

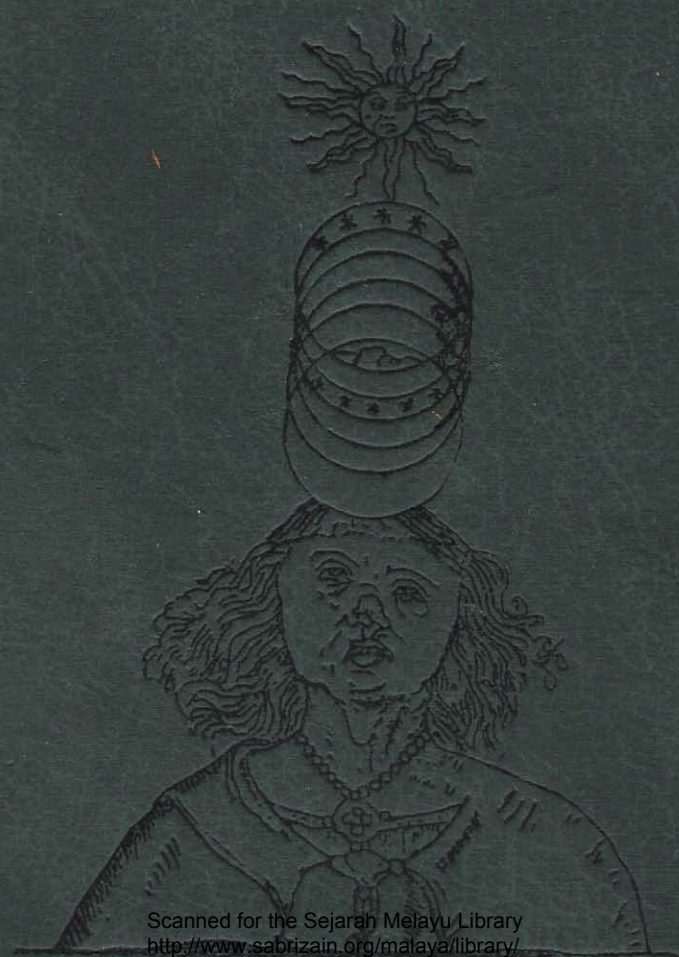


SUMA ORIENTAL
OF
TOME PIRES

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EAST, FROM THE RED SEA TO CHINA.
WRITTEN IN MALACCA AND INDIA IN 1512-1515

AND
THE BOOK OF
FRANCISCO RODRIGUES

PILOT-MAJOR OF THE ARMADA THAT
DISCOVERED BANDA AND THE MOLUCCAS



Translated from the Portuguese MS
in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris,

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RUTTER OF A VOYAGE IN THE RED SEA, NAUTICAL RULES,
ALMANACK AND MAPS, WRITTEN AND DRAWN IN THE
EAST BEFORE 1515

EDITED BY
ARMANDO CORTESAO

IN 2 VOLUMES

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SUMA ORIENTAL WHICH GOES FROM THE RED SEA TO CHINA

COMPILED BY TOMÉ PIRES

[SIXTH BOOK]

OF MALACCA

Fol. 164r.

[Early history—Neighbouring Lands—Native
Administration—Trade—Portuguese Occupation]

[EARLY HISTORY]

THIS is the beginning of the town of Malacca, according to various authors, and the truth is gathered from what the majority affirm¹.

According to the Javanese, Malacca is said to be peopled in

¹ Pires' account of the early history of Malacca has much new information, and though in its essentials it agrees with some of the other accounts, it differs considerably from all of them. Ferrand has collected together in his *Malaka, le Malayu et Malayur* what some oriental writers, the Portuguese chroniclers (Barbosa, *Comentários*, Correia, Castanheda, Barros, Couto and Eredia) and the Dutch Valentyn have written about the early history of Malacca; Schlegel in *Geographical Notes*, XV, Winstedt in *A History of Malaya*, and Wilkinson in *The Malacca Sultanate*, have dealt at length with the subject, trying to piece together the information contained in *The Sajarah Malayu* (*Malay Annals*) and some Chinese and Portuguese texts. The *Comentários* is contemporary with Pires, but the author, son of the great Albuquerque, never was in the East; Eredia, though born in Malacca, wrote one century and Valentyn two centuries after Pires; the other Portuguese wrote at second hand. But Pires wrote part of his *Suma* in Malacca itself, which gives special value to his information. Some may say that Pires was biased, mainly in his appreciation of people connected with events after the arrival of the Portuguese in Malacca; but the author of 'the olla-podrida of the *Malay Annals*' (Winstedt, p. 35)—'the best record we have' (Wilkinson, p. 69), though written nearly a century after Pires—a descendant of the Bendahara, was not less biased in the opposite direction. The comparison of these texts with Pires is most interesting, but it could not be undertaken here.

Those interested in this chapter of Far-Eastern history, as intriguing as it is confused, will find here a vast field for research and controversy.

this way, which is set down in their chronicle and which is widely confirmed by them. The Javanese affirm that in the year 1360—to convert their dates to ours—there was a king in Java called *Raja Quda*, which means 'King of the horses', who had a son called *Raja Baya*, alias *Sam Agy Jaya Baya*, which in the Javanese language means 'Great lord of nations'. This one had a son called *Sam Agy Dandan Gimdoz*, which means 'Greater than his predecessors' in the said language; and this one had a son called *Sam Agy Jaya Taton*, which means 'Lord of all'.

This *Sam Agy Jaya Taton* died without sons, and the people together set up two chief mandarins and made one king and changed his name of *Sam Agy*, and he was called *Batara*, which means 'Pure king'.

This *Batara Tamarill*¹ had a son whom they called *Biatarā Curipan*, who succeeded to the kingdom of Java. In his time a quarter of the land of Java rose up in revolt, and a mandarin rose up and called himself *Biatarā Caripanan Çuda* as will be told in the proper place.

This *Batara Caripan*, in whose time a quarter of the land of Java was lost, had a son who succeeded in his place and was afterwards called *Bataram Matarā*, and he was a great man of justice.

And he had a son whom they called *Bataram Sinagara*, and they say that this one was mad and the kingdom was given to one of his sons, who was called *Bataram Matarā* like his grandfather. This *Batarā Matarām* had a son who is reigning in Java in our time, who is called *Batara Vigiaja*, which means 'The great wise king'. His captain is the *Guste Pate* as will be told at length in the description of Java.

The Javanese say that in the time of *Batara Tomarjll*, king of the lands and lord of the isles, he had as tributaries: *Sam Agy Simgapura* who was king of that channel, his tributary and vassal, and it is about two hundred and forty leagues from Java to Singapore among the islands; and that *Sam Agy Palimbaão*—which means 'Lord of all'—was also his tributary vassal, and it is about a hundred leagues from Palembang (*Palimbaão*) to Java and almost open sea (this is taking the longest distance; because the nearer

¹ 'Bataratamurel (? Batara of Tumapel)'. Winstedt, p. 38. See note on *Batara Vojyaya*, p. 174.

way, bordering on Sunda, is about twenty leagues); and *Sam Agy Tamjompura*—which means ‘Lord of the precious stones’—was also his tributary vassal, and it is almost seventy leagues from Java to *Tamjompura*. This is the land of diamonds.

When *Sam Agi Palimbaão* died, he left a son, a great knight and a very warlike man, whom they called *Paramjçura*, which means ‘The bravest man’ in the Palembang Javanese tongue. He was married to a niece of *Batara Tamarill* who was called *Paramjçure*¹, and when he realised how nobly he was married and how great was his power in the neighbouring islands which were under his brother-in-law’s jurisdiction, he rose against the vassalage and obedience and called himself the Great Exempt.

When *Batara Tamarill*, king of Java, received the news that *Sam Agy Palimbão* had changed his name and called himself *Mjçura* which means ‘Exempt’, he decided to descend on him with his power and the help of the king of Tanjong Putting, and take the land of Palembang from him and kill and destroy him. Fol. 164v.

Having decided this he collected his people in ships and bore down upon the island of Banka which is next to Palembang and destroyed it, and they say that he killed everyone there because they were Palembang people, and that he must have killed a thousand inhabitants of the said island; and from there he went to Palembang, which must be a league or two away, and began to lay waste the places; and when *Paramjçura*, king of Palembang, saw this, he collected about a thousand men and their wives in junks and lancharas, and embarked them, and he stayed on land with about six thousand men to give battle to the king of Java, his brother-in-law.

After both sides had engaged in battle, *Paramjçura* fled and took refuge in the junks and fleet he had in the river, and all the people he had to defend him fell into the hands of his brother-in-law, and [he had] only the people who had embarked with him. He sailed to Singapore where he arrived with his junks and people, where he was received by the *Sam Agy Syngapura*, and they both stayed there.

¹ ‘Parameswara meant Prince Consort and was the style of one married to a princess of higher rank than himself.’ Winstedt, p. 39. *Paramjçure* or *Parameswari* is the feminine of *Parameswara*. Cf. Ferrand, *Malaka*, XI, 414, 447.

And eight days after his arrival the *Sam Agy* of Singapore was killed through the instrumentality of *Paramjçura*, and the channel and towns remained under the sway of *Paramjçura*, and he was lord of all and governed the channel and the islands, for through his industry he was able to have and acquire the land in justice (?); and he had no trade at all except that his people planted rice and fished and plundered their enemies, and lived on this in the said channel of Singapore.

And the king of Siam who was father-in-law to the *Sam Agy* of Singapore [who was] married to one of his daughters by one of his concubines—the daughter of one of the principal mandarins of Patani—when he heard the news of his son-in-law, he decided to attack him, and he gathered people together and made the said mandarin (father of the *Sam Agy* of Singapore's wife) chief captain, who came in such powerful array that the said *Paramjçura* did not dare to wait for him, and fled with about a thousand men and went up the Muar River, and he had been in Singapore for five years.

When the said *Paramjçura* entered into Muar with his wife *Paramjçure* and with a thousand men, he began to cut down the jungle and make fields, to plant trees and make *duções*¹ and farms to support them; there he remained for six years, and there he planted things to live on; and they used to fish, and sometimes robbed and plundered the sampans that came to the Muar River to take in fresh water; they used to come in junks from Java and from China, as will be told in the description of each country about when and where they navigated.

Meanwhile, during the reign of *Batara Tumarill*, king of Java and of many of the islands, in whose time *Paramjçura* had fled from Palembang to Muar, as we have told in describing his fortunes, there lived in Malacca the people we will now describe in order to bring ourselves to the founding of Malacca, its antiquity and the kind of people who first inhabited it.

At this time, according to the true history of the Javanese—

¹ *Dução*, pl. *duções*, from the Malay *dūsum*, means 'village, bourgade, campagne, endroit cultivé et habité dans la forêt'. Favre, *Dictionnaire malais-français*, s.v. Apud Ferrand, *Malaka*, xi, 436. 'The farms inland, which they call *duções*'. Barros, ii, vi, 3.

and so it is now affirmed by the Malays and all the neighbouring peoples—when the *Celates*, who are corsairs in small light craft, as we shall tell in their chapter when we speak of them; they are men who go out pillaging in their boats and fish, and are sometimes on land and sometimes at sea, of whom there are a large number now in our time. | They carry blow-pipes with their small arrows of black hellebore which, as they touch blood, kill, as they often did to our Portuguese in the enterprise and destruction of the famous city of Malacca, which is very famous among the nations. Fol. 165r.

These *Celates* Bugis—men who lived near Singapore and also near Palembang—when *Paramjçura* fled from Palembang they followed his company and thirty of them went along together protecting his life. While *Paramjçura* was in Palembang they served as fishermen; after they came to Singapore, they lived in Karimun (*Carjmam*), an island near the channel; and at the time when the said *Paramjçura* came to Muar these thirty came to live in the place which is now called Malacca, and it must be five leagues from Muar to Malacca.

As these *Celates* and robbers (who sometimes fished for their food, with their huts and their wives and children on the land) lived near the hill which is now called Malacca, where there is the famous fortress of Malacca, while *Paramjçura* lived in Muar—these *Celates* had knowledge of the land as men who hoped to live peacefully there. They fished in the river, which runs at the foot of the fortress, for the space of four or five years, and they ate, and sought to make a living at it.

As they often went up the said Malacca River fishing, for a distance of a league or two away from the sea, they saw a large and spacious place with large fields, and lovely waters, and they saw how well this place was adapted for a large town, and that they could sow large fields of rice there, plant gardens, pasture herds; sometimes they used to take their wives and children there, and they used to make merry there; and they decided to settle there, and they give it the name of *Bietam*¹, which means spacious plain.

¹ The same story is told with more or less variety and detail by several early writers. This place, which farther on we find spelt *Bretão* or *Bretam*, is

And they all agreed together that before they went to the said place they would suggest to *Paramjçura*, who was in Muar, that he should order the said place to be examined to see if it was convenient for him, so as not to be in Muar, because he had not such a good dwelling-place there. And when they all went to make this suggestion to him, they took him a basket of fruit, and a tree which was near the *Celates*' houses at the foot of the hill where the fortress is; this the said *Paramjçura* received from the said *Celates* with pleasure, and asked them why they had come, and they told him what they had decided about letting him know about the said place of *Bjetam* in case he wanted to move there, for it seemed to them a good place where the said lord would be able to rest.

The said *Paramjçura* told the *Celates* 'You already know that in our language a man who runs away is called a *Malayo*, and since you bring such fruit to me who have fled, let this place be called *Malaqa*, which means 'hidden fugitive'; and since your intentions were such that you wished to find a place for me to rest in, I will order it to be examined, and if it is suitable, I will go there with my wife and house, and I will leave the fourth part of my people in Muar to profit from the land where we have devoted so much work to reclaiming it.'

The *Celates* replied: 'We too belong to thy ancient lordship of Palembang; we have always gone with thee; if the land seem good to thee, it is right that thou shouldst give us alms for our good intentions, and that our work should not be without reward.' *Paramjçura* told them it should be so, and the *Celates* *Fol. 165v.* | said in front of every one that if the land seemed good to him and that if he wanted to go there, he should do so and call himself king, and thus he could give them honour and assistance. He agreed to this and said that it was his wish to do this for them.

The said *Paramjçura* ordered the said place of *Bjetão* to be inspected up the river by persons whom he instructed to that effect, and they saw the said plain surrounded by beautiful

called *Bintão* in the *Comentários*, *Bintam* by Barros, and *Bretan* by Eredia. The name survives in Sungai Bertam, an upper tributary of the Malacca River, and in Bertam Ulm, a place on its southern bank, north-west of Malacca, as it appears accurately situated on Eredia's maps (fols. 11-12).

mountain ranges and abundant waters near the river which comes into Malacca, with many birds and animals, where there are lions, tigers and others of various kinds, as in fact there is no doubt that it is not easy to find a beautiful plain like this extending three or four leagues, and now greatly cultivated. At which all those who went to see it were very satisfied and so reported to the said *Paramjçura*, and he was very pleased, and all his people, at the prospect of living at greater ease.

When the said *Paramjçura* had moved to the said place of *Bretão*, and had rested, and was beginning to cultivate the land and to enjoy it, the *Celates* went to him—being then no more than eighteen—and asked him if he remembered how they had discovered the said land, and how in their desire for his well-being they had left their wives and children and had gone to Muar to tell him about this place which he was now enjoying. And they asked him to fulfil his promise and reward them with some gift of honour, on which petition the said *Paramjçura* made them mandarins—which means nobles—both them and their sons and wives for ever. Hence it is that all the mandarins of Malacca are descended from these, and the kings are descended through the female side, according to what is said in the country.

The said fishermen having been made mandarins by the hand of the said *Paramjçura*, always accompanied the said king, and as he advanced them in rank they too recognized the favour which had been granted to them. They accompanied the king zealously and served him with great faith and loyalty, their friendship [being] whole-hearted; and in the same way the king's love for them always corresponded to the true service and zeal of the said new mandarins, and they strove to please him, and their honour always lasted right down to the coming of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to Malacca, when their fifth grandson was the *Lasamana* and the *Bemdara* who ordered the treachery to the said Diogo Lopes de Sequeira¹, and he was afterwards beheaded

¹ Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was the first European to visit Malacca, where he arrived with a fleet of five Portuguese ships on 11 Sept. 1509. It has been supposed by some that the arrival of the fleet at Malacca was on 1 Aug., but Castanheda (II, cxliii) and Góis (III, i), who are more accurate in the chronology—rather discordant in the several chronicles—of Sequeira's voyage, both

by the king himself, who lost Malacca, for the justice of God never fails, and treason to the king never goes without punishment.

