aceh Sultanate

This sub-chapter is arranged into several parts. The first section will discuss Luso-Aceh dispute during the 16th-17th centuries. The second section discusses Dutch commercial pressure and the decline of Aceh Sultanate.

5.3.1. Luso-Aceh Dispute¹⁰²⁷

Aceh Sultanate overgrew after receiving Muslim merchants from Malacca. The local chief embraced Islam and took the title of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (1515-1530). This sultan had a different policy towards the Portuguese. Unlike Pidie and Pasai, Aceh did not follow the Portuguese monopoly. When the Portuguese vessels accidentally anchored at Aceh in 1519, the sultan instructed his men to attack the Portuguese. The

¹⁰²⁴ Winstedt 1932. "A History of Johore", p.47; Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.26-7; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, pp.143-4; Mu'jizah (Ed). 1996. *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, pp.18-19; Kratz (Ed). 1973. *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor*, pp.43-4.

¹⁰²⁵ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, pp.30-1; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.88-91.

¹⁰²⁶ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Compagnie in the Straits of Malacca*, p.27; Andaya. 1975. *The Kingdom of Johor*, p.148 & p.181; Adil. 1980. *Sejarah Johor*, pp.92-6.

¹⁰²⁷ An earliest version of this sub-sub chapter was presented at the VIII CITCEM Encontro on *Em Tempos de Guerra*, organised by *Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória* (CITCEM), Porto, Portugal, 20-22 November 2019.

Acehnese brutality forced the Portuguese Captain in Malacca, Jorge de Brito, to invade Aceh in 1521. The Acehnese troops could defeat the Portuguese and murdered Jorge de Brito¹⁰²⁸.

Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah also dominated the northern coast of Sumatra after capturing the pivotal ports of Daya (1520), Pidie (1524), Pasai (1524), dan Aru (1524)¹⁰²⁹. As we have seen, in Pasai, the Acehnese also succeeded in expelling the Portuguese. The Acehnese surrounded the Portuguese fort and started to burn the city of Pasai in 1523¹⁰³⁰. However, the Portuguese could destroy the Acehnese troops, but they left their fortress because they did not have sufficient supplies and ammunition¹⁰³¹.

The Portuguese naval vessels frequently captured any ships when they sailed crossing the Indian Ocean. In 1527, the Portuguese captured the Acehnese trading vessel in the sea of Aceh and murdered all passengers. The Acehnese Sultan instructed all inhabitants to attack any Portuguese ships anchoring at Aceh. In 1528, the Acehnese attacked the Portuguese fleet under Simão de Sousa and murdered all Portuguese crews¹⁰³².

In 1529, Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah died and was replaced by his son, Sultan Salehuddin (1530-8). He was incapable of managing Aceh, but he sent his troops to invade Malacca in 1537. Around two or three thousand soldiers came to Malacca. However, the Portuguese could defeat them. The failure of the Acehnese invasion of Malacca led to the political upheavals in Aceh. Sultan Salehuddin was dethroned and replaced by his younger brother, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah Al-Kahar¹⁰³³.

¹⁰²⁸ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Sulatin*, p.31; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.78-9; Said. 1981. *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, p.149.

¹⁰²⁹ Barros. 1563. *Década Terceira da Asia*, Book 8, fl.309; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Sulatin*. p.31.

¹⁰³⁰ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.356; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, p.336; Alves. 1999. *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, pp.109-111.

¹⁰³¹ Danvers. 1992. *The Portuguese in India I*, p.357; Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.14-5; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto (Eds). 2010. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*, p.28; Azra & Burhanudin (Eds). 2012. *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, p.23; Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, pp.335-8.

¹⁰³² Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.80-1.

¹⁰³³ Bakar. 1988. "Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh & Orang Portugis di Melaka", p.63; Winstedt. 1935. "A History of Johore", p.79; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya and Her Neighbours*, p.196.

Under the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1539-1571), Aceh established its town and composed its political laws. Aceh also attempted to control the Straits of Malacca. In 1539, Aceh should have invaded the Batak Kingdom considering Batak had already sent its envoys to Malacca. Batak asked for the Portuguese protection. The Portuguese assisted Batak to defend Batak's town by delivering some weapons and ammunition. However, Batak had fifteen thousand soldiers, but Aceh could defeat Batak¹⁰³⁴. In the same year, Aceh reinforced its Islamic networks by sending some embassies to the Ottoman Empire¹⁰³⁵. Aceh had given the Ottoman merchants a privilege to trade in Aceh since the 1540s. In return, Aceh asked for the Ottoman artilleries and forces. The Acehnese utilised Ottoman support to expand its sphere of influence¹⁰³⁶.

Aceh continued to invade the Portuguese vassal of Aru in 1539. For Aceh, Aru could be the Acehnese military base before sailing to besiege Malacca and sending some boats to block Portuguese shipping in the Straits of Singapore and Sabang. Aceh sent a hundred and sixty ships with seventeen thousand troops to Aru. Aceh succeeded to destroy Aru and murdered the Aru King. The Aru Queen escaped to Malacca and asked the Portuguese to take Aru from Aceh. The Portuguese did not have sufficient military support to defend Aru. The queen was disappointed and moved to Bintan. She married the Johorese King. The queen, supported by the Malay states, led the forces to take Aru from Aceh in 1540¹⁰³⁷.

Besides invading some Malay states, Sultan Alauddin also played a political alliance. He raised the chief of Barus as a sultan and asked him to marry his sister. The Acehnese Sultan controlled Pariaman when he succeeded to promote Prince Mughal as a new sultan there¹⁰³⁸. Sultan Alauddin continued having the ambition to capture Malacca. He led the Acehnese troops to invade Malacca in 1547. The Acehnese sailed with sixty vessels and five thousand soldiers. They anchored at night and captured Upeh. They also burned the Portuguese ships in the port of Malacca and imprisoned seven fishers.

¹⁰³⁴ Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, p.94.

¹⁰³⁵ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Sulatin*, p.31.

¹⁰³⁶ Bakar. 1988. "Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh & Orang Portugis di Melaka", p.63.

¹⁰³⁷ Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.94-7.

¹⁰³⁸ Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.97-8.

The Acehnese commander sent a letter to the Portuguese Captain in Malacca, Simão de Mello¹⁰³⁹. Mello refused Aceh's challenge because he had merely a few soldiers. The Portuguese tried to defend their fortress. Seeing that the Portuguese were waiting, the Acehnese surrounded the fortress. The Acehnese established the fort in Perlis and attacked all ships from Goa, Bengal, Siam, and Pegu. The Acehnese tried to block the Portuguese supplies from the north and forced them to surrender¹⁰⁴⁰.

The Acehnese did not realise that the Portuguese forces came from Patani. Dom Francisco de Era led ten ships and two hundred and thirty men against Aceh in Perlis. The Portuguese were also accompanied by Johor, Perak and Pahang with three hundred boats and eight thousand troops. The Luso-Malay forces landed in Malacca and combated with the Acehnese for two months. The Luso-Malay forces murdered four thousand souls and imprisoned a thousand soldiers. They also destroyed twenty vessels and looted three hundred artilleries and a thousand shot-gun. For the Portuguese, they lost twenty-six souls, and a hundred and fifty men were wounded¹⁰⁴¹. During the war period, a significant number of Malacca inhabitants escaped and moved to China and other places. The rest of the inhabitants suffered and faced a lack of food supplies. The Portuguese also lost many troops and artilleries. The Acehnese had burned the Portuguese vessels and looted all treasure in the port of Malacca¹⁰⁴².

Sultan Alauddin prepared to invade Malacca and sent his envoys to the Ottoman Empire in 1566. The envoys were instructed to carry various precious gifts such as gold, diamonds, herbs, and spices. The Acehnese Sultan requested Ottoman assistance to expel the Portuguese from the Asian waters. The Portuguese attacked the Islamic states and vessels coming from or to Mecca. They captured the ships and enslaved all passengers. The Portuguese also attacked the Ottoman servant's ship, commanded by

¹⁰³⁹ Danvers. 2003. *The Portuguese in India II*, p.480; Catz (Ed). 1989. *Peregrinação*, p.455.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Catz (Ed). 1989. *Peregrinação*, p.456; Moorhead. 1957. *A History of Malaya and Her Neighbours*, 197; Bakar. 1988. "Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh & Orang Portugis di Melaka", p.64; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Sulatin*, pp.31-2.

¹⁰⁴¹ Danvers. 2003. *The Portuguese in India II*, pp.480-1.

¹⁰⁴² Thomaz. 1963. *Os Portugueses em Malaca*, pp.125-6.

Lutfi¹⁰⁴³. When Lutfi prepared to leave Aceh, he loaded sixteen kantars of pepper, silk, cinnamon, cloves, camphor, and other products from Southeast Asia. After Lutfi's ship left Mecca, his ship encountered several Portuguese ships. They were in the sea battle for four days and four nights. The Portuguese could not capture the boat and began to fire and sink it. Considering all Portuguese threats in the Indian Ocean, the Acehnese requested the Ottoman collaboration against the Portuguese and asked for artillery, naval ships, and soldiers¹⁰⁴⁴.

The Ottoman accepted the Acehnese request and gave the Acehnese privilege to purchase horses, weapons, copper, and other necessities in Alexandria, Yemen, Mecca, Jidda, and Aden before sailing back to Aceh. The Ottoman Sultan instructed Kurdoglu Hizir to command the fleet of fifteen galleys and two carracks with hundred soldiers, carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers, painters, and other artisans. The sultan also granted to carry a sufficient number of basilisks, small culverins, mortar guns, and enough gunpowder, three hundred pickaxes, and three hundred shovels. Moreover, the sultan explained to the appointed admiral, Kurdoglu Hizir, to prepare for the invasion of Malacca and ensure paying all salaries of the soldiers. If the Turkish men could accomplish their mission, they should sail back to Istanbul by carrying the spices¹⁰⁴⁵.

Sultan Alauddin led the Acehnese to attack Malacca. The Acehnese fleet sailed on January 20, 1568. They carried three hundred ships with fifteen to twenty thousand soldiers and two hundred cannons from the Ottoman. Meanwhile, the Portuguese had two hundred soldiers in the Malacca Fort. The Acehnese cooperated with the Tamils and Javanese in Malacca to capture the town of Malacca, Hilir, and Upeh. The Acehnese settled in Hilir and started invading at the fort of Malacca. The Acehnese destroyed the Portuguese ally and murdered the Aru King. The Portuguese could

¹⁰⁴³ Lutfi was an official representative of the Ottoman Empire. He travelled to Aceh between 1563-5 (Casale. 2005. "His Majesty's Servant Lutfi", p.81).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Letter from the Sultan of Aceh Alauddin Kahar to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman, January 2-12, 1566, Published in OSAR, pp.47-9; Villiers. 2001. *Aceh, Melaka and the Hystoria dos cercos de Malaca of Jorge de Lemos*, p.78.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Instruction Letter from the Ottoman Sultan, September 17, 1567, Published in OSAR, p.53, p.57, p.59, p.60, p.62, p.63; Imperial order to the Governor of Egypt, September 17, 1567, Published in OSAR, p.54; Letter to the sultan of Aceh, September 19, 1567, Published in OSAR, p.67; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, p.112.

defend Malacca after the Malacca inhabitants and priests helped them. Considering the lack of troops in Malacca, the Portuguese Captain asked for help from India, Johor, and Kedah. Their forces did not arrive to Malacca before the Portuguese expelled the Acehnese from Malacca. The Portuguese lost twelve soldiers, while four hundred Acehnese troops died¹⁰⁴⁶.

After the Acehnese attack failed in 1568, Sultan Alauddin died in 1571. Sultan Ali Riayat Shah replaced his father and ruled Aceh. Under the reign of Sultan Ali Riayat Shah, Aceh strengthened its Islamic networks and initiated jointly expelled the Portuguese from Asian waters. Aceh succeeded in establishing a political connection with Jepara, Calicut, Bijapur and Coromandel¹⁰⁴⁷.

On 13 October 1572, the Acehnese attacked Malacca by deploying ninety ships with seven thousand troops. After arriving in Malacca, the Acehnese troops burned Hilir. Luckily, the hurricane and heavy rain had thwarted the burning. Aceh lost a lot of its soldiers. The remaining forces fled to Pulau Besar by stopping around the Muar River¹⁰⁴⁸. On 15 November 1572, Tristão Vaz da Veiga with the Portuguese Captain in Malacca, Francisco Henriques and three hundred troops hunted the Acehnese ships to Muar and Batu Pahat. Seeing the arrival of several Portuguese naval vessels, the Acehnese was not afraid and attacked them. Seven Acehnese ships were assigned to dispel the Portuguese troops, but the Acehnese ships were burned and sunk. Aceh lost seven hundred soldiers, both for those killed and captured. Meanwhile, the Portuguese lost five soldiers, and fifty others were injured¹⁰⁴⁹.

After the Portuguese won the Acehnese invasion in 1572 and the Jepara invasion in 1574, Tristão Vaz da Veiga and his men strengthened the Portuguese defence. They ordered gun-powder and foodstuffs from Pegu and Bengal. João Pereyra, Fernão de

¹⁰⁴⁶ Thomaz. 1963. *Os Portugueses em Malaca*, pp.141-3; Winstedt. 1935. *A History of Johore*, p.81; Danvers. 2003. *The Portuguese in India II*, pp.535; Bakar. 1988. *Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh & Orang Portugis di Melaka*, p.65.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Reid. 1969. "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.405; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, p.102.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Lemos. 1585. *Os Cercos de Malaca*, fls.23-5; Bakar. 1988. "Impian Tidak Terlaksana: Kes Aceh & Orang Portugis di Melaka", p.66; Thomaz. 1963. *Os Portugueses em Malaca*, pp.147.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Lemos. 1585. *Os Cercos de Malaca*, fl.40.

Palhares, and Bernaldim da Silva were instructed to command the naval forces. A hundred and twenty armed forces were patrolling the town of Malacca. The Portuguese also erected and repaired the Portuguese fortress and the fortification in the Madre de Deus or Bukit China¹⁰⁵⁰.

Aceh attacked on January 31, 1575 with a hundred and thirty ships equipped with cannons. The Acehnese troops destroyed the Portuguese vessels. The Acehnese also killed seventy-five people, arrested forty people, and five others escaped¹⁰⁵¹. The rest of a hundred and fifty Portuguese armed men attempted to defend the fort. Fortunately, the Acehnese did not continue the attack even though the Portuguese ran out of ammunition to fight¹⁰⁵². The Acehnese were confused when they bombed the Portuguese fortress for seventeen days without the Portuguese resistance. The Acehnese thought that this was a trap if they forced themselves to rush into the fort. The Acehnese decided to go back to Sumatra¹⁰⁵³. The Portuguese realised that the Acehnese threat was dangerous. They tried to get rid of Aceh. However, the project for the conquest of Aceh was never carried out. In 1576, Matias de Albuquerque, as Captain of Malacca, had prepared several troops to attack Aceh, but these troops were transferred to fight in Ceylon¹⁰⁵⁴.

In 1577, Mathias de Albuquerque and his fleet sailed, entering the Indian Ocean. However, the Acehnese naval vessels, led by Laksamana Sri Maharaja, blocked and attacked the Portuguese fleet. The Portuguese maritime power could defeat the Acehnese ships. The Acehnese lost a thousand and six hundred souls. Meanwhile, thirteen Portuguese soldiers were killed. The Acehnese became a permanent threat for the Portuguese. The Portuguese began to prepare an invasion of Aceh. However, the

¹⁰⁵⁰ Lemos. 1585. *Os Cercos de Malaca*, fl.52; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.114-5.

¹⁰⁵¹ Danvers. 2003. *The Portuguese in India II*, p.10.

¹⁰⁵² Winstedt. 1935. *A History of Johore*, p.82.

¹⁰⁵³ Lemos. 1585. *Os Cercos de Malaca*, fl.114.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Villiers. 2001. "Aceh, Melaka and the Hystoria dos cercos de Malaca of Jorge de Lemos", p.80.

Portuguese in Malacca never attacked Aceh because the Portuguese in Goa did not have financial and military support¹⁰⁵⁵.

Figure 34 the Battleship between the ship of Luis Monteiro and The Acehnese ships



Source: Picture reproduced from Eredia (1615, fols.12v-13r).

When Roque de Melo Pereira replaced Dom João da Gama as the Portuguese Captain in Malacca in 1582, he was responsible for the safety of merchant ships sailing from Goa to Macau and vice versa. Luis Monteiro also carried out patrols around the Singapore Strait. Not long after Roque de Melo was in power, Aceh carried out an attack, and Luis Monteiro defended Malacca. On February 6, 1583, he faced the Acehnese fleet, consisting of seven large ships, forty galleys, and a hundred and fifty small battleships. Luis Monteiro prepared a ship with sixty troops, but he could not defeat the incredible power of Aceh. Although all the inhabitants of Malacca prepared to defend the city, Luis Monteiro chose to ignore the Captain's strategy and fight alone. Instead of being a hero, Luis Monteiro's strategy failed miserably.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.91-2.

Figure 35 The Battle between Luis Monteiro and The Acehnese commander



Source: Picture reproduced from Eredia (1615, fols.15v-16r).

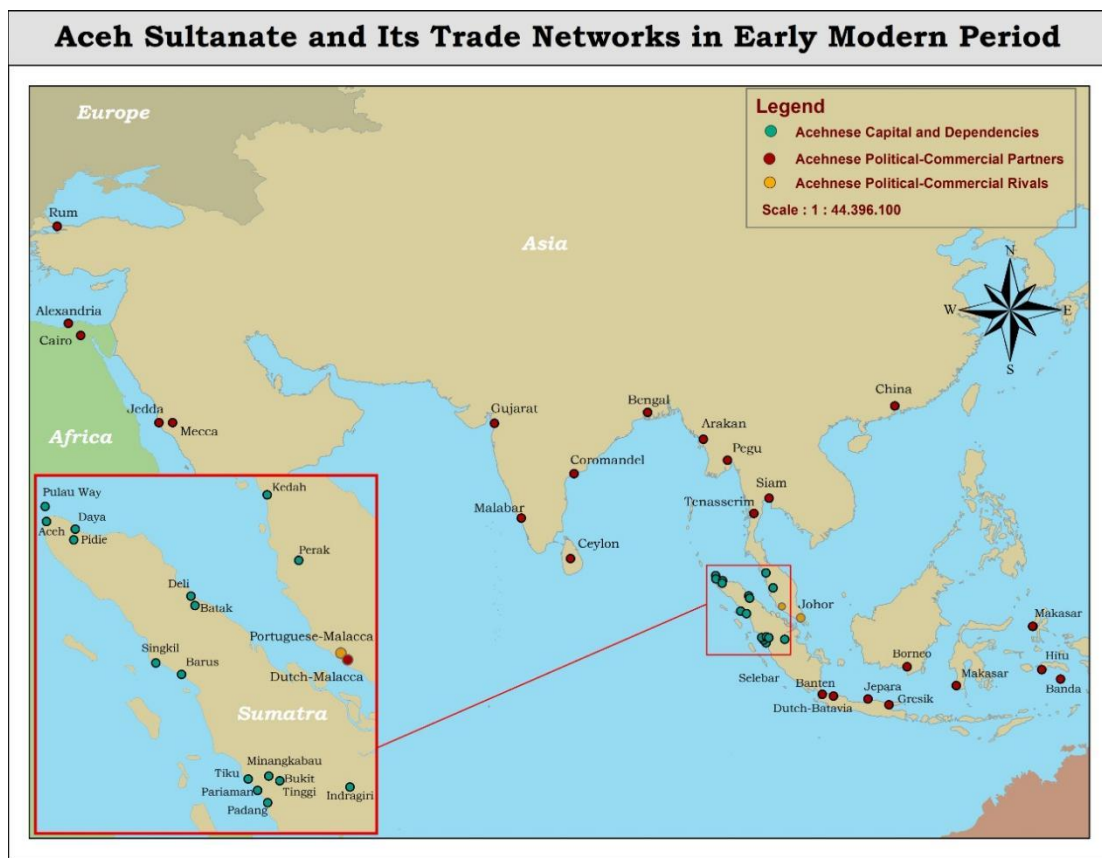
The Portuguese Captain asked Luis Monteiro to return to the fort by sending a small lifeboat with Nuno Vieira, but he refused and believed he could defeat Aceh. Luis Monteiro's ship was surrounded from all directions. After the ship of Luis Monteiro was burned and blown up, all crew members and soldiers were thrown and plunged into the sea. This tragic incident killed twelve people besides Luis Monteiro Coutinho. The survivors were detained and held alive by the Acehnese troops¹⁰⁵⁶.

