



ARCHIPEL

Archipel

Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

Hors-Série n°2 - Patani Through Foreign Eyes: Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries (Edited By Daniel Perret & Jorge Santos Alves) | 2022

Patani Through Foreign Eyes: Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries

C. Portuguese and Spanish Sources (compiled & translated by Jorge Santos Alves with the collaboration of Kevin Rose)

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Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/archipel/2801>

DOI: 10.4000/archipel.2801

ISSN: 2104-3655

Publisher

Association Archipel

Printed version

Date of publication: 28 February 2022

ISBN: 978-2-910513-88-7

ISSN: 0044-8613

Electronic reference

Jorge Santos Alves, "C. Portuguese and Spanish Sources (compiled & translated by Jorge Santos Alves with the collaboration of Kevin Rose)", *Archipel* [Online], Hors-Série n°2 - Patani Through Foreign Eyes: Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries (Edited By Daniel Perret & Jorge Santos Alves) | 2022, Online since 28 February 2022, connection on 18 March 2022. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/archipel/2801> ; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.2801>

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C. Portuguese and Spanish Sources

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

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

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-32-106

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

Fl. 2. Senhor

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

Fl. 2. Sire

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

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

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico* I-22-80

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

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

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

6. João de Barros, Ásia (excerpt)

Source

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-76-118

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-77-18

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source

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

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

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

Source

ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, I-77-31

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

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

Source

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

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

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

Source

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

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

(p. 359)

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

Kingdom of Patani to gain satisfaction for the most serious injuries, & damage and by which they had provoked this revenge, had received on the way new reports that the Acehnese, after having destroyed our armada, did reinforce their power to stop at Malacca and to destroy it completely. (...)

(p. 359)

44. The route of the Acehnese did not stop here (at Perlis) nor did the victory of the Portuguese. The King of Perlis retreated to Patani knowing of the destruction of those hat had usurped him, & stolen his States, then gathered with some careful diligence a squadron of five hundred soldiers as brave as they were furious, & coming across three hundred Acehnese, who were standing guard on shore over the prisoners, & did put them all to the butchery of the machete. There was immediately great festivity with the flowers of its nobility on board two of the fustas* of these same Acehnese, who did not find themselves in conflict, & came beating the drums down the river to give their congratulations to the Portuguese, & as they had also triumphed in our victory, on seeing the restoration of their Kingdom by the good fortune of our weapons, with a solemn embassy did they render themselves perpetual tributaries to the Lusitanian Crown.

17. Letter from Fernão Mendes Pinto S.J. to Baltasar Dias S.J., Macao, 20/11/1555 (excerpt)

Source

in Rui Manuel Loureiro (ed.), *Em Busca das Origens de Macau*, Lisbon, Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1996: 67-76 [70-71].

Aos 20 dias de Abril partimos de Pulo Timão e aos 6 de Maio chegámos a Patane, onde logo fui a terra por mandado do padre aviar matalotagem e outras coisas que havíamos mister, que de Malaca não trazíamos. E fui ver o rei e lhe levei uma beatilha muito fina e dois frascos de água rosada, o qual me recebeu com muito gasalhado, porque me conhecia de outro tempo, porque já ali for ter com um navio meu. E quando veio ao outro dia, se soube na terra como Luís de Almeida, que aí no porto estava havia dois (p. 71) dias, tomara um junco da terra, cuidando que era de Sião, que é terra dos nossos inimigos, no qual matara mais de sessenta almas e queimara o junco com muita fazenda. Com a qual nova a terra esteve quase toda alevantada, e era de maneira que não ousava a sair já de casa, porque andavam muitos mouros, champás e menancabos, fazendo muitas sevícias e jantando muita gente para dar em nós e nos matar a todos.*

E esteve a coisa de maneira que se o rei, que é muito bom homem e muito nosso amigo, não acudira, sempre nos matavam a todos quantos estávamos em terra. Todavia, houve muitos rebates e repiques e afrontas dos negros, os quais eu sofri, do que digo a Deus minha culpa mais com vergonha que com vontade, porque ainda muto atado a isto, e principalmente sobre o que dirão em coisa tão vergonhosos como é fugir. E quis Deus Nosso Senhor que

On the twentieth day of April [of 1555], we departed from Pulo Timão* and on the sixth day of May did we arrive in Patani, where I went immediately ashore on the orders of the priest to acquire provisions and other goods that there were to be had and that we had not brought from Malacca. And I went to see the king and I took him a very finely woven skullcap and two flasks of rosewater, who received me with a great deal of warmth, because he knew me from another time because I had already been there with one of my ships. And when the following day arrived, it was known in that land how Luís de Almeida, who had been there in the port two (p. 71) days earlier, had seized a junk of this land in thinking it was one from Siam, which is the land of our enemies, in which were killed over sixty souls and burning the junk with a lot of cargo. Due to this news, the land had practically all arisen and to such an extent that I did not dare to emerge from the house as there were many Moors, people from Campa and from Minangkabau making many threats and gathering many people together to go for us and kill us all.

And things were in such a state that if the king, who is a very good man and very much our friend, did not shelter us, all of those who were there in the land would certainly have slain us. However, there were many warnings,

<p><i>em este dia aviei tudo e me embarquei, e da maneira que foi o não ocnto a Vossa Reverência, só Deus sabe e eu que o passei, porque a mais companhia estava toda embarcada na caravela, senão o irmão sacristão que andava comigo ajudando-me, andando com a azagaia na mão quando acaso ia fora, porque assim era necessário por amor da gente, que andava toda alevantada.</i></p>	<p>and affronts, and offenses done by the negroes, which I did so suffer, of which I tell God of my guilt more out of shame than with any will, because I still remain very closely tied to all of this, and especially [above all] that they would say something as shameful as is fleeing. And I wanted God Our Lord who on this day overlooked everything and did protect me and to such an extent that I shall not tell Your Reverence, only God knows this and I who went through it because my company was all on board the caravel apart from the brother sacristan who walked with me, helping me, walking with his assegai in his hand when events spilled over because thus was it necessary due to these people who had all risen up.</p>
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18. Relación de Francisco de Dueñas

Source

Relacion de algunas cosas particulares quevimos yentendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares de que el padre fray agustin de Tordesillas que en la Relacion atras da quenta mas larga de toda nuestra Jornada no se quiso ocupar por ser cosas aJenas a su profesion hecha por mi el alferez francisco de dueñas (1580)

Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia Velázquez, tomo LXXV, fl. 8 and ff.

<p>Relacion de algunas cosas particulares quevimos y entendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares de que el padre fray agustin de Tordesillas que en la Relacion atras da quenta mas larga de toda nuestra Jornada no se quiso ocupar por ser cosas aJenas a su profesion hecha por mi el alferez francisco de dueñas</p> <p><i>Preguntando nosotros a los portugueses como a gente que tracta en todos aquellos reynos, que tierra era la de</i></p>	<p><i>Account of some of the things that we saw and understood in the kingdom of China, specially about the city of Guangzhou and the other particulars that the Priest and Friar Agustin de Tordesillas reports in a more detailed way of our journey in which he did not sought to concern himself for not being from his profession, done by me, the ensign Francisco de Dueñas</i></p> <p>Asking to the Portuguese, as people that trade in all of those kingdoms, what lands were there of Siam and Patani and</p>
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Zian y patani nos dijeron dos dellos que hauian estado en ambas partes que el reyno de Ziam era un reyno muy pequeño de gente muy domestica y que la cabeça del era la ciudad de Ziam , la qual esta assentada orilla de un caudaloso rio doze, o, catorze, leguas de la mar es sin comparacion mayor que la ciudad de canton esta ciudad es cercada de una muyalta y fuerte muralla, muy bien Torreada y tiene alguna artilleria de bronze toda la mayor parte de este reyno de sian y lo mejor del esta poblado por la ribera deste rio es tierra firme con la china hay de la ciudad de Canton a zian segun los portugueses nos diJeron como quatrocientas leguas Patani esta en la mesma costa y tierra firme obra de setenta leguas delante entiendese todo esto alavanda del sudueste, de la china este reyno es mucho menos que Ziam, la cabeza del es una ciudad pequeña llamada patani es muy fuerte porque tiene su asiento orilla de un rio baJo donde no pueden entrar sino nauios pequeños de baJa mar queda en seco mas de media legua todo, lama, donde se atoscan los hombres hasta la cinta Tiene por la vanda de tierra grandes pantanos de suerte que por todas partes es muy mala la entrada, demas de que tiene un castillo en un alto que señorea Toda la ciudad en el qual hay trecientas piezas de artilleria sin mas de otras docientas que Tiene la ciudad en partes necesarias para su defensa esta es gente de poca contractacion antes se ocupan en robar y saltear y assi hay grandes cosarios dellos por la mar y quando algun cosario delos de china anda muy perseguido de las armadas del Rey que tras de el andan luego se recogen a patani porque son semeJantes a ellos y assi en toda aquella Tierra no le llaman