The said *Paramjura* died in the said place of *Bretão* fairly happy in a land of such freshness, of such fertility and of such good living, as anyone who comes to Malacca today can see, for it is certainly one of the outstanding things of the world, with beautiful orchards of trees and shades, many fruits, abundant fresh waters which come from the enchanted hills which are within sight of Malacca, and—according to the natives—with hunting of many wild elephants, lions, tigers and other monstrous animals, and with domestic animals, not like ours, except for deer.

This *Paramjura* had a son, who had been born in Singapore, and who was already almost a man, married to the principal daughter of the mandarin lords who had formerly been *Celates*.

Fol. 166r. The son was called *Chaquem Daraxa*¹, and when | he was hunting one day in the said place of *Bretam* with dogs, as was his custom every day and most times, he was following the dogs and greyhounds, which are very good in these parts, and the said dogs were chasing an animal like a hare with feet like a little buck and a short tail²—animals of which the dogs used to kill ten or twelve every day—chasing it until it reached the sea by the hill of Malacca (where the fortress of the King our lord is now) so that when the said animal went into the hill it turned on the dogs and they began to run away. When the said *Xaquem Daraxa* saw this thing and that the said animal had regained so

agree on the date 11 Sept. The Malays tried treacherously to kill the Portuguese and seize the ships, but the treachery was discovered when a son of Timuta Raja was preparing to stab Sequeira while he played chess on board his ship. Sequeira then sailed away, but few of the Portuguese ashore managed to escape; some of them were killed and nineteen taken prisoners, amongst them Rui de Araújo who in 1511 was the first Portuguese factor in Malacca.

¹ *Chaquem Daraxa*, *Xaquem Daraxa* or *Xaquem Darxa*, as spelt in different places, represent Muhammad Iskandar Shah, the second ruler of Malacca.

² Mr. R. I. Pocock, F.R.S., of the British Museum (Natural History), when I showed him this passage of Pires, wrote immediately this note for me: 'A small Genus of Deer common all over the Oriental Region and known to English sportsmen as the Muntjack or Barking Deer, its scientific name being *Muntiacus*.'

much strength on the hill that it seemed a different being, he returned to *Bretam* where his father was in order to tell him about it, saying to the said *Paramjçura* his father: 'Sir, when I was hunting today I chased a hare to your mandarin's hill, where there is the fruit of the Malays, and there on the mountain the hare turned, either because the sea reached the foot of the hill or because it gained strength there, and all my dogs turned round and ran away; and as they used to kill ten or twelve of these animals every day, how was that one strong enough to defend itself against all the dogs so that they could not reach it? And because there must be some mystery about this I have come to tell you about it, and I ask you, sir, to go and inspect this hill, and we will see if we can find this animal there again, and if you were willing that I should make my dwelling there, I should rejoice greatly.'

Paramjçura did not want to annoy his son and went there, his chief mandarin—his son's father-in-law—going as his guide to show the way, because of the thick grove of trees that extends from the said *Bretao* to the hill of Malacca—as it does today—although it is not more than two leagues, and when the king arrived he saw three hills almost together, at [a distance of] three or four good shots of a crossbow, to wit, the hill of *Boqua China* with lovely waters and very fresh, and the hill of the *Alacras* which is on the side of *Tuam Colaxcar*, the Javanese Moor, and the hill of the animal (*monte Dalimaria*) where this famous fortress now is¹. *Paramjçura* said to his son: '*Xaquem Daxa* where do you want to settle?' and the son said on this hill of Malacca. The father said it should be so. And at the said time he built his houses on top of the hill where the kings of Malacca have had their dwelling and residence until the present time.

The said *Xaçem Darxa* having settled on the said hill with very rich houses after the fashion of the country on the hill and

¹ *Boqua China* is Bukit China, called *BVQVET. China* on Eredia's maps (fol. 9) and rightly situated close to Malacca on the east-north-east. Eredia's map (fol. 9v.) has two hills: *BVQVET. PLATO*, which corresponds to Bukit Piatu, north-east of *BVQVET. CHINA*, and *buquet Pipi*, which corresponds to St. John's Hill, east of Malacca. *Alacras* may possibly be a mistake for the Portuguese word *alacraus*, which means scorpions. The *Monte da Alimari* is, of course, the modern St. Paul's Hill. See plate XXIX.

on the ground beyond the bridge, where now are the customs-officers cellars, his father-in-law with about three hundred inhabitants and others were settled in *Bretam*. He endeavoured with his father to populate Malacca as much as he could. People began to come from the Aru side and from other places, men such as *Celates* robbers and also fishermen, in such numbers that three years after his coming Malacca was a place with two thousand inhabitants, and Siam was sending rice there.

At this time *Paramjçura* fell ill and died. The kingdom descended to his son *Xaquem Darxa*, and he ordered the people of *Bretam* to come, and only left people like farmers there, and he sent all the *Celate* mandarins to live on the slopes of the Malacca hill to act as his guards; and the said places belonged to the said mandarins and knights who guarded his person, until the present day when Malacca was taken, and he strove to populate the land. He acted justly, wherefore people came from other places to live and settle there.

Fol. 166v. As soon as *Paramjçura* was dead, and his son *Xaquem Darxa* became king, with six thousand inhabitants in Malacca, he sent a brother-in-law of his to Siam with an embassy, and bade him say how he by chance had come into possession of that land, and that he had worked so hard there that he begged him always to help him with foodstuffs as his right, for the land was his [the king of Siam's], and that, as a man living on his land, he would always acknowledge him, and that he [the king of Siam] should help him to people the land which was his.

The said king of Siam sent him people and foodstuffs and merchandise from his country, saying that he was delighted for it to be peopled like this, and that he would help him if he cultivated the land as he had said, and lastly that the ambassador had acquitted himself so well, and he brought back such a good message that *Xaquem Darxa* granted the said ambassador, who was his brother-in-law, the privilege that ambassadors should always be members of his family and of no other from thenceforward—as was the custom down to the present day when Malacca was captured by the Portuguese. And no one could be an ambassador unless he belonged to that family, and the ambassadors of Malacca are not allowed to do anything but

present letters, and they cannot say or do anything else, as I have often seen in their embassies, because that is the custom.

At this time *Batara Tamarill*, king of Java, was still reigning in Java, to whom the said *Xaquem Darxa* sent an ambassador, telling him that his father was now dead and asking that they should be friends and past differences be ended, and as he [*Batara Tamarill*] held the land of Palembang from him, that thenceforward he would be willing to trade in his country, and there he would be able to distribute his merchandise, and his country would go on greatly increasing its population, and it would be continually improving, because he had known that it must be so and had proved it over ten years, for the monsoons from either direction ended there, and his junks could navigate there with less risk, on account of the shallows there were [on the way] to Pase and to other places whither his people and subjects navigated; and he asked him to do this.

The king of Java, *Batara Tumarill*, replied that his junks had been navigating to Pase for a long time, and that he was closely bound in friendship to the place, where his merchants received good returns for their merchandise, and honour, and were exempted from customs duties; and as the said king of Pase was his vassal, let him send there if such was his [the king of Pase's] wish; and that otherwise he would not go against it, because he would not break a custom of such long standing as that which had been agreed between them so long since.

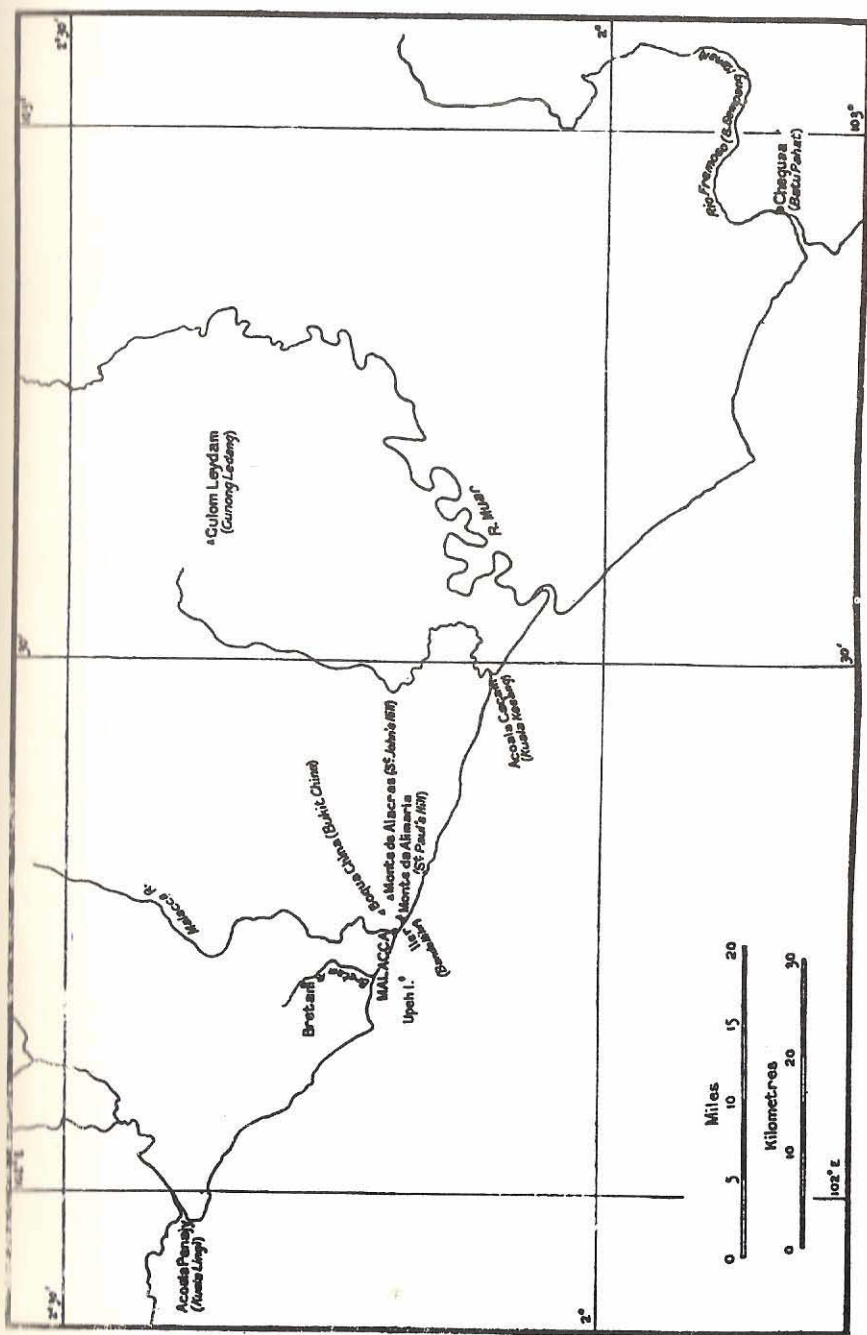
When the said ambassador came back he brought his reply; whereupon the said king *Xaquē Darxa* sent a message to the king of Pase asking him to be so good as to accede, and not take it ill that Java should trade with Malacca, and asking him to be so good as to send his merchants to Malacca with merchandise also, saying that there was gold in his country to exchange, and that his country could more than provide for the needs of the said king of Pase and that he had written to the king of Java, who had replied that if [the king of Pase] agreed he would be very pleased. Whereupon the said king of Pase sent ambassadors to the said *Xaquem Darxa* saying that he would willingly agree to grant what he had asked | if he would turn Moor, and *Fol. 167r.* that he should let him know in full what he decided, so that he

could speedily carry out his wishes. The said king *Xaquem Darxa* did not give a good reception to the ambassadors who came from Pase, and he took them prisoners and kept them in *Bretao* for a long time, detaining them and treating them fairly, and important people often came from Pase with messages to the said king of Malacca about the release of the ambassadors, and also to find out about the country and how the new population had grown so quickly, although the chief place of residence was in *Bretão*, where he used to go for recreation—as he always did until the day of his capture.

He improved greatly in friendship with, [and became] almost a vassal of *Batara Tumarill*, king of Java, on account of the many junks and powerful people from that country who used at that time to navigate great distances (as will be told in the description of Java); and he was always sending him elephants and gifts; wherefore, although the king of Pase had not agreed to it, some junks used to come to Malacca, although it was nothing much, because the port-of-call for all the merchandise was in Pase, as will be told when we deal with the island of Sumatra and the affairs of Pase.

At the end of three years the said *Xaquem Darxa* allowed the ambassadors to return to Pase with honour, and the kings made friends, and they traded from Pase in Malacca, and some rich Moorish merchants moved from Pase to Malacca, Parsees, as well as Bengalees and Arabian Moors, for at that time there were a large number of merchants belonging to these three nations, and they were very rich, with large businesses and fortunes, and they had settled there from the said parts, carrying on their trade; and so having come they brought with them mollahs and priests learned in the sect of Mohammed—chiefly Arabs, who are esteemed in these parts for their knowledge of the said sect.

When the said merchants arrived, they told the said king *Xaquem Darxar* that they had heard of his justice and of the mercy which he had used towards the people of Pase, and that, since the kings were friends, they wanted to trade in Malacca from Pase, and they wanted to come to the country, and, if it was possible, to trade there; and if a way could be opened up, they would stay there and would pay such duties as were imposed on



Malacca and neighbouring regions according to Tomé Pires

them, because they had been told that the people of Java wanted to trade and to bring merchandise which they needed, to wit, cloves, mace, nutmeg and sandalwood, for Java traded in them at this time, as will be told when the island of Java is dealt with.

The said king *Xaquem Darxa* was very pleased with the said Moorish merchants; he did them honour; he gave them places to live in, and a place for their mosques; and when the said Moors received the said place they built beautiful houses after the fashion of the land and town. Trade began to grow greatly—chiefly because the said Moors were rich—and *Xaquem Darxa*, king of Malacca, derived great profit and satisfaction from it, and he gave them jurisdiction over themselves; and the Moors were great favourites with the said king, and obtained whatever they wanted.

In the meantime there flocked thither those merchants who were in Pase, and more Moorish merchants, and they traded in Malacca, and from Malacca in Pase, and they went on augmenting the land of Malacca, and this was not felt in Pase because of the large number of people who were there, as will be told in the proper place.

And people from other places, from Sumatra, came to work and earn their living, and from Singapore and the neighbouring islands of *Celates*, and other people; and because the said king *Xaquem Darxa* was a man of justice and liberal to the merchants, they liked him, so that | during this time two junks came *Fol. 167v.* from China, which were going to Pase, and the said king brought pressure to bear on some people so that they should trade there, and they sold some merchandise to the said merchants and they took a great deal more to Pase.

At this time king *Xaquem Darxa* was already old, and the land was trading in merchandise; and there were many Moors and many mollahs who were trying hard to make the said king turn Moor, and the king of Pase greatly desired it. The said king *Xaquem Darxa* did in fact come to want to establish the said priests and to like them. When this news came, the said king of Pase, on the advice of the priests he had sent there, secretly sent others of greater authority to impose upon him and turn

him away from his race and heathenry and to convert him, and this by underhand means and not publicly.

Having been persuaded (?) either through the priests or by some other means, king *Xaquem Darxa* made a covenant with the said king of Pase, arranging marriages between some of the said king of Pase's daughters and the said *Xaquem Darxa* on condition that he should turn Moor like him, and that they would always be at one; and the said mollahs gave him to understand how much honour he would derive from the said union and relationship with the great king of Pase if he turned Moor, many messages passing between them, and the Moors working hard for the said marriage.

At last, when he was seventy-two years old, the said king *Xaquem Darxa* turned Moor, with all his house, and married the said king of Pase's daughter. And not only did he himself turn Moor, but also in the course of time he made all his people do the same. And in this way the said king turned Moor, and from thenceforward they were so until the capture of Malacca; and he lived in matrimony for eight years surrounded by mollahs, and he left a grown-up son, who also turned Moor, born of his first wife, who inherited the kingdom and was called *Modafarxa*¹.

When this king *Xaquem Darxa* was forty-five years old, he wanted to go to China in person to see the king of China, and he left the kingdom in the hands of the mandarins, saying that he wanted to go and see the king to whom Java and Siam were obedient, and Pase, as will be told at length in the description of China. And he went where the king was and talked to him, and made himself his tributary vassal, and as a sign of vassalage he took the seal of China with Malacca in the centre (?), as they all have it. He was greatly honoured and sent home with gifts and greatly entertained. And he returned to Malacca, and the journey going there and his stay and return, took three years.

And the said *Xaquem Darxa* came in the company of a great captain who brought him by command of the said king of China. This captain brought with him a beautiful Chinese daughter, and when the said *Xaquem Darxa* reached Malacca, in order to

¹ Muzaffar Shah or Mudzafar Shah.

do honour to the said captain, he married her, although she was not a woman of rank. And heathens do not mind being married to Moorish women, because it is the custom here, and the Moors are better pleased to marry their women to heathens than for themselves to marry heathen women, as they make their husbands Moors. This is the custom in these countries. The king of China allowed this *Xaqem Darxa* to take to Malacca tin money that is like *ceitis*.

