FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO:

A PORTUGUESE MERCHANT-ADVENTURER IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, 1624—1667

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IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, 1624–1667

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FOREWORD

Twenty-seven years ago, I published in the *Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau* a short article about Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo and the role of the Portuguese in Macassar and Timor during the period 1640—1668.[1] Three years ago, Dr. J. Noorduyn suggested that the article, long since out of print, might be brought to the attention of a wider public through the medium of an English translation in the *Bijdragen,* the Portuguese text of the supporting documents being added as an appendix. I was naturally flattered by this suggestion; though other commitments have prevented me from carrying out the detailed researches in the archives of Lisbon, Goa, The Hague and Jakarta, which a definitive work on this intriguing character would necessarily involve. Nevertheless, the references to Vieira de Figueiredo which I have been able to gather from published and unpublished sources since 1940, will, I hope, justify the appearance of the present study on the 300th aniversary of the death of its subject. Its publication may also, perhaps, stimulate someone with more time at his disposal to write the definitive biography of this Portuguese merchant-adventurer which he undoubtedly deserves. Meanwhile, my special thanks are due to the Board of Directors of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde for affording me the hospitality of the series of the *Verhandelingen* and to Dr. D. K. Bassett for giving me a list of references to Vieira de Figueiredo in the India Office records which saved me many hours of work in locating them.

I am grateful to Mrs. W. E. Haver Droeze—Hulswit for checking the transcription of the Dutch document in Appendix XIV and ensuring its accuracy. Last not least, thanks are due to Dr. T. V. Gunê, Director of the Historical Archives at Goa, for supplying photographs of the Muslim seals reproduced in Plate I.

C. R. Boxer.

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[1] "Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo e os Portuguêses em Macassar e Timor na época da Restauração, 1640-1668" (*Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau,* Ano 36, num. 434, Maio de 1940, pp. 727-41).

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ABBREVIATIONS

BKI — *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië)*. The Hague.

DRB — *Dagh-Register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia van't passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India.* [Year as specified]. Batavia.

EIC — East India Company (English East-India Coy).

IOL — India Office Library, London [now forms part of the Commonwealth Relations Office].

IOL, O.C. — India Office Library, London, Original Correspondence.

JMBRAS — *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Singapore.

O.C. — Original Correspondence of the English East-India Company in the India Office Library, London.

VKI — *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. The Hague.

VOC — Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (Dutch East-India Company).

PLATE I



SEAL OF THE SULTAN OF GOWA

Transcription: aṣ-Ṣulṭān al-ḥamīd sāḥib mamlakat Guha bi faḍl Allāh ar-Raḥmān 1055. *(See App. VIII, note 3)*



SEAL OF KARAÉNG KARUNRUNG

Transcription: yā nabī al-muṣṭafā yā wadūd kan(?) li Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Karaing Karunrung, sannat 1068(?). *(See App. IX, note 2)*

I have not been able to find the exact date of Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo's birth, but it was, in all probability, sometime during the first decade of the 17th century. His birthplace was the hamlet of Azambujal, near the little town of Ourem in the Portuguese province of Estremadura. The family was clearly in modest circumstances, since the official investigation into his ancestry which was conducted in 1648—49, apropos of his admission into the Military Order of Christ showed that he was "of clean descent, without any taint of Jewish, Moorish, or other infected race, but that his maternal grandfather was a stone-mason".[2] This working-class origin automatically disqualified him from receiving the coveted knighthood, until after the Crown had granted him a special dispensation, which, as we shall see, took a long time to obtain. The exact date in which he left Lisbon for Goa is also uncertain; but since an official document of 1659 refers to him as having been resident in Asia for more than 35 years, it is probable that he sailed for the East in 1622 or 1623.[3]

Like all unmarried Portuguese laymen who came out to India at this period, and who had not embarked with some specific government appointment, Vieira de Figueiredo presumably sailed as a simple soldier (*soldado*). Also like many of his comrades, he evidently soon exchanged the ill-paid rigours of a military life for the more profitable if no less adventurous career of a merchant. The earliest reference to his mercantile activities which I have been able to find, dates from the year 1634; but it indicates that he was already well established as a trader on the Coromandel Coast, where he had presumably been operating for several years. At any rate, the Viceroy Count of Linhares, in an entry in his official diary under the date of 28 May 1634, refers to him as being

[2] ". . . ser natural da vila de Ourem e de hum lugar aly junto que chamão o Azambujal, e da diligencia que ally se fez constou ser o dito Francisco Vieyra limpo, sem raça de Moruro, nem Judeu, nem de outra infecta nação, mas que seu auo materno fora Pedreiro . . .". (*consulta* of the Tribunal da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens to the Crown dated 30 March 1649, kindly communicated by Senhor Frazão de Vasconcellos).