what did they say those who had been in both parts that the kingdom of Siam was a very small kingdom of very simple people and that the head of it was in the city of Siam, that was located there on a river bank of a raging river, some twelve or fourteen leagues from the sea, and it is undoubtedly bigger than the city of Guangzhou. This city is surrounded by a very high and strong wall, with very good turrets and having some bronze artillery. The largest part of this kingdom of Siam and the largest part of this people lives by the side of this river on firm land with China. From the city of Guangzhou to Siam according to what the Portuguese say are as four hundred leagues. Patani is found on this same coast and firm land some seventy leagues across all of the expanse of the southwest of China. This kingdom is far smaller than Siam, with the head of it at a small city called Patani that is very strong because it sits up a river basin into which may only enter small Chinese sailing ships, falling dry in drought but half a league in total, mud, into which they toss the men that reach it. It has on the land side some large swamps that are all cause of great harm on entry there, and also having a castle on a vantage point that stands over all of the city and in which there are some three hundred pieces of artillery and along with another two hundred that the city has in strategic places necessary to its defence. Its people is not interested in trading, and prefers robbing and sacking, and are thus such great corsairs out there at sea and when some Chinese corsairs get closely persecuted by the armadas of the King [of China] and they run after them they then take refuge in Patani because they are similar to them and everyone calls it [Patani] a cave of thieves. In this kingdom of Patani, they do receive the

sino cueba de ladrones en este reyno de patani admiten a los portugueses a la contractacion porque eles lleuan algunas cosas que ellos an menester en especial materiales pa municiones mas aunque tractan alli y entran en la ciudad no los consienten entrar en el castillo como hazen en Ziam, porque tienen en tan confirmada el amistad los portugueses con los Ziameses que no de Jan cosa que no andan, y muchos dias de sus fiestas el rey combida a comer consigo a los capitanes de los nauios portugueses alli van y juegan con ellos al Ajedrez y tablas es gente muy conuersable y amiga de españoles. Tienen muchos templos en los quales hay congregaciones de religiosos que biuen muy pobremente salena de mandar limosna quando tienen necesidad, no toman dineros sino sola comida y no piden mas hasta que se les ha acabado aquellos biuen en mucha castidad y si alguno haze algun defecto el castigo es hechallo de la Compañia tienen en sus templos muchos idolos todas las noches a la ora que se suele tañer el aue maria salen en procesion al rededor de sus templos vestidos con unas vestiduras blancas a manera de alvas y unas estolas hechadas por un hombro que viene a cruçar por debajo del braço derecho estas estolas son largas y cortadas entres partes y dicen significan tres dioses que hay en el cielo dicen que las ponen Todas tres juntas de manera que parezca Toda una porque aunque hay tres dioses dicen es todo uno va uno delante tañendo una Campanilla al son de la qual van todos cantando leuantanse a media noche a cantar todos Juntos y lo mismo hazen al quarto del alua todo esto supimos delos portugueses y pusimos lo aqui por parecernos cosa digna de ser sabida,*

Portuguese and trade with them because they bring them things they desire and especially materials for munitions. Although they let them [the Portuguese] drop anchor there and go into the city, they do not allow them to enter into the castle as they do in Siam because they have such confidence in the friendship of the Portuguese with the Siamese that they do not allow such a thing. On many of their festivity days, the king invites the captains of the Portuguese vessels to eat with him and they go and play with them chess and cards, and this people is very amiable and friendly to the Spanish. They have many temples in which there are congregations of the religious that get by in solemn poverty but call for alms whenever they have need and take no money but only food and only they who are in great need. They have found great good in such great chastity and if anyone of them [the religious] does any wrong deed his punishment is to expel him from the congregation. In its temples there are many idols in all of the niches and at the time of the *ave maria* they go out on procession through the surroundings of the temple dressed in some white garments in the manner of the virgins and some stoles over their shoulder that comes crouching beneath the right arm. These stoles that are broad and cut into sections that they put all the three together in order to make it appear a single whole because they believe there are three gods saying you are all one. One of them [the religious] walks at the head of the procession ringing a bell to which they all then sing enthusiastically. They stand up from bed at midnight in order to sing and they do the same at 4 in the morning. We knew all this by means of the Portuguese, and we do put [write] this here because we perceive

<p><i>boluiendo pues a lo de los portugueses que tratan en Canton aunque los llaman mercaderes de malaca bien saben que son portugueses mas disimulan con ellos los gouernadores por el grande interes y tambien porque Cada gouernador que viene como no dura mas de tres o, quatro años noprocura sino ponerles alguna nueua imposicion, o, tributo y assi cada dia les van subiendo los derechos y quando piensan que estan mas adelante en su amistad lo hazen con ellos como si nunca los huuieran visto, estas cosas delos portugueses no las pussiera aqui sino lo dijeran ellos mesmos y tambien nosotros vimos algunas dellas.</i></p>	<p>this as something worthy of being known. Returning to the subject of the trade of the Portuguese in Guangzhou, they [the Chinese] call them traders from Malacca, but they are aware that they are [in fact] Portuguese, and they dissimulate together with the governors because of the common profit, and also because each [new] governor that comes (p. 7) as they only stay for three or four years they always try to impose them [the Portuguese] some new demand or tribute, and so every day they go about raising the custom duties. So when they [the Portuguese] are thinking that they are deepest in their friendship [with the Chinese governors] they deal with them as if they had never seen them before. These things of the Portuguese and what has happened here is what they themselves have said of it and also what we ourselves have seen of some of them.</p>
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19. D. João Ribeiro Gaio, Roteiro de Patane (1584)

Source

Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican

Lilly Library, *Boxer Manuscript II - Boxer Codex*, fls. 129v-133v.

Previous English translation in George Bryan Souza & Jeffrey S. Turley (eds.), *The Boxer Codex. Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning Geography, Ethnography and History of the Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2016: 485-491.