The said king *Xaquem Darxa* had a son by this Chinese woman, who was called *Rajapute*¹, from whom are descended the kings of Pahang and Kampar and Indragiri, as will be told later. He was a very good man and had sons and daughters and afterwards died at the hands of *Madafarsa* his nephew, as will be told in the life of the said king *Madafarxa*.

This king *Madafarxa* had many wives, the daughters of neighbouring kings. They say that he was a better king than all those who had gone before. He greatly strengthened his ties with Siam and with Java and with the Chinese and *Legujos*. He was a great man of justice; he devoted much care to the improvement of Malacca; he bought and built junks and sent them out with merchants, for which even today the old merchants of the said king's time praise him greatly, especially as a very just man.

And this king *Madafarxa* acquired lands for Malacca, to wit, *Fol. 168* on the Kedah side he obtained *Myjam*, which is a good place and has a river, though not a big one; tin is produced in this country. It is a tributary of Malacca, as will be told more at large when the places which pay tribute to Malacca are dealt with. And he also took Selangor, which means tin, also a good place, and he made it too a tributary just like the other, and from these places, which must be about ten leagues from Malacca, they bring some foodstuffs to Malacca. In the same way he took the town of *Cheguac*, which is on the river *Fremoso*² beyond Muar on

¹ *Rādja pūtiā*, i.e., 'White Raja'. Cf. Ferrand, *Malaka*, xi, 421.

² *Rio Fremoso*, or *Rio Formoso*, is the Sungai Sempang Kanan, also called Sungai Batu Pahat, from the name of the town near its entrance, which must correspond to Pires' *Cheguaa*. The highest peak of the hills on the east bank of the mouth of the river is still called Mount Formosa (1416 feet). Rodrigues' map (fol. 34) is the first to record *Rio fermoso*, which afterwards appears on nearly every map down to the seventeenth century.

the Singapore side, a large river where many ships can enter, on which river there is a little rice, meats and fish; they have wines of the country; it is a river with wide meadows; it has fighting men. They say that strong and valiant people come from Muar and from *Cheguaa*. One of these places belongs to the *Bemdara* and the other to the *Lasamana*; each of them has civil and criminal jurisdiction—or they had in their time.

And this *Madafarxa* often used to go out to fight in person, and his brother *Raja Pute* remained as *Paduca Raja*¹, which means viceroy. He often fought against the king of Aru, and took from him the kingdom of Rokan (*Yrcam*), which is opposite Malacca in the land of Aru. And as long as he lived he always made war on him, according to what they say.

This king took the Singapore channel with the island of Bintang (*Bintam*) and brought it all under his obedience, up to the present time, where now he has taken refuge in flight; and he went to war over the said channel with the king of Pahang, and of Trengganu (*Talimngano*) and of Patani, and he always had the best of it, and therewithal he retained the land and jurisdiction, and he married one of his elder sisters to the said king of Pahang, who had recently turned Moor, and this will be about fifty-five or sixty years ago at the most. He had turned Moor at the request of the said *Modafarxa*, and [with the promise] that he would give him his sister in marriage.

This king made war on Kampar and Indragiri; and he fought for a long time against these two kingdoms, which are in the land

¹ '*Padūka*—an affectionate epithet; beloved, dear.' Marsden, *Dictionary*. According to Ferrand the Malay *pāduca* is a royal and princely title, like 'Your Majesty' or 'Your Highness'. *Malaka*, xi, 460. 'There used to be in Malacca five principal dignities. The first is *Pudricaraja*, which signifies Viceroy, and after the king this is one of the greatest. The second is *Bendará*, who is the controller of the Treasury and governs the kingdom. Sometimes the *Bendará* holds both of these offices of *Pudricaraja* and *Bendará*, for two separate persons in these two offices never agree well together. The third is *Lassamane*; this is Admiral of the Sea. The fourth is *Tamungo*, who is charged with the administration of justice upon foreigners. The fifth is *Xabandar*; and of these there were four, one of each nation—one of China, another of Java, another of Cambaya, another of Bengala. And all the lands were divided among these four men, and everyone had his portion, and the *Tamungo* was Judge of the Custom House, over all these.' *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, III, 87–8. See below pp. 264–5.

of Menangkabau, whence gold comes to Malacca; and in the course of time the said *Modafarxa* squeezed them so much, as they were rich, and because different races navigated to his port, and because he was allied with the Javanese and the Chinese and the Siamese, and in Pase, that through his own endeavours he married two daughters of *Raja Pute* his brother, one to the king of Kampar and the other to the king of Indragiri; and the said kings and the people nearest to them became Moors, all the rest still remaining heathens, and so they turned Moors about fifty years ago at the most.

And because of the honour he gained through making these three kings Moors [and] tributaries, his name became so famous that he had messages and presents from the kings of Aden and Ormuz and of Cambay, and Bengal, and they sent many merchants from their regions to live in Malacca, and he was called Sultan, for in this country any lord is called Raja, only in Pase, Malacca and Bengal are they called Sultans; and be very careful in this, when a letter comes from Portugal for any king here, to say 'from the Sultan of Portugal to thee, Raja So-and-So'.

This king used his powers greatly to see if he could destroy Aru, although the king of Aru had turned Moor before any of the others, even before the king of Pase according to what they say; but because they say he is not a true believer in Mohammed, and he lives in the hinterland, he has many people and he has many pinnaces, they are always out pillaging, and wherever they descend they take everything, and they live on this, and this can never be remedied because the land of Aru is like this. And from Aru they can cross to the land of Malacca in one day, and the men of Aru are greatly feared, and from the time of *Modafarxa* until the capture of Malacca by the Governor of India they were always enemies, and they still are today. This *Modafarxa* sent ambassadors to Java to the heathen king, and they say that by secret means he found a way through his priests to induce important men | from the coastal districts to turn Moors, and *Fol. 168r* these are now *pates*. This will be dealt with in the description of Java. The said *Modafarxa* was a vassal of the said king of Java and sent him elephants and things from China and rich cloths from among those which came to his port, and as long as he

lived he always maintained his friendship with the said king; and a large quantity of foodstuffs came from Java. He greatly improved the port of Malacca.

In the meantime the king of Pahang's wife died, and the said *Modafarxa* had him married to one of his nieces, daughter of his brother *Raja Pute*; and the said *Raja Pute* was thus connected with Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri; and the people of Malacca already believed greatly in *Raja Pute*, who was older than *Modafarxa*, so they say, and he had not inherited because he was the son of a concubine, practically a wife; others say that he was rather the son of the Chinese girl, born somehow or other. He had great authority. He was a good man, of excellent judgement; he had a great regard for the king his brother. He lived in the place *Bretão* of which we have already spoken, and the kings lived there too; but sometimes they repaired to the city, where they lived on the hill, as we have already said, because with the tide they can descend from *Bretao* to Malacca in an hour.

At this time there was a large number of merchants of many nationalities in Malacca, and *Pase* was already beginning to be less great than it had been, and the merchants and sea-traders realised how much difference there was in sailing to Malacca, because they could anchor safely there in all weathers, and could buy from the others when it was convenient. They began to come to Malacca all the time because they got returns. The king of Malacca dealt kindly and reasonably with them, which is a thing that greatly attracts merchants, especially the foreigners. He took pleasure in being in the city much more often than he went hunting, so that he could hear and decide about the abuses and tyrannies which Malacca creates on account of its great position and trade.

This *Modafarxa* had by his wife a son, who was called *Mansursa*¹. This boy was under the guardianship of his uncle *Raja Pute*. He was always taught and looked after by *Raja Pute* as his tutor; and they were both given to pleasure, and the father worked at the things which were his duty. And so during this time the said *Modafarxa* came to be ill in bed, and his son *Mansursa* came to stay with his said father in the city; they

¹ Mansur Shah.

obeyed the boy *Mamsursa*. *Raja Pute* had authority in *Bretam*; they did what he commanded. *Madafarxa* was worried about his illness, and also because he did not know what changes would take place on his death in the kingdom where he had worked so hard. He asked *Raja Pute* and charged him to hand it peaceably over to *Mamsursa*. *Raja Pute* said he would do so. The youth was already twenty years old, they say, or a little less. The father *Madafarxa* died; the boy began to do his duty, after his father's death and burial, honourably as was right, and also on the advice of *Raja Pute*.

After the burial, *Raja Pute* retired to *Bretão* and *Mamsursa* began to reign wisely over his kingdom, taking counsel of the old men, for virtuous government in matters of justice and the preservation of the country; he gathered people together. At this time it seems to have come to the young man's notice that *Raja Pute*, his uncle, either because he was old, or because he had so many ties in the country and outside, was treating him with disrespect in not coming to see him, being the king he was. One day he paid a surprise visit to the place where the said *Raja Pute* was, and he found him in a *balecy* (which is like a bower, richly elaborated)¹ with mandarins and important people who were with him.

When the said *Mamsursa* arrived they all stood up, and he sat down, and *Raja Pute* beside him, which is not the custom here, for the son does not sit down with his father even if he is the heir, unless the son is a married king, as will be told in the proper place on the customs of the Malays. The young man said: '*Raja Pute*, it is so many days since I have seen you. Are you ill?' He replied: 'I have not been doing very well.' The young man said: 'Yes, you are not doing very well as a king.' He then thrust his kris into him three or four times, and then *Raja Pute* fell dead on the spot. And for this reason the people always greatly feared the said king *Mamsursa*, and he was much feared, and respected and helped by his fellow countrymen whenever he wanted them.

King *Mamsursa* began to follow in his father's footsteps, both *Fol*, 169r.

¹ *Balecy* must correspond to the Malay *balei*. Marsden gives, among other meanings of this word: 'A lodge or summer house; a frame, stand, stage (for sitting on, curing fish, &c.).' *Dictionary*, p. 34.

in ruling the people and encouraging his men greatly to war. He was peaceful to the merchants and a man of good will. He had the allegiance of Malacca, Selangor (*Calangor*), Bernam (*Ver-nam*), *Mijam*, Perak (*Pirac*), all of which are places for tin and belong to the kingdom of Kedah, and he had been at war with Kedah about this. As it was a country of the kingdom of Siam, and as all the land belonged to the kingdom of Siam, these places were faced with the choice to whom they would be in allegiance. They said: to king *Mamsursa*, king of Malacca; and they maintained this allegiance until the taking of Malacca, paying tributes, as will be told in detail later.

Through his captains in the kingdom of Aru, the said king *Mamsursa* took by force the town of Rupert which is opposite to Malacca, and the kingdom of Siak; he made the Sheikh of *Porim* his vassal—all this in the island of Sumatra. These people came to Malacca as prisoners, and in his own good time he sent them back to their countries, and they always remained obedient to him until the day when it was taken by the Great Captain of India.

During *Mamsursa's* reign, the kings of Pahang and of Kampar and of Indragiri rebelled against him on account of the death of *Raja Pute*, their father-in-law, whom he had killed. And in person as well as through his captains he took them and conquered them and doubled their tributes, and put them under him as tributaries, and he made peace with them and [arranged] marriages; and the said *Mamsursa* married one of the king of Pahang's daughters and the king of Pahang married one of *Mamsursa's* sisters, and another of his sisters married the king of Menangkabau, who was a heathen, and made him turn Moor. Others affirm that the said king is still not a Moor to this day. The truth is that he is a Moor, with about a hundred of his men; all the other people are heathens.

This *Mamsursa* had one of the daughters of *Raja Pute* his uncle as a concubine, and as a wife he had the daughter of his *Lasamane*. This *Mamsursa* was chivalrous and very luxurious, just, always a true vassal of the kings of the Chinese and of the kings of Java and of Siam; and the nature of this vassalage will be told later.

The Moors of Malacca say that *Mamsursa* was a better king than all his predecessors. He granted liberties to the foreign merchants; he was always a fervent lover of justice. They say that at night he used to go about the city in person; they say that he slept little and played much at dice; he was fond of tilting at the beam after our fashion, as the Chinese do in their country. This *Mamsursa* raised men from nothing. The comptroller of his exchequer was a heathen Kling, and they say he had such influence with him that he did nothing but what he wished; and in the same way a *Cafre* of Palembang who was his slave had such influence, that people said they were winning him back to his original heathenry. Finally both these men, to wit, the Kling and the Palembang, rose so high that they turned Moor in the time of *Mamsursa*; and the *Bendara* whom they beheaded here, who was involved in the betrayal of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, was his grandson and was already more powerful than the king; and the Palembang's grandson is the *Lasemana* who is now with the ex-king of Malacca; and these two men grew so powerful in the time of this king *Mamsursa* that they reached very high dignities; and what the *Bendara* and the *Lasemana* are will be told later.

This king *Mamsursa* was married to a daughter of the king of Pahang, a niece of the king of Siam; and the said king thought much of this having his sons greater than all his ancestors. *Mamsursa* was a sociable man, liberal, a gambler and luxurious; but withal he was just. He took all the beautiful daughters of the Parsee merchants and the Klings who pleased him to be his concubines, made them turn Moors when he had to give them in marriage, and he married them to mandarin's sons and gave them dowries; and this custom of marrying people of different sects causes no surprise in Malacca.

This king *Mamsursa* built the beautiful mosque which used to be where now is the famous fortress of Malacca, and which was the finest known in these parts; and he ordered bridges, richly elaborated, to be built over the river. This king lowered the duties on merchandise, as will be told in the proper place; wherefore he was so much esteemed by the natives and foreigners that he achieved great wealth, and amassed a great treasure. They say he was a man with a hundred and twenty quintals of

gold and quantities of precious stones, and that he had decided to go to Mecca with a large amount of gold in a junk which he had ordered to be built in Java, and another in Pegu of great size, and that if his illness had not prevented him | he would have gone there. He had already spent a great deal of money, and [collected] many people for the journey. This *Mamsursa* always maintained firm allegiance to the Javanese, Chinese and Siamese, and he always presented them with elephants, because the jungles of Malacca produce many, and he had great numbers of them; and according to the country, so he sent things according to their taste there, but he did not send money, as will be told when we describe the form of allegiance he had to these three kingdoms.

This king *Mamsursa* had two sons and two daughters. The elder son was called *Alaoadin*¹, who succeeded him, and the other son died when he was hunting. He married one of his daughters to the king of Kampar and the other to the king of Pahang. When he was old he fell ill; he was ill for a long time, and king *Alaoadim*, his son, ruled over the kingdom, and while he was ruling this king married one of the daughters of a chief mandarin, to his father's satisfaction. And king *Mamsursa* died; he was buried in the tomb of the kings in accordance with the custom, on the hill where now stands the gallows, in contempt of his vanity and the honour in which they held the place.

At the beginning of his reign this king *Alaoadin* married a daughter of the king of Kampar, who was his first cousin. This king added to Malacca many islands belonging to the *Celates*, who are corsairs after their kind in small *paraos*. Through his captains he took the islands of Linga which are on this side of Banka, almost opposite to Palembang, where are the *cabaes* knights who cannot be killed by steel, as will be told in the description of the Linga islands. And the said king *Alaoadin* made their king his vassal, as he still is; [as he has] fled, however, they do not see one another, because they are both afraid of each other.

¹ Sultan Alauddin or Alaedin. '*Alaoadim* est la forme portugaise du nom arabe 'Ala'u'd-din, "l'élévation de la religion", ' says Ferrand in a note to his translation of the history of Malacca contained in the *Comentários, Malaca* XI, 422.

This king had a quarrel with the Arus and he was defeated by them at sea. They say that this king was more devoted to the affairs of the mosque than to anything else; and he was a man who ate a great deal of *afiam*, which is opium, and sometimes he was not in his right mind. He was a solitary man and was not often in the town; and in his time he amassed more riches and swore to go to Mecca to carry out his father's pilgrimage; and he hoped to be there with the things he was making ready for this. This king *Alaoadin* always had the kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri, and their relatives, with him in Malacca, at court as it were, and he instructed them in the things of Mohammed, because he knew all about them. Others say that these kings came to the weddings he arranged with the king of Pahang, who took one of his daughters to wife, and he had both, for it is the custom for them to be taken in this way; they may have four, and the son of the first inherits the kingdom.

However the said kings came to be in Malacca, there they were, for all the things and lands and districts were nothing in comparison with Malacca, because Malacca is the port at the end of the monsoons, whither large numbers of junks and ships come, and they all pay dues, and those who do not pay give presents, which are much the same thing as dues; and for this reason, because the king of the country puts his share in each junk that goes out, that is a way for the kings of Malacca to obtain large amounts of money; and hence there is no doubt that the kings of Malacca are very rich indeed.