[3] ". . . Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, estante na India, em rezão de haver mais de trinta e cinco annos que se embarcou para aquelle Estado e onde me tem servido athé o presente . . ." (*Provisão* of King Dom Affonso VI, dated 5 April 1659, *apud* Humberto Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702*, Lisboa, 1948, p. 200).

one of the Portuguese inhabitants of Negapatam who was on very good terms with the ruling Nayak of Tanjore, and who had "friendlier relations with Hindus than with Christians".[4]

Despite the heavy losses caused to Portuguese shipping in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea by the greatly superior Dutch seapower, so intelligently directed by Governor-General Antonio van Diemen, the Portuguese of Negapatam still contrived to trade with places as far away as Cambodia and Manila; and it is in connection with these two places that my next reference to Francisco Vieira (as I shall henceforth call him) occurs. The Batavian *Dagh-Register* of March 1642, informs us that he had arrived in Cambodia as envoy from the governor of The Philippines, with a request that the Spaniards should be allowed to build two galleons in that kingdom. However, on hearing from the Dutch, presumably, of Portugal's recent revolt from Spain, Vieira had apparently decided to change his allegiance and to sail for Macassar at the first opportunity, "since he was a born Portuguese and therefore now an enemy of the Castilians". A month later, the *Dagh-Register* informs us that Vieira had, in fact, left Cambodia for Macassar on 5 March 1642, "giving out that he would go to Manila from there, which is not likely considering that he is a born Portuguese". The *Dagh-Register* adds that Vieira took with him "two young elephants, which the governor of Manila had earnestly sought from the King". Much to the annoyance of the Dutch, the king of Cambodia forbade their ship, *De Roch,* from sailing until nine days after Vieira had left, "since the Portuguese through rich presents and flattering words have His Majesty almost entirely on their side".

Whatever Francisco Vieira's first reactions may have been on hearing the news of the revolt of 1 December 1640, which brought the Duke of Braganza to the throne of Portugal as King Dom João IV, on reaching Macassar he evidently decided to throw in his lot with the new monarch. The Macassar court-diary records that on Friday 16 May 1642, "Wehera" presented an elephant to the King, and that this animal lived until Tuesday 19 November 1658.[5] Vieira's change of allegiance did not, however, involve severing his commercial ties with Manila for very long.

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[4] "... em espessial hum Francisco Vieira que mais comunicação tem com os gentios que com Christãos ..." (*Diário do 3° [alias, 4°] Conde de Linhares, vicerei da India,* Lisboa, 1937, p. 121).

[5] *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, Anno 1641-1642* (The Hague 1900), pp. 134, 143; A. A. Cense, "Enige aantekeningen over Makassaars-Boeginese geschiedschrijving", in *BKI*, CVII (1951), p. 46, *n.* 16. I owe this last reference to Dr. J. Noorduyn.

We find frequent mention in the Dutch and English records of his trading directly or indirectly with the Spanish colony in subsequent years. But from this time onwards, he made Macassar the principal base of his far-flung network of commercial and maritime relations, and it seems highly probable that he had already established himself there before the year 1642.

Portuguese merchants had frequented Macassar intermittently during the 16th-century, but the real growth of their trade and influence there occurred, oddly enough, after the Islamisation of Gowa in the years 1605—07.[6] Some twenty years later, an English merchant from Macassar who visited Batavia reported that between 10 and 22 Portuguese galliots called at Macassar yearly from Macao, Malacca, and ports on the Coromandel coast, there being sometimes as many as 500 Portuguese ashore, where the Muslim ruler allowed them the free exercise of their religion. They arrived in November—December and left in the following May, using Macassar as an entrepôt for the sale of Chinese silks and Indian cotton textiles, which they exchanged for sandalwood from Timor, cloves from the Moluccas, and diamonds from Borneo. The Englishman declared that their trade was worth over 500,000 pieces-of-eight annually, the Macao galliots alone taking some 60,000 worth. He added that the Portuguese looked upon Macassar as a second and better Malacca, and "held themselves as safe as if they had no enemies in India, since they had never once been attacked there".[7]