Sultan Alauddin Mansur Shah stopped his forces to invade the Portuguese fortress. He asked his men to go back and imprisoned twelve Portuguese, including Luis Monteiro, in Aceh. In the jail, the captives lived in misery and starvation. The sultan realised that Luis Monteiro was a noble and offered to be on his side. He refused and remained loyal to the Portuguese Crown. One night, Luis Monteiro and other prisoners were able

¹⁰⁵⁶ Couto. 1974. *Da Ásia, Década Décima*, pp.280-1; Eredia. 1615. *Historia de serviços com martirio de Luis Mont.o Cout[inh]o*, fls.18r-18v; Subrahmanyam. 2009. "Pulverised in Aceh: On Luís Monteiro Coutinho and his Martyrdom", pp.45-6.

to escape. They walked along the coast of Pidie until the royal soldiers caught them. The sultan knew and ordered the re-arrest of Luis Monteiro and his colleagues. Minor skirmishes were inevitable. Luis Monteiro was overpowered and imprisoned again. The sultan continued to persuade Luis Monteiro as well as threatened to be put to death. Luis Monteiro and his colleagues remained in their position and were executed in an open field¹⁰⁵⁷.

Figure 36 Aceh Sultanate and Its Trade Networks in Early Modern Period



Sources: Author's map based on Boxer (1969, pp.423-4); Hadi (2006, pp.137-8); Dasgupta (1962, pp.108-119); Lombard (1991, p.379).

The Malay invasions of Malacca and vice versa had contributed to the insecurity of the Malacca Straits. The Muslim merchants from the Indian Ocean tried to avoid the Malacca Straits and established other sailing and trading route. They did not enter the

¹⁰⁵⁷ Eredia. 1615. *Historia de serviços com martirio de Luis Mont.o Cout[inh]o*, fl.24r & fls.27r-27v; Subrahmanyam. 2009. "Pulverised in Aceh: On Luís Monteiro Coutinho and his Martyrdom", p.47.

Malacca Straits and sailed to Java via the west coast of Sumatra and the Sunda Straits. Situated in the north of Sumatra, Aceh benefited from the new Islamic route and became the central station for the Asian Muslim merchant communities. Aceh transformed into a cosmopolitan port and attracted trans-national merchants from Arab (Jidda and Mecca), Persia, Ottoman, Abyssinia, Pegu, Arakan, China, India (Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal) and Indonesian Archipelago (Java, Borneo, and Makasar). The foreign merchants brought various kinds of commodities and bartered them with Sumatran pepper and gold¹⁰⁵⁸.

Aceh was also active in expanding its trade networks to the Red Sea. Aceh had exported spices, gold, and many pieces of jewellery in the tons of cargoes laden in the Gujarati Ships in 1585. At the same time, the Gujarati ships also brought the Acehnese spices to Jidda. Aceh gained massive profit from its Islamic trade networks. To sustain its financial revenue and the availability of the products in the market of Aceh, Aceh kept controlling Sumatran gold and pepper trade networks. Aceh expanded its political-commercial networks to Pidie, Pasai, Kedah, Barus, Batak, Singkil, Pulay Way, Perak, Deli (Aru), Minangkabau, Tiku, Pariaman, Bukit Tinggi, Padang, Selebar, Indragiri, Daya, and Indrapuri¹⁰⁵⁹.

Entering the 17th century, the Portuguese still defended Malacca from successive invasions from the Malay states. However, the Portuguese played the political balance between Aceh and Johor to secure the straits. Still, its stability was interrupted when the Dutch came to the Asian waters. The Aceh permission to the Dutch in wintering at Aceh had broken the Luso-Acehnese truce, which was established during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1588-1604)¹⁰⁶⁰. In June 1606, the Portuguese invaded the city port of Aceh to punish the Acehnese king and his subjects for having welcomed the Dutch. Surprisingly, the Acehnese could counter-attack when Prince Perkasa Alam

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.109-112 & pp.113-4.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh", pp.423-4; Hadi. 2006. *Respon Islam Terhadap Hegemoni Barat*, pp.137-8; Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian*, pp.108-119; Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, p.379.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh", p.426; Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian*, p.76; Pinto. 2002. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.76.

(Iskandar Muda) begged Sultan Ali Riayat Shah (1604-6) to lead the troops against the Portuguese. The brave Iskandar Muda succeeded in forcing the Portuguese back to Malacca¹⁰⁶¹.

The desire of possessing Malacca was seen when the sultan imprisoned the Portuguese ambassador, Pedro de Abreu, at the Acehneese court¹⁰⁶². The Acehneese was ready to break the amicable agreement and prepared the great siege of Malacca. As described by Admiral Beaulieu¹⁰⁶³, Acehneese had an established military organization, both inland and in the sea. For the land forces, the sultan could invade his enemy with forty thousand men and hundreds of elephants, trained to accompany the Acehneese commanders in a war. Interestingly, the sultan could force his subjects to go to the field with their provision during the battle for three months, but if the war ran for more than three months, the sultan was in charge of feeding them. The Acehneese commonly besieged their enemy and operated the trench warfare, as they did in Kedah and Deli¹⁰⁶⁴. The Acehneese also had solid naval power. A hundred galleys and the greatest warship named *Momok Dunia*¹⁰⁶⁵ (the Threat of the World)¹⁰⁶⁶ were enough to raise everyone's fear. Those warships sailed from three major Acehneese ports of Banda Aceh, Daya, and Pidie.

¹⁰⁶¹ During the reign of Sultan Ali Riayat Shah, Aceh was not in a good condition. The drought led to many ravages and starving people. In response, the Sultan Ali Riayat was not able to handle this situation and made a disorder in his policy. He imprisoned his nephew, Iskandar Muda over their dispute but Iskandar asked an apology to go to the war when the Dutch invaded Aceh (Dasgupta, 1962, p.75; Beaulieu. 1705. "Memoirs of Admiral Beaulieu", p.254).

¹⁰⁶² Marsden. 1784. *History of Sumatra*, p.360.

¹⁰⁶³ Beaulieu. 1705. "Memoirs of Admiral Beaulieu", pp.251-2.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Acehneese Sultanate often operated the trench warfare as a military strategy to conquer their enemy. The Acehneese were really skilful in digging a moat in a short period and to operate the artillery to fire the enemy. This strategy was common to be used in the Islamic world. In Islamic history, *khandaq* war was famous and was to be used to defend Madinnah from Jews-Quraish joint-forces. The troops of Madinnah were commonly commanded to make a trench as a line for 5 meters for the depth and the width and 12 meters for the length (Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, p.191).

¹⁰⁶⁵ The Acehneese chronicles do not mention "Momok Dunia" but they mention "Chakra Donya" as a name of the biggest galley. The locals believed that Chakra Donya is not the name of the ship but the name of the bell which was put on the biggest Acehneese warship during 17th century. Historically, chakra donya bell was a gift from Ming Dynasty to Pasai Sultanate, brought by Zheng-he. It was a symbol of harmony between Pasai Sultanate and Ming Dynasty. However, the bell was brought by Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah to Aceh when he conquered Pasai. At present, the bell can be found in the front of Baiturrahman mosque, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The greatest warship ever seen in Asian waters was sized around 100 metres and had 100 artilleries (Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, p.118).

The powerful Acehnese had attracted the Dutch to offer the collaboration to expel the Portuguese from Malacca. The Dutch-Johore failure to wipe the Portuguese out from Malacca in 1606¹⁰⁶⁷ made them aware that they should not rely on Johor, the weakest power in the strait. Although the Dutch agreed to a revised treaty with Johor on 23 September 1606¹⁰⁶⁸, they also had an additional agreement with the powerful Acehnese in 1607¹⁰⁶⁹.

Sultan Ali Riayat Shah died in 1607 and was replaced by Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). Under the new sultan, Aceh Sultanate became more aggressive. The sultan utilised the Ottoman support¹⁰⁷⁰, the financial support¹⁰⁷¹ and the inherited power¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁷ There are some possible factors driving the 1606 joint military campaign's failure: (1) insufficient gunpowder and ammunition; the reluctance of the company's Malay allies to engage the Portuguese in hand to hand combat; (3) the arrival of the largest Portuguese armada from Goa (Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Mettelief's Singapore and Johor*, p.5); and (4) the losses in men and ships (Boxer. 1929. "The Affair of the Madre de Deus", p.26).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Borschberg. 2016. *Admiral Matelieff's Singapore and Johor*, p.14.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The Dutch vice-admiral Olivier de Vivere had an agreement with Ali Riayat Shah of Aceh on 17 January 1607. they agreed that Aceh should permit the Dutch to erect the trading post; Aceh permitted the Dutch to conduct a trade without taking any taxes. Aceh should forbid all merchants to trade, except having Dutch license. Aceh should permit the Dutch to cut the tree under its authority to construct the ships. In return, the Dutch should assist the Acehnese to expel the Portuguese from Asian waters (Treaty between Vice-Admiral Olivier de Vivere and Ali Riayat Shah of Aceh, 17 January 1607, published in JMLCMJ, pp.397-9; Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian Trade*, p.78).

¹⁰⁷⁰ The Aceh-Ottoman Spice trade network under Sultan Iskandar Muda was also memorised by the locals. The locals called the Ottoman artillery with "Lada si Chupak" (a cup of pepper) is a case in point. The story of Lada si Chupak began when Sultan Iskandar Muda sent some ships to Istanbul laden with rice and pepper. However, the ship's food supply was not enough to feed all crew members. They started to eat the food commodities which should present to the Ottoman Sultan. The Acehnese envoys merely presented a cup of pepper. The Ottoman Sultan was not angry and praised his Acehnese fellows who sailed from the long-distance country and granted them artillery. The Acehnese brought back it to Aceh (Sabil (Ed). 1932. *Hikajat Soeltan Atjeh Marhoem*, pp.3-11).

¹⁰⁷¹ Sultan Iskandar Muda preserved the abundant gold from their profitable trade from the sale of local crops; the rich presents from all foreign visitors; and their vassals' tributes. With his large income, he could rent the trained armies from the foreign countries: Ottoman, Cambay, Malabar, Abbyssinia, Luzon, and Borneo (Das Gupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian Trade*, p.46 & pp.88-9).

¹⁰⁷² During 16th century, Acehnese under the reign of Sultan Mughayat Shah conquered Daya to the west and Pidie (Pedir) and Pasai to the East. They had also joined Asian Islamic connection after they sent their ambassador along with rich gifts of gold, pepper, and spices to Ottoman Empire in 1563, asking for the military assistance especially cannon, gun-powder, and gunners. They created the Islamic connection to the northern coast of Java after Malacca was captured by Portuguese in 1511. The Javanese merchants from Demak, Cirebon, Banten, Jepara, and Tuban preferred to sail through the Straits of Sunda and the west coast of Sumatra before reaching Aceh, Ceylon, and the Middle East (Boxer. 1969. "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea", p.415 & p.420; Tjandrasasmita. 2009. *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*, p.42 & p.68).

to invade the Malay states, comprising Deli (1612); Aru (1613); Johor (1613, 1615¹⁰⁷³, and 1623-4); Malacca (1615¹⁰⁷⁴ and 1629); Pahang (1618 and 1635¹⁰⁷⁵); Kedah (1619); Perak (1620); Tiku (1621); Nias (1624-5)¹⁰⁷⁶.

In 1615, the Acehese invaded Malacca. However, the Acehese were not assisted by the Johorese and the Dutch. The Dutch did not decide to take part after the Acehese intended to capture Johor in 1613¹⁰⁷⁷. The Acehese fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty ships, carrying six hundred to a thousand men. The Portuguese were not afraid and sent ten galleys. The battleships were situated in the Malacca Straits. The Acehese succeeded to burn two Portuguese vessels and imprisoned sixty Portuguese soldiers. On the other side, the Portuguese sank twenty-eight ships and murdered more than fifteen thousand troops. The Portuguese naval strategy had destroyed the Acehese ships. Seeing the destruction of the fleet they brought, the Acehese commander sent an ambassador to discuss peace. The diplomat argued that Aceh did not come to conquer Malacca but wanted to attack Johor. The Portuguese Captain certainly saw this as a ruse. The Acehese troops took advantage of the peaceful situation to return to Aceh. The Portuguese also demanded a compensation of 4000 cruzados and released the prisoners¹⁰⁷⁸.

In 1629, the Acehese tried to capture Malacca again. The Dutch did not take part in the Acehese campaign of Malacca. They were busy defending Batavia from the

¹⁰⁷³ The second Acehese conquest of Johor might have been caused by the unwillingness of Johorese to assist the Acehese invasion of Malacca in 1616 (Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian Trade*, p.92).

¹⁰⁷⁴ The Acehese-Dutch relations went worse after the Acehese attack of Johor in 1613. In 1615, the Dutch also refused to joint Aceh's plan to invade Malacca. At the same year, however, they could defeat the Portuguese armada led by Francisco de Mendonça in naval battles, but they failed to capture Malacca. The Acehese proposed a truce agreed by the Portuguese. For Aceh, the truce could help them to control Johor but behind Acehese's back, the Portuguese had an agreement with Johor and Pahang. On the other side, the truce for Portuguese meant that they got an ally as a counterbalance for the Dutch power in Asian waters (Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.118-9, p.164 & p.229).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Acehese reconquered Pahang in 1635 after Pahang declared their independence when the Acehese loss in Malacca in 1629 (Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian Trade*, p.93).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, p.92; Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, pp.118-9.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Documentos vários relativos à Índia e outras possessões portuguesas no Oriente, BNP, Res.cod 11410, fls.61-61v.

Javanese invasion in 1628 and 1629¹⁰⁷⁹. Jan Oosterwijck, a Dutch trader in Jambi, believed that the Acehnese could have captured Malacca from the Portuguese if the Dutch assisted them, at least three or four ships, to block the Luso-Malay vessels¹⁰⁸⁰. The Acehnese needed the Johorese assistance, but the Johorese resisted the Acehnese expansionism and preferred to be on the Portuguese side. Sultan Abdullah went personally to Malacca and shaped an alliance with the Portuguese against the Acehnese armada¹⁰⁸¹. In 1629, the Acehnese sent the largest war fleet ever seen in Asia to invade Malacca and surround Malacca for a month, but the Luso-Malay joint forces could defeat them¹⁰⁸².

According to Roque Carreiro¹⁰⁸³ and Antonio Pinto da Fonseca¹⁰⁸⁴, Sultan Iskandar Muda sent two hundred thirty-six sails, including thirty-eight galleys, carrying nineteen thousand and three hundred soldiers and coolies. Among these warships, there were forty-seven unusual sizes, nearly a hundred feet, and strength galleys¹⁰⁸⁵. He placed Maharaja Seri Maharaja, accompanied by the captain-majors of the squadrons, to lead the fleet to Malacca. From three ports of Daya, Aceh, and Pedir, the sultan accompanied by the royal family set sail and anchored for a while in Deli, eighty leagues from Aceh, to fulfil the military needs. During the journey from Aceh to

¹⁰⁷⁹ The Mataram project to control Java started after they conquered East Java in 1625. Knowing the failure of Banten invasion of Batavia in 1627, Mataram led by Tumenggung Baurekso of Kendal, emerged to challenge Batavia on August 26, 1628. The Javanese-Dutch war happened when the Javanese surrounded and invaded the Dutch fort in Batavia from September 21-28, 1628. The first Mataram siege ended with the loss on their side although they had operated the same strategy, which succeeded in Surabaya, of stemming river to Batavia. The Sultan of Mataram was aware that he needed an ally to capture Batavia. He then proposed a friendly treaty to the Captain of Malacca. The first Javanese ambassador was sent to Malacca in 1628. This important request from Java was forwarded to Goa but the late Portuguese response and assistance forced Mataram to invade Batavia alone. The second Javanese siege was operated in form of trench warfare but it ended in the same result. The Javanese Mataram kept maintaining the contact with the Portuguese and hoped that the Portuguese could send their armada to Java. However, because of the death of Nuno Alvares Botelho, the Portuguese was not able to fill their promise to Javanese until the fall of Malacca in 1641 (Burnet. 2013. *East Indies*, p.120; Graaf. 1990. *Puncak Kejayaan Mataram*, pp.149-238).

¹⁰⁸⁰ Letter from Jan Oosterwijck to Antonie van Diemen, March 15, 1630, Published in Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, p.54.

¹⁰⁸¹ Pinto. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka*, p.165.

¹⁰⁸² Bakar. 1988. "Impian yang Tidak Terlaksana", p.73.

¹⁰⁸³ Carreiro. 1630. *Relacam da Grande Vitoria...*BNP. Res. 3527. fl.69.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*, 19 Fevereiro de 1630. Published in ACE. p.506.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Marsden. 1784. *History of Sumatra*, p.228.

Deli¹⁰⁸⁶, the king murdered his grandchild from his daughter, the Prince of Johor when he got angry seeing his grandson crying loudly¹⁰⁸⁷. The Prince of Johor could not accept the king's atrocity and stole the small vessel going to Malacca the next night. However, the sultan commanded fifty sails to catch him alive, but he succeeded in escaping after being saved by two Portuguese galleys, leading him to Malacca. The sultan returned to Aceh, and the prince informed all the Acehnese strategies to the Portuguese general-captain, António Pinto da Fonseca. He received the information on 24 March 1629. On the same day, he sent a message to a bishop-governor, Dom Fr. Luis de Brito, who was in a vessel leaving to Nagapattinam, to request help from the viceroy in Goa¹⁰⁸⁸.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese in India began to prepare a powerful relief force¹⁰⁸⁹, the captain-general and the captain of the fortress of Malacca tried to strengthen the suburban of Malacca for almost three months before the Acehnese came¹⁰⁹⁰. The Acehnese fleet¹⁰⁹¹ passed the sea in front of the fort, on July 3, and anchored at the mouth of Duyong river in the south of the fortress on July 6. The Laksamana and more

¹⁰⁸⁶ Carreiro. 1630. *Relacam da Grande Vitoria*, BNP. Res. 3527. fl.69; Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, p.58.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The cruel habit of Acehnese king was recorded by Beaulieu (1705, p.242): "...The cruelty of this prince is unparalleled. Notwithstanding, that all his tortures could extent...yet he imprisoned his own mother and put her upon the rack; and put to death five of the principal lords of his court, whom he suspected of favouring his mother. He barbarously murdered his own nephew, the king of Joor's son, saying that, his mother meant to prefer that young prince to the throne. He put to death the son of the King of Bantam, as well as the son of the king of Pao, who were both his cousins. He has not left one of the royal family but his own son, who has been thrice banished the court..."

¹⁰⁸⁸ Carreiro. 1630. *Relacam da Grande Vitoria*, BNP. Res. 3527, fl.69.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Nuno Alvares Botelho was sent and accompanied by 500 Portuguese with good train of artillery and an abundance of arms and ammunition in 30 vessels. He set sailing on the September 22, but he faced some storms, delaying his arrival at Malacca. On his way he found and persuaded a vessel from Aceh and two vessels from Nagapattinam to join his relief project. Therefore 33 vessels arrived on the October 22, (Marsden. 1784. *The History of Sumatra*, p.229).

¹⁰⁹⁰ The Portuguese had only 260 soldiers of the garrison, together with 450 local soldiers and 120 citizen volunteers to defend the city. The massive buttressed walls of the fortress were considered impugnable, but the Captain -General of Malacca took the offensive and with 200 of his men fortified the hill of *Bukit China* to the east of the city and prepared to engage the Acehnese (Burnett. 2012. *East Indies*, p.63).

¹⁰⁹¹ They might have avoided landing at Upeh where the rich merchants from Java, Keling and Gujarat took a place. As widely known, the powerful merchants controlled the city of Malacca from the busy Upeh. They owned thousand slaves and financial supports to rent the troops. Upeh was defended on the landward side by a palisade extending from the river, 400 fathoms (880 meters) upstream from the mouth to the beach at the end of the settlement. Therefore, it might be feasible for them to winter at the south of Malacca and invaded the fortress from the south (Thomaz. 2000. *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p.47).

than four thousand armed men fortified camps at *São João* (St. John) hill, on the south-eastern of Malacca¹⁰⁹².

On the first battle at São Francisco Hill (*Bukit China*), the Portuguese cannon murdered three hundred Acehnese, and on the Portuguese side, merely some men were wounded. Afterwards, the Acehnese surrounded the Portuguese fortress for three months¹⁰⁹³. The Portuguese could survive for a while due to the military defence that they had built before. The Captain ordered two hundred men to fortify palisades and bulwarks from *São Francisco* Hill (*Bukit China*) to Hilir. During the battle, the Portuguese¹⁰⁹⁴ made some attacks on the Acehnese ramparts. In the first battle, the Captain commanded two hundred and sixty armed men and succeeded in killing two hundred Acehnese, including the King of Deli¹⁰⁹⁵. On August 4, 1629, the Acehnese assaulted the Portuguese bulwarks¹⁰⁹⁶ of *Madre de Deus* in *Bukit China* and fortified there. They also strengthened other ramparts with the artilleries, closed to *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* (Our Lady of Pity Church). It was a closer step to the fortress' bulwarks of *Santiago* and *São Domingos*. The Acehnese also placed their two navies in Aerlele River in the south of the fortress. João Soares Vivas, the Portuguese admiral, led a hundred and twenty men to attack the Acehnese and murdered two hundred men¹⁰⁹⁷. However, the Portuguese could murder some Acehnese, but their limited strength could not handle the large Acehnese troops.