This king having decided to go to Mecca, and being in *Bretam*, he wanted to come to Malacca to complete his preparations; and in seven or eight days he died of fevers¹. He left two sons and three daughters. The first was *Raja Çaleman*², and he was the son of the wife who was the king of Pahang's daughter; and of the three daughters one was by the woman from Pahang; and he

¹ According to Wilkinson (pp. 54, 62), Alauddin was a strong man who died (poisoned by his own brother the Sultan Mahmud Shah of Pahang) in the flower of his age, when he could hardly have been thirty.

² Sulayman. In the *Comentários* it is said also that *Celeimão* (Sulayman) was a son of *Alaoadin*; but Winstedt (p. 51) informs us that Sulayman and Alauddin were brothers, 'as is proved by his grave recently found at Sayong Pinang on a remote tributary of the Johor River'.

had *Raja Mafamut*¹ who lost Malacca, and was a son of the mandarin's daughter; and of the three daughters, one was by the above mentioned woman from Pahang, and the [other] two by the wife who was a daughter of the king of Kampar. Because the sons were still boys when the said king *Alaoadim* died, the *Bemdara* ruled the kingdom until the boys came of age. Some favoured *Raja Çaleimam*. The *Bemdara* favoured *Raja Mafamut*, who was his grandson, his daughter's son; but the kingdom belonged to *Raja Çaleman* not merely because he was a queen's son, for the other [wives] are of lesser standing, although they are taken so that their sons may inherit.

Four or five years passed and the principal mandarins began to form factions and parties. Pahang on his part worked for his grandson to inherit the kingdom; the *Bemdara* was powerful in the country and could have had the kingdom for himself if he had not wanted it for his grandson. He held it was a certainty for *Fol. 170r.* *Raja Mafamut* his grandson, and for this | he had resources and many relations to bring it about, as has been told. Although it says above that this king *Mafamut* was a grandson of the *Bemdara* they beheaded, he was only the grandson of his brother, being the son of one of his daughters, and this is the truth, as I afterwards made out².

They raised the said king *Mafamut* to be king of Malacca, and at the beginning of his reign, in order to make peace with Pahang, he married one of the king of Pahang's daughters³; and this king was less just than any of the previous ones, very

¹ Mahmud Shah.

² In order to understand this complicated relationship it must here be said that, according to Wilkinson and Winstedt, Sultan Mahmud was the son of Tuan Senaja, wife of Sultan Alauddin. Tuan Senaja was the sister of Tuan Mutahir (the Bendahara slain in 1510 by order of his nephew Sultan Mahmud), both of them children of the Bendahara Tuan Ali Sri Nara Diraja and Tuan Kundu (first married to Sultan Muzaffar Shah), a sister of Tuan Perak who succeeded Tuan Ali Sri Diraja as Bendahara. It seems that Pires, not unnaturally, mixed up all these intricate relationships. Mahmud was in fact the nephew of Tuan Mutahir, the 'Bendahara they beheaded' (it is more likely that he was simply killed with the kris), and the grandson of Tuan Ali Sri Nara Diraja (who was not killed) and Tuan Kundu, a sister of Tuan Perak who was also a Bendahara. See note on *Pate Cucuf*, pp. 193-4.

³ The king of Pahang was Sultan Mahmud Shah, a son of Sultan Mansur Shah, and thus an uncle of his namesake at Malacca.

luxurious, intoxicated with opium every day. He was presumptuous; he brought the kings of Pahang and Kampar and Indragiri to Malacca by force. He was treated with such respect that they never spoke to him except from a great distance and very seldom. He was a great eater and drinker, brought up to live well and viciously. He was feared by the other kings; when they spoke to him it was with great reverence and courtesies of their kind. He was called Sultan *Mafamut*.

In his arrogance he then withdrew his obedience from the king of Siam, and would not send an ambassador to his country any more, nor to Java either. He only remained obedient to China, saying why should Malacca be obedient to the kings who were obedient to China? Wherefore the king of Siam sent his captains by sea to make war on Malacca about fifteen years ago, and the king of Malacca's *Lasemana* sallied forth and defeated them at the island of Pulo Pisang (*Pulo Piçam*)¹ where they met the Siamese; so that since that time he has never again been at peace with Siam, and it must be twenty-two years now since they broke off [relations] and the Siamese never came back to Malacca until now that Malacca is ours.

The king of Java did not care about Malacca nor about its obedience, because it had no interest for him, as his seaports were already in the hands of the Moors; he has the hinterland and cannot make war on Malacca because he is powerless on the sea, as will be told at length when we speak of the whole island of Java and of its affairs and people and conditions, and of how the Moors are already in possession of the sea-coasts. The said king *Mafamut* boasted in Malacca when he fought with the king of Siam's captains and there were found ninety thousand men able to take up arms. He was so proud and unreasonable and presumptuous about this, that he said that he alone was strong enough to destroy the world, and that the world needed his port because it was at the end of monsoons, and that Malacca was to be made into Mecca, and that he would not hold the opinion of his ancestors about going to Mecca; and therefore the learned Moors and the people say that it was on account

¹ Pulo Pisang appears for the first time as *pulo picā* on P. Reinell's maps of c. 1517 and c. 1518.

of the arrogance of this sin that he was lost, and all bore him ill-will.

This king *Mafamut* was afraid that *Raja Çaleman* would rise up with the kingdom, and he ordered him to be killed in Malacca; and he had *Raja Jalim*¹ with him in Malacca—the father of the boy who was now king of Kampar and was called *Raja Audela*². They all say that this *Raja Jalim* was a very good man; and because he saw him from his house walking along a street with many companions, he said at once: 'That is already in order to take away my kingdom which he will say belongs to him.' *Raja Jalim* heard of this and became a hermit, like men who despise the world, and yet he obviously had him poisoned, though he was his first cousin, and he killed *Raja Bunco*, his nephew, with a kris, because he wanted to go to Aru. They say that this man was more worthy than *Raja Jalim*.

With a kris he also killed *Raja Jalim's* sister who was his wife, mother of king *Amet*³ his son, for no reason, but just because the fancy came to him when he was intoxicated with opium. He is a very fickle man, of diabolical cruelty. In his time, after these things had taken place and he had killed many other men, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived in the ships. He killed *Tuam Porpate*⁴, a very great mandarin, and his son *Tuam Açem*⁵, who were like *Raja Bunco*, and these [were killed] with a kris.

When Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived before the port of Malacca, there were at that time—according to what is truly stated—a thousand Gujarat merchants in Malacca, | among whom there were a great many rich ones with a great deal of

¹ Raja Zainal-Abidin.

² Abdullah, whom Barros calls *Abedelá* (II, ix, 7) and *Góis Abbadella* (III, lxiii). In 1515 he was made Bendahara of Malacca, in place of *Ninachatu*, and then beheaded a few months later, due to the intrigue of Mahmud, the ex-king of Malacca. See note pp. 288-9.

³ Ahmad.

⁴ Tuan Perpatch Puteh, a brother of Tuan Perak, whom he succeeded as Bendahara. *Tuan* in Malay means 'master lord, sir, mistress, madam'. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v.

⁵ Tuan Hasan. According to Wilkinson (p. 59) this was a son of Tuan Mutahir, not of Tuan Perpatch Puteh.

capital, and some who were representatives of others; and in this way they say that with Parsees, Bengalees and Arabs there were more than four thousand men here, including rich merchants and some who were factors for others.

There were also great Kling merchants with trade on a large scale and many junks. This is the nation which brings the most honour to Malacca. These have the bulk [of the trade] in their hands as will be told later. First the Gujaratees went to the said king *Mafamut* with a great present, and also the Parsees and Arabs and Bengalees and many of the Klings reported to the said king together, that the Portuguese had reached the port, and consequently were bound to come there every time, and that, besides robbing by sea and by land, they were spying in order to come back and capture it [Malacca], just as all India was already in the power of the Portuguese—whom they call Franks (*Framgēs*) here—that because Portugal was far away they ought to kill them all here and that the news could not reach Portugal for a long time, if ever, and that Malacca would not be lost, nor its merchants, emphasising the case in such a way that the king replied that he would speak to the *Bemdara*, and he would decide what seemed best to him in this. These who had spoken went to the *Bemdara*; they took him double the present—and most of it was from the Gujaratees; they converted the *Bemdara* to their plot, and they further suggested to the said *Bemdara* that he should ask the king for the flag-ship for himself, for it carried many bombards.

The above mentioned merchants took a present to the *Lasamane* so that he should help them in this, and they did the same to the *Tomungo*, who was the *Bemdara*'s brother, and they asked the son of the Javanese *Utemuta Raja*¹, whom they beheaded here, to take part in this and to ask for one of those ships [of the Portuguese]. So they were all informed and ready waiting to see what the king wished. In the meantime Diogo Lopes unloaded some merchandise in godowns in order to make up his cargo, which thing they say encouraged the plot, so that they could get the merchandise for the king and *Bemdara*.

The said king called into council the *Bemdara* and the *Lase-*

¹ Timuta Raja.

mana and the *Tumungo Cerina De Raja*¹, who they say was the wisest man in Malacca, and he summoned *Tuã Mafamut*, who afterwards died at our hands, who was one of the chief people, and others who had already been appointed to the council; and the said king consulted them all as to the action to be taken on what the merchants of the various nationalities reported about the coming of this captain. The *Bemdara* and *Tuam Mafamut* and the other mandarins told the said king that the right thing was to kill them all, and that it would soon be done, for he would find the way to do it. The king asked the *Lasemana* and the *Tomunguo* what they thought. They both said that they were not of that opinion, but that they [the Portuguese] should be well treated and made content, and keep their merchandise, since they had come to his port in good faith; and if these men were such and so bad as they said, that they should tell them to go away and not to stay in the port.

The king said: 'You do not understand the case of these men. They come to spy out the land so that they can come afterwards with an armada, as I know and you know that they go about conquering the world and destroying and blotting out the name of our Holy Prophet. Let them all die, and if any other people come here afterwards, we will destroy them on the sea and on the land. We have more people, junks, gold in our power than anyone else. Portugal is far away. Let them all be killed.' They called the merchants, and the king told them that the *Bemdara* already had the reply and that they should speak to him.

They say that the king told the *Lasemana* and the *Bemdara*: 'You, *Lasemana*, will put to sea in your lancharas and kill them all, and do not send the Portuguese ships to the bottom, and keep the guns for me and also the flag-ship. And the *Bemdara* will attack

¹ It seems that Pires mixed up his information once more. According to Wilkinson (pp. 55-67), Tuan Tahir, the Sri Nara Diraja (a brother of Tuan Mutahir, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja), was the Chief Treasury Officer; the *Tumungo* or Temenggong was Tuan Hasan (son and successor of Tuan Mutahir in the office of Temenggong). All three, with other members of the family, were killed together by order of Sultan Mahmud in 1510, at the instigation of the Laksamana Khoja Hasan, a favourite with the Sultan and an enemy of the Bendahara. But from what Pires says it does not seem that the Laksamana was much of a favourite with the Sultan. Probably Pires means Tuan Tahir Sri Nara Diraja, when he refers to the *Tumungo Cerina De Raja*.

those who are weighing [goods] on land, because we will turn them all out; and be careful on the sea, although you alone could account for ten such ships. One who destroyed the Siamese on the open sea, where there were | a hundred to one of ours, what *Fol. 171r.* will he do to such a little thing at anchor? Why, those who go to sell them chickens will be a match for them, for they are not fighting men, as I am informed.'

The *Lasemana* said: 'This business is contrary to justice, and I do not want to be in it, and I tell you that I would rather fight against a thousand such men than against these, not because I fear them, but because my heart is not in such a decision.' The *Bemdara's* son crossed him and said: 'My lord, I will go if the *Lasemana* does not want to.' The king said he thanked him for it. The *Lasemana* replied: 'Go; but if your business succeeds, I do not know anything, and all the people in Malacca together are not strong enough to capture these ships, nor is there any reason for it.'

This speech incensed the king against the *Lasemana*, and he wanted to have him killed, because he had made so much of such a small matter, and he ordered him not to leave his house. The *Bemdara* and his eldest son and *Utamutarraja's* son and the captain of the Gujaratees went into this together. They say that each of them wanted a ship [of the Portuguese] and that they fell out over the choice, and in order that they should not cheat each other, as they often do, they arranged to seize those people on land who had to collect cloves in different places. The people disembarked; everyone knows what was done on land and what the Lord prevented on the sea.'

After the said Diogo Lopes had left the port, they prepared again to sail to see if they could catch him. In the end the king was very dissatisfied and sent for the *Lasemana* and asked him how past events looked to him; and the *Lasemana* told him that [they looked] bad and that he should seek to make himself strong, as the Portuguese would attack Malacca, and that he would then find out who would defend it against the Franks, men without fear, who had conquered the world. Wherefore the *Bemdara* was on bad terms with the king thereafter, and

¹ See note above, pp. 235-6.

very much so, and for this reason he killed him, as will be told later; and the whole thing is the judgement of God.

King *Mafamut* began to make himself strong on the *Lasa-mana's* advice; he did not receive him quite so well as he used to receive the *Bemdara Cerima Raja* who was almost as powerful as the said king. And they say he began secretly to take possession of the land; others say not, but the *Bemdara* is second after the king, as will be told later. After this thus this *Bemdara* circumcised certain of our men by force with their hands tied, and as a result one died and others escaped by means of bribes paid secretly to the *Bemdara* by *Njna Chatu*.¹

The king began to make himself strong. He was uneasy lest the *Bemdara* should rise up with the kingdom, because the king was unknown compared with the *Bemdara*; and with a kris he killed the *Bemdara Cerima Raja*, *Tuam Açem*, and *Tuam Zeynar*, his sons, and *Tuam Zedij Amet* and *Tuam Racan*, his grandsons, all of whom were greater than kings of Pahang and Kampar. He killed *Cirima Raja*, the *Bemdara's* brother, and *Tuam Adut Aliil* and *Tuam Aly* and *Tuam Amet*, the sons of the said *Cirjma de Raja Tumungo*, all of whom were his relations, for which cruelties the said king rendered himself odious and was hated by everyone; moreover this family deserved it for the advice they had given against Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

He took the wives and children of all those he killed for himself, and above all he took the daughter² of the *Bēdara* he killed

¹ *Nina Chatu* or *Nina Chetu* was a great friend of the Portuguese, referred to with praise in all their chronicles. 'A heathen merchant, who lived there [Malacca], a native of Kling, whom they called *Nina Chetu*, mitigated the evil treatment they [Rui de Araujo and his 18 Portuguese fellow prisoners] suffered, bribing the authors [of the treatment], and so gave them food and helped them as much as he could.' 'And he was not deceived in his hope of reward from us, if he had such hope, because after the town was taken, Afonso de Albuquerque repaid his action with honour and favour he bestowed upon him, which were the cause of his voluntary death, (as we shall see later in its proper place).' Barros, II, vi, 3. See note p. 287.

² *Tuan Fatimah*, 'a very pretty girl', who had been married to her cousin *Tuan Ali* (Pires' *Tuam Aly*), son of *Sri Nara Diraja*. When Sultan Mahmud went to the wedding he took a fancy to the beautiful bride, and 'felt that a slight was put upon him by his *bēndahara* showing openly that he was not wanted as son-in-law'. It seems that from this came the hatred of Mahmud for the *Bendahara's* family. Cf. Winstedt, pp. 65-7.

to be his wife, by whom he had a son. He took the property of all these people for himself, whereby he obtained a plenteous supply of gold. They say that through this deed he put a hundred and twenty beautiful women into his house and fifty quintals of gold and other valuables and great jewels, and they say that the dead did not deserve such a death, because such treachery had never been heard of.

During this time—while the said king was making himself strong with strong palissades and many guns, because of their fear and trembling at what they had done to our Portuguese—he wanted to muster his people in all his kingdom and dominions with their mandarins and their officers | with their captains; and before we come to this it will be necessary to describe the city of Malacca and its boundaries and its kingdom, and then the places under its dominion, to show its greatness according to local standards, so that its destruction may be realised afterwards. Fol. 17^{rv}.

[NEIGHBOURING LANDS]

On the side of Upeh, which is over against Kedah, Malacca is bounded by the *Acoala Penajy*¹, a river which flows into the sea—it is about four leagues from the fortress of Malacca to its mouth; and on the side of *Iler*² over against Muar it is bounded by the Kuala Kesang (*Acoala Caçam*)³; it is about three leagues

*Bounds of
the city of
Malacca.*

¹ *Acoala Penajy* must correspond to Kuala Lingi, the mouth of the Sungai Lingi (*kuala* in Malay means mouth of a river) which forms part of the boundary between the State of Negri Sembilan and the Settlement of Malacca, seven miles east of Cape Rachado and approximately twenty-four miles from the town of Malacca—nearly double the four leagues indicated by Pires. Kuala Lingi is the first port of some consequence north-west of Malacca. On Eredia's maps (fols. 11–12) Sungai Lingi is called *Rio Panagrim*. Immediately west of Kuala Lingi is Tanjong Panjang; Pires' *Acoala Penajy* may mean 'Kuala Panjang'. See plate XXIX.