The rapprochement between the Muslim Macassars and the Catholic Portuguese was strengthened in the ensuing years by their common dread of the growing Dutch power in Indonesian waters, and, more particularly, by their dislike of the Dutch efforts to monopolise the spice-trade of the Moluccas. Writing to the Crown in August 1638, the Viceroy of Goa stated that he was doing his utmost to cultivate the

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[6] Cf. J. Noorduyn, "De Islamisering van Makasar" (*BKI*, CXII (1956), pp. 247-66). To the sources quoted there, should be added Fernão Guerreiro, S. J., *Relaçam Anual, 1606-07* (Lisboa, 1609), fl. 96, or p. 311 of the 1931 edition, where it is stated that as of April 1606 the ruler and people of Macassar were still mainly heathen and ripe for conversion to Christianity. For an early version of the oft-repeated but apparently baseless story that the ruler of Gowa sent to ask for both Christian and Muslim missionaries to enlighten him, and adopted Islam when the Muslims arrived first, see Antonio Francisco Cardim S. J., *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus* (written at Goa in 1650, but first published at Lisbon in 1894), pp. 283-84.

[7] *Dagh-Register Batavia 1624-1629*, under the date of 8 February 1625, pp. 124-26. The Englishman whose name appears in varying forms (Sihort, Shiort) was Henry Short.

friendship of the Sultan of Macassar, "since in all the Southern Archipelago there is no other ruler who protects the Portuguese with greater firmness and allows conversion to the Christian Faith".[8] This last assertion was clearly exaggerated, and the actual state of religious co-existence was more correctly reported by the Spanish Dominican friar, Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, who stayed at Macassar for some months in 1657—58, on his way from Manila to Macao: "There were abundance of slaves to the Portuguese there, who had renounced their Religion: upon any little domestic quarrel those slaves would go away to the Moors. When they had abjured Christianity, they would come to scoff at their master. I understood another thing which is deplorable, viz. that Christian men kept Mahometan women, and Mahometan men, Christian women".[9]

If the viceroy of Goa erred egregiously in stating that the Sultan of Macassar freely permitted conversions to Christianity, his assertion concerning the protection afforded to the Portuguese by this ruler was perfectly correct. During the period with which we are concerned, the Sultan of Gowa, Mohamad Said (reigned, 14 June 1639—16 November 1653), and his son and successor, Hasanuddin (reigned, November 1653—29 August 1669), both gave aid and comfort to the Portuguese in general and to Francisco Vieira in particular. For much of this period, the real power and influence lay largely with a remarkable pair of chief ministers, who were likewise father and son. These were Karaéng Pattingalloang (died, 15 September 1654), and his son and successor, Karaéng Karunrung, the latter of whom was in office from 1654 to 1664.[10] Both of these princes were fluent in Portuguese and Spanish, and Pattingalloang had amassed an excellent library, including all the works of Fr. Luís de Granada, O.P., which he had read in the original. He also had a scientific as well as a religious bent, collecting maps and

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[8] Arquivo Nacíonal da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, "Livros das Monções", Livro 43, fol. 29, nr. 14, Viceroy to Crown, 30 August, 1638. I owe this reference to Mr. J. M. Braga.

[9] J. S. Cummins (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1962), Vol. I, pp. 122-23. Cf. also the description of Macassar by the Portuguese Jesuit Padre André Ferrão, who visited Macassar in the same year on his voyage from Goa to Macao, *apud* A. A. Ferreira da Cruz (ed.), *Notícias do Oriente Português em 1658 segundo uma relação inédita* (Porto, 1958), pp. 39-43.