¹⁰⁹² Carreiro. 1630. *Relacam da Grande Vitoria...*BNP. Res. 3527, fl.69v; *Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*. Published in ACE. p.506; Viera. 1633. *Vitória do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez Botelho*. BNP, F.4415, fl.8 .

¹⁰⁹³ During the wartime, the vessels from Indian Coasts and Malay or East Asian states were warned and stayed in the outer stations of Pulubutum, Cape Rachado, Singapura, and an island between Sumatra and Kundur Island. On the night, the Malaccan would pick them by sending galleys and leading them to Malacca safely (*Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*, published in ACE. p.506).

¹⁰⁹⁴ The Portuguese power in Malacca was 6 galleys, 40 small ships, and 830 armies equipped with the lances, swords, artilleries, and muskets (*Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*. Published in ACE, pp.506-510).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, p.58.

¹⁰⁹⁶ At that time, it was defended by 150 Portuguese men and 300 natives (Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, p.58; Viera. 1633. *Vitória do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez*, fl.8v).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, p.59; Viera. 1633. *Vitória do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez Botelho*. BNP, F.4415, fls.9-10.

Malacca was in danger; fortunately, Johor¹⁰⁹⁸ sent a thousand men by land and fifty to sixty ships carrying a thousand and fifty warriors to assist the Portuguese. Five armadas from São Tomé de Meliapur also came on September 30 before twenty-eight galleys, led by Nuno Alvares Botelho, arrived on October 21¹⁰⁹⁹. With the vast joint power, the Portuguese operated two strategies of counter-attacking the Acehnese inland and blocking the Acehnese ships in the mouth of Duyong River, where they anchored it. These strategies were successfully executed, and the Acehnese were scattered when the Portuguese fired them and re-captured *Madre de Deus*. The Maharaja armies abandoned the siege and went back to their ships. However, they tried to fortify along the river, but the thirty-two joint navies blocked them in the river's mouth¹¹⁰⁰. Maharaja Seri Maharaja attempted to break the blockade, but he failed. Between five and seven hundred Acehnese men were murdered in the ship battle. He died after trying to escape on the night, and his movement was detected and deserted back to the land¹¹⁰¹.

At the same time as Maharaja's death on November 30, the Johor-Patani's hundred and sixty vessels came and assisted the Portuguese to block the river on December 1. Laksamana and the rest of his armies (around five to six thousand men) had no choice and sought refuge in the jungle for thirteen days. When the battle was on fire, Laksamana sent his ambassadors to communicate with Nuno Alvares Botelho on December 3¹¹⁰². The Acehnese tried to beg for permission of sailing back to Aceh. However, Nuno Alvares Botelho did not accept his peace proposal, considering the Acehnese still imprisoned the Portuguese ambassador, Pedro de Abreu. Due to no

¹⁰⁹⁸ There was a different narrative who assisted the Portuguese during the siege between the king of Johor or Pahang. The king who assisted the Portuguese was Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III. He was a king of Johor and Pahang. At that time, Pahang and some Malay states were under the Johore rule (Boxer. 1985. "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", p.115).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Carreiro. 1630. *Relacam da Grande Vitoria...*BNP. Res. 3527, fl.69v; *Carta do Capitaõ-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*. Published in ACE. p.508; Viera. 1633. *Vitoria do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez Botelho*. BNP, F.4415, fls.10v-11.

¹¹⁰⁰ Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, pp.60-1; Viera. 1633. *Vitoria do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez Botelho*. BNP, F.4415, fls.11v.

¹¹⁰¹ Marsden. 1784. *History of Sumatra*, p.231.

¹¹⁰² Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, p.64.

response from the Acehnese, the Luso-Malay forces continued to attack the Acehnese¹¹⁰³.

On December 4, 1629, the Acehnese sent Pero de Abreu back to Malacca, and in return, they hoped the Portuguese would grant the safe-conduct sailing for three galleys with four thousand men sailing back to Aceh. However, Botelho refused the proposal and; murdered and scattered the rest of the Acehnese armies who fled in different directions. He imprisoned Laksamana and sent him to Goa, but he died on the sailing. The Portuguese took advantage by capturing thirty Acehnese galleys, a hundred and thirty artillery guns, and seventy-three ammunition¹¹⁰⁴.

Besides, the Portuguese had more advanced military technology¹¹⁰⁵. The failure of the Acehnese invasion of Malacca was also caused by a dispute between two Acehnese commanders, Maharaja Seri Maharaja (Prime Minister) and *Laksamana* (admiral)¹¹⁰⁶. The disagreement between the two orang kayas started when Maharaja Seri Maharaja supported the sultan's invasion project. Due to opposing the sultan's policy, the role of Laksamana to lead the naval power was replaced by Maharaja Seri Maharaja¹¹⁰⁷.

After the victory of the Acehnese siege, the Portuguese looted and sent the captured galleys and artillery to India. Nuno Alvares Botelho, with twenty-seven vessels, left Malacca for the Straits of Singapore, where the Dutch often privateered the Portuguese vessels laden with precious commodities from China and Manila¹¹⁰⁸.

¹¹⁰³ Marsden. 1784. *History of Sumatra*, p.231; *Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*, Published in ACE. p.509.

¹¹⁰⁴ Marsden. 1784. *History of Sumatra*, p.232; *Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*. Published in ACE. p.509; Sousa. 1940. *Nuno Alvares Botelho*, pp.64-6.

¹¹⁰⁵ Some Portuguese sources (Carreiro, 1630; Botelho, 1629) and English source (Hoare, 1630) believe that the Portuguese warships and gallant warriors could destroy the Acehnese fleet but other source (Fonseca, 1630; Xavier, 1633) also acknowledge the native assistance either Johor-Patani or Pahang to defend Malacca from Aceh, which is confirmed by the Dutch Letter (Oosterwijck, 1630).

¹¹⁰⁶ "...kemudian dari itu maka dititahkan Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja dan Orang Kaya Laksamana menyerang Melaka, pada tatkala Hijrah saribu tiga puluh dualapan tahun, tetapi tiada alah karena berbantah antara dua orang panglima. Pada ketika itulah segala orang Islam banyak yang mati syahid..." (Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, p.35).

¹¹⁰⁷ Dagh-Register 1640, p.8, Published in Djajadiningrat. 1983. *Kesultanan Aceh*, p.50.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Carta de Nuno Alvares Botelho aos Governadores*. Published in ACE. p.501; *Carta do Capitão-Geral de Malaca aos Governadores*, Published in ACE. p.509.

However, Botelho did not encounter any Dutch ships and decided to sail south to the Indonesian waters.

Botelho found and captured three Dutch ships at the mouth of the Jambi river in South Sumatra. He went further to the river and captured two more ships laden with the pepper. When he returned downstream of the river, his boat encountered the Dutch *Walcheren* in the river's mouth. Botelho took an offensive position to bombard the Dutch vessel. His men boarded the ship and set it on fire. The fire burned the Dutch powder, and the *Walcheren* exploded, destroying the Dutch boat and Botelho's vessel and throwing him to the sea. He was rescued, but he died afterwards. Without any capable leader, the rest of Botelho's fleet sailed back to Malacca. The loss of Botelho ended any further Portuguese efforts to cut the Dutch expansion into intra-Asiatic waters¹¹⁰⁹.

Aceh's failure in 1629 had paralyzed its power and role in the Malacca Straits. The deaths of royal officials consisting of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Maharaja Seri Maharaja, and Admiral Malem Dagang had decreased the Acehnese power. The Portuguese could breathe for a moment and devised a ploy to ally¹¹¹⁰ with the new Sultan, Sultan Iskandar Thani. The Portuguese came to the Aceh palace and hoped for cooperation between Aceh and Malacca. However, Sultan Iskandar Thani did not trust the Portuguese, who always reneged on the agreements they had agreed on¹¹¹¹. Sultan Iskandar Muda decided to make an ally with the Dutch. In October 1638, Sultan Iskandar Thani sent his envoys to Batavia. The Acehnese informed the Dutch that the Portuguese had come to Aceh and asked for peace and treaty. The Portuguese also asked the Acehnese to invade the Dutch¹¹¹².

¹¹⁰⁹ Burnett. 2012. *East Indies*, pp.64-5; Danvers. 2003. *the Portuguese in India*, pp.233-4.

¹¹¹⁰ The Portuguese also sent the envoys to Pegu, Makasar, and Mataram. The Javanese also sent his envoys to Malacca in 1636 and 1639. The Javanese were afraid of the Dutch control in Batavia, the Dutch were afraid if the Javanese sent the troops and foodstuffs to Malacca (Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", p.7).

¹¹¹¹ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, pp.46-7.

¹¹¹² Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese", p.6; Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", p.12; Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, pp.53-4.

Seeing that the Dutch had blocked the straits since 1633¹¹¹³, Aceh assisted the Dutch to attack Malacca. They sent two hundred warships to Batavia. The Acehnese armies joined the Dutch troops in Batavia in the mid of August 1639. However, the joint attack on Malacca planned to be launched in November or December had to be postponed. They were assigned to capture Ceylon. They attempted to attack Malacca on their way back from Ceylon. When they arrived in Malacca, they took a Portuguese ship sailing from Nagapattinam and several Portuguese captives. One of the prisoners, Luis Pacheco, was forced to speak about the state of Malacca. He admitted that the Portuguese had known that thirty ships from the Dutch-Malay joint forces would carry out this attack¹¹¹⁴. The Portuguese were able to repel the attack with the presence of reinforcements from Manila. Aceh suffered many losses, including many soldiers who died while four Dutch ships were sunk and the rest fled back to Batavia¹¹¹⁵. When the Dutch continued their blockade and attacked again in the mid-1640s, Aceh did not participate. Aceh was disappointed when the Dutch let Johor invade Pahang¹¹¹⁶.

5.3.2. Dutch Commercial Pressure and the Decline of Aceh Sultanate

Dutch-Aceh encounter began when the Dutch ships commanded by Cornelis de Houtman arrived in Aceh in 1599. The Dutch commander sent his envoys to the Acehnese sultan. The envoys brought a looking-glass, a drinking glass, and a bracelet of coral for Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah. The sultan received the Dutch and granted a peace treaty and friendly pepper trade. The sultan also gave the Dutch plenty of spices. Aceh gave 2,000 bahars of pepper, and in return, the Dutch should assist Aceh against Johor. However, the Dutch did not know that the Portuguese ambassador in Aceh had poisoned the sultan's mind. The Portuguese persuaded the sultan to seize the Dutch ship. The sultan and his men also murdered Cornelis de Houtman when they

¹¹¹³ The Dutch had identified the pivotal ports in the Portuguese State of India. The Dutch attempted to block the Portuguese and other rival trading routes and networks. The Dutch placed their naval armada in the Straits of Singapore, Pulo Melaka, and Tanjung Tuan. The Dutch blockade aimed to break the Portuguese shipping and to cut the supply of foodstuffs to Malacca (Borschberg. 2010. "VOC Blockade of the Singapore and Malacca Straits", pp.12-33).

¹¹¹⁴ Leupe & Hacobian. 1936. "The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese", pp.6-9.

¹¹¹⁵ Bakar. 1988. "Impian yang Tidak Terlaksana", p.74.

¹¹¹⁶ Iskandar (Ed). 1966. *Bustanus Salatin*, pp.57-8.

were sailing to Johor. The Acehnese also imprisoned all the Dutchmen in the town of Aceh¹¹¹⁷.

In 1600, Jacob Wilkens changed his mind in visiting Aceh after he had information about the Acehnese treatment to the previous Dutch visitor. His ship passed the bay of Aceh after firing two shots. The Acehnese sultan suspected his fire representing the Dutch aimed to pick up the prisoners. In the same year, another Dutch visitor arrived in Aceh. Paulus van Caerden of the New Brabant Company visited and asked permission from the Acehnese sultanate without having prior knowledge of the previous Dutch visits. The sultan welcomed him and let him hire a house in the town. The Dutch could conduct a trade after having an agreement with the *Shahbandar* (harbour-master). The Dutch could purchase 1,800 bahars of pepper at the rate of 8 taels per bahar. The Dutch should also pay the 5% export duty. The sultan charged extra money for Caerden. He should pay 1,000 reals and more. Realizing the Acehnese plot, Caerden captured some ships anchoring at Aceh. Aceh's prejudice that the Dutch were pirates was confirmed¹¹¹⁸.

In 1601, Andre Furtado de Mendonça, the Portuguese Captain of Malacca, arrived in Aceh and negotiated to erect the Portuguese fort. The Acehnese sultan refused the Portuguese proposal. The sultan changed his mind and abandoned the Portuguese. Aceh shifted its policy and approached the Dutch. Aceh welcomed the Dutch very well when the Dutch ships, sent by Middleburgh Company, arrived in Aceh in 1601. The Dutch commanders Laurence Bicker and Gerard Le Roy visited the court and negotiated with the Acehnese sultan. They brought Prince Maurice's letter. The Dutch prince requested permission for the Dutch trade in Aceh and the release of Dutch prisoners. The Acehnese immediately released the prisoners. Aceh tried to maintain its business with the Dutch. The Acehnese sultan sent his envoys, Abdul Samad and Sri Muhammad, to the Netherlands with a letter and some presents for Prince Maurice. The envoys departed in 1601 and arrived in Holland in 1602. The Acehnese also permitted the Dutch to erect a Zeeland factory and linked the Dutch to Gujarat. The

¹¹¹⁷ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.63-5.

¹¹¹⁸ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.66-7.

Dutch sailed to Cambay and brought the Acehnese letter to introduce them to the Gujarati Sultanate¹¹¹⁹.

Admiral Spilbergen arrived in Aceh and reinforced a friendship between the Dutch and Aceh. He stayed in Aceh from December 25, 1602 to April 3, 1603. During his stay, the price of pepper grew and reached 24 taels per bahar. He asked Cornelis Specx to monitor the recent pepper price. In January 1603, the first fleet of Dutch East India Company arrived in Aceh. The Dutch commander, Sebald de Weert, found several Dutch ships anchoring at Aceh and the Zeelanders' trade networks to Gujarat and Calicut. De Weert rented a house and established a factory in Aceh. He left for Ceylon on April 3, 1603 and was replaced by Jan de Decker. At the end of 1604, the Dutch ship of *the Delft* carried the Acehnese envoys to Aceh before sailing to the Coromandel Coast in 1605. The Dutch had expanded their trade networks to Banten, Golconda, and Masulipatnam via Aceh. The *Delft* embarked from Banten and called at Aceh on March 18, 1606 before sailing to the Coromandel Coast¹¹²⁰.

In 1606, Admiral Matelieff failed to capture Malacca. Besides approaching Johor, the Dutch also negotiated a treaty with Aceh. Admiral Matelieff sent Olivier de Vivere to form a new alliance with the new sultan of Aceh, Sultan Ali Riayat Shah. On January 17, 1607, the Dutch and Acehnese signed an agreement. The Dutch had permission to build a factory and were exempted from the Acehnese customs and trading freedom. Both parties also agreed to unite against the common enemy, the Spanish-Portuguese (Habsburg) Empire. In return, the Acehnese would have the Dutch assistance to invade Malacca¹¹²¹.

The 1607 Dutch-Aceh treaty gave the Dutch a distinct advantage over other merchants in Aceh. However, the Dutch could no longer enjoy their privilege. The new sultan, Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), did not intend to extend the contract made by Sultan Ali Riayat Shah. During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Aceh welcomed another

¹¹¹⁹ Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian*, pp.67-8.

¹¹²⁰ Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian*, pp.69-71.

¹¹²¹ Treaty between Vice-Admiral Olivier de Vivere and Ali Riayat Shah of Aceh, 17 January 1607, published in JMLCMJ, pp.397-9; Dasgupta. 1962. *Aceh in Indonesian*, p.72.

European merchant. An English ship, *Union*, called at Aceh in June 1609. The Dutch factor, Albrecht Willemsz, failed to prevent the English coming. He also reminded the Acehnese Sultan of the 1607 treaty. The sultan did not consider himself bound by this contract and ignored the Dutch appeal¹¹²².

The Dutch Factor in Banten, Jacques L'hermite, sent William Janes and Arent Meertensz to Aceh in 1609. The Dutch envoys and Willems tried to negotiate the new contract with Iskandar Muda. The Dutch also tried to use Iskandar Muda's hate on the Portuguese to get an agreement. The sultan refused the Dutch proposal to make a contract, but the sultan merely received the Dutch assistance to invade the Portuguese in Malacca. The Dutch did not have any choice and followed the Acehnese policy. For the Dutch, Aceh was a market to purchase the Gujarati cloth and a pivotal hub for the Dutch trade networks. The Dutch needed Aceh as a market and transit for the pepper trade from Banten and Patani. The Dutch also brought some Chinese merchandise from those two ports to Aceh before sailing and selling the products in Masulipatnam¹¹²³.

In 1613, the Acehnese attacked Johor and the Dutch preferred to assist Johor in defending its town. Aceh persuaded the Dutch to remain neutral, but the Dutch kept helping Johor. Aceh was powerful and defeated Johor. Aceh imprisoned all Johorese royal family and the Dutch prisoners in the Acehnese court. Without giving any mercy, the sultan also destroyed the Dutch factory in Aceh and enslaved the Dutchmen. During these difficult times, the Dutch shipping from Banten passed the Straits of Malacca without calling at Aceh before sailing to Masulipatnam. The Dutch lost their trading post in Aceh in 1613. They tried to link the trade networks to the source of pepper, Tiku and Pariaman and succeeded in having a trade and political treaty with the states of the west coast of Sumatra. Tiku and Pariaman were ready to assist the Dutch to invade Aceh in 1619. However, the Dutch did not want to invade Aceh, considering their power was under the Acehnese military. The Dutch focused on controlling the Sumatran pepper and cutting the pepper supply to Aceh. Sultan

¹¹²² Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.155-6.

¹¹²³ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.156-8.

Iskandar Muda complained that the Dutch bought all the pepper in Sumatra's west coast, and merely a tiny quantity of pepper came to Aceh. The Acehnese forced Tiku and other states of West Sumatra to ship all available pepper to Aceh¹¹²⁴.

Sultan Iskandar Muda abandoned his rivalry with the Dutch and decided to invade Malacca in 1629. Aceh was defeated and encountered a significant loss financially and militarily. The Dutch Governor sent Dirck Stadtlander to Aceh. Stadtlander was instructed to inform the Acehnese sultan that the Dutch were ready to invade the Portuguese in Malacca. In return, the Dutch requested the Acehnese to grant them a fortress in Aceh. The Acehnese accepted the Dutch proposal and permitted the Dutch to conduct a pepper trade without paying a tax for four years if they besieged Malacca. In 1633, Marten Valck was instructed to remind the Acehnese sultan about their plan to invade Malacca. However, the sultan did not have any intention to take revenge. The sultan asked Valck to re-establish the Dutch fort in Aceh. The sultan also linked the Dutch to Perak, where the Dutch could join the tin trade. In 1634, another Dutch merchant also arrived in Aceh and asked the sultan to invade Malacca. The Dutch naval ships appeared in the Malacca Straits and waited for the sultan's boat. However, the sultan lost his ambition to invade Malacca. Sultan Iskandar Muda died in 1636¹¹²⁵.

Sultan Iskandar Thani replaced his father-in-law and ascended the throne in 1636. The new sultan seemed to continue the Acehnese struggle against Portuguese Malacca. He also asked the Dutch to assist Aceh in invading Malacca. Governor Van Diemen appointed Jochum Roelofsen van Deutecom as an envoy to Aceh. The Dutch offered the Acehnese to invade Malacca. Sultan Iskandar Thani accepted the offer and exempted them from import and export customs and exclusive pepper trade. During the reign of Iskandar Thani, the Dutch penetration into the Acehnese business deepened and later continued under the rule of the Acehnese queens. The Dutch suspected that Sultan Iskandar Thani did not have any intention to invade Malacca. In 1638, the Acehnese sultan sent his envoys to Batavia and asked the Dutch to postpone their joint invasion. Aceh would send its naval ships after its fleet from Johor and

¹¹²⁴ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.158-169 & p.174.

¹¹²⁵ Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.174-7.

Pahang returned to Aceh. In the same year, Johor occupied Pahang and stimulated Johor-Aceh's dispute. The Dutch remained neutral on the Malay conflict, but Johor proved to be the best ally for the Dutch. Johor assisted the Dutch in burning and capturing Portuguese ships in 1639. Therefore, the Dutch allied with Johor to invade Malacca in 1641¹¹²⁶.