² Eredia says that *Iler* was a village outside the walls of Malacca, 'on this side of the river [of Malacca] towards the south-east' (fol. 6), and thus it appears on his plans of the town (fols. 8–9). It corresponds to the south-east part of the town of Malacca, called Banda Hilir today.

³ Kuala Kesang forms the eastern boundary today between the Settlement of Malacca and the State of Johore. Eredia calls it 'the beautiful *ryo de Cassam* of alligators and crocodiles' (fol. 10), and has it on his maps as *Casan*. According to Eredia, in his time the Portuguese 'District of Malacca' extended from *Rio Panangim* (Lingi) to a little east of *Rio Muar*, for a distance

from the fortress to this boundary; and then going overland from one boundary to the other round the foot of the hill, which is called Gunong Ledang (*Golom Leidam*), which is the boundary on the land side, the said boundary of Malacca joins up and finishes, within which boundary there is a great deal of wood, most of it growing straight up to the sky, for masts and other things, and there are pleasant waters.

*Gardens
there are
within these
bounds of
Malacca and
what men-at-
arms it had.*

Malacca has within its said limits one thousand one hundred and fifty farms which they call *duções*, some of them with palm groves, some with *oraquas*, some with fruits of various kinds, all good, including the fruit of the durians, which is the best fruit in the world without doubt. From the *Acoala Penajy* to the river of Muar along the sea, Malacca had a *cate* of men-at-arms who could fight, that is a hundred thousand men. These it had at the time when the Captain-major came to Malacca, when he took it. Within the bounds of Malacca are many wild elephants, and many tigers, and six or seven kinds of deer, [which look] like oxen but are not.

The Kingdom of Malacca from *Acoala Penajy* to Kedah. All these are tin lands which they call *timas*.

*Cinjojum*¹.

The first place is *Cinyojum*. It is governed by a mandarin. He used to pay the former king of Malacca four thousand *calains* a year, paid in Malacca. It is a place by a river which must have more than two hundred inhabitants; they are Malays.

*Klang
(Clam)*².

Another place of *timas* besides this is called Klang. It pays the same amount in Malacca, and the population is the same as in the other. They are Malays like the people of *Cinjojuũ*.

There is another place beyond this on another river, which is called Selangor (*Calamgor*). It pays six thousand *calains* a year to Malacca in *timas*. This is a bigger place with more people. They are Malays.

of twelve leagues (thirty-eight miles) and penetrated inland eight leagues (twenty-five miles), with a circuit of twenty leagues (sixty-four miles). Actually there are approximately fifty miles between Kuala Lingi and Kuala Muar, along the coast, and Kuala Kesang is eighteen miles from Malacca—nearly double the three leagues indicated by Pires. In Pires' time the boundaries of the Malacca territory were much as they are today.

¹ Sungai Jugra is the next large river between Kuala Lingi and Klang.

² Klang is a town not far from the mouth of the Klang River. *R. de calan* on Berthelot's map of 1635.

The other place is Bernam. It pays the same amount as Klang *Bernam* and *Cinjojuñ* every year and it has twice as many inhabitants as the above. (Ver-nam).¹

Another place is called *Mjmjam*. This has more tin than any Mimjam. of the others. It is larger than the above-mentioned. It used to pay Malacca every year eight thousand *calains* which are worth sixteen thousand, because these have twice the value. It has two villages: *Mjmjam* with Malays, and the other further up with *Luções*, and they are often at variance, and each place has its own jurisdiction, and it is so to this day.

Another is Bruas. This has not so much tin, but it has more people and it is a trading place. It has a great many *paraos* and people, and there are two villages on the Bruas River. This Bruas has plenty of rice. They are Malays. They pay six thousand *timas* to Malacca every year. The people in this place have more presumption than all the others put together. The captain here is *Tuam Açem*, mandarin of Malacca. *Bruas* (Baruaz).

The other village is called Perak. It used to pay four thousand *timas* a year to Malacca. The population is about the same as that of Klang. They are Malays also. *Fol. 172r.* Perak (Pirac).²

The governors of these places are called *mamdaliquas*³, that is *mamdaliqua* of such and such a place. They have civil and criminal [jurisdiction] in their lands. The ordinary people always come to trade in Malacca in small *paraos*. They bring *timas* and rice, chickens, goats, figs, sugar cane, *oraquas* and things like that. The people in these places are poor. They live in this way, and the men of Aru attack them and sometimes carry them all off; and they always have palissades.

The first place is Muar. This is the chief place after Malacca. The town contains about two thousand men; it has a very good river; it has beautiful farms, and it has enough rice for its own needs. It has plenty of foodstuffs, many *oracas*. The people of Muar are knights; they have many mandarins. It is under the *Kingdom of Malacca on the Pahang side.*

¹ Bernam River. *Bernan* on Berthelot's map.

² Perak River. *Pera* on L. Homem's map of 1554, D. Homem's atlas of 1558 and Dourado's atlases.

³ Perhaps from the Mal. *māntāri* (a counsellor, a minister of state), or from the Ar. *makām* (an appointed chief, resident, provincial governor) and *malik* (a king).

jurisdiction of the *Bemdara*. It has *paraos* and a beautiful river-side with trees, and fish. It is a cool place.

*The
Fermoso
River.*

This *Fremoso* River is a much bigger river than the Muar; but it has not so many people. In some places it is thinly populated. There are many inlets into which ships can enter. It has beautiful wood, many *orraquas*, fruits, any amount of fish. They say that this place belongs to the kings of Kampar by ancient agreements.

*Singapore
(Singa-
pura)¹.*

Beyond is the *Sijngapura* channel. It has a few *Celate* villages; it is nothing much. From there onwards the said kingdom does not extend any farther on land. This canal is a thing of little importance—I mean the people who live there.

The kingdom of Malacca described so far all lies in the land of Siam. Now we will tell of the seignories which obey Malacca; some of them pay tribute and some supply men. We begin in the island of Sumatra, along the coast on the way to Palembang.

*Rokan
(Jrcaão).*

Rokan is a country near Aru. It used to be subject to the king of Aru, and now it belongs to Malacca. It is a kingdom and has a king. He does not pay tribute, but is only obliged to help with men in time of war, without payment.

Rupat.

Rupat is a place beyond this, going straight along. The lord of it is a mandarin. He is obedient to the said king of Malacca in the same way as Rokan above.

*Siak
(Siac).*

Siak is a kingdom; it has a king. It is a small country. It is also obedient to the king of Malacca. In these countries they live by agriculture; they are not traders. They come to Malacca to buy cloth, and [people] from Malacca go to sell it [to Siak]. They bring gold in exchange.

Purjm.

Purjm is almost entirely a country of *Celates*. The sheik of it is obedient to the said king of Malacca. This place has more *paraos*, and these men in this place are robbers. The robbers come to make a fair of the things they steal. Rowers go from here to Malacca. There are very large quantities of shad in this

¹ This is the first time the name is spelt as it still is in Portuguese today—*Singapura*. The first two European documents, earlier than, or contemporary with, the present one, where Singapore is mentioned, are Rodrigues' map (fol. 34), which records *samgepura*, and the letter written from Malacca on 22 Feb. 1513 by F. Peres de Andrade to Afonso de Albuquerque, which thrice mentions *singapur*. *Cartas*, III 51-65.

place—more than in Azamor. And their roes come to Malacca in great quantities.

The kingdom of Kampar is strong. The land is very sterile *Kampar* and poor. It has gold; it has apothecary's signaloes; it has a great *(Campar)*. deal of pitch, honey, wax; it has enough rice for the inhabitants. This king of Kampar is descended from *Raja Pute*. He and the king of Malacca are first cousins; they are closely allied. This king used to pay the king of Malacca four *cates* of gold, all four of which are worth six *contos* and twenty-five *cruzados*.

The kingdom of Indragiri is like that of Kampar. It has more *Fol. 172v.* merchants; it has more gold than Kampar. He is also related to the said king of Malacca like the king of Kampar, and also to the king of Kampar. He has the same merchandise in his country as *Indragiri* there is in Kampar, because it is all one country, which is called *(Amdar-guerj)*. Menangkabau (*Menamcabo*). Although there is a king of Menangkabau, the whole of this country is called thus. This country has better gold than there is here. The king of Indragiri is more accessible for trade, because he has a better river-mouth. Junks can enter into it. He pays four *cates* of gold a year to the said king of Malacca.

Pahang (*Pahāao*) is in the land of Siam. This [king] is also *Pahang* closely related to the king of Malacca, and to the kings of Kam- *(Pahāmo)*. par and Indragiri. This king has the same merchandise in his country as the others have; and he has gold in good quantity, which is called Pahang [gold]. It is in dust and of less value than that from Menangkabau. The king of Pahang (*Pāao*) is a greater king than any of these, and he holds the king of Trengganu (*Talimano*) as tributary to Pahang (*Paāo*), and Pahang is tributary to the kingdom of Malacca to the extent of another four *cates* of gold a year. This [country] produces alum and sulphur in addition to the other merchandise. It has a good city. It is always at war with the people of Siam. Pahang (*Pahāo*) has mandarins and fighting men. It is a country which breeds warlike men. It trades in merchandise; there are more merchants in this country than in Indragiri. Its port is good, and its people are accustomed to trade.

The land of Tongkal (*Tucall*) is beyond Indragiri, on the sea- *Tongkal* coast. It has a sheikh. It is obedient to Malacca; it helps with *(Tuquall)*.

men. It is a gold-producing country. It has the same merchandise as Indragiri. It is a small affair. It is not obedient to anyone else except Malacca. They are good men on the sea; they have small *paraos*.

Linga
(*Lingua*). *Linga* consists of four large islands which are opposite to Tongkal, almost opposite the first land of Palembang (*Palimbão*). It has a king; he is called *Raja Lingua*. He must have forty *paraos* and lancharas. They are a more warlike people than any of the others in Malacca, or in its kingdoms and dominions. It is from here that the *cabaes* come, as will be described when we speak of this. This *Raja Linga* is greatly beloved by the *Celates*.

Celates. *Celates* are thieving corsairs who go to sea in small *paraos* robbing where they can. They are obedient to Malacca. They make Bintang [*Bintam*] their headquarters. These men serve as rowers when they are required by the king of Malacca, without payment, just for their food, and the governor of Bintang brings them when they have to serve for certain months of the year.

[NATIVE ADMINISTRATION]

Officials of the king of Malacca. The kings of Malacca sometimes create captains-general, whom they call *Paduca Raja*. These are a kind of viceroy, who is next to the king. To this man all the mandarins do reverence, and the *Bemdara* and *Lasamana* do the same to this *Paduca Raja*.

*Bemdara*¹. When there is no aforesaid official, the *Bemdara* is the highest in the kingdom. The *Bemdara* is a kind of chief-justice in all civil and criminal affairs. He also has charge of the king's revenue. He can order any person to be put to death, of whatever rank and condition, whether nobleman or foreigner; but first of all he informs the king, and both decide the matter in consultation with the *Lasamana* and the *Tumunguo*.

Lasamana. The *Lasamana* is a kind of admiral. He is the chief of all the fleet at sea. Everybody at sea, and junks and lancharas are under this man's jurisdiction. He is the king's guard. Every knight

¹ This is the first European description of the Malacca high officials, Bendahara, Laksamana, Temenggong and Xabandar. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bendara, Laximana, Toomongong and Shabunder; Dalgado, s.v. Bendara, Lassamane, Tamungo and Xabandar; also the note on *Paduca Raja*, p. 244.

[and] mandarin is under his orders. He is almost as important as the *Bemdara*—in war matters he is much more important and more feared.

Tumungo is the chief magistrate in the city. He has charge of Tumun- the guard and has many people under his jurisdiction. All prison⁸⁰ cases go first to him and from him to the *Bemdara*, | and this^{Fol. 173r.} office always falls to persons of great esteem. He is also the one who receives the dues on the merchandise.

There are in Malacca four *Xabamdares*, which are municipal^{Xabam-} offices. They are the men who receive the captains of the junks, dares. each one according as he is under his jurisdiction. These men present them to the *Bemdara*, allot them warehouses, dispatch their merchandise, provide them with lodging if they have documents, and give orders for the elephants. There is a *Xabamdar* for the Gujaratees, the most important of all; there is a *Xabamdar* for the *Bunuaqujlim*, Bengalees, Pegus, Pase; there is a *Xabamdar* for the Javanese, Moluccans, Banda, Palembang, *Tamjompura* and *Luções*; there is a *Xabamdar* for the Chinese, *Lequeos*, *Chancheo* and *Champa*. Each man applies to [the *Xabamdar*] of his nation when he comes to Malacca with merchandise or messages.

The rule in Malacca is that if the king has an elder son by his wife, he marries him at fifteen years of age or later; and if the said son has a son or daughter by his wife, so that the king has a grandson, he relinquishes the government and the son remains in possession of the kingdom, and the father no longer is king. However he is respected as before, though he does not govern.

No one but he may wear yellow under pain of death. And if he proposes to go out and to wear another colour, he orders the colour to be proclaimed, and no one may go out in such colour under pain of death. He may go out in state three or four times a year for all to see him. If he goes by land the elephant is covered up to the eyes in yellow cloth, and if he takes [another] king with him he rides on the neck, and he himself goes in the middle, and his page on the haunches. No one may wear a chinese hat except himself.

When he goes in a *parao* or lanchara it carries four white poles seven or eight fathoms long, two at the poop and two at the

Manner of succession of the kings of Malacca.

The king's custom in the matter of dressing and going out.

When the king goes by sea.

prow. These poles are called *guallas*¹. The *Lasamana* may have one of these poles at the prow; any other king may have two, one at the poop and another at the prow, and this is the greatest honour there is amongst them. And this rule cannot be broken amongst the Malays. And on matters of this kind they will kill each other sooner than on any others. These poles are raised upright, just white, without anything else.

Caba-
ães².

The *cabaães* are noblemen. They have given everyone to understand that they cannot die by the sword. The *cabaães* are men who carry a round piece of steel and other metals as big as chickpeas on the thick of the right arm, and when they receive it they swear to die like knights. There are few *cabaees*, and they are much feared. The land where the best *cabaees* come from are the islands of Linga, and next to these [come those] from Brunei (*Burnee*) and Pahang, and those from Malacca are not so good.

Amoks.

The amoks are knights among them, men who resolve to die, and who go ahead with this resolution and die. This resolution is called amucks (*amoquos*)³. There are many of these people in Malacca and throughout all these parts. They cannot become such, without much wine first. Of these we will speak when we describe Java, because the chief amoks come from there.

Justice in
Malacca.

When some mandarin is condemned to death, they go to his house and say: 'You are to die'. And his nearest relative kills him with the kris. The condemned man washes himself first and says his prayers, then they give him the *cirj*, which is how they call the betel,⁴ and so he dies; or if he is a prisoner, this is the most honourable death. And if he is a commoner they take him into the street and order him to be killed, or impaled, or burnt alive, or beaten on the chest to death, according to the nature of the crime. And the estate of all these people goes to the king if they

¹ Mal. *gālah*, 'a pole, long staff, setting pole, boat-hook'. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v.

² Mal. *kābal*, 'invulnerable, . . . a charm worn to render the person invulnerable'. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v. The *Comentários* (III, xv) and Barros (II, vi, 2), however, say that *cabal* was the name of an animal of Siam or Java, the bones of which had the virtue of preventing a man's blood from running from a wound.

³ Again, this is the first record in any language of the word *amoquo* or *amoco* (amuck), and the first description of what the word implies. See p. 176.

⁴ *Sirih* is the Malay word for betel. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v.

have no heir in the direct line, and if they have one he takes the half.

When some person or merchant dies without an heir in the direct line, the king takes his estate; and if the dead man has made an heir, then they divide the estate between them. First however they pay out the alms and the funeral expenses from the total amount, and any debts the dead man owed are paid off.

Fol. 173v.

What the king inherits when one of his subjects dies.

If they are important people they do not marry without first informing the *Bemdara*. If the marriage is between merchants the husband must bring as much as the wife; and this is among the Klings who marry when young. And if it is between Moors the man must give the woman ten tael and six *mazes* of gold as dowry, which must always be actually in her power. And if the husband wishes to leave her, the said dowry and the clothes remain in her possession, and each of them may marry whomsoever he pleases. And if the wife makes a journey by sea with her husband, then she hands over the money to the husband, and if they part from there, in that case the husband returns the ten tael and the profit on them.