<p>Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican</p>	<p>An account written by D. João Ribeiro Gaio, bishop of Melaka, with António Dias, Henrique Mendes, Francisco das Neves and João Serrano, regarding matters in Patani and the city of Chachen and Panarekan</p>
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<i>Capitulo Primero</i>	Chapter 1
<p><i>De frente de la ciudad a la parte del oriente junto a la playa de la mar de frente de la barra esta una plazon [sic] grande que se llama Chachen y Panarican de la qual poblaçion a la çuadad de Patane en partes abra distançia de un tiro de lombarda y en partes mas y menos. E nesta pob[l] azon biuen todos los chinas y chincheos y demas estrangeros y naturales que pasan de tres mil hombres y todas buena gente. Toda la playa de la punta de Tanjon Lulo hasta Coala Baça que es salida de la ensenada y mar para el norte es playa de arena enjuta. Y por la tierra adentro [129v] hasta la çuadad de esta parte tambien es playa de arena y campo enxuto hasta en frente de la çuadad de la parte del rrio de la çuadad. Y quanto mas en frente de la çuadad de la parte del oriente y de la mar tanto es mejor playa y mejor tierra y campo y arena enjuta. Y de la parte de la mar hasta donde llega la marea toda es basa y suelta muy alta. Y en esta poblazon no ay fortaleza alguna. Y las casas todas son de paja y cañas y no tiene rresistençia salua [sic] con fuerça de gente porque la desta poblaçion es la mejor que tiene el rrey de Patane. Y en esta playa forsosamente a de ser el desembarcadero de marea llena y en desembarcaçiones que con una plancha se llegue a tierra por causa de la basa. Mas otro desembarcadero parese mejor como abajo se trata.</i></p>	<p>Facing the city on the eastern side next to the beach, in front of the bar, is a large town called Chachen and Panarekan. From this town it is roughly the shot of a lombard to some parts of the city of Patani, and to other parts, more or less than this. And in this town live all the Chinese and people from Zhangzhou and other foreigners and natives, of which there are more than 3,000 men, all of them wealthy people. The entire coastline from the Tanjung Lulup headland as far as Kuala Bekah, which is the exit from the inlet to the sea towards the north, is a beach of dry sand. And heading inland [129v] as far as the city on this side there is also a sandy beach and dry earth as far as a point across from the city on the city-side of the river. And the closer you are positioned across from the city on the eastern side and by the sea, the better the beach and ground and the more dry sand. And on the seaside as far as the tide reaches all is marshy, loose and very deep. And in this village there is no fortress whatsoever. And all of the houses are made of straw and canes. And it has no resistance, except for the strength of the people, because the men of this town are the most valiant of all the King of Patani's men. And you must land on this beach at high tide, and in order to reach the beach, the landing must be performed with a plank because of the marshy conditions. But there is another landing-place that seems better, as is treated below.</p>
<p>Capitulo Que trata de la çuadad de Patane y de las cosas que ay en ella</p>	<p><i>Chapter That treats the city of Patani and that which is found in it</i></p>
<p><i>La çuadad de Patane tendra de çircuyto una legua y media poco mas o menos. Y desde la punta de Garzen hasta la de</i></p>	<p>The city of Patani is approximately a league and a half in circumference, more or less. And there is a moat fifteen</p>

Tanjon Lulo para el sur desde Tanjon Lulo hasta la vuelta de Ro a el occidente y y de la buelta de Rro hasta la punta de Rro para el occidente que son las tres partes de la ciudad tiene una caua de anchura de quinze braças y de altura que nada una fusta de marea llena la qual es echa a mano. Y tiene basa si no es por la parte del norte que es a la parte de la población de Panarican que tiene arena. Y toda la dicha caua [130r] por dentro y las orillas tienen munchas puas. Esta esta çiudad cercada toda de uigas gruesas de seis braças. Tiene esta çiudad nuebe ualuartes de tamaño cada uno de setenta palmos quadrados. Y cada ualuarte destes tiene tres andamios de artilleria gruesa y menuda. Y cada ualuarte doze piezas las quales sobrepujan en la altura a los muros tres braças. Uno dellos esta en la punta de Gorsen a la uanda del norte y juega para la uanda de la mar que es para Panarican y para el rrio con sus rrebeses de luengo de los muros. Y junto al dicho baluarte para el norte esta una punta grande. Y de la dicha punta de Garsen para el sur es a la uanda de la punta de Tanjon Lulo distançia de un tiro de falcon esta otro ualuarte muncho mas fuerte y mayor que todos los otros baluartes con mas de treynta pieças de artilleria. Y entre ellas una culebrina* muy grande de mas de otras munchas pieças gruesas y porque en este lugar es la frontera por donde ellos temen la entrada. Y junto de este ualuarte para la punta de Gransen esta la puerta prinçipal de la çiudad. Y em frente della una [sic] anteparo de madera. Y este ualuarte es de la misma manera que la çerca y mas fuerte y de tres soberados. Y en todos ellos ay estançias de artilleria. Y desde este ualauarte al que queda atras estan dos*

fathoms wide and just as deep, which a foist can cross at high tide, beginning at the Kersik headland and running to the south as far as the Tanjung Lulo headland, and from Tanjung Lulo westward as far as the turn at Aru to the west, and from the turn of Aru to the Aru headland towards the west, which are the three parts of the city. It has been dug by hand and is marshy, but only on the north side, except for the part near the district of Panarekan, which is sandy. And inside all of the said moat [130r] and its banks are numerous barbs.

This city is completely enclosed by a stockade made of thick beams six fathoms tall. This city has nine bastions, each of them 70 spans square. And each of these bastions has three platforms for heavy and light artillery. And each bastion [has] twelve pieces that tower three fathoms over the height of the walls. One is on the Kersik headland, on the north side, and it commands the north side towards the sea, which is towards Panarekan and towards the river, then its turns along the walls. And next to the said bastion towards the north is a big headland. And the distance of a falcon shot from the said Kersik headland towards the south on the side of the Tanjung Lulo headland is another bastion which is much stronger and bigger than all the other bastions, with more than 30 pieces of artillery; and among them is a very large culverin, in addition to many other heavy pieces. Since the boundary runs through this place, they fear an invasion at this location. And next to this bastion towards the Kersik headland is the main gate of the city. And before it [there is a] wooden screen. And this bastion is constructed in the same manner as the

estancias de artilleria una de artilleria gruesa a rrazz del suelo con sus portañuelas y otra en el mismo andamio de los mismos muros de falcones y uersos. Y toda esta artilleria esta asentada por su horden en las dichas estancias apartada [130v] una de otra tres braças la gruesa y la menuda no tanto. Y desde el ualuarte que esta junto de la dicha puerta prinçipal que se llama Pinto Garban hazia el sur en la punta de Tanjon Lulo esta otro valuarte de la misma manera quel de la punta de Garsen. Y desde esta punta hasta la punta prinçipal ay la misma horden de artilleria q<ue> la del muro que queda atras. Y de la misma manera todo el muro de la çiudad entorno eçepto esta frontera de la puerta de Garsen hasta la punta de Tanjon Lulo que tiene mucha mas artilleria y asentada mas menudamente. Y siempre de esta parte tiene sentinela y todo el peso de la çiudad.*

Y de la punta de Tancon Lulo donde esta el ualuarte de que arriba se hizo mençion para el sur esta otro ualuarte de la misma manera distançia de un tiro de arcabuz y una puerta junto a el. Y desde el dicho ualuarte para el ocçidente esta otro ualuarte de la misma manera y distancia donde estan algunas puertas pequeñas. Y de este ualuarte al ocçidente esta otro donde ay tambien algunas puertas pequeñas que sirven a limpiar la çiudad. Y de la buelta de Rro hasta la punta de Rro no ay ualuarte alguno. Y en la punta de Rro esta un baluarte de la manera que los demas. Y junto de este para el ççidente esta una puerta. Y entre este de la punta de Rro y la punta de Garsen esta la puerta leuadisa que atras se hizo mincion. Y luego adelante esta una puerta grande hermosa que se llama

stockade, and is stronger, having three upper garrets, and in each of them there are artillery stations. And from this bastion to the one that is behind it there are two artillery stations, one with heavy artillery on ground level, with its gun-ports, and another one on the same platform of the same walls with falcons and *berços*. And all of this artillery is disposed in an orderly fashion in the said stations, all of them placed [130v] at intervals of three fathoms, the heavy and the light artillery by less than that. And from the bastion that is next to the said main gate, which is called Pintu Gerbang, towards the south on the Tanjung Lulup headland, is another bastion, constructed in the same manner as the one on the Kersik headland. And from this headland as far as the main headland, there is the same order of artillery as that found on the wall behind it, and in the same order that is found on the entire wall that encloses the city, except on the border from the gate of Kersik as far as the Tanjung Lulup headland, which has much more artillery and which is also placed closer together. And there is always a sentry on this side, which holds the concentration of the city. And one *harquebus* short to the south from the Tanjung Lulup headland where the bastion mentioned above is located there is another bastion of the same construction, and a gate next to it. And from the said bastion towards the west is another bastion of the same construction and distance from the next where there are some small doors. And from this bastion towards the west is another one where there are also some small doors that serve to clean the city. And there are no other bastions between the turn of Aru and the Aru headland. And on the Aru headland there is a