[10] Macassarese *Karaéng* (Prince), the senior title of nobility in Macassar, rendered by the Portuguese as *Crain*, was borne by those of royal descent. Cf. C. Skinner in *VKI*, XL (1963), p. 233.

globes, which occasioned a laudatory ode addressed to him by Joost van den Vondel.[11]

This is not the place to elaborate on the condition of Macassar in 1638—1669, since this information is readily available elsewhere, and we are dealing mainly with the Portuguese connection. But the reader may care to be reminded that the so-called kingdom of Macassar comprised the twin states of Gowa and Tallo'; the name Macassar being derived from the most important commercial settlement in the former, pronounced *Mengkasar* or *Mekasar* in Malay. The Sultan of Gowa, who was the senior ruler, held his seat in the palace-castle of Sombaopu, and he was sometimes called "the Sumbane" or "Sumbanco" by foreigners. More often, he was referred to as the "Sultan of Macassar" or "the King of Macassar", as if he was the sole ruler of the dual monarchy. Like most modern historians, I have followed this practice here. During the first half of the 17th century, Macassar expanded northwards in the face of fierce opposition from the Bugis loosely federated states of Wadjo', Boné and Soppéng. The first-named eventually became a loyal satellite of Macassar; but the other two kingdoms, though frequently subdued, frequently revolted. They actively supported the Dutch East-India Company in the campaigns of 1667—1669, which resulted in the final subjugation of the "fighting-cocks of the East", when Boné became the leading state in South Celebes and long remained a loyal ally of the Dutch.[12]

Although the Ten-Year Truce between the Portuguese and the Dutch which had been negotiated at The Hague in June 1641, was not implemented in Asia until Mr. Joan Maetsuyker and the Viceroy Count of Aveiras signed a complementary agreement at Goa in November 1644, Vieira continued to trade amicably with the Dutch during this period, and they provided his ships with passes to fetch sandalwood from Solor and Timor for them. These good relations were not interrupted by the

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[11] Joost van den Vondel, *Volledige Dichtwerken* (ed. A. Verwey, Amsterdam, 1937), p. 982; F. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Deel III (2), p. 147.

[12] Cf. C. Skinner, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War) by Entji' Amin, VKI,* XL (1963), pp. 226-32. For background detail about Macassar, I have relied heavily on this admirable work, as well as on the article by J. Noorduyn, "Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing", in Soedjatmoko *et al.* (eds.), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Cornell University Press, 1965), pp. 137-55, and the older works by F. W. Stapel, *Het Bongaais Verdrag* (Groningen and The Hague, 1922), and A. Ligtvoet, "Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello met vertaling en aanteekeningen", in *BKI,* XXVIII (1880), pp. 1-259.

Dutch seizure of a Macassar vessel bound for Manila, which was intercepted by the *Bruinvisch* off the mouth of that Bay and taken to Taiwan in 1646. At the demand of the King of Macassar, the authorities at Batavia agreed to repay Vieira (acting as the King's agent) the value of the captured cargo (25, 662 fl.), since they were anxious to avoid any further deterioration in their already rather strained relations with Macassar. On one of his jack-in-the-box appearances at Batavia in 1647, as envoy from Mohamad Said and Pattingalloang to the viceroy of Goa, the Dutch gave him a passage to his destination in the *Maastricht* and lent him 3,000 rials to buy "baubles" for the King in the Indo-Portuguese capital.[13]

On his return from Goa in the following year, Vieira appeared at Bantam and Batavia as the envoy of both the King of Macassar and the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, D. Felipe Mascarenhas. The *Dagh-Register* of 27 February 1648 records that Vieira had created a great sensation at his farewell audience of the young Sultan of Bantam in the previous week, "owing to the extraordinary richness of his dress and other adornments".[14] He was equally well received by the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, where the *Dagh-Register* characterized him as a "Portuguese nobleman", though his social status in Portuguese society did not, strictly speaking, justify this term. He left Batavia for Macassar on 12 March 1648, with two ships, the *Nossa Senhora da Penha de França,* which he had bought at Goa, and the *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré,* which he had acquired at either Bantam or Batavia. Arriving at Macassar on 30 March, Vieira set sail 16 days later for Solor, but missed his voyage and was back in Macassar by the end of April. He then freighted the *Nossa Senhora da Penha de França* to the Karaéng Pattingalloang, who dispatched the ship to Manila on 23 May, with a safe-conduct from the Dutch Resident, who had carefully inspected all the cargo as it was taken aboard the ship, and even had the keys of the hold in his house. Vieira undoubtedly had a share in this venture, and the ship was bound for Macao after calling at Manila.[15]

[13] W. Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie,* II, *1639-1655* (The Hague, 1964), pp. 238-39, 263, 314; J. E. Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel,* III (The Hague, 1895), pp. 320, 341-42, 368-69.