Wedding customs.

If some man commits adultery, and if the husband can kill both the lover and his own wife in his house, he is free and goes unpunished if he kills one and the other. And if someone has fled and he has killed him outside, coming from his house, he is liable to the death penalty; he can only apprehend him, and thereafter he cannot live with his wife if he accuses the other man.

The custom about adultery.

When some man injures another, or a woman, half the fine goes to the king and half to the complainant. They cannot demand justice without the complainant takes something to the judge, according to the nature of what is demanded. From this the *bemdaras* are very rich.

The custom about injury.

Every mandarin when he goes to see the king approaches no nearer than ten paces and raises both his hands three times above his head, and then he kisses the ground and says through third persons what he wants; and the same on taking leave. And this is on the days when they know that the king can be seen by them. And they do the same to the prince. All show great respect for the king and for what belongs to him, and the people when they pass by the king's houses do reverence to them.

The custom the mandarins observe when they speak to the king.

*The
custom
about
sitting
down.*

On account of the seats, when a mandarin speaks with another he does not sit down, but remains standing, unless the seats are on the same level, such as a bench or one storied house (?). When they greet each other they shut the left hand with the thumb stretched out and the right hand on the left, and thus they speak out of courtesy. All have houses with rooms on a lower level for the servants, so that they should not be so high as their masters when they speak to them. You must never raise your hand above the navel with a Malayan; it is a great courtesy. We will talk of this when dealing with the things of Java, because they took this custom from there.

*The
custom
about
their
wives.*

The Malaysians are jealous people, and so you shall never see the wives of the important people in the land, nor do they go out, except sometimes; if they are entitled to do so, they go out in covered sedan chairs, and many women together, and this occasionally. Each man has one or two wives, and as many concubines as he likes; they live together peaceably. And the country observes this custom: heathens marry with Moorish women and a Moor with a heathen woman with their [proper] ceremonies; and in their feasts and rejoicing they take too much wine. Both men and women are fond of mimes after the fashion of Java.

[TRADE]

*Who the
people
are who
traded in
Malacca
and from
what
parts.*

Fol. 174r.

Moors from Cairo, Mecca, Aden, Abyssinians, men of Kilwa, Malindi, Ormuz, Parsees, *Rumes*, Turks, Turkomans, Christian Armenians, Gujaratees, men of Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, of the kingdom of Deccan, Malabars and Klings, merchants from Orissa, Ceylon, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Siamese, men of Kedah, Malays, men of Pahang, Patani, Cambodia, *Champa*, Cochin China, Chinese, *Lequeos*, men of Brunei, *Lucoes*, men of *Tam-jompura*, *Laue*, Banka, Linga (they have a thousand other islands), Moluccas, Banda, Bima, Timor, Madura, Java, Sunda, Palembang, Jambi, Tongkal, Indragiri, Kappatta, Menangkabau, Siak, *Arqua* (*Arcat*?), Aru, *Bata*, country of the *Tomjano*, Pase, Pedir, Maldives.

Besides a great number of islands [there are] other regions from which come many slaves and much rice. They are not

places of much trade and therefore no mention is made of them, only of the above-mentioned peoples who come to Malacca with junks, *pangajawas* and ships; and in cases where they do not come to Malacca, people go there from here, as will be said in detail under the title of each [region]. Finally, in the port of Malacca very often eighty-four languages have been found spoken, every one distinct, as the inhabitants of Malacca affirm; and this in Malacca alone, because in the archipelago which begins at Singapore and Karimun up to the Moluccas, there are forty known languages, for the islands are countless.

Because those from Cairo and Mecca and Aden cannot reach Malacca in a single monsoon, as well as the Parsees and those from Ormuz, and *Rumes*, Turks and similar peoples such as Armenians, at their own time they go to the kingdom of Gujarat, bringing large quantities of valuable merchandise; and they go to the kingdom of Gujarat to take up their companies in the said ships of that land, and they take the said companies in large numbers. They also take from the said kingdoms to Cambay, merchandise of value in Gujarat, from which they make much profit. Those from Cairo take their merchandise to Tor, and from Tor to Jidda, and from Jidda to Aden, and from Aden to Cambay, where they sell in the land things which are valued there, and the others they bring to Malacca, sharing as aforesaid.

First of the Gujaratees and the merchants who trade to Malacca in their ships.

Those from Cairo bring the merchandise brought by the galleasses of Venice, to wit, many arms, scarlet-in-grain, coloured woollen cloths, coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, nails, silver, glass and other beads, and golden glassware.

Merchandise brought to those from Cairo, Aden and Mecca.

Those from Mecca bring a great quantity of opium, rose-water and such like merchandise, and much liquid storax.

Those from Aden bring to Gujarat a great quantity of opium, raisins, madder, indigo, rosewater, silver, seed-pearls, and other dyes, which are of value in Cambay.

In these companies go Parsees, Turks, Turkomans and Armenians, and they come and take up their companies for their cargo in Gujarat, and from there they embark in March and sail direct for Malacca, and on the return journey they call at the Maldiv Islands.

Four ships come every year from Gujarat to Malacca. The

merchandise of each ship is worth fifteen, twenty, or thirty thousand *cruzados*, nothing less than fifteen thousand. And from the city of Cambay one ship comes every year; this is worth seventy or eighty thousand *cruzados*, without any doubt.

The merchandise they bring is cloths of thirty kinds, which are of value in these parts; they also bring pachak, which is a root like rampion, and catechu, which looks like earth; they bring rosewater and opium; from Cambay and Aden they bring seeds, grains, tapestries and much incense; they bring forty kinds of merchandise. The kingdom of Cambay and that of Deccan as far as Honawar are called First India, and so each of these kings calls himself in his titles 'King of India'. They are both powerful, with large forces of horse and foot. For the last 300 years these two kingdoms have had Moorish kings. The kingdom of Cambay is superior to that of Deccan in everything.

Fol. 174v. The principal merchandise brought back is cloves, mace, nutmeg, sandalwood, seed-pearls, some porcelain, a little musk; they carry enormous quantities of apothecary's signaloes, and finally some benzoin, for they load up with these spices, and of the rest they take a moderate amount. And besides they take gold, enormous quantities of white silk, tin, much white damask—they take great pains to get this—coloured silks, birds from Banda for plumes for the *Rumes*, Turks and Arabs, which are much prized there. These have the main Malacca trade. They pay in dues six per cent; and if they will have their ships assessed by valuers, they pay on their valuation. This is the custom with the Gujaratees, in order to avoid extortions by the mandarins; for besides the six per cent, they pay the *Bemdara*, *Lasamane*, *Tumunguo* and *Xabamdar* one cloth per hundred, and each one according to who he is, which the merchants regard as a great oppression, and therefore they have the ship valued; at the lowest a Gujarat ship is valued at seven *cates* of *timas*¹, which is twenty-one thousand *cruzados*, and on this they pay at the rate of six per cent.

Those from Chaul, Dabhol and Goa come and take up their

¹ This should read 'seven *cates* of *calains* in *timas*' or 700,000 *calains*, as one *cate* is 100,000, and 100 *calains* were worth three *cruzados*; or else, 'seventy *cates* of *timas*', or 70,000,000 *timas*, as 100 *timas* *cashes* made one *calaim*. See pp. 260, 275. Thus 69 lbs. (or 33.3 *calains*, at Pires' estimate) of tin were worth one *cruzado*, or about £2 17s. at the modern value of the old *cruzado*.

companies in Bengal, and from there they come to Malacca; and they also take them up at Calicut.

Of these we shall speak when we speak of the things of Bengal.

These Malabares form their company in *Bonuaquelim*, that is Choromandel and Pulicat, and they come in companies; but the name is Klings and not Malabars. Choromandel, and Pulicat, and Nagor. These are ports of the coast of Choromandel: the first is *Caile*, and Kilakari (*Calicate*), Adirampatnam (*Adarampatanā*), Nagore (*Naor*), Tirumalarajanpatnam (*Turjmalapatam*), Karikal (*Carecall*), Tranquebar (*Teregamparj*), Tirmelwassel (*Tirjmalacha*), *Calaparaoo*, Pondicherry (*Conjmjrrj*), Pulicat (*Paleacate*)¹.

Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Kollam, whose people are called Malabars.

¹ Pires' Choromandel goes here from *Caile* (8° 40' N) to Pulicat (13° 25' N); but in his letter of 27 Jan. 1516, Choromandel is from the shoals of *Chilā* to Pondicherry (*Conjmejra*). The modern 'Coast of Choromandel' runs from Calimere Point (10° 18') to Godāvari Point (16° 58') according to the Admiralty Pilot. All the sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicles, rutters and maps give different limits for the Choromandel coast and mention different place-names on it. See note p. 64. *CAILE* or *Qalle*, as spelt before, corresponds to Old Kayal, a place which has now disappeared, among the lagoons of the delta of the Tambraparni River. See note p. 81. *CALICATE* corresponds to Kilakari (9° 15'). It is called *Calecare* by Barros (i, ix, 1), and appears as *o calecare* in D. Homem's atlas of 1558 and as *calocare* in Dourado's atlas of 1571. 'Calecare lies in 9½ degrees' says the rutter in *Livro de Marinharia*, p. 225. *ADARAMPATANĀ* corresponds to Adirampatnam (10° 18'), which 'is considered a port of refuge for native vessels between the months of May and September', according to the *Bay of Bengal Pilot*. *NAOR* corresponds to Nagore. See note p. 92. *TURJMALAPATAM* corresponds to Tirumalarajanpatnam (10° 53'). Called *Triminapatam* by Barros; appears as *tamalā* in D. Homem's atlas and as *trēmapatāo* in the atlas of c. 1615-23. *CARECALL* is Karikal (10° 55'). Called *Chereacalle* by Barros, and *Quilicare* by Barbosa; appears as *calecam* on L. Homem's map of 1554, and as *calecā* in D. Homem's atlas of 1558. *TEREGANPARJ* corresponds to Tranquebar, or *Tarangampādi* in the vernacular, (11° 2'); it is called *Tragambar* by Barros. *TIRJMALACHA* corresponds to Tirmelwassel (11° 13'), as spelt in the Admiralty's *Pilot* and chart, or Tirumullaivāsal, as spelt on the '1-inch to a mile map of India'. This difference in two modern and authoritative spellings helps us to understand the sometimes surprisingly wild spelling used by Pires (which moreover we know only through his transcriber) and other early writers and cartographers. *Tirjmalacha* must be what Barros calls *Triminavaz* and what appears as *trimalauas* in Dourado's atlas of 1571. The rutter says that 'from Negapatam to the shoals of *Triminava* there are 12 leagues and it has a large river', which must be the Coleroon River, the largest and northernmost branch of the Cauvarey. *CALAPARA00*—Perhaps Cuddalore (11° 43'), which is called *Calapate* by Barros and *Kadattūr* in the *Mohit*. *CONJMJRJ*, which Pires calls *Conjmejra* in his letter of 27 Jan. 1516, corresponds to Pondicherry

The Malabars come to Pulicat to take their companies. They bring merchandise from Gujarat, and those from Choromandel bring coarse Kling cloth. There come every year to Malacca three or four ships, each one must be worth twelve to fifteen thousand *cruzados*; and from Pulicat come one or two ships, each worth eighty or ninety thousand *cruzados*, or a junk worth no less. They bring thirty kinds of cloths, rich cloths of great value. They pay in Malacca six per cent. These Klings have all the merchandise and more of the Malacca trade than any other nation.

Return
[voyage]
from
Malacca
to Bonua-
quelim.

The principal thing they take back is white sandalwoods, because the red ones grow in *Bonuaquelim*; and a bahar is worth one and a half *cruzados*; and there will be some ten ships each year if necessary. And they take camphor from *Pansur*, which is to the south-west, and in the island of Sumatra it is not worth so much; this is edible. [They also take] alum, white silk, seed-pearls, pepper, a little nutmeg, a little mace and a little cloves, much copper, little tin, *fruseleira* of the lowest quality, calambac, damasks, Chinese brocades, and gold. They pay six per cent entry-dues and nothing on coming away. They leave here in January and come back in October. They take a month to go and another to come back; and sometimes they go from here to Pulicat in Malacca junks. And the Klings are from the kingdom of Narsinga. They are heathens.

Dues paid
in
Malacca
on mer-
chandise
from the
West.

As the account and description of the lands has been given above, it now remains to speak of the dues which the merchants from the west paid in Malacca when they came with their merchandise, to wit, merchants from Aden, and along with those from Aden, those from Mecca and Ormuz; Parsees, and with them all Gujarat, Chaul, Dabhol, the kingdom of Goa and Calicut, the kingdom of Malabar, Ceylon, *Caile*, Choromandel,

(11° 56'). Tomaschek (*Mohit*, Tafel XVIII) gives *Conijmie* as a Portuguese name corresponding to *Conhomeira*, a place-name found in many early Portuguese maps and situated by Barros between *Calapate* and *S. Thomé* or *Maliapor* (Mailapur, practically a southern suburb of Madras). The rutter says that from *Sam Thome* to *Conhomeira* there will be about twenty-five leagues (eighty miles), which is exactly the distance between Pondicherry and Madras. Pires' *Conjmjrj* or *Cunjmejra* may be the *Conymate* (?) mentioned by Gaspar da India in a letter written from Cochin on 16 Nov. 1506 to the King of Portugal. *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, II, 377-8.

Pulicat, all the kingdom of the Klings, which is Narsinga, the kingdom of Orissa, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Siam. Pegu and Siam paid dues on the merchandise, and a present on the provisions: all provisions in all these lands, on the side of Tenasserim, Kedah, Pedir, Pase, are a matter of a present. These are called of the west. These all pay six per cent in Malacca. And without these companies | there come merchants, Malayans or *Fel. 175r.* from other nations, who have their wives and settle in Malacca. They pay three per cent, and besides this a royal due of six per cent in the case of a foreigner, and three in the case of a native. A present is paid to the king, and the *Bemdara*, and the *Tumunguo*, and the *Xabandar* of the nation in question, and these presents will amount to one or two per cent. According as the *Xabandar* decides, so the merchants pay, because the *xabandares* are sympathetic to the merchants and of the same nations as the merchants; and sometimes they give more, according as the *xabandares* wish to be on good terms with the king and the mandarins. And this done, they sell their goods freely.

They have also another way with the big ships. Sometimes with the consent of the king they [make] valuations. It is known that a ship from such and such a place is bringing merchandise worth so much. They call together ten merchants, five Klings and five from some other nation, and before the Customs Judge, who was the *Tumungam*, the *Bemdara's* brother, they make the valuation and receive the dues and presents. Because if this was not done, each one would take his pickings. And the trade is so great that the guards steal, and to avoid theft and oppression, this was done. And also it was found that the valuers were heavily bribed; and through this system people rarely dared [to behave in that way]. *Another way of paying dues.*

It is an old custom in Malacca that as soon as the merchants arrive they unload their cargo and pay their dues or presents, as will be said. Ten or twenty merchants gathered together with the owner of the said merchandise and bid for it, and by the said merchants the price was fixed and divided amongst them all in proportion. And because time was short and the merchandise considerable, the merchants were cleared, and then those of Malacca took the merchandise to their ships and sold them at *How prices were fixed in Malacca.*

their pleasure; from which the traders received their settlement and gains, and the local merchants made their profits. And through this custom the land lived in an orderly way, and they carried on their business. And that was done thus orderly, so that they did not favour the merchant from the ship, nor did he go away displeased; for the law and the prices of merchandise in Malacca are well known.

*Lands
that pay
presents
only and
no other
dues.*

The entire East does not pay dues on merchandise, but only presents to the king and to the persons mentioned above—[the entire East,] to wit, Pahang and all the places as far as China, all the islands, Java, Banda, Moluccas, Palembang, and all [places] in the island of Sumatra. The presents are a reasonable amount, something like dues. There were taxing officials who made the estimation. This was the general custom, but the presents from China were larger than from all other parts. And these presents amount to a great deal because the number of sea-traders who paid presents is considerable. And if they sold junks in Malacca, the dues paid were two or three *tundaias* of gold per hull; and this goes to the king of Malacca. And afterwards it was decreed that on each 300 *cruzados* 15 should be paid in dues, and this the *xabandares* of the different nations collected for the king. All provisions pay presents and not dues.