Pinto Quidiya. [131r] Delante della los muros adentro estan los palacios del rrey. Y tras delllos esta otro ualuarte como los demas y adelante otra puerta y luego junto a ella otro ualuarte de la misma manera. Y tiene esta çiuudad mas en si que esta arruada de calles y seruidumbres por las dichas puertas. Y tiene una calle prinçipal muy ancha que comiença de la puerta prinçipal que es Pinto Garuan y corta la çiuudad por medio hasta la otra parte y palacios del rrey. Las casas de esta çiuudad todas son de paja y madera y de la misma suerte son sus mesquitas. Y la casa rreal podra tener de artilleria gruesa y menuda hasta esta çiuudad mill pieças conbiene a sauer de saluajes camellos* y esferas* çinquenta pieças en que entra la dicha culebrina*. Y en la demas artilleria entran canes* falcones* medios falcones* y bersos* y mosquetos y tienen muncha arcabuseria* que se labra en la tierra muy buena. Abra ene esta çiuudad quatro mill moradores gente de guerra. Y para ella puede juntar este rrey de los labradores de fuera veynte mill hombres. Es esta çiuudad fuerte de gente rreçia y luzida cortesana afable y de guerra la qual nunca tubo con los portugueses.*

Capitulo que trata de la des-
barcaçion y caminos para la ciudad

Para yr sobre Patane ase de partir de Manila en el tiempo que atras queda declarado. Y lo mejor [131v] es al

bastion of the same construction as all the rest. And next to this one, towards the west, is a gate, and between this bastion on the Aru headland and the Kersik headland is the drawbridge that was mentioned above. And further along is another big and beautiful gate called Pinto Quidiya. [131r] In front of this gate, inside the walls, are the King's palaces. And behind them is another bastion, like the others, and beyond it is another gate, and then next to it another bastion of the same construction. And there is more to this city than what is laid out on its main streets and side streets by the said gates. And it has a very wide main street that begins at the main gate, which is Pinto Gerbang, and divides the city in half as far as the other part and the King's palaces.

All of the houses in this city are made of straw and wood, as are their mosques. And from the royal house to this city there might be 1,000 pieces of heavy and light artillery, to wit, *salvagens*, *camelos* and *esperas*—50 pieces in all, in which we include the aforementioned culverin; and the rest of the artillery comprise *cães*, falcons, falconets, *versos** and muskets. Plus, they have an abundance of high quality domestically produced harquebuses. There are in this city approximately 4,000 inhabitants who are fighting-men, and to them this King can add over 20,000 men from the peasantry. This city is strong in numbers, and the people are sturdy, robust, courtly and affable and fit for war, which they have never had with the Portuguese.

Chapter that treats the landing and the paths to the city

In order to go against Patani, it should sail from Manila at the time of year

cauo del porque en aquella costa no ay bientos de peligro siendo al cauo de la monçon. Y al prinçipio corre la armada mucho rriesgo por causa de los bientos que son muy rrezioss en aquella costa. Y la armada uendra en conjuñcion de aguas bibas para que la gente della pueda desembarcar mejor asi en la playa de Panarican como en la otra por causa de la basa. Y lo mejor es llegar a Patane e<n> la entrada de hebrero porque en el ynbierno que es nobiembre diziembre henero no se puede hazer nada. Y llegada la gente se desembarcara de marea llena. Y ase de notar que ay dos desembarcaderos el uno dellos es desde la poblaçion de Panarican para el norte hasta el rrio de Coala Saba el qual de marea llena es muy bueno y de buena playa de arena y campo sin lama alguna y el otro es al fin de la ensenada para el ocçidente de frente de la punta de Rro. Y este se halla ser mejor. Y desembarcando la gente por el primero dellos tendra alguna rresistencia de la gente de Panarican que es la mejor que el rrey tiene de guerra. A de caminar la gente para la uanda de tierra junto del estero que sale de la basa de la çuadad. Y se ba a meter en el rrio de Coala Baça. E yendo asi caminando junto al dicho estero que es para la punta de la çuadad que se llama Grasen antes que lleguen a la dicha punta pasaran el dicho estero de la otra parte que es de la parte de tierra por donde el artilleria [132r] del baularte de Grasen no les ara daño. Y asi yran marchando con el rostro a la çuadad hasta llegar a otro estero que es el de la boca del rrio. Y se torna una ves a meter en el. Y en la yslla que haze este estero puede estar toda la gente de la armada porque esta çercada del rrio y estero. Y desde el cauo della quanto mas

mentioned above, and it would be best [131v] to depart at the end of this time, because on that coast there are no dangerous winds towards the end of the monsoon; but towards the beginning the fleet would be at great risk because of the winds, which are extremely fierce on that coast. And the fleet will arrive in conjunction with “live waters” so that the people can make a better landing either on the beach of Panarekan or on the other beach because of the marsh. And the best thing is to arrive in Patani at the beginning of February, because during the winter, which is November, December and January, nothing can be done. And once the people arrive, they should make their landing at high tide. And it should be noted that there are two landing-places. The first one is north of the neighborhood of Panarekan as far as the river of Kuala Bekah. It is very good at high tide, having a good sandy beach; the ground is not mucky at all. And the second one is at the tip of the inlet on the west side in front of the Aru headland. And this one is found to be the better of the two. And if the people land at the first one, they will encounter resistance from the people of Panarekan, who are the best warriors the King possesses. The men should walk along the strip of land next to the marsh that emerges from the swamp of the city and then enter the river of Kuala Bekah. And as they walk alongside the said marsh, which is towards the headland of the city called Kersik, before they reach the said headland, they will pass the said marsh on the other side, which is the part of the land where the artillery [132r] of the bastion of Kersik will not harm them. And they should continue walking in this direction, with their faces towards the city, until they reach the other marsh

llegados al sur se puede uatir la ciudad porque por esta parte tambien es menos fuerte. Y es tomando los caminos q<ue> vienen por tierra. Y este camino se halla ser muy mejor. Desenbarcandose en la playa de Panarican donde tambien puede luego sin pasar el dicho estero caminar para la ciudad que es buen camino y sin estero. Mas por esta parte esta la puerta prinçipal que se llama Pinto Garuan. Y esta la çiudad muy fuerte y tiene muncha artilleria y mayor ualuarte. Y esta toda la fuerça de la gente porque por esta parte teme el rrey y los suyos que se a de acometer como lo hizieron los jauos quando fueron sobre Patane. Y pareçiendo mejor se disenbarcara la gente por el otro disenbarcadero de la ensenada de marea llena y con el plomo en la mano porque ay algunos bajos. E yendo ua [sic] embarcaçion delante con este auiso la podian seguir las demas que an de ser fustas y otras mas pequeñas. E yendo por la dicha ensenada para el sur vn pedaço bolueran para el occidente hasta el cauo de la dicha ensenada donde el rrio se junta con ella q<ue> se llama la punta de Rro desuiandose del artilleria de aquel fuerte de la otra parte del rrio que es al occidente se podia disenbarcar sin tener rre- [132v] sistençia. Y podran llevar toda el artilleria en las fustas* y otras embarcaçiones y asimismo mantenimeintos y todo lo demas que quisieren. Y tanto que la gente fuere disenbarcada caminara la orilla del rrio apartandose del artilleria del valuarte de los muros para el norte. Y pasaran un estero uajo. Y llegando en frente del medio de la çiudad que es donde el rrio da la buelta para la tierra que es a la puerta que llaman Larap en este lugar lo mas llegado que pudieren*