[14] "Op sijn afscheijt hadde onder de Javanen een groote verwondering gelaten over d'uijtnemende costelijckheijt sijner cleedinge en andere vercierselen" (*DRB, 1647-48,* p. 31).

[15] *DRB, 1647-48,* pp. 29-32, 46, 84-86, 92, 124-28.

The numerous references to Vieira in the *Dagh-Register* and the *Generale Missiven* of this period show that he was actively trading in sandalwood from the Lesser Sunda Islands, cloves from the Moluccas (whether openly from the Spanish forts there or clandestinely from Amboina), gold from China, The Philippines and Sumatra, tortoiseshell from Macassar, and, of course, Indian textiles from Gujarat and Coromandel. He traded not only with English, Dutch, Chinese and Indonesian merchants, but also with the Spanish Resident at Macassar, Pedro de la Mata. He was clearly doing very well, though not all of his ventures were equally fortunate. In 1649, he sent a yacht to Macao via Manila with a cargo consisting mainly of Indian textiles, in order to secure gold, preserved ginger, china-root and other Chinese goods. King Mohamad Said, Karaéng Pattingalloang, and Pedro de la Mata were likewise investors in this cargo, and Vieira and his associates were reported to have lost over 60,000 rials when this ship foundered with all hands. In the same year he had made an unsuccessful voyage to Siam, in his dual capacity of merchant-adventurer and envoy of the King of Macassar; but he complained bitterly about the "vexations" of the Siamese on his return, and told the Dutch that he would never go there again.[16]

After another successful voyage to Goa, Vieira was back at Batavia in December 1649, when he bought for 9,000 rials the Dutch-built and Genoese-owned *São João Baptista,* which, together with her consort, the *São Bernardo,* had been confiscated by the Governor-General and council.[17] It is worth noting that Vieira only had to find 1,000 rials of his own money towards the purchase-price, the remainder being advanced by the Dutch authorities at Batavia, despite the distrust with which the Portuguese in general were now regarded as a result of the Pernambuco rebellion (June 1645) and the subsequent war in Brazil. The Governor-General and Council were evidently rather embarrassed by the close and friendly relations which they maintained with Vieira at this period, since in their "general letter" of 10 December 1650 to the Heeren XVII they gave a defensive account of this relationship. They explained that they had been so complaisant towards him because

[16] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, pp. 334-35, 374; Heeres, *Bouwstoffen,* III, pp. 455, 457

[17] For the detailed story of this abortive Genoese East-India Company, organized and staffed in the main by renegade Netherlanders, cf. N. P. Van den Berg, „De Oost-Indische Compagnie der Edelen van Genua, 1638-1649", in *Uit de dagen der Compagnie* (Haarlem, 1904), pp. 64-96; Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, p. 395; Heeres, *Bouwstoffen,* III, pp. 463-65.

he was the agent or representative of the King of Macassar; but that once he had repaid his outstanding debt, they would ask the King not to send him there again. They also insinuated that some of the facilities which he had received had been granted through the intermediary of the former Director-General, François Caron, without due authorisation.[18]

A year later (19 December 1651), the Governor-General and Council reported that Vieira had discharged his indebtedness to their satisfaction, and that he had again turned up at Batavia with a cargo of sandalwood, cloves, benjamin (benzoin), gold and rials, which he would gladly have sold to the Dutch but they refused to buy it. He therefore continued his voyage to the Coast of Coromandel, in order to dispose of his cargo there. He admitted that some of it was really the property of Pattingalloang and some of it belonged to some "Moorish" merchants who had arrived at Macassar from Coromandel two years previously. It is probable that these Muslim merchants were representatives of the celebrated Mir Muhammad Sayyid, the Mir Jumla or Nawāb of Golconda. The Governor-General and Council reaffirmed that they would have liked to ban Vieira from trading at Batavia, but they forbore to do so because he was in partnership with the Prince Pattingalloang, "whom we are, for various reasons, compelled to respect, since he really rules the kingdom and can do us much good or harm, as the King wastes his time in riotous living".[19] The government at Batavia was particularly anxious to avoid offending the rulers of Macassar at this juncture, since these latter might otherwise be induced to give substantial support to the rebels in the Amboina group, where 160 Netherlanders, including some women and children, had lost their lives in the rising organized by Madjira and the Kapitan Laut Saidi in 1651.