During the reign of Sultanah (Queen) Tajul-Alam Safiatuddin (1641-1675), Aceh continued exporting and importing various commodities. Aceh exported elephants, horses, sulfur, jungle products, tie, coconut coir and silk. Aceh imported some products for its own need or for re-selling to the foreign merchants. The imported goods were rice, oil, sugar, metal, tin, steel, Indian textiles, handcraft, Chinese porcelain, opium, coffee, tea, tobacco, luxurious merchandise, and slave. However, Aceh was not the busiest port in the Malay world. Its decline was determined by the Acehnese internal conflict¹¹²⁷ and the revolt from its dependencies. The Acehnese dependencies on the west coast of Sumatra began to break the Acehnese hegemony after the Dutch assisted and protected them¹¹²⁸.

Aceh was unable to compete with the Dutch-Malacca. The Dutch took concrete steps to control the international trade in the Malay World. They attempted to direct all foreign merchants to trade in Malacca and also forced all the Malay states to export their products from Malacca. They pressured and reduced the Acehnese involvement in the regional trade and tried to monopolise the Malay tin trade, as seen in Perak. In 1651, the Dutch had a treaty with the Acehnese sultanah to manage the tin producer of Perak jointly according to which they would get half of the tin production in Perak. The Dutch patrolled the Perak Coast and forced the inhabitants of Perak to deliver

¹¹²⁶ Iskandar (Ed). 1996. *Bustanus Salatin*, pp.53-4; Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.168-9; Dasgupta. 1962. *Acheh in Indonesian*, pp.183-6.

¹¹²⁷ After Sultanah Tajul-Alam Safiatuddin died in 1675, internal political upheavals happened in Aceh. The new sultanah, Sultanah Nurul Alam Nakiyatuddin Shah, was not able to control the Achenese society mainly Ulama and Orangkaya. Their greediness led them to dethrone the sultanah in 1686. The royal officials promoted Sultanah Kamalat Shah in 1686. The Acehnese Ulama and Orangkaya kept resisting to the queen. They wanted to be led by a male leader. Therefore, Sultanah Kamalat fell down in 1699 (Yusuf. 2021. *21 Wanita Perkasa yang Ditempa oleh Budaya Aceh*, pp.273-5 & pp.280-2).

¹¹²⁸ Drewes & Voorhoeve (Eds). 1958. *Adat Atjeh*, p.27-9; Takeshi. 1984. *The World of Adat Aceh*, pp.349-350; Lombard. 1991. *Kesultanan Aceh*, pp.148-9; Lewis. 1995, *Jan Company in the Straits of Malacca*, p.26; Auni. 1993. *The Decline of Aceh Sultanate*, p.111 & p.117.

their tin to them. The Dutch monopoly and their plan to construct a fort in Perak had provoked a violent reaction in 1651. The inhabitants of Perak murdered twenty-seven Dutchmen and destroyed their trading post. The Dutch government of Malacca charged the Acehnese queen on the brutal behaviour in Perak. The Dutch forced Perak to pay extra retribution as compensation for the Dutch victim. The Dutch also drove Aceh and Perak to break off trade with the Indian Merchants¹¹²⁹.

In 1680, Aceh was no longer maintaining its pepper and tin trade networks in the Malay World. The Dutch pressure had ultimately ended Acehnese commercial privileges, and the Dutch had taken control of pepper producers on the west coast of Sumatra and tin producer of Perak. Economically, Aceh had lost its principal revenue. However, the market of Aceh still operated during the second half of the 17th century, but few foreign merchants came to Aceh. During the reign of Acehnese queens, Aceh witnessed the military and political decline, but Aceh could also maintain its rank as the most important port in Southeast Asia¹¹³⁰.

¹¹²⁹ Lewis. 1995. *Jan Company in the Straits of Malacca*, p.22; Auni. 1993. *The Decline of Aceh Sultanate*, pp.112-3 & p.116.

¹¹³⁰ Iskandar (Ed). 1996. *Bustanus Salatin*, p.59; Auni. 1993. *The Decline of Aceh Sultanate*, pp.119-121.

Conclusion

In the Introduction of this thesis, some research questions were raised:

1. How did the Malacca Sultanate organise its political and trading organisation? How did the sultanate expand and sustain its trade networks? How did geo-economic and geo-political change determine the sultanate's trade networks?
2. Which contours and events can explain the early Luso-Malay encounter in Malacca in the early 16th century? How did the Portuguese capture Malacca from the Malay Sultanate? How did they re-configure Malacca's political and trading organisation from 1511 to 1580? How did the Portuguese defend Malacca from its rivals' invasion? How did the formal and the informal agents (mixed model of empire building) expand and sustain the Malacca's trade position and trade networks?
3. To what extent did the Iberian union affect Malacca's political and trading organisation? How did the Portuguese carry on its military infrastructure to defend Malacca against European and non-European rivals? How did Portuguese Malacca sustain its trade from 1580 to 1641, during the Iberian Union, within the context of an expanded Spanish presence in the Pacific world?
4. In which circumstances did the Portuguese surrender Malacca to the Dutch? How did the Portuguese-Eurasians survive during the Dutch rule in Malacca? How did the Portuguese operate their long-distance trade via Malacca from then on?
5. Last but not least, how were these European colonial interests and incursions perceived and answered by local rulers and local trade dynamics?

Chapters 1 to 5 successively answered these queries, providing detailed information extracted both from secondary literature and a significant array of primary sources. Both were interrogated in the light of the theoretical foundations of this thesis: the theories of cooperation (involving mechanisms ranging from collaboration to open resistance, including by war) and self-organization, combined with the analysis of the diplomatic policies of gifting and intermarriage as mechanisms sustaining both the rise

of Malacca Sultanate and the “Portuguese” and “Dutch Malacca”, from the 15th to the 17th centuries.

The structure of this thesis always had in mind the need to reconstitute, with detailed events and the analysis of organizational structures (political, financial, administrative and military), the complex stage on which the main players found themselves: Southeast Asia and, more particularly, the Straits of Malacca. Geographic data were provided, geopolitics were brought in, financial, demographical, commercial and social elements were gathered in order to place Malacca “on its own” and analyse its strategic role “by itself” and in interaction with European colonial policies and agents (formal and informal). Trade networks and circuits were reconstituted and geovisualised (in a sequential and, where applicable, in a parallel and comparative way) so as to understand the complexity of the relations of force at hand in the Straits of Malacca.

This thesis pledged to combine seaport studies and colonial studies. As a political entity and a trade entrepôt, Malacca suffered the consequences both of the power games of the local forces (as much as those of the Chinese Ming Dynasty), and those brought by the formal and informal colonial agents introduced by the European colonisers during the period under analysis: the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Wars, diplomacy and commerce between local rulers of Southeast Asia and the Europeans became the main framework in which our primary research questions could be answered.

The thesis was also built around the concepts (checked with a significant array of facts) of multi-cultural and cross-imperial relations and trade. Malacca emerges as the ultimate example of that. Discarding a binary analysis between colonisers and colonised, this work pays attention to the intermingling of different Asian and European players, revealing, for instance, that significant components of the Malaccan administrative and financial structure remained under Portuguese dominium. Both Dutch representatives and Portuguese agents adapted and dialogued, frequently by collaborating, giving rise to a kind of “Dutch-Portuguese Malacca”. Political, economic,

religious, social and individual factors interacted in the complex game analysed using theories of cooperation and not neglecting the important role of “free agents”.

As for content, our major findings can be summed up as follows.

The rise and decline of Malacca were related to its strategic position in the Straits of Malacca, bridging the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Its pivotal role led Malacca to become a Southeast Asian entrepôt, where trans-national merchants met and traded. From the 15th to 17th centuries, its principal financial revenue depended on the maritime commercial activities, namely its trade networks and customs duties, and seemed disconnected from the agricultural enterprise.

The strategic position of Malacca also attracted foreign countries to invade. During the sultanate, the Siamese and the Portuguese tried to capture Malacca. While the former failed, the latter successfully occupied Malacca in 1511. Over 130 years, the Portuguese also suffered from the successive invasions launched by the Malay states of Aceh and Johor. The Portuguese could defend the town of Malacca until the Dutch-Johor joint forces realised that Malacca could not survive without food supplies from the outside. They blocked all supplies to Malacca and forced the Portuguese to surrender in 1641. The Dutch learned from Malacca’s weaknesses and ranked it below Batavia.

During the sultanate, the Malays organised Malacca based on a Srivijayan bureaucracy. Besides ruling its inhabitants according to the Laws of Malacca and the Maritime Code of Malacca, the Malays installed four harbour-masters, representing the leading merchant communities in Malacca, to organise a commercial activity in Malacca. To attract incoming vessels, the Malay played diplomatic missions. They sent several envoys to some potential political and trading partners. Those partners were Siam, Majapahit, Ming Dynasty, and Cambay. The sultanate also expanded its sphere of influence to both sides of the Straits of Malacca. They ensured the security of Malacca by enlarging Malacca’s defensive line to the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

The sultanate was under global political-economic change. When the Ming Dynasty ceased to send its vessels to Southeast Asia during the 1430s, Malacca reacted and

decided to join Islamic trade networks. Malacca transformed to be a sultanate. Malacca became a prosperous state after hosting trans-national Muslim merchant communities. However, Malacca encountered its decline after giving many privileges to the Islamic communities. The unsatisfied Non-Muslim merchants in Malacca abandoned the sultanate during the Portuguese conquest in 1511.

Unlike the sultanate, the Portuguese had advanced military and defence infrastructure. The Portuguese Crown in Lisbon and Goa regularly sent a naval armada to secure the Portuguese colonies in the East, including Malacca. They erected a stone fortress, replacing the Malay Palace, and a fortification in Upeh to protect themselves. Besides installing native administration, they brought their political administration to Malacca. The Portuguese Captains and administrators were appointed to organise Malacca, but they still followed the sultanate's customs duties. Instead of prohibiting the private merchants, the Portuguese allowed their officials and private merchants to enlarge their trading world. Even they granted and rented Malacca's trade license from 1550 onwards. As a result, they could link Malacca to the Indian Ocean and the east of Malacca, comprising the Lesser Sunda Islands, China and Japan.

In early Portuguese Malacca, the officials had sent several envoys to potential realms, mainly Non-Muslim states. After establishing a partnership and erecting a trading post in the east of Malacca, the Portuguese began running the regular trade to the Moluccas. However, they had two trading rivals: first, Aceh established the new route and bridged the Spice Islands to the Gujarati merchants, and second, Johor also successfully connected the Spice Islands to the Chinese world. The Portuguese failed to collaborate with their neighbours and decided to invade them. The locals responded and laid several sieges over the Portuguese rule.

Besides the formal mechanisms, private merchants and missionaries had different stories. The private merchant could conduct a peaceful transaction and gain huge profit, as Fernão Mendes Pinto exploited the Malacca-Patani axis. The Missionaries also opened the new settlement in the Lesser Sunda Islands without using a sword. After converting the locals to embrace Catholicism, they traded and exported sandalwood to Java and Malacca.

During the Iberian Union, the Spanish did not interfere with the Portuguese overseas administration, including Malacca. Therefore, Malacca kept running its administration. However, it had to defend itself against the Spanish rival, the Dutch, but also created a privileged network with Manila. The Spanish also allowed the Portuguese to conduct trade in Manila. They exported slaves to Acapulco via the Philippines. After Portugal gained independence from the Spanish Habsburg Empire, the Portuguese lost their control in Malacca. The Portuguese State of India could not compete with the Dutch naval armada. Due to its own internal weaknesses, they also could not send fleets to rescue Malacca from the Dutch-Johorese blockade since the 1630s. The Portuguese had to surrender to the Dutch in 1641.

In the early Dutch period, the Dutch placed Malacca under Batavia and used it to handle the local tin trade. They forced the tin producers to export tin via Malacca and forbade the Indian merchants to trade in other Malay states. The Malays attempted to release the Dutch influence in the Malay World. Johor, which had a privilege, saw this opportunity to lower taxes for the Javanese and Chinese merchants. Johor became a traffic port and took Malacca's visitors.

After the Dutch taken of Malacca, not all the Portuguese-Eurasians left for India or Makasar. They served the Dutch as native officials, company's merchants, and even Dutch ambassadors to survive. Nor did they hesitate to embrace Calvinism and marry their daughters with the Dutch free men or VOC representatives. Meanwhile, the Portuguese in India still operated long-distance trade through the Straits of Malacca. Besides gaining Dutch licenses to pass the Straits, the Portuguese also shipped their commodities through English vessels. As Francisco Vieira de Figueredo did, some private traders also used native trading ships to export their products.

Under the European seaborne empire, Malacca was treated as a colonial port-city and all vessels were forced to sailing in the Straits of Malacca to pay the sea toll. They also forced the locals to export their products via Malacca. However, the Portuguese encountered a lot of local resistance. The Malays invaded Malacca during the Portuguese rule. They also established a new trading route excluding its port. The Malays never defeated the Portuguese in Malacca, since they did not have

sophisticated military artillery nor a naval armada. However, they were able to annihilate the Portuguese dominium when they collaborated with the Dutch. While the Aceh Sultanate began to decline during the Dutch rule, Johor prospered. The Dutch awarded privileges to the Johorese merchants in the Straits of Malacca. Nevertheless, they became estranged when the Dutch in Malacca began to resent Johor's economic growth.

If asked about the contributions of this thesis to the state of the art, considering the abundant literature produced so far, one could argue, based on the evidence provided, that they might be summarised in four central points.

Traditional historiography tends to base itself on written sources, and in the case of the European presence in Asia, this usually meant European sources. This thesis undertook to see what information about that process can be gained by consulting local and regional sources as well. In Asia, whether in India, South-East Asia, China, or Japan, the cultures of contact had a highly developed written culture, so that there is a wealth of sources depicting how these societies of contact perceived the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch (and, later still, English) settlers when they tried to spread their influence over the region.

Much is already known about Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch expansionism into Malacca and the entire South-East Asian region. However, many of the points made here were not. What we found in this thesis indicates that European sources contain very little information about the inner workings of Asian societies and their political system. We may assume that, at least in Malacca, the Europeans did not obtain a sufficient insight into the societies they were contacting.

The first result of this analysis is that it has been formulated on different sources bases, produced by other societies of contact as well: European colonialism is not a one-way street. It is not only the Europeans who are protagonists, and they are by no means the only ones able and willing to employ different strategies, including forceful mechanisms, to obtain political objectives.

What can be stated more clearly for Malacca, and probably South-East Asia as a whole, is that, secondly, the first Europeans to try to establish themselves were largely interested in trade. For them, trade meant trading posts, possibly fortresses, influence, and power. If our analysis mainly focused on trade networks, it has proven impossible to keep a focus that narrows strictly on trading aspects. The contemporary views, particularly autochthone societies, were far broader than that. They usually present a more holistic view of the encounters.

That Malaccan and other autochthone political entities were no mere objects of European expansionism, but rather active participants in the political processes, became obvious from several trends which can be generalised from several observations in separate areas and for different periods. The local powers in the Malay World, but also around that specific point, maintained conflict-laden relations with each other and would often enough try to instrumentalise the European trade interests to obtain the colonialists' assistance against each other. Far from "South-East Asia" defending itself against "the Europeans", there were a number of local political interests at work, at times even involving internal unrest within political entities. Similarly, there were no "Europeans" as such, but the societies of contact perceived very well the different interests of Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch colonial policies. Not only does this thesis tell a story of diverging autochthone interests, but it also shows the various autochthone protagonists making clever use of the rifts between various Europeans.

Thirdly, this does not only refer to the different nationalities of the "Europeans". It also refers to their diverging political, social, and economic status. The sultans and other rulers knew very well that the term "European" might denote an official mission by the Portuguese Captain-General in Goa, or else a mission by a religious order, or a non-state merchant, and they also attempted to use these distinctions for their purposes.

A fourth aspect can be distilled from the vast amounts of factual information gathered here: this was largely a male-dominated society, as were the European powers. But as with the "Westerners", there were exceptions among the South-East Asians; the most notable example here would probably be Queen Kalinyamat of Jepara, about whom

we read in chapter 2. There was no room, within the scope of this thesis, to delve into the intricacies of South-East Asian gender history, but it must be noted that, contrary to popular belief, women could at times assume central roles in regional politics, trade and even war.

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Chronology¹¹³¹

- 1509 The first fleet under the command of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived in Malacca and was expelled by the Sultan. De Sequeira could escape from the Malays, but his crews, including Ruy de Araujo, were imprisoned in Malacca.
- 1511 The Portuguese, led by Afonso de Albuquerque, invaded the Malaccan Sultanate. The first expedition was sent to the Moluccas, commanded by António de Abreu.
- 1512 A Javanese living with Hang Nadin in Malacca attacked the Portuguese. The mission led by De Brito was sent. The Portuguese also invaded Bintan, where the last escaping Sultan established his new forces. The Portuguese first fleet arrived in the spice islands of Moluccas.
- 1513 Pati Unus led Demak to attack Malacca. A fleet under the command of António Miranda de Azevedo sailed from Malacca to Banda and Moluccas. Jorge Alvares sailed from Malacca to China.
- 1514 The construction of Portuguese Fortaleza could be finished. The Portuguese helped Kampar to attack Lingga. Then, the Portuguese were obliged by Pasai to destroy Sultan Mahmud's invasion in Malacca.
- 1515 Albuquerque captured Ormuz. The Portuguese began to visit Solor and Timor.
- 1517 Fernando Peres de Andrade sailed from Malacca to China.
- 1518 Sultan Mahmud tried to re-take Malacca from the Portuguese, and the Portuguese started to invade Johore. The third fleet to the Moluccas
- 1520 The Portuguese attacked Johore
- 1521 The Portuguese crowned the allied prince to be the Sultan of Pasai. The Ottoman helped Aceh expel Portuguese from Pidie, and Francisco Serrão and the king of Ternate were poisoned.
- 1522 The Portuguese started to send a diplomatic mission to the Sundanese Kingdom. Henrique Leme stayed in Kalapa and agreed with the Sundanese
- 1523 The Portuguese, supported by Pahang and Patani, invaded Bintan, where the last Sultan escaped. António de Brito arrived and began to construct the fort in Ternate. The new rival of Aceh sent a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman in Constantinople (Istanbul).
- 1524 The Portuguese with their allied sultanates (Pahang and Patani) invaded Bintan, where the last Sultan hid. The Ottoman helped Aceh to expel the Portuguese from Pasai.
- 1525 The Portuguese and Lingga forced Sultan Mahmud to move to Johor.
- 1526 The Portuguese attacked Johor.
- 1527 Kalapa was possessed by Banten and was renamed to Jayakarta. Portuguese and Spanish competed to seize a fort in Tidore

¹¹³¹ I composed this chronology based on Schrieke (1966); Kartodirdjo (1992); Azra (2002); Vlekke (2008); Pinto (2012); Matos (1995); Boxer (1969); De Witt (2007); and Teixeira (1961).

- 1529 The Treaty of Zaragoza was executed. This treaty ended the Iberian dispute for the Moluccas. Jorge de Meneses forced the King of Ternate to pay his tribute to the King of Portugal.
- 1531 The locals attacked and killed the Portuguese General in Ternate
- 1535 Pati Unus led Demak to attack Malacca. In addition, The Portuguese attacked Johore
- 1536 The Portuguese attacked Johore. Galvao started to govern a fort in Ternate and handled a rebellion.
- 1537 The Acehnese attacked Malacca with the help of the Ottoman Turks and Ethiopian.
- 1539 The Acehnese attacked Malacca.
- 1546 The married men of Malacca (The Portuguese *Casado*) asked the king for the freedom to deal in the Moluccan cloves trade. A fleet under the command of Fernão de Sousa was sent to the Moluccas.
- 1547 The Acehnese attacked Malacca with the help of the Ottoman Turks and Ethiopians. Francisco Xavier visited the islands of Moro in the Moluccas. The first Jesuits arrived in the Moluccas.
- 1551 The Queen of Japara attacked Malacca. While the Portuguese allied with the Johor Sultanate.
- 1556 Friar Antonio Taveira landed in Timor.
- 1557 The Portuguese received permission to settle in Macao.
- 1562 The first Dominicans arrived at the island of Solor.
- 1564 The Acehnese invaded Johore Sultanate. At the same time, The Javanese attacked Solor.
- 1566 The fortress of Solor was started to construct.
- 1567 The Acehnese attacked Johor.
- 1568 The Acehnese (with the help of the Ottoman Turks and Ethiopian) attacked Malacca (helped by the Johore Sultanate).
- 1570 The Acehnese attacked Johor. Sultan Hairun was murdered in a Portuguese fort.
- 1572 The Portuguese allied with Acehnese Sultanate.
- 1573 The Acehnese attacked Malacca.
- 1574 The Queen of Japara attacked Malacca. The Portuguese were aware that they were in danger, and they tried to re-fortify the fortress.
- 1575 The Acehnese attacked Malacca. In Ternate, Prince Baabullah destroyed the Portuguese fort so that the Portuguese lost Ternate, which thus completed the disorganization of the Portuguese presence in the Eastern Archipelago in a definitive manner and put an end to any pretensions of monopolizing the spice trade in this region.
- 1576 The Portuguese was expelled from the Island of Ternate after murdering King Hairun.
- 1580 King Philip II of Spain united Portugal and Spain under his reign (Habsburg Empire).
- 1582 The Acehnese attacked Johor, but the Portuguese helped Johor. Aceh sent a diplomatic mission to Istanbul.