at the mouth of the river. And there they should turn once to enter it. And all the men from the fleet can stand on the island that is formed by this marsh because it is surrounded by the river and the marsh. And the further to the south from the end of this marsh you can attack the city, the better, because it is weaker on this side. And it is to be done by following the paths that go overland. And this path is found to be the best one; after you land on the beach of Panarekan, you can also walk from there to the city without passing the said marsh, because it is a good path, having no marsh. However, on this side is the main gate, called Pintu Gerbang, and here the city is well-fortified and has much artillery and a large bastion, and here there is all the force of the population, because it is at this point where the King and his men fear an attack, as for example when the Javanese came against Patani. It seems better for the men to make their landing at the other landing-place of the inlet at high tide with sounding lines in hand because of shoals. And if one boat goes ahead, watching for them, the rest can follow; these should be foists and other smaller vessels. And going through the said inlet towards the south a ways, they should come back a ways towards the west to the end of the said inlet where the river empties into it, which is called the Aru headland. By avoiding the artillery of the fortress on the other side of the river, which is on the west, you can make your landing without encountering [132v] resistance. And you will be able to transport all the artillery in foists and other vessels, together with other foodstuffs and anything else you may desire. And as soon as the people are disembarked, they will walk along the riverbank, moving north, away from the

a la orilla del rrio para la uanda de la çiudad asentarán su rreal porque el rrio en este lugar tiene de ancho un tiro de piedra. Y se puede mucho mejor uatir la ciudad que de otra ninguna parte. Y se toman aquí casi todos los caminos que bienen por tierra a Patane ecepto algunos de la parte del norte. Mas en este lugar se toman todos aquellos por donde se traen mantenimientos a la çiudad. Y también por la dicha ensenada se puede traer alguna galeota de mar llena con artilleria que entre por la boca del rrio para ayudar a uatir la çiudad. Que tenga el plan de manera que pueda nadar en poca agua. Y por esta parte parece mejor el desembarcadero a todos por donde también se puede hazer façilmente por auer en este lugar maderá pasaje del rrio con traer algunos xuncos baçios y dándoles barreno para que se enbasen. Y pase la gente por ellos a la otra parte.

Capitulo del rrio de Coala Baça q<ue>
esta a la parte del norte

[133r]

De la poblaçion de Panarican al norte distançia de un tiro de falcon esta un rrio q<ue> se llama Coala Baça. Y en la banda de este rrio distançia de un buen tiro de arcabuz se mete la caua que viene de la punta de Garsen al dicho rrio de la qual esta echa inçion. Y este rrio de Coala Baça entra por la tierra adentro. Y junto del ay poblaçiones y huertas y es muy fresco y de munchas frutas y mantenimientos.

artillery of the bastion on the walls, and they will pass through a shallow marsh. And as soon as they reach a point in front of the middle of the city, which is where the river makes a turn towards the land, which is at the gate called Larap, this spot is where they should make camp, as close as possible to the riverbank on the side of the city, because the river in this location is only a stone's throw wide and you can bombard the city much better than from any other location. And almost all the overland paths that lead to Patani can be taken from here, except a few on the north side. But in this place you can take any of the paths, on which food is transported to the city. And also a sea-faring galliot can be brought through the inlet with artillery to the river to assist in the barraging of the city. It should have the map so that it can make its way through shallow water. And this side seems better to all of us for making a landing, where it can also be done more easily because there is timber in this place. You can cross the river by bringing empty junks and scuttling them so they lodge in the mud, and the people can walk over them to the other side.

Chapter regarding the River Kuala Bekah, which is on the North Side

[133r] A falcon's shot from the neighborhood of Panarekhan to the north is a river called Kuala Bekah. And a harquebus shot up the side of this river there empties into it the moat that comes from the point of Kersik to the said river, mentioned above. And this river of Kuala Bekah rises in the interior, and on its banks there are villages and orchards. And it is very cool and there are many fruits and foodstuffs.

<p>Capitulo de las cosas que ay desde el rrio de Coala Baça al de Coala Taur* hazia el norte</p> <p><i>Del rrio de Coala Baça al norte distançia de un dia de camino esta un rriacho que se llama Coala Taur* en el qual por ser pequeño no pueden nadar embarcaciones grandes. Y por la tierra adentro ay poblaciones pequeñas de gente pobre tienen huertas y frutas poco mentenimiento.</i></p> <p>Capitulo de las cosas que estan de Coala Taur hasta el rrio de Coala Tiua* para el norte</p> <p><i>De este rrio de Coala Taur* al norte esta otro rrio que se llama Coala Tiua* distançia de mas de medio dia de camino. E en este rriacho tan bien entran solamente embarcaciones pequeñas y es mas fresco y mas poblado y fertiuar [sic] de gente pobre.</i></p> <p>Capitulo que trata del rrio de Co-ala Tiua hasta el de Sangora* para el norte</p> <p>[133v] <i>Del rriacho de Coala Tiua* para el norte distançia de un dia de camino esta otro rriacho que se llama Sangora* en el qual solamente nadan embarcaciones pequeñas. Y ay poblaciones de gente pobre como los de arriba.</i></p> <p>Capitulo que trata del rriacho de Sangora* hasta la çiudad de Bardalu</p> <p><i>Del dicho rriacho de Sangora* al norte distancia de dos dias de camino esta un rrio grande y fondo donde entran juncos y galeras junto del qual por la tierra adentro</i></p>	<p><i>Chapter Regarding That Which Is Found between the Kuala Bekah River and the Kuala Taur River Towards the North</i></p> <p>A day's walk northward from the Kuala Bekah River is a stream called Kuala Taur, on which large ships cannot travel because it is small. And in the interior there are small villages of poor people. They have orchards and fruits, [and] few foodstuffs.</p> <p><i>Chapter regarding that which is found between Kuala Taur and the Kuala Tiua River towards the north</i></p> <p>More than half a day's walk northwards from this Kuala Taur River is another river called Kuala Tiua. And also on this stream only small vessels can travel. And it is cooler and more populated and [?] with poor people.</p> <p><i>Chapter that deals with the Kuala Tiua river as far as the Sangora* river towards the north</i></p> <p>[133v] A day's walk northwards from the stream of Kuala Tiua is another stream called Sangora* on which only small vessels can travel. And there are villages of poor people, like those mentioned above.</p> <p><i>Chapter that deals with the stream of Sangora* as far as the city of Bardalu</i></p> <p>Two days' walk northward from the stream of Sangora* is a big and deep river on which junks and galleys can travel; upriver, in the interior, is a city</p>
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<p><i>esta una çiudad que se llama Bardalu donde ay rrey sujeto al de Patane. Este rrio es muy fresco y da muchas frutas y mantenimientos de arroz y carne y es muy buena tierra y tiene buena playa y buenos desembarcaderos. Y de frente la boca del rrio para el sur distançia de dos tiros de lombarda esta una yslla muy hermosa. Y al derredor della ay surgideros muy buenos. Y adelante desta yslla por la tierra adentro ay muchas poblaçiones. Y de esta çiudad se probee la de Patane de muchos mantemientos por tierra y por mar y hasta esta çiudad llega el rreyno de Patane. Fue antiguamente del rreino de Çian. Es sercada y tiene una fortaleza.</i></p>	<p>called Bardalu where there is a king who is subject to the King of Patani. This river is very cold and gives much fruit and foodstuffs, particularly rice and meat. And the soil is very good. And it has a good beach and good landing-places. And in front of the mouth of the river two lombard shots to the south is a very beautiful island. And there are very fine anchorages all around it. And there are many villages opposite this island in the interior. And this city provides Patani with many foodstuffs by land and by sea. And the kingdom of Patani reaches as far as this city; anciently it belonged to the kingdom of Siam. It is stockaded and fortified.</p>
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20. Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa* (excerpts)

Source

Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização, 1947, Vol.VI: 100-101.