The expiry of the Truce with the Portuguese gave the Governor-General and Council a pretext for ending their co-operation with Vieira without — or so they hoped — offending the royal family of Macassar. Vieira had reached Macassar on the 27th of February 1652 after a successful voyage from Masulipatam, wearing yet another of his diplomatic hats, this time as the envoy of the Nawāb Mir Jumla,

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[18] G. G. and Council to Heeren XVII, Batavia 10 December 1650 *apud* Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, pp. 431-32.

[19] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, pp. 497-98. For the relations of the VOC with Mir Jumla at this period cf. T. Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690*, *VKI*, XXXVIII (1962), pp. 45-49.

"commander-in-chief of the King of Golconda". The presents he brought from the Nawāb to the King and Prince (Pattingalloang) of Macassar comprised "a Persian campaign-tent, a coat of chain-mail, a copy of the Koran, a valuable musket, and a powder-horn". Trusting in his close connection with the rulers of Macassar and Golconda, Vieira sailed from the former port on the 9th of July 1652, bound for Coromandel with the *São João Baptista* and the *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré*. The two ships were richly laden with various Chinese and Indonesian goods including gold, pepper, cloves, benjamin, tutenaga, china-root, sappan, sandalwood, rice and slaves. King Mohamad Said and Prince Pattingalloang had a large share in the cargo of the *São João Baptista,* and Mir Jumla in that of the *Nazaré*.[20]

Forewarned by their agent at Macassar, the government at Batavia sent the *Popkensburgh* to intercept Vieira's ships off Japara, his first port of call, with orders to bring them to Batavia by friendly or forcible means. The two ships were intercepted on the 20th of July; but Vieira, suspecting the worst, declined to come on board the *Popkensburgh* to parley when asked by the Dutch commander to do so. He sent his Genoese chaplain instead, and rowed off to Japara in his ship's boat, carrying with him most of the gold and some other precious items of small volume. He was at first well received by the *shahbandar* of Japara, and the Governor-General and Council wrote him an ostensibly friendly letter, inviting him to come to Batavia and point out to them his own share of the cargo and what belonged to Mir Jumla, to Mohamad Said and to Pattingalloang. Vieira was naturally not to be caught in this way; but, most unexpectedly, he and all the Portuguese at Japara were suddenly disarmed and arrested by order of the Susuhunan of Mataram, who had them placed in close confinement with the apparent intention of handing them over to the Dutch. Before this move materialised, Vieira, resourceful as ever, managed to escape with his 36 companions from prison by means which are still obscure, but which evidently included the connivance of some of the Javanese authorities and the active assistance of some native employees of the English agency. His dramatic escape infuriated the Susuhunan and caused a great sensation

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[20] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, pp. 658-60. Details of the cargo in Padre Antonio Francisco Cardim S. J., "Relação da quebra das pazes dos Olandezes" [1652] *apud* M. A. H. Fitzler, *O cêrco de Columbo, 1652-1656*, (Coimbra, 1928), pp. 68-70.

in the commercial ports of the archipelago, which is reflected in the correspondence of the English factors at Bantam.[21]

Agent Skinner and his council at Bantam, writing to their principals at Madras on the 25th September 1652, stated that all those implicated in Vieira's escape had been executed by order of the Susuhunan of Mataram. The victims included the *shahbandar* and twenty of his countrymen, besides "two blacks" belonging to the English agency, whose chief, Thomas Armagon, had been "put to horrible torment". Such, at least, were the unconfirmed reports current at Batavia, and the Bantam Factors added: "but certainly friendly advices have made us acquainted that Francisco Vieira is fled from Japara but where no man here knows, yet it is supposed he will endeavour to attain Macassar". Later advices from Japara alleged that the English agency there had been closed by order of the Susuhunan and that Thomas Armagon had saved his life by becoming a Muslim. It seems from the Dutch sources that some 36 Javanese had in fact been executed for their real or alleged complicity in Vieira's escape.[22]