*Land
dues.*

No man can sell a house or a garden without the licence of the king of the land or the *Bemdara*; for the licence for the sale of the garden and the said house adjoining (?) a present was paid accordingly. Malacca also had so much per month from the women street-sellers, and this was given to the mandarins, for the streets assigned to one mandarin so much, and so much to another, because in Malacca they sell in every street. And this was [for] the poor people's hospital. And as a great favour an inhabitant was allowed to have in front of his door a stall for selling or hiring. They also have dues from the fruit and fish; this was a trifle. Besides the [other] dues, the principal due it had is on the weighing of all merchandise that came in or went out: one *calaim* was paid on each hundred the merchandise was worth. And for this the king has secretaries and receivers; and everything was weighed, even tar-lamps, and this amounted to a good deal at the time in question.

The Malacca coinage was made of *calains* in *timas*—*timas* Fol. 175v. means tin. The small tin coins are *cashés*. A hundred were worth *Malacca* eleven *reis* and four *ceitis*, at the rate of a hundred *calains* in *timas* for three *cruzados*. Every hundred *cashés* make one *calaim* coinage and the value of and weigh barely thirty-three ounces. And all the merchandise is the tymas, sold by *calains*, and they pay in tin or in gold. The *cashés* are like *ceitis*, with the name of the reigning king, and those of the late and the gold and silver. kings are also current. The tin pieces are eighty. And a hundred *calains* are worth three *cruzados*.

Malacca has xerafins from Cambay and from Ormuz; they Xarafins. circulate as well as our *cruzado*. Each xerafim is worth twenty- Cruzados. seven *calains*, which make 320 *reis*. The *cruzado* is worth thirty-three and a third at the rate of three per hundred *calains*. *Pase dramás* and silver coins circulate.

The lowest quality gold that comes to Malacca is that from Value of Brunei, which is of four and a half, five, five and a half, and six the gold *mates*, and next that of *Laue*, which is of seven and seven and a half *mates*; and next that from Java, of eight and eight and a half *mates*, and that from Pahang (*Pahun*) is of this value and somewhat higher; and that from Menangkabau is of nine *mates*; and that from the Klings is of nine and a third and nine and a half; so too is that from Cochin China: this is the best gold in these parts; it is gold [good] for *cruzados*, of nine and a half *mates* or more, almost two thirds.

The Malacca weight is the *tael*, which is also called *tumdaya*. Tael or Tundaya. This *tumdaia* weighs sixteen *mazes*, each *maz* weighs four *cupões*, each *cupom* weighs twenty *cumderis*¹. This *tumdaya* weighs, in our measure, eight and a half drams less six and a half grains.

The value of the gold is according to the number of *mates*. Value of the gold.

¹ Referring to the measures and weights of Malacca, Nunes says: 'The weight with which they weigh gold, musk, seed-pearls, coral, calambac, *manicas* [rubies or precious stones in general, from the Mal. *mānikam*] is the *tate*, which is 20 *taels*; each *tael* is 16 *mazes*, one *maz* is 20 *cumduryns*; and one *pauaf* is 4 *mazes*, one *maz* is 4 *cupões*, one *cupão* is 4 *cumduryns*.' *Lyvro dos Pesos*, p. 39. There is an obvious mistake in Pires' MS. It is possible that the transcriber left out a few words which would make the last part of the sentence read: 'each *cupom* weighs five *cumderis*, and so each *maz* weighs twenty *cumderis*'. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Candareen; Dalgado, s.v. Cupão and Condorim.

The *mate* is worth twice its number in *calains*, so that gold of four *mates* is worth eight *calains* the *max*, and that of four and a half *mates* is worth nine *calains* the *max*, and that of five *mates* is worth ten *calains* the *max*, and that of ten *mates* is worth twenty *calains* the *max*. At this rate you calculate as follows: gold of eight *mates* is worth 16 *calains* the *max*, [as the *tael* has sixteen *mazes*,] sixteen times 16 are 256 *calains*. The calculation is made at the rate of a hundred *calains* for three *cruzados*.

The *cate* of the Malacca gold is worth twenty *taels*. You make your calculation: twenty times two hundred and fifty-six are five thousand one hundred and twenty, and in this way the value of the gold is reckoned. And there are assayers of gold appointed by the king. And the king had given this office to one who gave him yearly half a *cate* of gold. And he takes nothing from the king or mandarins for assaying gold, and he charged the people one *calaim* for each *tael*, that is eleven *reis*, besides what he gathered on the stone, which is almost another *calaim*, because they are rough stones well fitted for this plunder. And no one but this man could assay gold. And this is a good post in Malacca, and there is a lot in it, because it is one of great credit.

Value of
the silver.

The silver of Pegu was worth a hundred *calains* the three *taels*, and silver of Siam and of China was formerly worth forty *calains* the *tael*; now things are worth somewhat more. Much silver used to come to Malacca.

Weights of
Malacca
in former
times.

The Malacca *tael* or *tumdaia* was of eleven and a half drams; the *cate* weighs twenty *tundaias* minus six and a half grains at the above rate. The *cate* of gold is worth twenty-eight and a half ounces. Gold, silver, musk, edible camphor, calambac and seed-pearls are weighed by this *cate*.

Cate for
merchan-
dise.

The *cate* for merchandise weighs twenty-three of the above mentioned *taels*; it weighs thirty-two and three-quarter ounces and twenty-five grains. The Malacca *faraçola* weighs ten of these *cates*¹. With this *cate*, when you buy by the bahar, it comes to two-hundred *cates* in the case of the following merchandise,

¹ The Malacca *faraçola*, then, weighed 20 lbs. 6 oz. 285 gr. (9,268 grammes). But the weight of the *faraçola* varied locally through the whole East, from about 20 to about 30 lbs. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Frazala; Dalgado, s.v. Farçola.

viz., musk in pods, white and coloured silk, opium, quicksilver, copper, vermilion, carnelians, and other merchandise of the kind. The bahar weighs in *arrates* of the old measure, three quintals, two *arrobas*, twenty *arrates* and six and a third ounces in goods measure¹.

And the law of Malacca as to the weight of the bahar in mer-^{Fol. 176r.}chandise of the following class [is] when you buy, the bahar must be two hundred and five *cates*: pepper, cloves, nutmeg, mace, benzoin, lac, incense, brazil, alum, myrobalans, sulphur, pachak and things of this kind. And this bahar, according to my calculation, as I have said, comes to this: they increase it by five *cates*, three quintals, three *arrobas*, seven *arrates*, nine ounces and thirty-three grains. This is the bahar after the law of Malacca, according to the calculation I made, and to the best of my ability. And so this *dachym* was fixed.

When the Governor of the Indies left Malacca, he ordered Rui de Araújo to assess the big *dachim* of the spice which remained in the factory. It was determined in writing that the said *dachim* weighed three quintals, three *arrobas* and six *arrates* of the old measure. And so the spice that was weighed is entered in the accounts.

When I came to Malacca as secretary and accountant of the

¹ Barbosa says in his *Book, ad finem*: 'The *arrádel*, old weight, contains 14 ounces. The *arrádel*, new weight, contains 16 ounces. Eight old *quintaes* make seven new, and each new *quintal* contains 128 *arrateis* of 16 ounces. Each old *quintal* is $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of the new *quintal*, and is 128 *arrateis* of 14 ounces. A *faraxola* contains 22 *arrateis* of 16 ounces, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ ounces over. Twenty *faraxolas* make a *bahar*. A *bahar* is 4 old *quintaes* of Portugal. All the Drugs and Spices and everything else which comes from India is sold in Portugal by the old weight, while other goods are sold by the new weight.' In the fifteenth century the weights in Portugal were divided as follows: The *quintal* contained 4 *arrobas*; the *arroba* 16 *libras*; the *libra* 2 *arráteis*; the *arrádel* one *marco* and 6 *onças* (ounces), i.e., 14 *onças*; the *onça* 8 *oitavas* (drams); the *marco* (used almost exclusively for precious metals), i.e., 8 *onças*, contained 4608 *grãos* (grains). But the value of some weights, mainly the *arrádel*, varied according to the merchandise for which they were used, as still happens in Great Britain in some cases. King John II (1455-95) tried to standardize these weights, and King Manuel I (1469-1521) decreed, perhaps in 1499, that the new *arrádel* should contain 2 *marcos* or 16 *onças*. This 'new *arrádel*' corresponds to 459 grammes. The *arroba* is today reckoned in Portugal as equivalent to 15 kg. Costa Lobo, *História da Sociedade em Portugal no Século XVI*, pp. 244-55; F. A. Corrêa, *História Económica de Portugal*, 1, 124-6.

said factory, I decided to verify the *dachim*, and I did so thoroughly, and I found that the said *dachim* weighed exactly three quintals, three *arrobas* and twenty-seven *arrates* of the old measure. Nobody would believe me. I strove so hard that they sent to Cochin to ask for the weight of the bahar in lead. They sent back word from Cochin that the said *dachim*, according to the Cochin measure, weighed exactly three quintals, three *arrobas* and twenty-six *arrates*. I am convinced that it was not well weighed. Now it is determined that this is its weight. I say this so as to be able to answer for it later in Cochin, and also because the King our lord lost twenty *arrates* in each bahar, in what was weighed, which was done at the rate of three quintals, three *arrobas* and six *arrates*.

Measure
of the
gamta for
rice, oil,
wines and
vinegars.

Because we have no measures, when I had to measure I weighed the rice contained in one *gamta* after the law of Malacca. I found that it weighed in rice exactly three *arrates* and ten ounces of the new measure. If over there you put this weight [of rice] in a vessel you will easily be able to measure its volume in oil or other liquid.

[PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION]

So far much has been said of the things of Malacca in the past, although in Malacca there is much more than has been said, because doubtless I am ignorant. About the trading in merchandise, this cannot help but be towards the end of the monsoons and the beginning of others. Now I will tell how it was taken, and what happened up to the time of my departure for Cochin, and of the kings who are vassals here, and of ether friends, and of the lands which traded here, and how the city is recovering and filling again with merchants, and from what parts they came to trade here after the taking of Malacca.

Afonso de Albuquerque, Capitan-Major and Governor of the Indies, arrived at Malacca at the beginning of the month of July, in the year 1511, with fifteen sail, great and small, in which came

¹ The complete lack of punctuation renders these sentences susceptible of several interpretations; it seems, moreover, that some words are missing here, possibly omitted by the transcriber.

about sixteen hundred fighting men¹. At this time it is said that Malacca had a hundred thousand men-at-arms, from Kuala Lingi (*Coala Penagy*) to the hinterland (?) and Kasang (*Caçam*), which are the limits of the city of Malacca. And the Malays had many strong palissades, and on the sea there were many lancharas, and *paraos* in the river, and on the sea many junks and Gujarat ships which were ready to fight; because there was then in Malacca a captain from Gujarat who was working for war, as it seemed to him that he alone could cope with our ships and men, all the more because of the immense number of natives, though the natives did not back the king of Malacca; because in trading-lands, where the people are of different nations, these cannot love their king as do natives without admixture of other nations. This is generally the case; and therefore the king was disliked, though his mandarins fought, and that whenever they could.

As soon as the said Captain-Major arrived with his fleet, he *Fol. 176v* spent a few days sending messages of peace, trying as much as he

¹ Albuquerque arrived before Malacca on the 1st July. In his letter of 20 Aug. 1512, written from Cochin to the King of Portugal, he says that the fleet was composed of 17 ships, which he specifies; as one of the galleys was lost off Ceylon, according to his own statement, he arrived at Malacca with 16 of the vessels with which he left Cochin. *Cartas*, I, 67. The *Comentários* say that Albuquerque left Cochin for Malacca with 18 sail (III, xiv); Barros (II, v, 9) and Góis (III, xvii) say 19 sail, and 1400 fighting men, 800 being Portuguese and 600 Malabars; Correia says 18 sail, with 'about 600 fighting men and seamen, and valiant slaves, native sailors. . . .' (II, 183); Castanheda mentions 18 sail with '800 Portuguese and 200 native foot-soldiers' (III, 1). All these chroniclers, with the exception of Correia, mention the galley lost off Ceylon. They say also that the fleet captured five Gujarat ships (four according to Correia) between Ceylon and Sumatra, and brought them with the fleet to Malacca (Correia says that two were burnt after being seized), as well as one or more junks taken between Sumatra and Malacca. Thus, Albuquerque arrived at Malacca with at least 16 of the ships with which he sailed from Cochin, plus about 4 to 8 other ships and junks seized on his way thither. It is not easy to explain, therefore, why Pires, who must have been well-informed, says that Albuquerque arrived at Malacca with 15 sail, great and small. As regards the number of fighting men, there is some variance between the chroniclers' statements, though Barros, Góis and Castanheda agree that the Portuguese numbered 800 and the rest were natives. But in his letter to the chronicler Duarte Galvão, written from India in 1513, Albuquerque, when referring to the expedition to Malacca says: 'We were in all seven hundred white men and three hundred Malabars; all the other men and captains remained in India.' *Cartas*, I, 397.

could to avoid war. However, the levity of the Malayans, and the reckless vanity and arrogant advice of the Javanese, and the king's presumption and obstinate, luxurious, tyrannical and haughty disposition—because our Lord had ordained that he should pay for the great treason he had committed against our people—all this together made him refuse the desire for peace. They only attempted to delay matters with Malayan messages, strengthening their position as much as they could, as it seemed to them that there was no people in the world powerful enough to destroy them. So the said Governor managed to get back Rui de Araújo and those who were prisoners with him. The king never wanted peace, against the advice of his *Lasamane* and the *Bemdara* and his *Cerina De Raja* that he should make peace; but following his own counsel and that of his son, whom he afterwards killed, and of *Tuam Bandã* and *Tuam Mafamut* and *Utamutarraja* and his son *Pate Acoo*, and the Gujaratees, and *Patiça* and other young nobles who offered to run completely amok for the king, he would hear nothing of peace, the Kashises and their mollahs telling him that he should not make peace; for as India was already in the hands of the Portuguese, Malacca should not pass to the infidels. The king's intention became known, and it was necessary that the said king should not go unpunished for what he did and for the evil counsel he took.

The Governor, having taken counsel, landed with his men and took the city; and the king and his men fled. The Captain-Major returned to the ships that day, and did not allow the said king to be harmed, to see if he would desist from his obstinate intention. The king was unwilling. Finally the said Governor landed again, determined now to take the city and no longer to be friends with the said king. He took the city and occupied it. The king of Malacca fled with his daughters and all his sons-in-law, kings of Kampar and Pahang. They went to *Bretão*, which is the residence of the kings, and the Captain-Major took possession of the city. The city and the sea were cleared up, and authorities were appointed.

The Captain-Major began to make a fortress of wood for want of stone and lime, and in the meantime order was given for the

lime¹; then they began demolishing the wooden one, and they made the famous fortress in the place where it now is, on the site of the great mosque, strong, with two wells of fresh water in the towers, and two or three more in the bulwarks. On one side the sea washes against it, and on the other the river. The walls of the fortress are of great width; as for the keep, where they are usually built, you will find few of five storeys like this. The artillery, both large and small, fires on all sides. Meantime *Utemuta Raja*, his son, son-in-law, and another relative, were beheaded because they were found engaged in Malayan intrigues and trying to darken the cloves.

The king went from *Bretam* to Muar, and there he would have liked to kill king *Audela* of Kampar and his son-in-law; and the youth fled to Kampar, and as far as we know they are no longer friends. The king went to the kingdom of Pahang, and there the king of Pahang's son wanted to kill the ex-king of Malacca in order to seize the treasure he brought and still has. The king fled to Bintang where he still is. Let us pass over the fact that he was routed in Muar coming to Upeh, because many things of the kind happen in Malacca that are not written about.