<p><i>Chegou a Goa a embaixada do rei de Sião, agradecido pelos beneficios portugueses. Era o assunto ter recebido uma carta de Diogo de Mendonça*, que não havia esperado a sua resposta; oferecia ao rei do Portugal o porto de Martavão*, para que ali mandasse construir uma fortaleza; seria À custa do presidio português, e armadas de remo para que se evitassem as entradas que o rei de Dua podia fazer com as suas armadas por aquela mesma parte. Esta última coisa, pelo que lhe tocava, lhe fazia oferecer aquele dispêndio. Foram os embaixadores bem agasalhados e respondidos luzida e carinhosamente pelo vice-rei D. Jerónimo de Azevedo.</i></p>	<p>Arriving in Goa came the ambassador of the king of Siam, thankful for the Portuguese assistance. The subject matter was the letter from Diogo de Mendonça*, who would not have expected his response; he offered the port of Martaban to the king of Portugal, for the construction of a fortress; he would assure the costs of maintaining that Portuguese detachment along with the rowing armadas so that they could prevent the entrance that the king of Dua might make with his armadas at that same point. This latter factor, according to what could be made out about him, had made him propose taking on such a cost. The ambassadors departed duly advised</p>
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Por maior testemunho de estimação, lhe enviou também um embaixador próprio. Este foi o padre dominicano Frei Francisco da Anunciação, experimentado nas coisas daquele reino. Partiu no princípio do mês de Maio e levava um presente conforme a quem o fazia e quem o havia de receber.

Recebeu o rei o embaixador com singulares demonstrações de contentamento. Propôs-lhe ele (segundo a sua instrução) que o Estado Português da Índia desejava entranhadamente a sua boa amizade como a (p. 101) havia tido com os seus antecessores; que procurasse domar as forças do rei de Ava, antes que se fizessem mais difíceis ao freio; que para isso se unissem as suas armas de mar e terra com as portuguesas, que logo ao princípio desta acção comessem a comerciar reciprocamente Sião e Malaca, capitulando-se para este efeito com as comodidades conveniente a ambas as nações, e que não consentisse nas suas terras os piratas holandeses.*

7. Respondeu o rei que viesse mercadores portugueses aos seus portos e, não só seriam bem tratados, mas desobrigava-os de pagar direitos das suas fazendas, tanto ao sair como ao entrar; que com as suas acudiriam os seus vassallos a Malaca, e que o deixar de o fazer havia resultado de insolências com que ali os tratavam, de que apontou vivos exemplos; que aos holandeses, ingleses e malaio admitia em seus reinos pelo singular decoro com que por eles era tratado e pelo muito que precisava deles; que, embora, admitisse o holandês, nem por isso o havia favorecido contra portugueses, antes a eles socorreu contra ele nalgumas ocasiões de que logo trouxe exemplos notórios; que já era morta a rainha de Patane e não se ressentia do muito dano

and lucidly and cherishingly answered by the Viceroy Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo.

As a greater demonstration of his estimation, he also dispatched his own ambassador. This choice fell on the Dominican priest Friar Francisco da Anunciação, experienced in the matters of that kingdom.

He set off at the beginning of May and took with him a present in conformity with those who should give and those who should receive.

The king received the ambassador with singular displays of contentment. He proposed to him (in accordance with his instructions) that the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* deeply desired his good friendship (p. 101) as had been the case with his predecessors; that they would seek to prevail over the forces of the king of Ava before they were able to make battle more difficult; that to achieve this they should unite his armies of the sea and land with those of the Portuguese, that as soon as this campaign began, Siam and Malacca would begin reciprocal trade, capitulating to this effect with the commodities convenient to both nations, and that they would not consent to Dutch pirates in their lands.

7. The king responded that Portuguese traders should come to his ports and not only would they be well treated but he would also remove the obligation to pay duties on their goods, whether on arriving or on leaving; that his subjects would take their commodities to Malacca, and that there would no longer be any of the insolences with which they had hitherto been faced, that he could identify living examples; that the Dutch, English and Malay would allow in his kingdoms out of the singular decorum with which they were treated

<p><i>que lha haviam feito armadas de Malaca porque era uma louca; que tinha agora posto ali outra mais equilibrada e assim desejava que houvesse entre ela e Maaca o mesmo comércio que com o Sião; que falecendo algum português em seu reino, se restituiria aos seus herdeiros a sua fazenda; que já por lei expressa tinha mandado que se enviasse à sua corte os portugueses crimosos para lhes ser feita inteira justiça e não estarem sujeitos a paixões de ministros apartados da sua presença.</i></p>	<p>and by the great need that they had for them; who, whilst allowing the Dutch, had not nevertheless thereby favoured them at the expense of the Portuguese, rather they had drawn support against them on some occasions which had soon turned into notorious examples; that the Queen of Patani was already dead and he did not bear any grudge for the great damage that had been done to the armadas of Malacca because she was not of a sound mind; that he had now installed another and more balanced woman ruler there and thus hoped that there was between her and Malacca the same level of trade as with Siam; that, should any Portuguese pass away in his kingdom, he would ensure the restitution of their possessions to their heirs; that already by explicit law had he ordered sent to their court the Portuguese criminals so that they would face full justice and would not be subject to passions fiercely administered by ministers distant from his presence.</p>
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21. Copy of the peace treaty articles made in the fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani (1618?)

Source

in Panduronga Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho de Estado*, Goa, Tipografia Rangel, 1953, Vol. I (1618-1633): 42-44 (https://purl.pt/37676/hg-44603-v_5_master/hg-44603-v/hg-44603-v_PDF/hg-44603-v_0000.pdf)

<p>Treslado dos capítulos das pazes que na fortaleza de Malaca se fizeram com a Rainha de Patane</p> <p><i>Primeiramente aceitação as peças que governão esta fortaleza as desculpas que por parte da Rainha de Patane se lhe dão na tomada da nao da china que no seu porto de Patane tomarão</i></p>	<p><i>Copy of the peace treaty articles made in the fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani</i></p> <p>First, the persons who rule over this fortress accept the excuses given by the Queen of Patani about the takeover of the China's carrack that in its port of Patani was taken by the Dutch. This is</p>
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os olandezes, uisto o dano que alega lhe fizeram os Portuguezes por muitas uezes depois da tomada da dita nao e as grandes perdas que se derão a todos os seus vassallos, considerando também tomar se a dita nao em tempo de outra Rainha, e de outro Bandora, pello qual respeito, são contentes o Capitão de Malaca, Capitão geral, e as mais peçoas que a governão em nome de Sua Magestade que se não fale mais nas cousas passadas, e deseião que daqui por diante seja Malaca e Patane Patane e Malaca húa mesma cousa.*

E assi também no que por parte de Rainha se diz acerca de não lansarem de Patane os olandezes vassallos rebeldes de Sua Magestade e os Ingrezes alegando que EIRey de Sião nosso amigo os consente nas suas terras e tem escrito sobre isso a Portugal, de que se espera reposta com a qual se acabará tudo com bem, concedemos que estejam os olandezes e Ingrezes em Patane ate que uenha a dita reposta de Sua Magestade para com ella se tomar em Patane E nesta fortaleza final determinação sobre a dita matéria dos olandezes e Ingrezes, com a condição que S. A. diz se obriga de todos os Portuguezes.... em queles andarem, e suas fazendas estarem seguras.... do Reino da dita Rainha como à vista da sua barra...todas as perdas E danos que os Portuguezes ou suas.... na sua terra, ou a Vista, de sua barra....

Em caso que o Achem passe a Patane, são contentes os que governão esta fortaleza de a auizar, E dar todo o fauor, e ajuda que puderem como amigos e Irmãos, e de Patane sejam também obrigados mandar a esta fortaleza todos os annos no principio da monção os mais mâtimentos que puder ser, assy arros, como carnes, e toda a mais

because of the damage she claims the Portuguese did many times after the seizure of the aforesaid carrack and the great losses that were given to all her vassals, considering also that the seizure of the said carrack in the time of the other Queen, and of another Bendahara. So they are pleased, the Captain of Malacca, the Captain General, and most people who rule it in the name of His Majesty that if they no longer speak about the past things, and wish that from now on it will be Malacca and Patani, Patani and Malacca one and the same thing.

And so also in what on the part of Queen is said about not throwing from Patani the Dutch rebels, vassals of His Majesty, and the English claiming that the king of Siam our friend also consents them in his lands and has written about it to Portugal. On this one expects an answer with which everything will end well, we grant that the Dutch and the English are in Patani until the answer of His Majesty to her comes to take place in Patani and in this final fortress determination on that matter of the Dutch and English. His Highness says he respects the condition of respecting all Portuguese.... (and the ships) in which they walk and their goods to be safe.... in the Kingdom of the so-called Queen as in the sight of her bar.. all losses and damages that the Portuguese or their goods have on her land, or the View of the bar....