Vieira made a dramatic reappearance at Macassar on the 3rd of October 1652, and so far as the Dutch were concerned the fat was now in the fire with a vengance. The Dutch were soon confronted with demands for the restitution of the captured ships and cargo by the King of Macassar and the Nawāb of Golconda. The government at Batavia professed themselves in principle willing to restore that portion of the cargo which belonged to those Muslim potentates, but they were determined to keep as good prize what belonged to Vieira. It was just this problem of the identification of the respective shares which proved

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[21] India Office Library, London, "Original Correspondence", Vol. 23 (1652-1653), nr. 2284, F. Skinner and council at Bantam to President Baker at Madras.

[22] IOL, Original Correspondence, Vol. 23, nr. 2284; Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, pp. 658-60; W. M. Ottow, *Rijckloff Volckertsz van Goens, 1619-1655* (Utrecht, 1954), pp. 129, 134, 184; H. J. de Graaf (ed.), *De vijf gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens naar het hof van Mataram, 1648-1654* (The Hague, 1956), pp. 101-04, 108 ,115, 138, 167-68. Vieira's disfavour with the Susuhunan of Mataram was not permanent, for the *Dagh-Register Batavia* of the 20th of July 1657, records the arrival of an envoy from Macassar with presents from the King and Vieira for the governor of Japara, including 2 small bronze guns, a horse, silk, and musk.

I have not been able to identify the nationality of Thomas Armagon, but as he sometimes wrote in Portuguese to his superiors at Bantam, he was probably an Eurasian. He was still employed by the English at Japara when he was murdered there by the son of the local governor in October 1666, being then described as a "swart" in the *DRB, Anno 1666-67*, p. 165.

insoluble. The rulers of Macassar declared that Vieira had bought the *São João Baptista* from the Genoese chiefly on their account, since they owned two-thirds of both ship and cargo, whereas Vieira's share was only one-third. Similarly, the Nawāb of Golconda declared that he was the principal owner of the *Nazaré* and her cargo; but the authorities at Batavia suspected that in fact both the ships and their cargoes were owned mainly by Vieira.[23]

There is no need to follow the tortuous course of the negotiations over this dispute during the next ten years. Suffice it to say that it was a perennial irritant to Mir Jumla, and it was one of the principal causes of the renewal of the war between Macassar and the VOC in 1653. It was also a factor in the decision taken by the rulers of Macassar actively to support the rebels in the Amboina group; though there is no need to doubt the Sultan of Macassar's assertion that his overriding reason for giving such support was the need to help persecuted Muslims against Christian oppressors.[24] This decision to intervene in Amboina was, of course, enthusiastically supported by Vieira. Indeed, the government at Batavia accused Vieira of having incited the original outbreak of 1651, claiming that they had intercepted some of his letters in which he had "boasted to his viceroy that his own instigation and persuasion were the cause of the rebellion and of the revolting massacre of so many innocent Netherlanders, and their women and children in Amboina". A search in the VOC records at the Rijksarchief, kindly undertaken by Dr. M. A. Meilink-Roelofsz at my request, has failed to locate these intercepted letters;[25] but although Vieira may well have made such a claim, the chief reason for the outbreak was not so much any incitement he may have given the Ambonese, as their dislike of the oppressive Dutch clove monopoly in the Moluccas.

Irrespective of whatever part Vieira may have played in the outbreak of the Amboina rebellion, it is clear from the Portuguese records that — as the Dutch realised — he consistently urged the rulers of Macassar to continue their support of the rebel Ambonese once they had decided to intervene. The first expeditionary-force sent by the King of Macassar sailed from South Celebes in November 1652. It consisted of Macassars and Malays and its strength was variously estimated by the Dutch at

[23] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, pp. 597-98, 658-60, 677, 710, 770; T. Raychaudhuri, *VKI,* XXXVIII (1962), pp. 46-51.

[24] *DRB, Anno 1653,* p. 134; F. W. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag,* p. 49; Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, 746-47.