- 1585 Johor tried to capture Malacca.
- 1587 The Portuguese approached Aceh to destroy Johor.
- 1596 The Portuguese conceded the Spice Island commerce to the Javanese merchants.
- 1601 The Dutch built factories in Aceh and Patani.
- 1602 The Dutch built the factory in Gresik and had a contract on pepper monopoly with the Banda authority.
- 1603 The Dutch built factories in Jayakarta and Johor. They attacked the Portuguese fortress of Solor.
- 1605 The Portuguese were expelled (by the Dutch) from Ambon.
- 1606 The Portuguese ambassador was sent to Aceh.
- 1607 The Dutch invaded Banda and established a fort there.
- 1611 The first Dutch fort was built.
- 1612 The Aceh Sultanate conquered Deli.
- 1613 The Aceh Sultanate attacked Johor. The Fall of a Portuguese fort in Solor by V.O.C.'s attack.
- 1614 The Aceh Sultanate invaded and conquered Bintan.
- 1615 An alliance of Palembang, Jambi-Indragiri, and Siak was formed under the Johor Sultanate to attack the Aceh Sultanate. Aceh attacked Malacca.
- 1617 The Dutch destroyed the English ships in the Spice Islands.
- 1618 The Acehnese invaded and conquered Pahang. At the same time, J.P. Coen attacked Jepara.
- 1619 This year, Melaka's fate was sealed with the conquest of Jayakarta and the foundation of Batavia by Jan Pieterszoon Coen, which would develop into the centre of Dutch Power in the East and the very doorstep of Melaka. The Dutch attacked the English in the Moluccas. The Dutch fort in Jayakarta was named Batavia. The Acehnese invaded and conquered Kedah-Patani.
- 1620 The Acehnese invaded Perak.
- 1623 The Acehnese attacked Johor.
- 1624-5 The Acehnese invaded and conquered Nias.
- 1625 The Acehnese invaded Johor.
- 1629 The Acehnese sultanate attacked Malacca, but Johor-Patani forces helped the Portuguese to destroy the Acehnese troops.
- 1630 Pahang and Johor attacked Aceh.
- 1633 A war between Banten and VOC.
- 1634 The Dutch started to blockade the Straits of Malacca during 1634-40.
- 1636 Friar Rafael da Veiga began the evangelization in Timor.
- 1638 The Portuguese ambassador was sent to Aceh.
- 1641 The Portuguese surrendered Malacca to the Dutch.
- 1645 The Dutch forbade the practice of Catholicism in public in the town of Malacca.
- 1646 The Dutch published the legal persecution.
- 1665 The official persecution was issued to prevent the Romish priest's provocation when they came to Malacca.

- 1666 Governor Balthasar Bort (1665-1677) issued a fuller proclamation of anti-Catholic legislation.
- 1680-4 Governor Cornelis van Qualberg (1680-4) allowed a Catholic priest, António Rodrigo de Brit, to celebrate the Catholic feast in public.
- 1702 The Portuguese-Eurasians gained their religious freedom in Malacca.

Sultans of Malacca¹¹³²

Parameswara (Sultan Iskandar Syah)	1394-1414
Sultan Megat Iskandar Syah	1414-1424
Sultan Muhammad Syah	1424-1444
Sultan Abu Syahid	1445-1446
Sultan Muzzafar Syah	1446-1456
Sultan Mansur Syah	1456-1477
Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah	1477-1488
Sultan Mahmud Syah	1488-1511
Sultan Ahmad	1511

¹¹³² I composed the list of the Malacca sultans according to Adil (1980) and Hashim (2016).

Portuguese Captains and Governors in Malacca¹¹³³

Rui de Brito Patalim	1511-14
Jorge de Albuquerque	1514-15
Jorge de Brito	1515-17
Nuno Vaz Pereira	1517
Afonso Lopes da Costa	1518-19
Garcia de Sá	1519-20
Jorge de Albuquerque	1521-25
Pedro de Mascarenhas	1525-26
Jorge Cabral	1526-28
Pedro de Faria	1528-29
Garcia de Sá	1529-31
Paulo da Gama	1533-34
Estêvão da Gama	1534-38
Pero de Faria	1539-42
Rui Vaz Pereira Marramaque	1542-44
Simão Botelho	1544-45
Garcia de Sá	1545
Simão de Melo	1545-48
Pedro da Silva da Gama	1548-52
Francisco Alvares	1552
Álvaro de Ataíde de Gama	1552-54
António de Noronha	1554-56
João Pereira	1556-57
João de Mendonça	1557-61
Francisco de Eça	1561-64
Diogo de Meneses	1564-67

¹¹³³ I composed the list of Portuguese Captains of Malacca according to Pinto (2012); Thomaz (1962); and Teixeira (1983).

Leonis Pereira	1567-70
Francisco da Costa	1570-73
Francisco Henriques de Meneses	1573-74
Tristão Vaz da Veiga	1574-75
Miguel de Castro	1575
Aires de Saldanha	1576-79
João da Gama	1579-82
Roque de Melo	1582-85
João da Silva Pereira	May 1585- February 1588
João Ribeiro Gaio (Bishop of Malacca)	February - September 1588
Diogo Lobo	1588-90
Pedro Lopes de Sousa	1590-93
Francisco da Silva de Meneses	1594-97
Martim Afonso de Melo	1597-1600
Fernão de Albuquerque	1600-03
André Furtado de Mendonça	1603-06
António de Meneses	1606-07
Sebastião de Tavora	1607-09
Francisco Miranda Henriques	1609-13
Gaspar Afonso de Melo	1613-15
João Caiado de Gamboa	1615-16
António Pinto da Fonseca and João da Silva	1616
João da Silveira	1616-18
Pero Lopes de Sousa	1618-...
Francisco Coutinho	1624
Gaspar de Melo de Sampaio	1629-30
Diogo de Melo e Castro	1630-33
Álvaro de Castro	1633-36
Diogo Coutinho Docem	1636-39
Luis Martins de Sousa Chicorro	1640-41

Dutch Governor in Malacca¹¹³⁴

Johan van Twist	1641-42
Jeremias van Vliet	1642-45
Arnold de Vlaming van Outshoorn	1645-46
Johan Thijssoon Payart	1646-62
Johan van Riebeeck	1662-65
Balthasar Bort	1665-79
Jacob Jorisssoon Pits	1679-80
Cornelis van Quaalberg	1680-84
Nicolaas Schaghen	1684-86
Dirk Komans	January 1686-November 1686
Thomas Slicher	1686-91
Dirk Komans	1691-92
Gelmer Vosburg	1692-97
Govert van Hoorn	1697-1700

¹¹³⁴ I composed the list of Dutch Governor of Malacca according to Teixeira (1983).

Document Appendix

APPENDIX 1 The Summary of *Sulatus Sulatin* (Malay Annals)¹¹³⁵

Chapter I (Brown Version); Chapter I (Shellabear Version)

A preface in praise of Allah, the Prophet and his Companions. How the history came to be written. The story of Raja Iskandar. He defeats Raja Kida Hindi and marries his daughter, by whom he has a son, Raja Aristun Shah. When Raja Kida Hindi dies, he is succeeded by Raja Aristun Shah. A list of his successors down to Raja Suran Padshah.

Chapter II (Brown Version); Chapter I (Shellabear Version)

The story of Raja Shulan of Nagapatam. He conquers all countries until he comes to Gangga Nagara, where Raja Linggi Shah Johan resists him but finally is slain. Raja Shulan marries Raja Linggi Shah Johan's daughter, Onang Kiu, then returns to India and founds Bija Nagara. From Onang Kiu he has a daughter, Chendana Wasis, whom he marries to Raja Suran Padshah, grandson of Raja Iskandar. On his death Raja Shulan is succeeded by Raja Chulan, who presently decides to invade China and gets as far as Temasele (Singapura). The ruse of the Chinese to discourage this venture. Raja Chulan's descent into the sea and his marriage with the daughter of Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl. His return to Kalinga and marriage with the daughter of Raja Kudar, ruler of Hindustan. He dies and is succeeded by his son, Adirama Raja Mudaliar, whose descendants still rule Bija Nagara.

Chapter III (Brown Version); Chapter II, III, & IV (Shellabear Version)

The story of Wan Empok and Wan Malini and the miracle that happened to the rice they had grown on a clearing on Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru in Palembang. To this hill top come Bichitram, Paladutani and Nilatanam, princely descendants of Alexander; and they tell Wan Empok and Wan Malini the story of Alexander's marriage with the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi and Raja Chilian's descent into the sea. The ruler of Palembang takes the three young princes to Palembang, whither come rajas of all countries to do homage to them. The eldest of the princes becomes ruler of Minangkabau with the title of Sang Sapurba; the second becomes ruler of Tanjong Pura with the title of Sang Maniaka and the youngest stays at Palembang with Demang Lebar Daun, the ruler, who abdicates in his favour and makes him ruler with the title of Sang Utama. The birth of Bath from foam out of the mouth of a white cow belonging to Wan Empok and Wan Malini. Bath reads a chiri or coronation formula giving Sang Utama the new title of Sri Tri Buana. Sri Tri Buana's thirty-nine brides. He goes to Temasek and founds a city there to which he gives the name of Singapura. After a reign of forty-eight years Sri Tri Buana dies and is buried on Singapore Hill. Succeeded by his son with the title of Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira. Appointments of Bendahara, Perdana Menteri and Temenggong. The growth and fame of the new city of Singapura.

Chapter IV (Brown Version); Chapter V (Shellabear Version)

The great Kingdom of Majapahit and its ruler, the Batara. His quarrel with Singapore:

¹¹³⁵ This summary is excerpted from Brown (1952) and Shellabear (2016).

the episode of the wood-shaving and Sri Pikraina Wira's riposte. The unsuccessful attack of Majapahit on Singapore.

Chapter V (Brown Version); Chapter IV & VI (Shellabear Version)

The Ruler of Bija Nagara has a beautiful daughter. Talai Pachudi, and Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira sends his minister to ask for her hand for his son, Raja Muda. Raja Muda succeeds his father and is styled Sri Rana Wikrama. The story of Badang, Sri Rana Wikrama's strong man.

Chapter VI (Brown Version); Chapter VII to XI (Shellabear Version)

The story of the Rajas of Pasai. Měrah Silu is driven out by his brother and goes to the country to which he gives the name of Semudra, the Semudra of which the Prophet foretold the conversion to Islam. The voyage of the missionaries from Mecca to Semudra in Nakhoda Isma'il's ship and the successive conversions of Fansuri, Lamiri, Haru and Perlak on their way. They reach Semudra where Měrah Silu is converted to Islam and made Raja of Semudra with the title of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. The marriage of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh with, the daughter of the Raja of Perlak. He has two sons, Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. He founds Pasai as a settlement for Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir and after dividing his men, elephants and regalia equally between his two sons makes Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ruler of Semudra. The Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi (Siam) takes Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir captive, but the letter is recovered from Siam by his faithful minister disguised as an Arab trader and is restored to sovereignty in Pasai. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur offends his brother, is captured by him and exiled to Manjong; and though Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir subsequently repents of his treatment of his brother and sends to Manjong to bring him back, Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dies at Padang Maya by the tomb of his minister, whom Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir had executed. The attack of the swordfish on Singapore. Sang Ranjuna Tapa's treachery in revenge for Sultan Iskandar's treatment of his daughter. The invasion of Singapore by the Javanese and the fall of the city. Sultan Iskandar is driven from Singapore and finally makes a settlement at Malacca. After a reign of 25 years he dies and is succeeded by his son who takes the title of Sultan Megat. The latter only reigns for two years and is succeeded by his son, Raja Tengah, who is miraculously converted to Islam. Saiyid 'Abdu'l-'Aziz comes from Jeddah, all Malacca is converted to Islam and Raja Tengah takes the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He introduces precise-court ceremonial and proves himself to be a good and just ruler. The rise of Malacca to greatness.

Chapter VII (Brown Version); Chapter XII (Shellabear Version)

The story of Mani Purindan of Pahili in Kalinga who leaves his home after a quarrel with his brother and decides to go to Malacca to do homage to the Raja. Sultan Muhammad Shah dies after a reign of 57 year and is succeeded by his son Raja Ibrahim with the title of Sultan Abu Shahid: but the Raja of Rekan acts as regent until Raja Kasim, Sultan Abu Shahid's brother, seizes the throne. The Raja of Rekan is killed but before he dies he kills Sultan Abu: Shahid. Raja Kasim becomes Sultan Muzaffar Shah, shews him-self to be a wise and humane ruler and orders the making of a code of laws. Bendahara Sriwa Raja fancying that he has incurred the Sultan's displeasure takes poison.

Chapter VIII (Brown Version); Chapter XIII (Shellabear Version)

The Siamese attack Malacca but are defeated. Tun Perak's vigorous ripostes against Malacca criticisms of his conduct earn Sultan Muzaffar's approval and he is made Paduka Raja and told to live at Malacca. His quarrel with the Sri Nara 'diraja and how Sultan Muzaffar reconciled them. He is made Bendahara and is described as one of the three outstanding men of his time. The Siamese again attack and again the attack is repelled. Sultan Muzaffar then decides to try and make friends with Siam and sends Tun Telanai as envoy. The success of his mission.

Chapter IX (Brown Version); Chapter XIX, XVI, XV, XIII, & XVI (Shellabear Version)

At Majapahit the Batara had died leaving no son. His daughter, Putri Nai Kesuma, marries the Raja of Tanjong Pura's son who had been rescued from shipwreck by a toddy tapper and becomes Batara. The offspring of the marriage is Radin Galoh Chendra Kiran, whose beauty is such that Sultan Mansur goes over to Majapahit to marry her; he is escorted by neighbouring rajas and by Hang Tuah. The odd sense of humour of the Batara and his various efforts to get the better of his Malacca guests. The prowess of Hang Tuah. On the return to Malacca Hang Tuah gets into trouble with Sultan Mansur Shah, who orders the Sri Nara 'diraja to put him to death. The Sri Nara 'diraja however uses his discretion and merely hides him away, to produce him again later just when he is required to deal with Hang Kasturi. Sultan Mansur's new palace is burned down. The Raja of China sends a good will mission to Malaka: his effort to impress Malacca with his greatness provokes an admirable riposte from Sultan Mansur. He sends his daughter from China to marry Sultan Mansur. On Sultan Mansur's orders Pahang is attacked and conquered and the ruler (Maharaja Sura) is brought as a captive to Malacca. His skill with elephants. Death of Sri Nara 'diraja Tun' Ali.

Chapter X (Brown Version); Chapter XV (Shellabear Version)

The sickness of the Raja of China. Its cause and cure.

Chapter XI (Brown Version); Chapter XVII & XVIII (Shellabear Version)

Sultan Mansur orders an attack on Siak because Siak will not admitt he overlordship of Malacca. A follower of Raja Muhammad, one of Sultan Mansur's sons, kills, Tun Besar, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, for accidentally knocking off Raja Muhammad's head-dress. Raja Muhammad is exiled to Pahang and made ruler there. The growing fame of Malaka.

Chapter XII (Brown Version); Chapter XIX, XX, & XXVI (Shellabear Version)

The story of Semerluki, Raja of Mengkasar, and his ambition to conquer all the countries below the wind. After raiding Java, he is worsted at Malaka and later at Pasai. After yet another defeat in Malaka water she returns to Mengkasar. The coming of Maulana Abu Bakar with the book Durr Manzum and the mission to Pasai to pose a problem of theology. Kadli Yusuf's submission to Maulana Abu Bakar. Sultan Mansur's attempt to gain the hand of the Princess of Gunong Ledang.

Chapter XIII (Brown Version); Chapter XXII (Shellabear Version)

The rising in Pasai against Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin, who flees to Malacca. Sultan Mansurs ends an expedition to reinstate him, but after he has been reinstated he rudely refuses to send his 'obeisance' to Malacca; and when he is again dethroned, the Malacca men leave him to his fate.

Chapter XIV (Brown Version); Chapter XXI, XXIII, XXV, & XXVI (Shellabear Version)

The story of the Raja of Champa; how he discovered a child in the blossom of an areca palm and gave the child the name of Raja Pau Glang. When he grows up, Raja Pau Glang marries the Raja of Champa's daughter and ultimately succeeds him on the throne. Raja Pau Glang's grandson Pau Gma, marries the daughter of the Batara of Majapahit and then returns to Champa, leaving his bride behind in Majapahit. The son of this marriage, Raja Jakanak, is born at Majapahit but goes in due course to visit his father, Pau Gma, in Champa and later succeeds him on the throne. Champa is invaded by the Raja of Kuchi and the Raja of Champa is killed. His sons escape, one to Aceh and one (Shah Indra Berma) to Malacca, where he is welcomed by Sultan Mansur and he and his followers embrace Islam. From them is sprung the Cham community at Malacca. The death of Sultan Mansur. He is succeeded by Raja Radin, his son by the Batara of Majapahit's daughter, who takes the title of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. The attempt of Raja Tua, his grandmother, to take his life so that Raja Muhammad (exiled to Pahang in chapter XI) should succeed to the throne. The whims of Bendahara Paduka Raja. Sultan Ala'u'd-din puts down robbery in Malacca by himself acting as police-man in disguise. The visit of the Raja of the Moluccas and his prowess as a sepak raga player. The visit of the Telanai of Trengganu' without the knowledge of the Sultan of Pahang results in the murder of the Telanai and vigorous reprisals from Malacca. Similarly an execution of an offender by the Raja of Siak 'without the knowledge of' Malacca earns Sultan Ibrahim a stern rebuke. The death of Bendahara Paduka Raja.

Chapter XV (Brown Version); Chapter XXIV, XVII, & XXVI (Shellabear Version)

The quarrel between Haru and Pasai and the cause of it. The ruler of Haru (for no specified reason) orders a raid on the outlying territories of Malacca. The raiders are defeated, thanks to the bravery of the Sri Bija 'diraja and Tun Isak Berakah. Sultan Ala'u'd-din orders an attack on Kampar (here also no reason is given). It is successful and Sultan Ala'u'ddin puts in his son, Raja Menawar, as ruler of Kampar. The death of Sultan Alauddin. He is succeeded by his son Raja Mamat (sic), who becomes Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Sri Bija 'diraja incurs his displeasure and is put to death., The incident of Tun Bayajit. The Sriwa Raja is a great favourite. His oddities. Only the loyalty of Malays, to their rulers saves Sultan Mahmud from death at the hand so fan injured husband. The Sriwa Raja's uncanny power over elephants and horses. Handsome Raja Zainu'l-'Abidin and the debauchery of Malacca. The conquest of Kelantan.

Chapter XVI (Brown Version); Chapter XXVI (Shellabear Version)

In Kampar Sultan Menawar (son of Sultan Ala'u'din of Malacca) dies and is succeeded by his son 'Abdullah. He comes to Malacca to visit Sultan Mahmud, who marries him to his daughter and makes him Sultan 'Abdullah of Kampar. Death of Bendahara Puteh. He is succeeded by Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir, who becomes Bendahara Sri Maharaja and is described as the 'grandes to fall the Bendaharas'. The prosperity of Malacca under his administration. The affair of Pateh Adam and Tun Menida.

Chapter XVII (Brown Version); Chapter XXXII (Shellabear Version)

The Raja of Kedah visits Malacca to obtain recognition as Ruler of Kedah. His tacit tribute to the greatness of Bendahara Sri Maharaja. The incident of Tun Perpatih Hitam beings ummoned before the Bendahara by a foreigner and the subsequent

execution of himself and his son for disrespect to the Bendahara.

Chapter XVIII (Brown Version); Chapter XXXIII (Shellabear Version)

The plight of the Indragiri people in Malacca. They ask their Raja to take them back to Indragiri. He himself escapes and returns to Indragiri, where his cousin Maharaja Isak is driven from the throne and flees to Lingga, where subsequently he becomes ruler. Sultan Mahmuds ends Hang Nadim to India to buy special cloth fabrics for him. Hang Nadim draws patterns better than any of the Kalinga designers and returns with the desired fabrics, but his ship is wrecked as the result of a curse laid on the shipmaster by a Saiyid whom the shipmaster had insulted. Hang Nadim escapes with four cloths to Ceylon where he makes lanterns out of egg-shells for the Raja and eventually reaches Malacca, where he incurs the wrath of Sultan Mahmud. The death of Laksamana Hang Tuah.