In case Aceh comes to attack Patani those who rule this fortress will be obliged to warn and give all the favour and help they can as friends and brothers. Those of Patani are also obliged to send to this fortress every year at the beginning of the monsoon as much supplies as it can be, rice and meat, and all the most

sorte delles, assy mesmo os mandarão entre monção e monção, o que também se fará, na mesma forma estando esta fortaleza de cerco, ou com Inimigos no mar.

E sendo caso que alguma embarcação de Patane ande aleuantada contra a Rainha sua senhora, ou a furtarão, a tomarão os Portugueses, e a mandarão a dita Rainha e não a podendo tomar, saberão quem são, os que andão nella para auizarê a Rainha, e ella os mandara castigar com toda sua familia; e na forma destes capitulos se celebrão as pazes nesta fortaleza de Malaca com a Rainha de Patane, para que debaixo delas, possam uir seguras a esta fortaleza e as mais terras de Sua Magestade todos os vassallos da Rainha; e assi o possam fazer todos os vassallos de Sua Magestade e hir a seus portos da Rainha com os que uns e outros seão tratados como Irmãos.

No que toca a Raja bonso se fara todo o possiuel o que entre elle e a Rainha de Patane aja toda a paz e amizade, para que fique este caminho limpo o que temos por certo se acabará com bem, para o que daqui mandarão logo Embaixadores a Jor a auizar a Raja bonso*, para que as embarcações que ca uierem de Patane, leuem recado da forma em que se assentão as ditas pazes, e serão sempre as mais fauorauéis que puder ser para Patane.*

E que morrendo em Patane algum Português a Rainha mandara entregar seus bens aos herdeiros da pessoa que morrer; ou aos procuradores que la mandar por elles, e que o mesmo se farà aqui em Malaca, morrendo nella algum vassallo da Rainha de Patane.

E estas pazes se assentarão na conformidade destes capitulos com

variety of them. This will also happen between the monsoons, which will also be done in the same way whether this fortress is under siege, or with enemies at sea.

And if some of Patani's vessel is uprising against the Queen, or was stolen, the Portuguese will recover and send it to the queen. If they can't take it, they'll know who's on it to warn the Queen, and she'll have them punished with his whole family. Under the form of these chapters (a treaty) will be celebrated in this fortress of Malacca with the Queen of Patani, so that under them, they may come safely to this fortress and the most lands of His Majesty all the Queen's vassals; in the same way, so the possibility make all the vassals of His Majesty and go to the queen's ports, and one and the others will be treated as Brothers.

As to Raja Bungsu everything possible will be done so that there will be peace and friendship between him and the Queen of Patani, so that this path may be clean, which we must certainly end up in good terms; to this end, ambassadors will quickly be sent to Johor, to warn Raja Bungsu, so that the vessels that come here from Patani, take a message in the way that the said peace is settled, and will always be as favorable as possible for Patani. In case any Portuguese dies in Patani, the Queen will have its property surrendered to the heirs of the person who dies, or to the prosecutors who are send there. The same will be done here in Malacca, if any vassal of the Queen of Patani dies here.

This peace will be based on the conformity of these chapters under the condition that they would be reported to

<p><i>condição que se daria conta delas ao senhor Conde Viso Rey, para que sendo Sua Senhoria servido de estar por ellas as confirmasse. E que entretanto ficasse correndo Malaca com Patane, e Patane com Malaca na amizade antiga, E viessem a esta fortaleza embarcações com mantimentos, e outras fazendas tanto que João Cardozo, e os dois embaixadores seus companheiros chegarem a Patane. E per assi ficar assentado e Sua Senhoria se conformar com isso se fez este assento.</i></p>	<p>the Count Vice Rey, so that his lordship may confirmed it. Meanwhile Malacca with Patani and Patani with Malacca will remain in the ancient friendship, allowing ships to come (from Patani) to this fortress with supplies and other goods, while João Cardoso and the two ambassadors his companions, do not reach Patani. And because of all this was made a record and His Lordship would conform to it, so this register was made.</p>
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22. Permit by Dom João Coutinho, Vice-roy of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa, 20/4/1619

Source

in J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, New Delhi/Madras, Asian Educational Services, 1992, vol. VI: 1175.

<p><i>Dom João Coutinho etc. Faço saber aos que este alvará virem que por alguns respeitos que me a isso movem do serviço de S. Magestade, e bem de seus vassallos, e por assy parecer em conselho de Estado, ey por bem de confirmar, como de feito por este confirmo, e hey por confirmadas as pazes, que o Capitão geral António Pinto da Fonseca*, e as mais pessoas do governo da cidade de Malaca fizerão ora com a Raynha de Patane, por ella lhas enviar a pedir, conforme o assento e capitulações que disso se fizerão, as quaes mando que se cumprão e guardem inteiramente por todos os vassallos de S. Magestade de qualquer qualidade e condição que sejam, e não vão, nem consintem ir contra ella em cousa alguma, por quanto por este meu alvará as confirmo, como dito he. Notifico-o assy ao Capitão geral, ao Capitão de Malaca, aos</i></p>	<p>D. João Coutinho etcetera I hereby do make known to those that this charter shall come and that in some respects this drives service to His Majesty and for the good of his subjects, and by ruling of the council of state, and do well to here confirm, as in fact that this does confirm and thus duly confirmed is the peace that General Captain Antonio Pinto da Fonseca*, and the other persons forming the government of the city of Malacca, did duly make with the Kingdom of Patani, by them sent to request, in accordance with that based on the capitulations that this did make, of which I order that they comply with and store in their full entirety all of the subjects of Your Majesty in whatever quality and conditions that they be in, and do not go up against, nor attempting to counter them on any grounds whatsoever for the period in which my charter is confirmed and as hereby stated. To this end I notified</p>
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<p><i>vereadores, juixes, officiaes, e pessoas, a que o cumprimento disto pertencer, para que assy o cumpram e guardem, e fação inteiramente cumprir e guardar este alavara como se nelle contem sem duvida nem embargo algum, o qual valera como carta passada em nome de S. Magestade sem embargo da ordenação do 2º livro, titulo 40 em contrario. Salvador da Costa o fez em Goa a 20 de Abril de 1619. E eu o secretario Francisco de Sousa Falcao o fiz escrever – O Conde do Redondo</i></p>	<p>the aforementioned Captain General, the Captain of Malacca, the councillors, judges, officers and the persons to which this courtesy duly belongs so that they strive to comply and to guard and do so entirely comply and keep to this charter and as it does within undoubtedly contain no embargo whatsoever, which stands as a letter issued in the name of His Majesty and without any ordinance embargoed by the 2nd book, title 40 to the contrary. Salvador da Costa did this in Goa on 20 April 1619. And this was passed in three copies. And I, the secretary, Francisco de Sousa Falcão, did have it written. – <i>The Count of Redondo</i></p>
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23. Letter from D. Álvaro de Castro to the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Malacca, 6/1/1636 (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções* nº 35, fls. 300-304.