The land began welcoming merchants, and many came. The governorship of the Klings was given to the *Bemdara Nina Chatu*, with the office of *Bemdara*; the governorship of the *Luções*, Parsees and Malays was given to *Regimo de Raja*, a *Lução* Moor, who was given the office of *Tumunguo*; the governorship

¹ Correia (II, 250-1) says that Albuquerque ordered some junks of the Moors to be demolished, and with their wood and wooden casks filled up with earth a palissade was built, mounting many pieces of artillery. Then he immediately ordered the foundations of the fortress to be dug; for the construction of the fortress they found much stone and lime. Castanheda (III, lx) says also that Albuquerque ordered 'a wooden fortress to be built where the mosque was, and inside this fortress, on the same day it was begun, he ordered foundations eight feet wide to be dug for the walls of another in masonry; and he wanted the wooden one to be built first because it would be finished sooner, than that of masonry'. The *Comentários* (III, xxxi), however, inform us that Albuquerque 'ordered the wooden fortress he had brought to be disembarked, in order to shelter the people who would work in the construction, and to prepare the lime and stone for [the building of] the fortress to begin'. According to the *Comentários*, Castanheda and Barros (II, vi, 6), Rui de Araújo had informed Albuquerque that there was neither stone nor lime in Malacca, but they found plenty of stone and masonry in some ancient sepulchres, and obtained lime from shells.

of Iler was given to *Tuam Colaxcar*; that of Upeh to *Pate Quedir*. *Pate Quedir*, a Javanese, rebelled with the help of *Utamutaraja's* money, and made the war in which several Portuguese died |, among them Rui de Araújo. Afterwards *Pate Quedir* was overthrown and driven out; he fled and returned to Java and killed many Upeh merchants, robbing them of all they had. After this the country became quieter and began to settle down; many returned to people the land, and thenceforward it improved. Meantime Java gathered all its forces and came against Malacca with a hundred sail, among which were some forty junks and sixty lancharas and a hundred *calaluzes*, and they brought five thousand men¹. Our ships went out to meet them, at which the Javanese were upset and withdrew with the tide, leaving everything and taking to the *calaluzes*. And they escaped in the large junk and two others. All the rest were burnt, and the people in them, and others were drowned, and others taken prisoners. And there is no doubt that this was the finest fleet the Portuguese ever saw in India, or with so many important people; and they were still more heavily defeated, for which Our Lord be ever praised, for such a feat is not in our hands. And because Our Lord is not slow with His justice, the people of Java were tamed, and those of Palembang who came with *Pate Unus* killed, at which *Guste Pate* of Java and the lord of Tuban were not at all displeased.

*Tributary
kings of
the King
our Lord,
and other
friendly
vassals.*

The kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri, tributary vassals; friendly vassals, who write that they are slaves of the King our Lord, the kings of Menangkabau, Aru, Pasc and Pegu; friend, the king of Siam; the kings of the Moluccas count them-

¹ The *Comentários* say that *Pate Unus'* armada had '90 sail with about 10,000 men (besides the big junks which he left in Muar River)' (iv, xx); Correia refers to 'Thirty big junks and sixty small ones, and other craft, in which he put 15,000 fighting men' (ii, 277); Castanheda says '300 sail, between junks, lancharas and *calaluzes*, so full of people that it was a marvel to behold' (iii, c), and 'our men would be 300 at the most, and the enemy over 25,000, the bravest and best armed and most determined there were from beyond the Cape of Good Hope to any of the four parts of the world' (iii, ci); Barros refers to '90 sail, the larger part of which were small rowing vessels of every kind, and the rest junks . . . with about 12,000 men and much artillery, made in Java' (ii, ix, 6); Góis says 'about 300 sail, between junks, lancharas, and rowing vessels, with many fighting men' (iii, xli). See note pp. 151-2.

selves as slaves, and so they have written, [as well as] the pates of Java, the lord[s] of Grisee (*Aguacij*), Tuban, Sidayu (*Cadao*); the lord of Surabaya (*Curubaia*), friendly vassal, who counts himself as slave; the king of Sunda the same; [also] the *Guste Pate* of Java; and letters and ambassadors [come] daily from other kings and lords; the king of Brunei calls himself slave.

Gujaratees have come, and Malabars, Klings, Bengalees, Pegus, people from Pase and Aru, Javanese, Chinese, Menangkabaus, people from *Tamjompura*, Macassar, Brunei, and *Luções*.

Our ships [have been] to Java and Banda; a junk to China¹, and Pase, and Pulicat. Now they go to Timor for sandalwood, and go to other parts. A junk of ours has already been to Pegu, to the port of Martaban (*Martamiane*).

Many Kling merchants; some Javanese, Parsees and Bengalees; some from Pase and Pahang, Chinese and other nationalities; *Luções* and people from Brunei. The people are very mixed and are increasing. Malacca cannot help but return to what it was, and [become] even more prosperous, because it will have our merchandise; and they are much better pleased to trade with us than with the Malays, because we show them greater truth and justice.

Malacca is growing richer in junks; the Malacca merchants buy junks; they are rebuilding new godowns. The country is improving; they are beginning to pour in, and there is need for rule and ordinance at this outset, and permanent laws. A Solomon was needed to govern Malacca, and it deserves one.

Java trade. The owner fits out his junk with everything that is necessary. If you want a cabin (*peitaca*)², or two, you set two or three men to look after and manage it, and note what you take;

¹ This refers to the voyage of Jorge Álvares to China in 1513, which is confirmed by other documents. Also in a letter of 7 Jan. 1514, written from Malacca to the King of Portugal, Pires says: 'A junk of your Highness left here for China, in company with others which also go there to load; the merchandise, as well as the expenses which were incurred and are now being incurred, are shared equally between you and the *Bemdara Nina Chatu*; we are expecting them back here within two or three months.' *Cartas*, III, 90. This is an important point, for until recently it was thought that the voyage of Álvares with a junk to China did not take place till 1514. See note p. 120.

² *Peitaca*, from the Mal. *Petak*, 'a division or partition (as in the hold of a vessel)'. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v. Dalgado, s.v.

and when you come back to Malacca you pay twenty per cent on what you put in the junk in Malacca. And you, the owner of the merchandise, give a present on what you bring back. And if you loaded a hundred *cruzados* worth in Malacca, when you get back you have two hundred before paying the owner of the junk.

Fol. 177v. If I am a merchant in Malacca and give you, the owner of the junk, a hundred *cruzados* of merchandise at the price then ruling in Malacca, assuming the risk myself, on the return they give me a hundred and forty and nothing else; and the payment is made, according to the Malacca ordinance, forty-four days after the arrival of the junk in port.

The voyage of Java is made at the beginning of January, in the first monsoon, and they come back from May onwards, up to August or September of the same year.

Sunda. For Sunda they give you fifty per cent, because they can bring black pepper and slaves. It is a land of merchandise and trade; the profit is greater. The voyage takes little time and is plain sailing.

Tamjompura. All four places here give you fifty per cent, the loader taking the sea risk. The voyages are all almost plain sailing. They pay in the manner aforesaid.

Pase, Pedir, Kedah. These three places pay, according to the law of the land, thirty-five per cent the voyage. The sailing is safer and shorter.

Siam, Pegu. Siam and Pegu pay fifty per cent, the risk being as aforesaid. If you load merchandise on the return voyage, you get two for one, and after paying all dues there remains one for one and sometimes more. And they take eight or nine months on the journeys.

Bengal, Pulicat. These two places make the voyage year by year. These give one for one, according to the ordinance, or eighty or ninety per cent; and whoever loads up for these two places sometimes makes three for one.

China. China is a profitable voyage, and moreover whoever loads up, hiring cabins (*peitacas*), sometimes makes three for one, and in good merchandise which is soon sold.

The share they kept for the king of And because this loading of the junks is a very profitable matter, as they sail in regular monsoons, the king of Malacca derived great profit from it. They gave the king one third [more]

than they give to others, and the king made the man who dealt with his money exempt from dues, so that it was found that from this loading of the junks great store of gold was brought in, and it could not be otherwise. And here come the kings of Pahang, and Kampar, and Indragiri, and others, through their factors, to employ money in the said junks. This is very important for anyone with capital, because Malacca sends junks out, and others come in, and they are so numerous that the king could not help but be rich. And the said merchant who dealt with the king's money had a share; he got pride and freedom, and they welcomed him gladly and paid him in due time. For this the king had officials to receive the merchandise and grant the said rights, and this was attached to the custom-house, in charge of *Ceryna De Raja*, the *Bemdara's* brother. *Malacca in what they loaded in the junk.*

If when the time is up the said merchant has no gold to pay with, he pays in merchandise according to the value in the country; and when he pays in merchandise it is more profitable for one settled there. This is the custom if you have not contracted to be paid in gold. But the merchant prefers merchandise to gold, because from day to day the merchandise goes up in price, and because trade of every kind from all parts of the world is done in Malacca. *Manner of payment.*

And should anyone ask what advantage to his exchequer the King our Lord can derive from Malacca, there is no doubt that—once the influence is finished that this ex-king of Malacca still exercises, and also | once Java has been visited, to win the confidence of the merchants and navigators, and of the kings who still trust the false words of the king of Bintang, who does more mischief among relatives in one day than we can undo in a year—there is no doubt that Malacca is of such importance and profit that it seems to me it has no equal in the world. *Fol. 178r.*

Anyone may note that if someone came to Malacca, capable of sending each year a junk to China, and another to Bengal, and another to Pulicat, and another to Pegu, and the merchants of Malacca and for the other parts took shares in these; if a factor of the King our Lord came to tax money and merchandise, so much per cent as aforesaid; and if someone else with officials came to take charge of the custom-house to collect dues; who can *Reason for the greatness of Malacca.*

doubt that in Malacca bahars of gold will be made, and that there will be no need of money from India, but it will go from here to there? And I do not speak of Banda and the Moluccas, because it is the easiest thing in the world for all the spices to reach there [India] without any trouble, because Malacca pays wages and maintenance, and it will make money, and will send all the spices if they are acquired and traded and controlled, and if it has the people such as it deserves. Great affairs cannot be managed with few people. Malacca should be well supplied with people, sending some and bringing back others. It should be provided with excellent officials, expert traders, lovers of peace, not arrogant, quick-tempered, undisciplined, dissolute, but sober and elderly, for Malacca has no white-haired official. Courteous youth and business life do not go together; and since this cannot be had in any other way, at least let us have years, for the rest cannot be found. Men cannot estimate the worth of Malacca, on account of its greatness and profit. Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca. Wherefore a thing of such magnitude and of such great wealth, which never in the world could decline, if it were moderately governed and favoured, should be supplied, looked after, praised and favoured, and not neglected; for Malacca is surrounded by Mohammedans who cannot be friends with us unless Malacca is strong, and the Moors will not be faithful to us except by force, because they are always on the look-out, and when they see any part exposed they shoot at it. And since it is known how profitable Malacca is in temporal affairs, how much the more is it in spiritual [affairs], as Mohammed is cornered and cannot go farther, and flees as much as he can. And let people favour one side, while merchandise favours our faith; and the truth is that Mohammed will be destroyed, and destroyed he cannot help but be. And true it is that this part of the world is richer and more prized than the world of the Indies, because the smallest merchandise here is gold, which is least prized, and in Malacca they consider it as

merchandise. Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice. As far as from Malacca, and from Malacca to China, and from China to the Moluccas, and from the Moluccas to Java, and from Java to Malacca [and] Sumatra, [all] is in our power. Who understands this will favour Malacca; let it not be forgotten, for in Malacca they prize garlic and onions more than musk, benzoin, and other precious things.

And since, as I was writing at this point, the *Bemdara Njna Chatuu* died, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of January 1514¹, *Fol. 178v.*

¹ According to Barros (II, ix, 6), Castanheda (III, cxxix) and Góis (III, lxiii), Jorge de Albuquerque, the new Captain of Malacca who was to substitute the king of Kampar for *Ninachatu* in the office of Bendahara, arrived at Malacca at the beginning of July 1514. *Ninachatu* committed suicide after this date. How then does Pires come to say that it was in January 1514? According to what Castanheda says the suicide happened some months after the arrival of Jorge de Albuquerque. It may be that Pires' year began at Easter, and so his January 1514 would be our January 1515. But nowhere else does he appear to reckon the year like this. The more likely explanation is that he absentmindedly wrote *quatorze* (fourteen) where he should have written *quinze* (fifteen). Castanheda (III, cxxxvi) confirms Pires as to *Ninachatu* taking poison: 'when *Ninachatu* knew that the king of Kampar was coming to Malacca to be the *bendâra*, feeling that he would be disgraced if they deprived him of that office, he preferred to die with honour, and killed himself with poison which he took'. However, Barros and Góis tell a different story. Both say that *Ninachatu* made a rich pyre of sandalwood and lignaloës, and with great pomp and ceremony burnt himself alive, in the presence of his family and friends, after making a speech about the services he had rendered to the Portuguese and the ingratitude with which he had been treated. There is no doubt that he took poison, as stated by Pires, who was in Malacca at the time, and as confirmed by Castanheda. How did Barros and Góis come across the more romantic story of the pompous self-immolation in the odoriferous pyre? On the other hand it seems that Pires' judgement is not as sound as usual, when he refers to the reasons for the dismissal of *Ninachatu*. According to Castanheda, 'the natives as well as the Moors felt themselves abased under the orders of *Ninachatu*, a merchant, and they would not feel abased under the orders of the king of Kampar; and also many other reasons which would be long to tell'. Barros says that 'the noble people of Malacca hardly suffered to be governed by the heathen *Nina Chetu*, a man of low condition; and when any disagreed with him he ordered such persons to be given a certain kind of poison which made them leprous and die in a very short time, as was known to have been done to three or four principal merchants; and on account of the great service he had done in the rescue of Rui de Araujo and the other captives, as well as in the taking of the city, they dissembled with him until the instructions from Afonso de Albuquerque arrived'. Informed of all these circumstances, the Governor General decided that *Ninachatu* should be replaced by the king of Kampar. Or did the chroniclers try to mitigate a case of sheer injustice due to the appalling intrigues then rife in Malacca?

*Death of
the Bem-
dara
Nyna
Chatuu.*

with greater reason should I grieve over Malacca. Let it be known to all that the King our Lord lost more through the death of the *Bemdara* than his own sons lost, for he was a true and loyal servant of his Highness. The *Bemdara* died. Some say that he died of grief, others say that he took poison, preferring to die rather than see the king of Kampar ruling. And when he was preparing to die, with tears in his eyes he said: 'If the great King of Portugal, Lord of the Indies, or his Governor, does not honour my sons after my death, God will not be God. Woe to thee Malacca, for here dies the true friend and servant of the King of Portugal.' And dead is, beyond all doubt, one of the supports of Malacca, who maintained the service of the said Lord. May it please Our Lord that we do not miss *Njna Chatuu*, as we all fear. And if by chance I should not come before the presence of the King our Lord, or of his Governor of the Indies, I here declare that the death of *Njna Chatuu* makes it necessary for Malacca to have two hundred more Portuguese than were necessary [before] to uphold it, and that it is most important for the Governor of the Indies to come without delay to Malacca in force, as it is no less a pilgrimage than the one to Mecca, and he will destroy the credit of the king of Bintang, and tame the pride of the Javanese; he will listen to the merchants of Malacca; he will give them a ruler according to their nation. As merchandise is harmonious in itself, the ruler who is to control it, must favour it; otherwise the merchants will not be able to endure, for they are scandalized and agitated by the new coming of the king of Kampar to Malacca, which is very hateful and scandalous. And may Our Lord forgive whoever played such a trick on the Captain General, for he is more worthy of punishment than of favours.

Now *Maneco Bumj*¹ is [*Bemdara*?] of Malacca with the title of

¹ *Maneco Bumj* corresponds to the Mal. *Mañgkō-būmi*, 'first councillor or minister of state, vizir, an assessor or coadjutor of the Monarch'. Marsden, *Dictionary*, s.v. 'The king of Kampar exercised his office, not with the name of Bendahara, but with that of *Macobume*, which among them is as Viceroy among us, and this on account of the royal status he had', says Barros, II, ix, 7. 'George de Albuquerque invested the king of Kampar in the office of Bendahara, with the title of *Macubume*, which is a dignity like Viceroy among us', says Góis, III, lxxix. Barros, Góis and Castanheda (III, cxlix) describe

Governor. *Raja Audelaa*, king of *Kampar*. He is a youth and foolish, and a Malay, a nephew of the king of *Bintang* and married to his daughter. I do not think that he will have any success in *Malacca*. And as the Captain Major ordered it on information which would be given him for the purpose, it is certain that he must have done it out of a sense of duty, for his Lordship would not wish to see the loss of the fortunate kingdom he won. He should not allow the said Malay in *Malacca*, or any other, but throw him out at once, and put in someone not of Malay blood. Because a captain is sufficient to rule and govern, with governors according to the nations of the merchants. And he should strive for this, for anything else does not seem to me in the service of God or the King our Lord, or of the Captain-General.

how the young man discharged satisfactorily the duties of his new office. But his father-in-law, the ex-king of *Malacca*, who hated him and intrigued against him with such success (with the help of the sons of *Ninachatu*, who thought he was the cause of their father's death and hated him no less) that some months later *Jorge de Albuquerque*, at the instance of *Bartolomeu Perestrelo*, the new factor of *Malacca*, had him beheaded. *Góis* comments: 'It seems that God wished to provide speedy punishment for that injustice, showing that *Bartolomeu Perestrelo* had the greatest share of guilt in the death of that innocent man, because 17 days after he had been executed, *Perestrelo* died a sudden death, an example that men should follow reason and truth rather than impulses coupled with revenge'. And *Barros* adds: 'the people of *Malacca* said that the soul of the dead man summoned the soul of the living one'.