Chapter XIX (Brown Version); Chapter XIX (Shellabear Version)

The Sriwa Raja is sent to Pahang to install Sultan 'Abdu'l- Jamal as ruler in succession to his father, Sultan Muhammad Shah. His adventures in Pahang. He sees Tun Teja, the Bendahara of Pahang's daughter, and brings back to Malacca so glowing an account of her that Sultan Mahmud is determined to marry her despite the fact that she is already betrothed to the new Sultan of Pahang. He offers to reward with even half his kingdom whoever will abduct her. This is a chance for Hang Nadim to redeem his failure in Kalinga (chapter XVIII) and he proceeds to Pahang, bribe sail and sun dry and success-fully abducts Tun Teja. Sultan' Abdu'l- Jamali s so angry that he meditates an attack on Malacca in which he will demolish the audience hall with his elephants Beman Chengkobat! Sultan Mahmud thereupon offers immunity for all time to whoever will capture Beman Chengkobat for him and Laksamana Khoja Husain volunteers for the task which, by method similar to those employed by Hang Nadim in the abduction of Tun Teja, he successfully accomplishes.

Chapter XX (Brown Version); Chapter XXXII (Shellabear Version)

Chau Sri Bangsa, a Siamese prince, conquers Kota Mahligai (Petani), having vowed that he would turn Muhammadan if victorious. He fulfils his vow. The origin of the name Petani. Chau Sri Bangsa obtains recognition from Malacca and is installed as Sultan Ahmad Shah of Petani. The coming of Maulana Sadar Jahan to Malacca. Sultan Mahmud becomes his pupil. The Maulana's rather Pecksniffian rebuke of the Sri Rama in his cups provokes a surprisingly good retort from the Sri Rama, and the Maulana has no success either in a verbal contest with Tun Mai Ulat Bulu. The mission to Pasai to pose a problem of theology. The message of Pasai is not put in writing but learnt by heart by the envoy for a special reason. Pasai gives an apparently satisfactory answer to the problem, though(as in the case in Chapter X) we are not told what it was.

Chapter XXI (Brown Version)

Legur invades Pahang, on instructions from Siam, and Sultan Mahmuds ends a force to help Pahang, under the leader ship of Bendahara Sri Maharaja accompanied by the Laksamana Leguri's defeated. The prosperity of Malacca. The visit of a Portugueses hip from Goa and the Malays' first meeting with Europeans whom they described as 'white Bengalis'. The first attack of the Portuguese on Malacca. It is repelled.

Chapter XXII (Brown Version); Chapter XXXI and XXXII (Shellabear Version)

The beauty of Tun Fatimah, daughter of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who did not 'shew' her to Sultan Mahmud and thereby incurred the royal displeasure. The wealth of the Bendahara. The lawsuit between Naina Sura Diwana and Raja Mendaliar which was to be heard by the Bendahara. One of the parties bribes the Bendahara, whereupon the other bribes the Laksamana to tell Sultan Mahmud Shah that the Bendahara is meditating a coup d'état. This is Sultan Mahmud's chance to work off the grudge he bears the Bendahara over Tun Fatimah and he orders the execution of the Bendahara, who is accordingly put to death along with his brother, the Sri Nara 'diraja. When later Sultan Mahmud learns that the Laksamana's story was false, he is stricken with remorse and visits condign punishment on the Laksamana and the man who bribed him. The old Paduka Tuan is then made Bendahara, much to his astonishment. His habits. Sultan Mahmud marries Tun Fatimah, but she mourns the death of her father and 'never laughed or even smiled. So unhappy is Sultan Mahmud that he abdicates in favour of his son, Sultan Ahmad, and retires into seclusion with none to keep him company but his henchman Sang Sura.

Chapter XXIII (Brown Version); Chapter XXXIV (Shellabear Version)

d'Albuquerque attacks Malacca. The bravery of Sultan Ahmad in the face of an attack which is not to the liking of his tutor, Makhdum Sadar Jahan. The incident of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah and the Hikayat Amir Hamzah. Sultan Ahmad is wounded and the Malacca defenders are stirred to fresh efforts but Malacca falls and Sultan Ahmad flees to Pahang and finally to Bentan, accompanied by his father. His conduct offends Sultan Mahmud who has him murdered and resumes the throne. Sultan Mahmud sets up a new administration at Bentan and appoints as his successor his son by Tun Fatimah, thereby displacing Raja Muzaffar Shah.

Chapter XXIV (Brown Version); Chapter XXXIV (Shellabear Version)

Sultan 'Abdullah, Raja of Kampar, refuses to visit Sultan Mahmud in Bentan or to own allegiance to him any longer: and fearing reprisals he seeks the assistance of the Portuguese. Sultan Mahmud orders an attack on Kampar, but the Malay fleet is worsted by the Portuguese and the Malays seek refuge in Indragiri where Tun Biajit beats all comers at cockfighting, including the Raja himself. Sultan 'Abdullah is taken prisoner by the Portuguese and sent first to Goa and then to Portugal. Sultan Mahmud sends for Sultan 'Abdullah's chiefs and vents his wrath upon them.

Chapter XXV (Brown Version)

The Raja of Lingga goes to Bentan to pay his respects and is warmly received by Sultan Mahmud. The Raja of Indragiri sets off to Bentan to pay his respects and hearing that the Raja of Lingga is away seizes this opportunity to pay off an old score and ravages Lingga. On arrival at Bentan the Raja of Indragiri receives a warm welcome, is married to one of Sultan Mahmud's daughters and recognised as ruler of Indragiri with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil. When the Raja of Lingga gets back to Lingga and finds what has happened during his absence he returns to Bentan to lay his grievances before Sultan Mahmud. The latter does his best to heal the breach between Lingga and Indragiri, but the Raja of Lingga returns to his country and taking advantage of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's absence attacks and ravages Indragiri. Fearing reprisals from Bentan he seeks the help of the Portuguese and when the inevitable

attack from Bentan comes, the Portuguese repel it. Sultan Mahmud then sends an expedition against the Portuguese in Malacca, under the command of the Paduka Tuan with Sultan 'Abdul'l-Jalil of Indragiri as 'observer.' It is unsuccessful and the Paduka Tuan is recalled. His quarrel with Sultan 'Abdu'l- Jalil.

Chapter XXVI (Brown Version)

Raja 'Abdul of Siak visits Bentan, is recognised by Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Siak with the title of Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah and married to one of Sultan Mahmud's daughters. Sultan Mahmud sends the Paduka Tuan to the Western territories to call their governor. Tun Aria Bija 'diraja, who had not paid his respects to Sultan Mahmud since the fall of Malacca.

Chapter XXVII (Brown Version)

The story of Sultan Husain, Raja of Haru, and his journey to Bentan to seek the hand of Raja Puteh, Sultan Mahmud's beautiful daughter. His adventures at Bentan. He marries Raja Puteh and returns to Haru vastly impressed with the pomp and dignity of the court of Sultan Mahmud in exile.

Chapter XXVIII (Brown Version); Chapter XXXIV (Shellabear Version)

The visit of the Sultan of Pahang and other Rajas to Bentan. Sultan Mahmud marries his daughter Raja Hatijah to the Sultan of Pahang and appoints him to be ruler of Pahang. The Portuguese attack Bentan, the Malays are defeated and Sultan Mahmud has to take to the jungle. Tun Mahmud gets him away to Kampar where after reigning for five years he dies and is succeeded by Raja Ala'u'ddin, his son by Tun Fatimah. Raja Muzaffar^ his brothers (the end of chapter XVIII) is driven out and flees to Kang (?Klang), whence he is taken to Perak by a trader and proclaimed ruler with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Tun Mahmud, who had been made Sri Agar Raja for his services in getting Sultan Mahmud a way to Kampar, is made Bendahara of Perak.

Chapter XXIX (Brown Version)

Sultan Ala'u'ddin on succeeding Sultan Mahmud goes to Pahang and marries the Sultan of Pahang's sister. The wording of the letters sent to Siam. On his return to Ujong Tanah, where by this time he has established himself, Sultan Ala'uddin is furious to hear that the Sri Agar Raja has been made Bendahara of Perak and sends for him. The Adipati of Kampar brings tribute to Ujong Tanah and is shrewdly reminded that the traditional etiquette for the presentation of it still exists. Sultan Ala'udin for no specified reason orders an attack on Merbedang, which is successfully carried out by Tun Pekerma.

Chapter XXX (Brown Version)

The attempted revolution of the Malays in Malacca under Sang Naya against the Portuguese. Sang Naya is executed by the Portuguese and Sultan Ala'u'ddin executes the Portuguese envoy sent to inform him of Sang Naya's death. The Portuguese forth with attack Ujong Tanah, the Malays are defeated and Sultan Ala'u'ddin sues for a truce.

Chapter XXXI (Brown Version)

The incident of Pateh Ludang, who was brought to Ujong Tanah by the Sultan-designate of Pahang and was promptly murdered by Sultan A la'u'ddin's chief Sang Stia, as the result of an old feud. Sultan Muzaffar Shah (as he had become) pardons

Sang Stia when sent to him bound on Sultan Ala'u'ddin's orders, and mollified by being allowed to take Pateh Ludang's Sakai back with him returns to Pahang.

APPENDIX 2 The Summary of *Undang-Undang Melaka* (The Laws of Malacca)¹¹³⁶

Introduction

- 0.1 It is the duty of a ruler to appoint State Dignitaries and functionaries whose functions are later mentioned. These laws were first established by Sultan Iskandar Syah who was the first ruler to embrace Islam and bore the title of Sultan Mahmud Syah and later expanded by another Sultan Mahmud Syah who ordered that the laws kept in various ministries be brought together and codified.

Chapter 1

- 1.1 It is an offence to wear yellow or transparent clothes or a keris with a gold handle.
- 1.2 The four qualities of a ruler.
- 1.3 The qualities required of a ruler's subjects.

Chapter 2

- 2.1 He who transgresses the language rules established by the ruler shall be sentenced to death.
- 2.2 He who forges royal orders and letters of command shall also be sentenced to death.

Chapter 3

Certain articles are not to be used at the funeral of a commoner. Yellow mattresses, pillows, and handkerchiefs are also forbidden.

Chapter 4

There are ten offences for which the death penalty will be incurred.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 He who kills without royal knowledge shall be put to death.
- 5.2 It is legitimate to murder without royal knowledge under four circumstances.
- 5.3 It is not an offence to murder a trespasser while fighting with him.
- 5.4 It is high treason to murder someone in the ruler's commission or under his orders, even though he has seduced one's wife.

Chapter 6

- 6.1 He who runs amok may be killed, if he cannot be apprehended.
- 6.2 A minister must meet six conditions.
- 6.3 A judge cannot exonerate offences committed in three circumstances.
- 6.4 A slave who plans to murder his master may be killed, if he cannot be apprehended.

Chapter 7

- 7.1 He who kills a royal slave shall be fined.
- 7.2 He who kills a thief without the knowledge of the minister shall be fined.
- 7.3 A royal slave who steals may be killed on the spot but not otherwise.

¹¹³⁶ This summary is excerpted from Fang (1976).

A thief who is caught may be killed under certain circumstances.

Chapter 8

- 8.1 A slave who slashes a free man shall become a debt-slave. A free man who slashes a royal slave shall be fined.
- 8.2 A slave who slaps a free man shall have his hand amputated.
A free man who slaps a slave shall be fined
- 8.3 A slave who defames a free man shall be punched or have his teeth extracted. A free man who abuses the wife of a slave may be killed by the husband.
- 8.4 He who slaps a person may be killed by the offended party within three days.

Chapter 9

- 9.1 The chief minister (Bendahara), Police-Chief (Tumenggung), Harbour-master (Syahbandar), and Sea-Captain (Nahkoda) may murder without royal sanction under certain circumstances.
- 9.2 The sea-captain (Nakhkoda) may also murder an adulterer in his boat.

Chapter 10

He who takes someone's slave (biduanda) along on a journey shall be liable to a fine, if he latter dies.

Chapter 11

- 11.1 He who steals may be killed on the spot or on the same day. If there are many thieves, only the one who enters the house shall have his (right) hand amputated.
- 11.2 A thief who steals agricultural produce shall not have his (right) hand amputated. But if he is caught stealing at night, he may be killed.
- 11.3 He who steals a boat, sells it or hides it must pay the value of the boat and its hire.
- 11.4 He who steals cattle shall be liable to a fine, the sum of which depends on the place from which the cattle were stolen. If a slave steals, his master must pay compensation.

Chapter 12

- 12.1 A man who seduces another man's wife, daughter, or female slave shall become a slave himself. In respect of someone's daughter, he may be made to marry her.
- 12.2 By the law of God, the offender (of the above offence) shall be given 80 lashes.
- 12.3 A man who falsely accuses another man shall be fined or flogged.

Chapter 13

- 13.1 A slave who runs away to a foreign country cannot be reclaimed. He can be ransomed, if he is still in the land.
- 13.2 A thief who hides someone's slave, if found, shall have his wife and family sequestered or be ordered to pay a fine.
- 13.3 An accessory (to stealing) is regarded as a thief. A man who forges royal commands shall be killed; in the case of letters of dignitaries, fined.
- 13.4 As regards legal proceedings, a decision must be made immediately.

Chapter 14

- 14.1 A man who fails to prove an accusation in an ordeal is liable to punishment of death or a fine.
- 14.2 A man who falsely accuses another of adultery shall be sentenced to death or fined.

Chapter 15

- 15.1 A man who employs someone's slave without the knowledge of the master cannot claim compensation (from the slave's master), if this article or property is lost or destroyed by the slave.
- 15.2 If a slave dies in the service of an employer (with the knowledge of the master), compensation must be paid to the master.
- 15.3 The same applies in the case of employing a slave to dive.
- 15.4 A man who borrows a buffalo which gets killed later must indemnify the owner.
- 15.5 A man who steals and rapes a female slave shall be fined.
- 15.6 A man who borrows a female slave and then rapes her shall also be fined.
- 15.7 A man who borrows an animal such as a buffalo to carry out any kind of work must compensate the owner, if the animal gets killed.
- 15.8 A man who borrows a chopper or cutting knife must also compensate the owner, if the articles borrowed are damaged or broken.

Chapter 16

- 16.1 Whoever interferes in others' quarrels does so at his own risk. A husband must not murder a paramour who has committed the same offence again.
- 16.2 It is permissible to interfere in others' affairs under three circumstances.
- 16.3 A man can interfere to assist his friend only under three circumstances.

Chapter 17

- 17.1-2 He who hires someone to murder or beat a person without the knowledge of the judge shall be fined.

Chapter 18

- 18.1 It is an offence to court someone's fiancée or to consent to one's daughter who has been betrothed to be courted by another man.
- 18.2 A girl's parents can return the earnest-money accepted, if four blemishes are found in the man.
- 18.3 A slave who courts a fellow slave's fiancé shall be fined.
- 18.4 A man who guilty of maharajalela shall be fined.
- 18.5 A man who asks an intoxicated person to murder or wound people.

Chapter 19

- 19.1 A new settler of a compound must share its fruits with the old owner.
- 19.2 If a mortgaged (or leased out) garden does not yield or bear fruit for long period, the mortgagee can claim double the money (given out as loan). Valuable objects found in such a garden must be shared.
- 19.3 A man who occupies a deserted village (kampung) may be charged or sued by the owner, when the latter appears.

Chapter 20

- 20.1 A man may cultivate a piece of "dead land" but if he cultivates a piece of

- “living land”, he may be sued.
- 20.2 A man who cultivates a piece of empty land or land deserted by its owner shall be fined.

Chapter 21

- 21.1 A man who ties a buffalo in an unsuitable place shall be fined.
- 21.2 A man who kills a buffalo of a dignitary has to become a slave of the latter; if the buffalo belongs to ordinary folk, he has only to pay the price of the animal killed and in addition a fine.
There are cases where no liability occurs.
- 21.3 A man who brings back a stray buffalo must be given a reward.

Chapter 22

- 22.1 A man who burns off (prematurely) someone else’s plantation must later burn it up entirely.
- 22.2 A man who does not fence his land or rice-field is responsible for all the damages caused by animals.
- 22.3 A slave who steals agricultural produce shall be bound and brought to his master.

Chapter 23

- 23.1 People who were given food during a famine cannot be sold for the debt incurred.
- 23.2 A slave may be ordered to earn his food.
- 23.3 People rescued at sea must not be sold as slaves.
- 23.4 People who overstay at a certain port because of shipwreck or otherwise and are later rescued, must pay a fine.
- 23.5 A person who recovers a boat at sea should be given a ransom or a reward (in case of a shoe-boat). There are three cases in which a boat need not be redeemed.

Chapter 24

- 24.1 The penalty for the stealing of royal slaves is death. A sea-captain who steals someone’s slave shall be killed or fined.
- 24.2 Rules regarding consignment are three in number.

Chapter 25

- 25.1 Persons who can act as legal guardian in the marriage of a woman.
- 25.2 A marriage formula must be uttered in the marriage ceremony.

Chapter 26

Witnesses must possess certain qualifications.

Chapter 27

Both man and woman can exercise the right of option and cancel the marriage contract if any defect is found or discovered.

Chapter 28

- 28.1 There two kinds of reputation.
- 28.2 A man can only marry a certain category of women.
- 28.3 Under four conditions or circumstances, a free man way marry a female slave.

Chapter 29

Rules pertaining to weights and measures and sea-captains (Nakhoda) are also vested in the Harbour-master (Syahbandar).

Chapter 30

Law pertaining to sale and the prohibition of usury.

Chapter 31

Rules governing the sale of land and the return of defective articles.

Chapter 32

Rules governing bankruptcy, amicable settlement, suretyship and borrowing.

Chapter 33

Rules on supplying capital to someone.

Chapter 34

Rules governing trusteeship.

Chapter 35

Rules governing acknowledgement.

Chapter 36

Rules governing apostasy.

Chapter 37

Rules governing the testimony of witnesses.

Chapter 38

Rules governing the procedure of taking an oath.

Chapter 39

Rules governing (unlawful) killing (of a human being).

Chapter 40

Rules governing unlawful intercourse.

Chapter 41

Rules governing slander.

Chapter 42

Rules governing alcoholic drinks.

Chapter 43

43.1 Rules on the taking of employment.

43.2 On the ruler's duties and his close relationship with his ministers and subjects.

43.3 On the killing of stray cattle.

43.4 On lost articles.

43.5 On rape.

43.6 On robbery.

43.7 On gambling.

43.8 On debts.

Chapter 44

44.1 On the debtor's wife and children.

44.2 On absconded slaves.

44.3 On royal slaves.

44.4 His majesty who commands his subjects is Sultan Muzaffar Syah, son of Sultan Mahmud.

- 44.5 On Harbour-masters (Syahbandar) engaging in trade.
- 44.6 On the theft of slaves and slaves who have absconded.
- 44.7 On wearing gold anklets.
- 44.8 On royal prerogatives.
- 44.9 It was a court eunuch, Ahmad, who carried out Sultan Mahmud Syah al-Ghazi's order.
- 44.10 On fines imposed on royal children.
- 44.11 On violations of the royal command.

APPENDIX 3 The Summary of *Undang-Undang Laut Melaka* (The Maritime Code of Malacca)¹¹³⁷

I. These are the Laws given by Sultan Mahmud Shah, son of Sang Purba who descended from Mount Si-Guntang (Maha Meru) and became Ruler of Malacca. Know these laws, in order that all matters be peacefully settled.

II. The sea-captains desiring a code of maritime law, the Dato Bendahara, Paduka Seri Maharaja Mangkubumi put their request to Sultan Muhammad [sic] Shah. The Sultan consented. This code, which was composed in the days when Malacca was still powerful, under the rule of Mahmud Shah, is now set down in writing.

III. [Variant of II. It continues:] The captain is, as it were, a Caliph on board his own ship.

IV. [In MS. Breda 6619] This was written in the year of the Hijrah 10661, in the year Dzal, on the 4th day of the month Jumad I.

1. The captain [Nakhoda] is as a king on board his ship. The steersman [Jurumudi] is as the Prime Minister [Bëndahara]. The officer in charge of casting anchor and taking soundings [Jurubatu] is as the chief of ponce [Těménggong]. The pettyofficers in charge at starboard and port [Tukang kanan & kiri] are as the courtiers [sida-sida]. They co-operate with the chief petty officer (Tukang Agong). All petty officers, boatswains (gantong layar) and supercargoes (senawi) are under the captain's command. The sailors (awak perahu) are under the chief petty officer's command. If a sailor resists a command of his chief petty officer, the Jurubatu shall punish him with seven lashes; but the flogger may not lift his arm above the shoulder. For a second offence, he is punished with four lashes at the fore-hatch. The punishment for insubordination towards a boatswain or supercargo is three lashes.
2. The punishment for adultery on board ship is death to both offenders. If the offenders are both unmarried, fornication is punished by 100 lashes, and the offenders are obliged to marry. If the man is unwilling to do so, he is fined 1 1/4 tael of gold. If a free man commits fornication with a female slave, he pays a fine equal to the slave's price. But if this female slave has been so long in her master's possession as to be practically his wife, the master may claim either a fine or the death penalty. If a free man commits adultery with a sailor's wife, he is put to death. As to the wife, her husband may put her to death. If he does not wish to do so, she becomes the unalienable slave of the captain. A male and a female slave who commit fornication are whipped at the fore-hatch.
3. If someone goes ashore on the captain's business, and then makes a chance find of gold or silver, etc., the captain may claim the entire treasure trove, and award the finder what he thinks fit. If the finder is a slave, or the captain's debtor, the captain gets all. If the captain himself makes a find, he retains 3/4, and 1/4 is shared by the crew. Var: if a supercargo goes ashore and there captures a run-

¹¹³⁷ This summary is excerpted from Winstedt & De Jong (1956).

away, the latter becomes the captain's property. If the runaway was in possession of valuables, the captain gets 5/6, the finder 1/6. in the case of treasurer-trove, if the finder is a supercargo (kiwi), he gets 2/3, the captain 1/3. if the finder is the captain's debtor, he gets 1/3, the captain 2/3. if the finder is the captain's slave, the captain gets all.