<p><i>Fl. 301v. Depois de el-rei de Pahang perder o seu reino com pouco valor e fidelidade dos seus se retirou por um rio a Muar* e ali lhe escrevemos o capitão geral e eu mostrando-nos sentidíssimos de seu mau sucesso e lhe pedimos se viesse recolher nesta fortaleza e que lho pedíamos encarecidamente porque sabíamos que em nenhum dos portos do seu reino estava seguro. Respondeu-nos que quando se retirava de Pahang o mandaria buscar sua tia a Rainha e Patani e que ele se quisera antes vir para Muar* para dali vir a Malaca. Logo mandamos lá a Francisco Lopes Valadares com uma jalia* e outras embarcações para o acompanharem. Chegou aqui a 27 de Outubro a sua galé o fui buscar e o capitão geral e eu o recebemos nesta fortaleza com todas</i></p>	<p>Fl. 301v. After the king of Pahang lost his kingdom with little fight and lost the loyalty of his people, and retreated by river to Muar*, to where we wrote to him, the captain general and I, expressing the depth of our feelings about his bad result and we asked him if he would come and shelter in this fortress [Malacca] and we did ask with caring urgency because we knew that in none of the ports in his kingdom would he be safe. He answered that when he retreated from Pahang, his aunt the Queen of Patani wanted to fetch him, and that he instead wanted to go to Muar* and from then travel onto Malacca. We immediately sent Francisco Lopes Valadares there with a jalia* and other vessels in accompaniment. He arrived in his galley here on 27 October and the captain general and I were</p>
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as cortesias e demonstrações de amor e fidelidade que se deve a um rei que sua Majestade quis honrar com o fazer seu irmão de armas e suposto isto e a confiança que este rei faz de nós e ver no cerco passado cumprindo com as obrigações da irmandade nas armas me pareceu pedir a V. Exa. Me faça a mim mercê de lhe escrever e fazer algum favor e digo a V. Exa que se o capitão geral e eu não trabalhamos tanto em o trazer para aqui for já entregue dos seus ao Achém e depois que o fosse e ficasse isto sujeito ao Achém tudo se viraria contra nós.

Fl. 303. El-rei de Pahang me mandou dizer que ele queria vir acompanhar ao capitão geral (que morrera) e que é o que nisso me parecia, eu lhe respondi que em sua Alteza o fazer mostrava grande amor com o que o capitão geral e eu e todos os cidadãos desta cidade o amávamos. Comigo foi detrás da tumba do geral até à porta de São Paulo donde se pôs a cavalo e se recolheu, e eu fiquei continuando o enterro do geral, aqui lhe faço todos os mimos que posso e peço lhos façam hei-de trabalhar muito para o ter aqui até V. Exa querer. Em Maio mande a armada que eu entendo que sem ela não pode ser rei nem Malaca socorrida e que se for daqui daqui que o há-de levar o Achém os seus lho entregarão visto não ser ele poderoso para os libertar da guerra que lhe faz o Achém e isto é o que o Achém pretende e o que esta sua armada vem buscar havendo que como tiver sujeitos os Malaios poderá tomar Malaca.

there to greet him and welcome him into the fortress with all the courtesies and demonstrations of love and loyalty that is due to a king that your Majesty wishes to honour as one of your brothers in arms and I suppose this and the confidence that this king does place in us and seeing the past circle completed with the obligations of brotherhood in arms it did seem due to request Your Excellency do me the mercy of writing to me and making some favour and I do thus inform Your Excellency that if the captain general and I had not worked so hard to bring him here, he would already have been handed over to Aceh and afterwards what would be and occur would be subject to the will of Aceh and everything would turn against us.

Fl. 303. The king of Pahang told me to tell that he would like to come and accompanied by the captain general (who would die) and that is what this did appear to me, I did respond to him that Your Highness did show great love to him and so that the captain general and I and all the citizens of this city did so and he came with me behind the captain general's grave as far as the São Paulo gate where a horse was waiting and he did withdraw, and I continued to bury the general, here I do so with all the cares that I am able and I do beseech that they do work very hard to have him here for as long as Your Grace wants to. In May, I shall send the armada as I deem appropriate that without it he cannot be king nor Malacca relieved and that should he leave here then they shall take him to Aceh, his own shall hand him over seeing that he is not powerful enough to release them from the war that he did set with Aceh and that this is what Aceh seeks and that this his armada comes in search of as soon as he has subjected the Malays he will be able to take Malacca.

24. Letter from the Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia* to the King of Portugal, Goa, 8/3/1636. (excerpt)

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções*, nº 33, fls. 250v. e 251

Fl. 250v. Grandes desejos trouxe sempre o Achém segundo me informam de se apoderar dos reinos de Johor, Pahang e Patani e o ano passado mandou com feito a eles uma grossa amada de 70 velas que foi a Pahang e não podendo o rei defender daquele poder se veio com sua mão que é rainha de Patani, e um primo na volta de Muar, tanto que em Malaca se soube de sua vinda, mandou o capitão geral António Pinto da Fonseca* em sua busca com duas embarcações ligeiras e grandes oferecimentos que ele aceitou porque em nenhuma outra parte que não fosse Malaca se deu por seguro recebera amor e cortesia e voltando pela mãe que lhe ficava atrás a trouxe também a Malaca onde ficam e donde escrevem a V. Magestade as cartas que serão com esta. A este rei está V. Magestade obrigado segundo me informam a amparar e favorecer com tudo com tudo o que lhe cumprir porque sempre foi amigo nosso e se mostrou este em todas ocasiões opondo-se ao Achém nosso inimigo e neste último cerco que Malaca padeceu socorreu este rei aquela fortaleza com muitos mantimentos, gente e embarcações e sua própria pessoa com grande demonstração de amor.*

Fl. 250v. Great desires had Aceh always held according to what they inform me of to master the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang and Patani and did last year in effect send to them a vast armada of 70 sails that went to Pahang and with the king unable to defend against the power that arrived did flee to his sister who is queen of Patani, and a cousin in the vicinity of Muar*, to such an extent that in Malacca, when learning of his arrival, they did send the captain general António Pinto da Fonseca* in his search in two small vessels and with great offerings that he accepted because in no other part except for Malacca could he safely receive such love and courtesy and turning to his mother who had been left behind and also brought to Malacca where they stayed and where they wrote to Your Highness letters such as this one. To this king, Your Majesty is obliged according to what they tell me to uphold and favour with everything that is his due as he was always our friend and has shown this on every occasion and standing in opposition to Aceh our enemy and in this last siege that Malacca did experience this king did assist the fortress with many provisions, people and vessels and as well as in his own person in a great demonstration of love.

25. Letter from the King of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637.

Source

ANTT, *Livros das Monções*, nº 39, fl. 41.

Cópia de Carta do Rei de Portugal à Rainha de Patani, Lisboa, 31/3/1637

Nobre e Honrada Rainha de Patani, Eu Dom Filipe por graça de Deus rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, daquém e dalém mar em África, da Guiné e da Conquista, Navegação e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia, vos faço saber que pela vossa carta de 6 de Dezembro de 1635, escrita na cidade de Malaca entendi como ficáveis nela com el-rei de Pahang e Johor vosso filho, por el-rei de Achém haver mandado a vossos reinos uma armada que se apoderou deles. E pareceu-me dizer-vos que me é presente tudo o que na vossa carta me representais acerca da correspondência que por vossa parte e de el-rei vosso filho se teve com Malaca, e que de vossos trabalhos e dos seus fico com desprazer e ao meu vice-rei desse estado mando encarregar que trate de vos restituir a vossos reinos e a el-rei vosso filho, como espero que se conseguirá e sempre se atenda muito a sua conservação e defesa e se mostre o agradecimento que é justo, do bem que tendes procedido. Escrita em Lisboa, a 31 de Março de 1637.

Copy of a letter from the King of Portugal to the Queen of Patani, Lisbon, 31/3/1637

Noble and Honourable Queen of Patani, I D. Filipe by the grace of God king of Portugal and the Algarves, in these lands and overseas in Africa, in Guinea and in the Conquest, Navigation and Trade with Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, do hereby inform you that by your letter of 6 December 1635, written in the city of Malaca I understood as remaining there with the king of Pahang and Johor your son, due to the king of Aceh having sent an armada against your kingdom and did gain control of them. And I would further deem to tell you that this is all present in your letter that you addressed me about the correspondence on your own behalf and the king your son had with Malacca, and your works and your subjects had been left in a state of disgrace and I feel displeasure and to my viceroy I do hereby charge with the restitution of your kingdoms and those of the king your son, as I hope that shall be done and always closely attentive to their conservation and defence and do hereby show thanks for that which is fair, for the good with which you have proceeded. Written in Lisbon, on 31 March 1637.