4. A captured runaway slave is given to the captain. If the slave's owner is found, he must pay the captain 1/2 the slave's price. If the owner is not to be found, the slave remains in the captain's service. If the captain decides to sell the slave, he must have the transaction witnessed by the crew and inhabitants of the place where the transaction takes place. If the owner is subsequently found, he gets 1/2 the slave's price.
5. (a) Who even rescues shipwrecked mariners can claim 1/2 a tael head from the boatswain. If the rescued men are saved with their goods, the rescuer can claim an award of 10% of the goods' value. The rescued crew should make a true statement of the value of their salvaged goods to their captain. A member of the crew who tries to conceal his salvaged goods, which later come to light, forfeits all these goods to the captain. (b) a member of the crew who leaves his ship before the expiry of his contract, pays half a tael of gold if he is a freeman, or 1 paha if he is slave.
6. Whoever uses disrespectful language to the captain shall be punished by being publicly jeered at and insulted. If he answers back, the insults are to be multiplied. If he asks pardon, he should be forgiven, but the punishment be carried out all the same, as a warning.
7. The four crimes punishable by death on board a ship: 1) disloyalty to the captain; 2) conspiracy to murder the captain, supercargoes, or petty officers; 3) wearing a dagger while all the other members of the crew are unarmed; 4) bad conduct.
8. Who ever wants to borrow on board a ship must contract to follow his creditor wishes to repay the debt before the term is up, the creditor can claim 10% interest, and the debtor is then free to go where he will. If he repays after expiry of the contracted term, he need pay no interest.
9. If a navigator (ma'lim) has a share in the trading venture, he has a right to a division of the hold, and 1 1/2 or 3 taels of gold. His midshipmen are appointed navigators (ma'lim angin), while he himself is considered a chief navigator (ma'lim besar). when about to sail, the navigator (ma'lim angin) orders the chief petty officer to supervise the rigging. A navigator who neglects his duties is to be punished with four lashes, or a fine of four stems of pitis. The navigator should not fail to pray to Allah and his prophet, for he is as an imam on board a ship. A navigator who wishes to leave his vessel before the expiry of his contract should not be allowed to so. Var: must pay a fee of 10% of his capital.
10. A supercargo can travel under four conditions: 1) he buys a division of the hold: 2) he does not do so, but loans the captain who gives him a division of the hold (var: gives him a 2 or 3 koyan share in the cargo); 3) (the supercargo takes eight or nine

divisions); 4) the supercargo does not buy a division of the hold, but contracts to pay the captain 20 to 30 % of his takings. The chief supercargo (mulikiwi) gets a division of the hold. Countries levy taxes on the eight divisions of the hold (in addition tolls are levied on the other divisions: two sheets of cloth for topsails per division, or, in rattan, one bundle of rattan for every two cloths). A supercargo who pays harbour dues does not have to pay tax.

11. Before throwing cargo overboard in a storm, the crew has to be consulted, if they also have their share in the cargo. In that case the part of each crew-member's share in the cargo that is to be thrown over-board should be proportionate to the size of that share. This is the captain's responsibility.
12. In case of a collision between two vessels sailing in convoy leading to one vessels being wrecked, (the master of) that vessel should lodge a complaint before a judge. (the master of) the vessel that caused the collision must indemnify two-thirds of the other vessel's loss. This applies if the collision took place at night or during a storm. If it took place in daytime, the total loss should be refunded).
13. (a) the penalty for evading a patrol-boat at sea is that all on board the ship, men, women, and children, free men and slaves, pay a fee in lieu of slavery. (b) a country at war can levy a toll from merchant vessels. The levying of this toll is comparable to the enforcing of ablockade by patrol-boats at sea, and the penalties are the same.
14. Sailors are not allowed either in the transverse cabin or in the lengthwise cabin. The first is reserved for the ship's council, the second for the midshipmen (mudamuda). a supercargo is entitled to have a dinghy towed along for fetching water and firewood.
15. The watchmen's duty is to keep guard over the slaves on board the ship, and the midshipmen's to superintended the watches. If, due to a watchman's neglect, a slave escapes or does any harm, the midshipman in charge must pay the slave's price, and the watchman receives sixty lashes. The changing of the watch should be witnessed by the mid-shipmen (and announced by one beat on the drum). (The man on watch is issued opium to keep him awake). When a ship drags its anchor and runs aground owing to the carelessness of the supervising midshipman, the latter is held responsible, but the sailors whose watch it was each receive twenty lashes. When a ship drags its anchor at an anchorage near sandbanks and runs aground (Var: and narrowly escapes running aground), the sailor on watch is punished with eight lashes. The sailors on watch have four duties: to watch the water in the holds: to observe the winds; to keep a lookout for enemies; to guard against fire. Whoever loses a baler (orak-orak) is fined 1 1/4 tael, and has to do the baling for the rest of the voyage. If a ship makes water due to negligence of the sailor on watch, the latter is punished with fifteen lashes. If an approaching ship is not hailed, as the watch is asleep and the midshipman negligent, the midshipman is punished as in the case of the runaway slave, and the sailor on watch gets seven lashes.

16. The task of the midshipman, when at sea, is to help in the navigation; when ashore, to accompany the captain wherever he goes.
17. (If a man is hurt when boarding a ship through the galley collapsing, the captain has to pay his medical expenses, for it is customary to board a ship by the galley. Whoever sets fire to a galley is fined 2 1/2 emas). If a galley catches fire through the fault of slaves on board the ship, the slave's master is fined three stems of Javanese pitiss: (if the master refuses to pay) the slave gets four lashes.
18. If a man, by fighting on board a ship, damages the ship's rigging, he is fined four stems of Javanese pitis.
19. If a man in a fight makes his way with adrawn dagger across the centre of the hold to the stern, he is to be killed. If he is caught alive, he is fined one emas and five stems of Javanese pitis. If a man in a fight chases his adversary to the front of the deck-house he is put to death, even if he did not draw a dagger; but he is caught alive, he is fined 20,007 stems of Javanese pitis. A supercargo aggressively approaching the captain at the stern of the ship is liable to the death penalty. If he is caught alive, and asks pardon, he is fined four stems of Javanese pitis and a buffalo.
20. If a trading ship has safely arrived at a foreign port, the captain alone is permitted to trade (on his own account) for the first four days; after that, (the mate and) the supercargoes, for two days; after that, the crew may trade. If a captain in buying goods has beaten the seller down to a certain price, no other members of the crew may offer a higher price. If they do so, they forfeit their purchases to the captain. Supercargoes buying slaves or valuable goods without the captain's knowledge forfeit their purchases to the captain. The same applies to whoever buys a female slave without the captain's knowledge. If a captain, while at sea, wishes to put in to any port, he should first consult the entire crew. If a captain wishes to cross a river, he should also consult the crew. If they agree, they choose (Var: buy) the tow-rope. After that, the mate, the jurubatu, and the boatswain should consult together.
21. In the holds, one koyan should be allotted for cargo of the crew, two koyan for that of the supercargoes. This applies to ships with a beam of four (or 3 1/2) fathoms. For ships of (2 1/2 or) three fathoms in the beam, the allocation is 300 (and 400 gantang).
22. These rules were drawn up by Patih Harun and Patih Elias, and Captains Zainal, Buri (Var: dewa), and Ishak, after consultation with all captains. They then presented them to the Dato Bendahara Seri Maharaja, who offered them to Sultan Mahmud Shah. His majesty approved, and granted the three captains the titles of Sang Naradiraja, Sang Setiadipati, and Sang Utamadiraja respectively.
23. If a ship is more than seven days late in sailing and then misses the monsoon through the tardiness of the captain, the latter has to refund the price of his division in the hold to the supercargo. If a ship risks missing the monsoon because the supercargo has not come on board, the captain is entitled to sail off without

the supercargo, after waiting seven days. If there is no danger of missing the monsoon, the captain may depart without him after waiting fifteen days. A ship rigged and ready to sail is like a king about to leave his palace. If a monsoon has just broken, and the crew is tardy in coming aboard, the captain should wait seven days for sailors, and ten days for the mate, if there is danger of missing the monsoon, three and five days respectively. After that he may sail. If the latecomers want their possessions back, they should follow the captain and lay bare their fault. After that, they must abide by whatever the captain decides.

24. If a supercargo wishes to go ashore, he forfeits the sum he paid for his division in the hold. If he leaves the ship for a valid reason, i.e., a quarrel with the captain (1/2 var: 3/4 of) the sum is returned to him. The entire sum is returned to him if he is (put ashore by the captain for) quarrelling with the crew, or even the captain's relatives, or for no reason at all. (if a sailor falls ill, one should wait five or seven days. If after that period he is not yet better, he should try to find someone whom he can pay wages for taking his place. He may not choose another member of the crew, for a sailor may not do two men's work; only the captain can be paid by him. If he cannot find an understudy, he should sell out his share in the venture to the members of the crew).
25. This was originally written by Encik Maulana in the year of the Hijra 1083 (A.D. 1672), in the year Dzal I on the 8th day of the month Rabi' II, on a Friday.

APPENDIX 4 The Summary of *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (The Epic of Hang Tuah)¹¹³⁸

Chapter I

A heavenly king who begot a son, Sang Sapurba, with an earthly princess on an island and went back to heaven descended at Bukit Siguntang Mahabiru to crown him king of that place. Sang Sapurba married a princess out of the vomit of a white cow. They begot four children, Sang Maniaka, Sang Jaya Nantaka, Sang Saniaka and Sang Satiaka. Sang Maniaka became ruler of Bentan. This story has much resemblance with the story of Iskandar Dzulkarnain in Sejarah Melayu whose descendants, Nila Pahlawan, Kerishna Pandi ta and Nila Utama, came down on a white cow at Bukit Siguntang. Nila Utama was then called Sang Sapurba. Out of the vomit of the white cow came a person named Bat who paid homage to this prince and styled him Taramberi Teribuana. Sang Sapurba had four children, two daughters and two sons, Sang Maniaka and Sang Nila Utama. It was Sang Nila Utama who became ruler of Bentan and later on established Singapore.

Chapter II

Hang Tuah in his youth in Bentan killed a Javanese who ran amok. This story is also found in chapter XIV of Sejarah Melayu.

Chapter III

Tells the story of the opening of Malacca in connection with the attack on dogs by a mousedeer on which occasion Hang Tuah was present. Soon the sultan settled down at this place. This episode is quite similar to the story of the opening of Malacca in Sejarah Melayu before the time of Hang Tuah.

Chapter IV

The Raja Muda, brother of the ruler of Malacca, was condemned by the Sultan for an alleged act of treason and became a fisherman. A merchant from Kalinga contrived stratagem get permission to take the disgraced prince to Kalinga and install him as their king. In Sejarah Melayu, we find the story of Raja Kassim, half-brother of the baby-sultan Raja Ibrahim, who became a fisherman and with the aid of an Indian merchant ascended the throne.

Chapter VI, VII, & VIII

A mission to win the hand of Tun Teja failed, and Pateh Karma Wijaya, a one-time Javanese minister, proposed a marriage between the Sultan of Malacca and a daughter of the Batara of Majapahit. The proposal was well received and the Sultan went to Majapahit accompanied by Hang Tuah and other officers. Hang Tuah fought a duel with a Javanese warrior Tamang Sari, and obtained his magic kris. The victory won for him the title of Laksamana from the Batara of Majapahit. While the marriage celebrations were taking place, Hang Tuah and his four friends (Hang Jebat, Hang Kasturi, Hang Lekir and Hang Lekiu) went to Mount Martapura to study asceticism

¹¹³⁸ This summary is excerpted from Iskandar (1970).

and the art of fighting with Sang Pertala. When they came back, they took revenge on Batara Majapahit and Patih Gajah Mada. The episode has similarities with chapter XIV in Sejarah Melayu relating the marriage of Sultan Mansor Shah (1459- 1477) of Malacca with the daughter of the Batara of Majapahit, Radin Galoh Chendera Kirana. The adventure of Hang Tuah in Majapahit is also mentioned in that work .

Chapter IX & X

Hang Tuah became the sultan's favourite and aroused jealousy among some officials. They accused him of illicit relations with one of the court-ladies. The sultan ordered his execution, but the bendahara secretly advised him to go into exile. Such plot can also be found in Sejarah Melayu. But the author of Hikayat Hang Tuah has made two episodes out of one plot. The story of the plot against Hang Tuah is found in Chapter XIV of Sejarah Melayu. Hang Tuah went to Inderapura to get in touch with Tun Teja, daughter of the Bendahara, who once had refused to marry the Sultan of Malacca and who now was the reluctant fiancée of Megat Panji Alam. He applied love charms to her and she fell in love with him. Tun Reja followed Hang Tuah to Malacca, where he handed her over to his master and thus acquired his master's favour. This episode has similarities with the history of Sultan Mahmud in chapter XXIX of Sejarah Melayu. Here however it was Hang Nadim, Hang Tuah's son in law, who abducted Tun Teja. In Sejarah Melayu she was not the fiancée of Megat Panji Alam but the daughter of the bendahara of Pahang and fiancée of the sultan of that country. The author in this case had omitted Pahang's sultan in his work in order not to ridicule the royal house of Pahang. This omission is possible in Hikayat Hang Tuah because the work is not historical in nature. Tun Seri Lanang, when writing Sejarah Melayu , could not afford to do this, because his work is of historical nature.

Chapter XII

Hang Tuah rescued a royal pony out of a midden. We can find this episode back in Sejarah Melayu.

Chapter XIII

The marriage of the sultan of Malacca caused the anger of the Batara of Majapahit who sent envoys to Malacca to observe the situation of his daughter. When these envoys went back Hang Tuah traveled along with them. Hang Tuah's adventures in Majapahit (234-255) are repetitions of the episode in Sejarah Melayu.

Chapter XIV

The sultan himself went to Majapahit accompanied by Hang Tuah and other officers to visit his father in law (pp. 257-279). This episode is also based on Sejarah Melayu (chapter XIV). The story of seven robbers sent by the Batara of Majapahit and killed by Hang Tuah in Hikayat Hang Tuah, reminds us of the episode in Sejarah Melayu of Sultan Alau'd-din Ri'ayat Shah who tracked down four robbers one night and restored a stolen chest to its owner.

Chapter XV

Hang Tuah more than ever became the favourite of the sultan. Jealous officials

accused him of illicit relations with one of the court-ladies. The sultan ordered his execution. But the Bendahara sent him up country, where Hang Tuah stayed with a religious teacher. This episode is a repetition of the story in Chapter XIV in *Sejarah Melayu*. Hang Jebat was asked to occupy the position left vacant by Hang Tuah. But then Hang Jebat revolted against the sultan's authority in order to avenge Hang Tuah's death. The sultan quit the palace and pronounced Hang Jebat guilty of high treason. But all attempts to murder him failed. The bendahara let out the secret about Hang Tuah, who was called. In *Hikayat Hang Tuah* we find the story of the duel between Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat. By a trick Hang Tuah was able to inflict a fatal wound on Jebat.

Chapter XIX

The sultan sent a goodwill mission to Kalinga led by Hang Tuah. The ruler of Kalinga, once the Raja Muda of Malacca, dispatched Hang Tuah to China. The mission was well received by the Chinese emperor and arrived back in Kalinga safely after a skirmish with the Portuguese off the coast of China. The Malacca mission returned home safely. In *Sejarah Melayu* it was Hang Nadim, son in law of Hang Tuah, who was sent by the sultan of Malacca to Kalinga and Ceylon to buy cloth (chapter XXVIII) and Tun Perpateh Puteh to China (chapter XV).

Chapter XX

Tells about a skirmish at sea between Hang Tuah and a prince of Berunai. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells about an altercation about the content of the letter of the sultan of Malacca to the emperor of China between Malacca's envoy Tun Telanai and the raja of Berunai (chapter XV).

Chapter XXI

Hang Tuah was dispatched to Siam to get some good elephants. In Siam Hang Tuah killed a few Japanese who insulted him. Having fought off the Japanese at the river mouth the mission returned safely. In *Sejarah Melayu* a mission was sent to Siam under Tun Telanai. But this story differs in details with *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (chapter XIII).

Chapter XXIII

Tun Teja sent Hang Madim, son of Hang Jebat, to Inderapura to see her father. While Hang Madim was there, sword-fish attacked Inderapura. He suggested a fence of banana stems so that the country could be saved. Hang Madim was rewarded by the raja but jealous officials plotted against him and he was sentenced to death. In *Sejarah Melayu* we find the story that swordfish attacked Singapore. A boy defeated them by suggesting a fence of banana stems. The boy was sentenced to death as being too clever (chapter X). The death of Hang Nadim angered the sultan of Malacca and Hang Tuah was sent to subdue Inderapura. The *Sejarah Melayu* has the story that the Telanai of Trengganu was murdered by Seri Akar Raja at the command of the Sultan of Pahang. Hang Tuah was sent to Pahang to take revenge (chapter XXV). Another story is that of the sultan of Siak who ordered the execution of an offender without getting the sanction of Malacca. Hang Tuah was sent to demand an

apology (chapter XXVI)

Chapter XXIV

Accompanied by Hang Tuah and other officers the sultan went to sea on a pleasure trip. Off the coast of Singapore the sultan tried to see a golden fish beneath the boat and his ancestral crown fell off. In Sejarah Melayu this story is related to Sang Nila Utama who went on a picnic and threw away his crown in a storm while reaching the coast of Singapore (chapter III).

Chapter XXVIII

The Portuguese conquered Malacca. This episode is also in the chapter XXIV of Sejarah Melayu

APPENDIX 5 The Summary of *Bustanus Salatin* (The Garden of The Kings)¹¹³⁹

Sultah Ali Mughayat Shah established the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam in 913 H. He was a first person to embrace Islam. He defeated Pidir, Samudera, and several small states. Ali Mughayat Shah passed away in 928 H after ruling Aceh for fourteen years seven months. His son, Sultan Salahudin ascended the throne and dethroned after ruling for seventeen years eleven months by his brother in 946 H.

Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah replaced Salahudin as a sultan of Aceh. Sultan Alauddin arranged all royal custom and sent his envoys to Istanbul. The Ottoman Sultan had sent the artillery makers and big artilleries. Sultan Alauddin established the city of Aceh and invaded the infidel, and led his troops to attack Malacca. After he died he received the title of the late kahar. He had five sons, Sultan Abdullah, Sultan Hussain, Sultan Mughal, Sultan Abangta Ditangkap, and Abangta Abdul Jalil. Sultan Abdullah was placed in Haru, Sultan Mughal became a king in Pariaman. Abangta Ditangkap was murdered by his father. After reigning for twenty-eight years nine months, he died in 975 H.

Sultan Hussain replaced his father and received the title of Sultan Ali Riayat Shah. He was pious and in his reign, Sheikh Nuruddin of Mecca came to Aceh. This sheikh taught the Islamic teaching in Aceh. Sultan Ali Riayat Shah passed away in 983 H. The crown prince Sultan Muda replaced his father when he was a child. The child sultan died in 984 H.

After that, Abangta Pariaman entitled Raja Seri Alam also died. This king was so cruel and was murdered by his people. Sultan Zainul Abidin, the grandson of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, ascended the throne. This sultan was the murderer. He was murdered in 985 H. Afterwards Sultan Alauddin the son of Sultan Ahnad of Perak ruled Aceh. This sultan was pious and just. All the hulubalangs were instructed to grow beard and wear robe. In 990 H two Islamic priests came from Mecca. First, Sheikh Abu Al-Khair ibn Sheikh Ibnu Hajar authoring the book of Saiful Kati and teaching the science of fiqh. Second, Sheikh Muhammad Yamani who had an expertise on the historical context of the Quranic verses. They stimulated the problem of Ayan Thabitah but they could not cope it and went back to Mecca. After that, Sheikh Muhammad Jailani ibn Hassan ibn Muhammad Hamid from Ranir teaching the historical context of Quranic verses and the science of fiqh came. He decided to return to Mecca after knowing all students wanted to learn about the tasawuf.

In 993 H, Sultan Alauddin was murdered and Sultan Ali Riayat Shah replaced him, but this sultan died in 996 H. Afterwards, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah took the throne. He had four sons: Maharaja Diraja, Sultan Muda, Sultan Hussain, and Sultan Abangta Merah Upah who passed away in Johor. In his reign, Sheikh Muhammad Jailani from Gujarat came to Aceh and continued to teach tasawuf and accomplished the problem of Ayan Thabitah. Alauddin Riayat Shah was rebelled by his son in 1013 H. Two years later, the sultan died and received the title of the Late Sayyidul Mukammil.

¹¹³⁹ I translated the summary of *Bustanus Salatin*, from Iskandar (1977).

Afterwards, his son named Sultan Muda received the title of Sultan Ali Riayat Shah. In his reign, Aceh lacked of foodstuffs and many people died because of starving. Two years later the sultan died in 1015 H. Sultan Iskandar Muda the gallant and wise became a sultan. The sultan conquered Deli (1021 H), Johor (1022 H), and invaded Bintan (1023 H), afterwards defeating Pahang (1026), Kedah (1029 H), Nias (1034 H) and instructing his people, Orang Kaya Maharaja and Orang Kaya Laksamana invaded Malacca in 1038 H. Because of two commanders disputing with each other, many Muslims died. At the same time, Sheikh Shamsuddin was widely known as a pious man in the science of Tasawuf. Afterwards, Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Abdullah Ash-Shami died in 1040 H. He was famous in fiqh science. Aceh defeated Pahang in 1045 H. When the Acehnese invaded Pahang, the king of Johor resided in Pahang. Sultan Iskandar Muda established Baiturahman mosque and other mosques. He also forbade alcohol and gambling. He also organised *baitul mal* (an Islamic charity), *ushur negeri* Aceh (The financial source of the Acehnese state), and weekly tax.

Sultan Iskandar Muda succeeded in defeating Pahang because God had granted Aceh to Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Shah. Sultan Iskandar Muda might have read the glory from Iskandar Thani's face. Iskandar Thani came to Aceh when he was seven years old. He was raised by Tun Kemala Setia and received the title of Raja Bongsu. When he was nine years old, Raja Bongsu was married to Iskandar Muda's daughter, Puteri Seri Alam Permaisuri. He was given the crown and received the title of Sultan Hussain Shah.

....

Sultan Iskandar Muda called Sheikh Shamsuddin, Kadhi Mahlul Adil, Prime Minister, and all hulubalangs to announce that Sultan Hussain Shah was given the title of Sultan Mughal and would replace him as a sultan of Aceh. Sultan Iskandar Mudadied in 1046 H after ruling for 37 years. Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah ascended the Acehnese crown. During his reign, the port-city of Aceh was prosperous. He was powerful, wise, and pious. He established the Baitul Mushaadah mosque.

Some Portuguese came to Aceh and met Sultan Iskandar Thani. They apologised for the past mistreatment. The sultan forgave them. However, the Portuguese released the Acehnese prisoners and plotted again and again. Sultan lost his patience and imprisoned them before executing them.

The ship came from Bengal with Haji Kamal as a skipper. He came and submitted to the sultan. He was welcomed by the sultan. But, he captured some vessels when he sailed back to India. The Acehnese could imprison him when he captured some people in Teluk Sari. Haji Kamal's crew sailed to Aceh and was forgiven by the sultan.

...

In 1048 H, Sultan Iskandar Thani went to Pasai. He did a pilgrimage to the pious men's and king's tombs. When he was on the way to Pasai, King of Johor asked Laksamana to guide the sultan. The Dutch ambassador, Kurundur Kautikom, who accompanied the sultan, asked a permission to go back to Jayakarta. After arriving in Pasai, Sultan

Iskandar Thani visited all tombs, prayed to the ancestors, and burned some setinggi (incense). then, sultan went back to Aceh and Laksamana Paduka Raja asked a permission to go back to Johor.

When Sultan Iskandar Thani instructed Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri, and Orang Kaya Lela Wangsa to go to Pahang, he asked them to put the tombstone for his father's grave. Before the orang kayas departed, a Johorese boat came and informed that the King of Johor had invaded Pahang. Orang Kaya Besar and the general of Pahang escaped and the son of Paduka Seri Maharaja was murdered. The King of Pahang took refuge to Patani. Sultan Iskandar Thani asked three Orangkayas to lead the Acehnese troops to invade Johor but without burning Johor. They also put the tombstone in Pahang after accomplishing their duty in Johor.

Sultan Iskandar Thani ruled Aceh for 4 years and died in 1050 H. he was replaced by Puteri Seri Alam. The queen received the title of sultan Tajul Alam, Safiatuddin Shah. She was powerful, wise, and pious. She really respected all pious men and the sons of Prophet Muhammad. She welcomed the Gujarati Merchants in Aceh and received many gifts from them... Sultan Tajul Alam governed for 35 years and died in 1086 H. She was replaced by Sultan Nurul Alam Nakiatuddin Shah. During her reign, Baiturrahman mosque, palace, and royal treasury had been burned. Sultan died in 1080 H.

APPENDIX 6 The Excerpt of *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (The Chronicle of Johor)¹¹⁴⁰

Johor was defeated by Jambi in 1083 H (A.D. 1672). Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah Muda died in Pahang and Laksamana Tun Abdul Jami was placed in Bintan. Laksamana founded a country in Carang River, called by Riau People. Laksamana also composed the military forces. Raja Ibrahim died in 1087 H (A.D. 1676). Marhum Besar died in Pahang in 1080 H (A.D. 1669).

Laksamana led Sultan Ibrahim to Riau. The sultan departed from Pahang. Datu Temenggung in Tanjung Bam was murdered by Laksamana in 1089 H (A.D. 1678). Sultan Ibrahim resided in Riau, and instructed Laksamana to invade Jambi. Laksamana received the title of Paduka Raja. Sultan Ibrahim asked Paduka Raja and defeated Gusti Raja Hitam. Sultan Ibrahim passed away in Riau in 1095 H (A.D. 1684). At the same time, Sultan Mahmud gained the throne in Riau. (the sultan) forced Paduka Raja out from Riau. The sultan defeated Paduka Eaja in Terengganu in 1090 H (A.D. 1679). Sultan Mahmud was murdered in Kota Tinggi in 1011 H (A.D. 1700)...

¹¹⁴⁰ I translated some information related to the political growth of Johor Sultanate during the 17th century from *Hikayat Negeri Johor* or *The Chronicle of Johor Sultanate* from Mu'jizah (1996).

APPENDIX 7 The Excerpt of *Peringatan Negeri Johor* (The Memorial of Johorese Sultanate)¹¹⁴¹

Johor King was defeated by Jambi in 1083 H (A.D. 1672) in the *Muharram* month. Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah Muda resided in Pahang and Laksamana Tun Abdul Jami was placed in Bintan. Laksamana founded a country in Carang River, called by Riau People. Laksamana also composed the naval ships and military forces. Raja Muda Pahang, Raja Ibrahim's father, died in 1083 H (A.D. 1672). Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah died in 1088 H (A.D. 1677). Raja Ibrahim ascended the throne and received the title of Sultan Ibrahim Shah. Tun Pikrama Tun Habib was appointed as Bendahara and had a title of Bendahara Seri Maharaja. Laksamana Tun Abdul Jamil led Sultan Ibrahim and his servants to Riau. At the same time, Datu Tumenggung was murdered by Laksamana's son, Die Tanjung Batu in 1089 H (A.D. 1678). Sultan Ibrahim Shah resided in Riau and instructed Laksamana to invade Jambi. Laksamana received the title of Paduka Raja. After accomplishing his duty in Jambi, the sultan asked Laksamana to invade Siak and defeat Raja Hitam. Laksamana Paduka Raja could defeat Raja Hitam and back to Riau. Then, in the prophecy of God, Sultan Ibrahim died in Riau in 1095 H (A.D. 1684). At the same year, Sultan Mahmud captured Riau and forced Laksamana Paduka Raja to escape from Riau. Sultan Mahmud Tun Tima and his Hulubalang sailed to find Laksamana. They landed and murdered Laksamana and Seri Bija Diraja. They were murdered in Tanjung Kalam in 1100 H (A.D. 1689). At the same year, Sultan Mahmud and his servants moved to Johor...

¹¹⁴¹ I translated some information related to the political growth of Johor Sultanate during the 17th century from *Peringatan Negeri Johor* or The Memorial of Johor Sultanate from Kratz (1973).

APPENDIX 8 Letter from Rui de Araújo to Afonso de Albuquerque¹¹⁴²

Malacca, February 6, 1510

Sir,

1. We are not able to give Your Excellency a full account of the affairs of this place because as captives we live in fear and are in the midst of the worst people God has created. We dare not make any enquiries, or even speak to anybody, on account of our situation. The following is what we were able to find out.
2. In Malacca, there are approximately ten thousand homes, which are located along the sea and river. Those who live further away from the sea are at a distance of a little more than cross-bow's shot. Out of these, five hundred houses are made of earth and therefore, the goods stored in them are protected against fire. All the rest are made of straw like those in India, or even worse.
3. There are probably four thousand fighting men and not more than that because all the rest are slaves at their service. They are armed only with a knife and a dagger which they carry on their waist. The weapons of the fighting men are lances and some swords brought here by the Gores, as well as others made here such as bows and blow-pipes. Very few men wear armour to protect their bodies. Oval leather shields are also very few, no more than those used by the officials.
4. The majority of the mortars used here are like muskets and the others like the ones used in Calicut, which eject cannon balls through the muzzle of the cannon, but they are greatly in need of bombardiers and gunpowder. One of the most serious oppressions they inflicted on us and which we are still receiving was for this reason: it was by God's will that none of the men we have here knew how to make it (gun-powder) however, despite the human weakness of some and the sufferings we had undergone, I do not doubt that, for their own security, some of them did not leave a bad record of themselves.
5. In the harbour, there are invariably present ninety to hundred junks both large and small, one hundred and fifty perahus belonging to the sultan, and thirty junks belonging to the local traders. The perahus and the others belong to foreign traders, all of whom are very weak, as Your Excellency already knows. Even if they wanted to be more powerful they were unable to because there were no weapons or equipment for their proper defence of this land.
6. At the entrance of this river there is a depth of only one fathom at low tide and further up it is quite deep and its width is equivalent to three spear lengths. It passes through the centre of the town having houses on both sides over the water. At low tide the water is so shallow that a small boat can hardly go through. However, upriver towards the north of the town at a distance of about three shots of a crossbow there is a very good landing place.

¹¹⁴² ANTT: Gaveta 14-8-21, published in DPHMPPO, I, pp.20-31; published in PDOM, pp.130-9.

7. The sultan of Malacca has no aid coming from inland, neither good nor bad. The sultan of Pahang is his only friend and is getting one of his daughters married to his son. In this kingdom of Malacca, people go about by land and by sea and take five days to reach the south along the coast. He is a weak sultan with a small population. By the sea, the sultan of Malacca has no ally to give him aid and he is at war with the king of Siam, who has a large land and many people, and many seaports, although their inhabitants are thought to be weak. This king is an infidel, and from here to his kingdom the distance is about eighty leagues. Between him and the kingdom of Malacca lies the kingdom of Pahang. At sea the sultan is also at war with the King of Aru who is a Muslim and this causes him great apprehension and fear. His kingdom lies in the island of Sumatra. Now we have heard that the Sultan of Malacca is in bad terms with the King of Java, who will be coming against him with a large fleet within seven or eight months' time to take this port. However, in my opinion all these kingdoms are so weak that they will never be united.
8. Malacca is so infertile that out of its crops, nothing of importance is produced. It has no supplies and the places where these come from are as follows: Java, Bengal, Pegu, and Sind; and from Siam many (things) used to come, but because of the war....
9. Your excellency should know that the sultan of Malacca no longer rules nor has he any more power in his kingdom. Neither is he esteemed nor feared as a king. He is always sitting at home, like an observer. He has given his power over to the Bendahara, his uncle who has taken charge of everything in such a way, that even now, the sultan wants to take over some of the affairs for himself but he cannot, because the Bendahara is a cunning man and is well connected with the principal figures of the land. However, apart from this with whom he has an alliance, there is no foreigner or native who does not wish for his downfall because of his affronts and robberies.... to which they are subjected every day.
10. Your excellency, do not doubt that they will be the first to take up arms against him when the time is ripe for this. Even the very men whom I said he would use as his soldiers I believe the majority of them will stand up against him, for they are the Javanese and Chetties, the principal merchants of the land and a large number of whom have been hurt by him.
11. I do not speak of the other foreigners, who do not reside here and have no local interests. They too desire to destroy him like every one of the others. Sir, believe me that God has not made a man so bad or so tyrannical as to wish so much evil on Christians and other races who are not of his faith. He helps his own kind but the majority of them are equally discontented. He was the first to plan and order the treachery and robberies, which were carried out on our men with the most deceitful face ever seen in any one. His treacherous act took place when this was done: after planning to murder everyone ashore, he would take over the fleet and, by taking it, no one would come again. However, when he realised that this plan could not materialise, nor had they stomach nor mode to do it, and also when he saw that the fleet had sailed away and two of his junks had been taken, he

excused himself saying that all this was done without his advice and orders. That the Gujaratis and Javanese had perpetrated it without his knowledge and that he would punish them. That is was his desire for the Portuguese to trade here and to sign a treaty of friendship. However, in spite of all that he had said, he kept us prisoners without providing us with anything that we needed. If it were not for Ninachatu, a merchant of this town, who provides us with much alms and has taken care of our affairs, without any doubt, we would have passed through much greater danger during our captivity and would have suffered much hunger. To him, Your Excellency, do we owe much more what he has done for us than any person here. At his request, the Bendahara has released us now and given orders to provide us with a house and ten thousand calahins of torn Cambayan cloths which had been bundled in the ships, telling us that he was giving them to us for trade and food and when the fleet returned he would settle accounts and make up for the losses which we received.

12. However, it is our opinion, according to his evil intentions that as soon as this junk leaves from here, through which he hopes news would reach Your Excellency of the good deeds which were done for us, he will again imprison us, like he did before. This is what some are telling us and if he does not do it, it is because of the great fear of your returning which he is expecting. We hope God willing; it will be within five months. If this was not his view, I believe that none of us would still be alive.
13. Because we know that Your Excellency would have more interest than we know how to request for, there is no point in mentioning it anymore. It is sufficient, Sir, to let you know that up to now this has been our hope. And leaving this subject, although the wishes of this Muslim are not the same, may Our Lord protect us from the danger we are now facing every day with great anxiety.
14. Sir if we were to be so unfortunate that for some reason Your Excellency is unable to come or order someone to come here within this period of this time or this year, it would be very good indeed if you advise us in the most secret way possible while there is still time, before we fall into despair. For it is possible that our lord would grant us the favour to leave this place for any other place, where we would feel much more secure.
15. Sir, although we think our opinions may not be necessary, like one who is destined to be hanged, we cannot but speak; may I say that it is our opinion , for the sake of our safety, that if Your Excellency decides to sail to this coast, in case you were to capture any of their junks wherein you find their own people, they should be treated without any cruelty. Instead, you should send one of them in advance to hand over a message to the Bendahara informing him of your intention of not coming to wage war against Malacca nor take anything away from them, provided the Sultan accepts peace and ready to hand us over to you. With this, they may hold on until we are safe in your hands, after which you may find sufficient just reasons to break away from them without going against your word. We have learnt that the Bendahara has decided that as soon as he knows that Your Excellency has arrived on this coast, he will send us into the hinterland three or

four leagues from here until he sees and knows your intentions, for he fears that by your presence here we might send you information through some men where you would find us and we would then be very pleased. Therefore, if your excellency does not hear from us, it is because of this.

16. Ninachatu has requested us to write to you regarding the favours he has done for us and not to give any information to the Muslims in Cochin, because there is a fear that they may write to the Bendahara from there and due to this, he might have to suffer some evil. It was he who gave us this chance to write and send the Muslims in Cochin, because there is a fear that they may write to the Bendahara from there and due to this, he might have to suffer some evil. It was he who gave us this chance to write and send the Muslim in this junk, without whom we would not have had a chance to send it (message). May Your Excellency issue an order that this Muslim by the name of Abdullah be reimbursed out of my own money to the amount of twenty cruzados, which he had lent me. This was done before the Bendahara would have done so, and I did not pay the money for fear of anything going amiss. Adding to this, Your Excellency should pay attention to him, for he has always helped us and shown sympathy towards our misfortunes. He has consented to undertake this trip in spite of the risks he is facing.
17. Your Excellency must come with all the pomp and power you possess, in order that lands and seas may have fear of us, although it may not be necessary, but it is good to show the power of the king, our lord, at this instance, in this short period of time.
18. The times when ships normally arrive in the ports are as follows: The Gores arrive in January, and leave for their country in April, spending forty days in coming and forty days more for returning. They bring along as merchandise damask, musk, gilded coffins, swords, daggers, copper, wheat and gold in the form of foil. They bring back pepper and some cloves, but not much. Every year, their junks which belong to their king, come here but not others, as he allows none other than his.... the Chinese also come in their due time in April, and leave here for their own country in May. Their journey back takes twenty to thirty days, and likewise when coming here. They bring along musk, damask, satin, colnijam, camphor, some rhubarb and seed pearls... very fine alum. Every year eight to ten junks come here and they bring to their country a great deal of pepper and some cloves.
19. Those from Java arrive in October and November and they bring rice, slaves, and some cubed pepper. From here they sail to Pedir to load pepper. Every year between 50 to 60 small and large junks come and go.
20. The Bengalis arrive here in April. Their journey lasts from thirty-five to forty days and the same duration of the time on their return journey. They depart in September and the merchandise that they bring here includes rice, cotton, and cloth.... sugar and preserved food. They take back pepper from Pedir, and arrive every year with one or two junks and a similar number depart from here.
21. The ships from Pegu come and go at the same time (as the above) and take the same amount of time in their journeys. They bring along rice, lacquer, very good

musk, and some rubies. Every year four junks arrive and from here the same number return and the cargo which they bring along includes pepper.

22. In the environs of Malacca, there are two other gold mines, and out of these and those of the land of the Gores it is said that they bring back every year nine to ten bahars (Indian weight measurement) of gold. One of these mines is in Pahang and from here it takes seven or eight days to reach there by sea and land. The other is in Minangkabau, on the coast of Sumatra and from here it takes nine or ten days to reach there by sea and upriver.
23. Concerning the other lands where aloeswood, lacquer, supplies and other goods come to this place, I will not write to Your Excellency about this because we did not succeed in knowing for certain all that was written here. However, all these goods come to this port in large quantities.
24. I will not write about cloves and other goods which may be found on land as potential cargo for our ships, nor about those goods which Your Excellency should order to be brought from there, nor its prices, because I did so in another letter, which may be shown to anyone. Therein is a description of everything.

We kiss Your Excellency's hand

From Malacca, on the 6 day of February 1510

APPENDIX 9 Letter from the King of Ternate to the King of Portugal¹¹⁴³

To the King Manuel, by the grace of God, overlords of all the kings.

Your highness,

The very high and most powerful and overlords of all, this letter I send to your highness is to give obedience and respect which I always had for my lord and, this I do, at your feet, because there is no greater Lord than Your Highness for you are like the sun which appears and brightens the whole world and, thus, Your Highness can be called the lord of perfect justice.

I have information that Your Highness; from the most humble, makes them the greatest and this is what I desire. I am yours and I am in this land of Maluquo under the obedience of your orders.

I make it known to Your Highness that I live somehow discontented, and I beg of your Highness to give some remedy for these, for the obstacles which I have against me, are many, and I am alone. This is what I make known to Your Highness, as your vassal. Here are four islands and four kings and this is not good as only one king is enough for all which are in them, I hand over to Your Highness to give instructions to guard and provide for, as your own.

And I as vassal of Your Highness, beg that, Your Highness seek good advice and to give orders to supply me good weapons, with which, I may be able to defend this island and this land, for it belongs to Your Highness with everything which is in it.

I wish some queries in order to fight with them in the service of Your Highness, as I have said, I repeat it again, that I am vassal with all that under me; and this will be able while I am alive and after, all those who may live after me, for in the world, under the stars, there is no king like Your Highness.

The other kings, who exist in the Maluquo Islands, do not wish to know Your Highness as their Lord and for which they are wrong, except mine which is Ternate; this belongs to Your Highness's sons and grand-sons, who may descend from me.

Item. If in this letter there are some mistakes, for not knowing those courtesies that is well to render to Your Highness, please forgive me. I would be delighted to have from Your Highness one helmet and one chair to possess from Your Highness for my honour.

I remain inside this your land of Maluquo, kissing the feet of Your Highness.

¹¹⁴³ ANTT: Gaveta 15-4-1 (I), published in CAA, III, p.82; published in MHEMSM, pp.134-5.