[25] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, p. 586; personal letter from Dr. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz d. 14 March 1958.

between 30 and 100 vessels manned by 1,600 or 3,000 men. Writing to the Viceroy of Goa, Conde de Obidos, on the 11th of July 1653, Vieira claimed that he had volunteered to go with it; but that after consultation with the King and Pattingalloang, it had been decided to await news of its success before risking his own person and that of the Spanish Jesuit Padre, Pedro Francisco, who was awaiting an opportunity of leaving for Amboina in order to succour the crypto-Roman Catholic native community there.[26]

As things turned out, this expeditionary-force met with only limited success and suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the Dutch. Some of the Macassars and Malays did, however, succeed in establishing themselves at various points in the Amboina group and they were reinforced again in the following year. Meanwhile, the government at Batavia sent successively Jacob Hustard, Evert Buys, and Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn as envoys to Macassar, in order to protest against the King's active support of the rebels. None of them obtained any satisfaction other than assurances that the King did not want the war to spread outside the Amboina group. In point of fact, a state of war existed between Macassar and the VOC in the years 1653—55, though the Dutch limited themselves to blockading Macassar by sea, while the main struggle was fought out in the islands of Butung, Buru, and Ceram. Hustard had shown the King an intercepted letter of Vieira in which the latter apparently said something uncomplimentary about the Karaéng Pattingalloang; but this move completely failed to shake

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[26] Vieira to the Viceroy of Goa, "emxeada dos Malaios" ("harbour of the Malays") in Macassar, 11 July 1653 (Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções do Reino", Livro 23 B, fls. 364-68). Cf. Appendix III below. The reason which Vieira gives in this letter for not accompanying the expeditionary-force, sounds a more likely one than that advanced in the printed *Summaria Relaçam* published at Lisbon in 1656, where it is stated that the Macassar expeditionary-force comprised nearly 1,000 vessels and some 60,000 men (!): "Francisco Vieira resolved to accompany the King in his own galley, but the Queen, who is still a child, and regards Francisco Vieira like a father, told the King that either he must take her with him or else leave her in charge of Francisco Vieira; and for this reason Vieira could not go, but he sent all the Portuguese who could be spared..." *(Summaria Relaçam dos prodigiosos obrarão... no anno passado de 1655,* Lisboa, 1656, the last two unnumbered leaves of the text being headed, *Da se brcve noticia do Estado em que os Olandezes se achão na India Oriental.* They give a highly coloured and grossly exaggerated account of the losses and difficulties of the Dutch.

Pedro Francisco or Pedro de Francisco S. J., was a Spanish Jesuit born at Mala (Zaragoza diocese) in 1607, who had been working at Macao, Malacca, and Macassar since about 1630.

the trust of the King and the Prince in their Portuguese friend and adviser.[27]

In his lengthy dispatch (11 July 1653) to the Viceroy of Goa, Vieira relates how he had stiffened the King's resolution by earnestly assuring him that help would come from Goa and Macao. He had already written to both these places urging them to send ships and men. He now implored the viceroy to send him 100 or 200 Portuguese soldiers, whom he would embark for Amboina at his own expense. The City of Macao, he wrote, should send a couple of armed vessels with reinforcements for Solor and Timor. He further suggested that Francisco Carneiro, the Portuguese Captain-Major in the Lesser Sunda Islands, should be superseded or replaced, since he had not followed up a recent success against the Dutch at Congas [? Konga in Flores], where 17 of their sailors had been captured, and he was on bad terms with the pro-Portuguese villagers of Solor.[28]

In this same dispatch, Vieira made the revealing admission that although his own influence and popularity with the rulers of Macassar was unshaken by the war with the Dutch, the common people were beginning to murmur. "For up till now they were enjoying peaceful prosperity and the kingdom was well supplied with [Indian] textiles which they bought and with [Molucccan] spices which they sold, whereas this year they did not receive a single piece of cloth, nor did anyone buy their spices; and they wonder whether the same will not happen again in future years. Even the King and the Prince told me sometimes that if the war in Amboina continued and they contrived to get the cloves away from the Dutch, what would they do if nobody came to buy these spices?" The rulers knew that the English were on the verge of war with the Dutch and that the Portuguese were embroiled with the English in Europe, besides having the Dutch on their necks in India.[29] "I replied most emphatically, that they should carry on with the war in Amboina, and that the Dutch would eventually come and beg for

[27] Cf. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag*, pp. 46-50, and the sources there quoted, to which should be added L. Bor, *Amboinse Oorlogen* (Delft, 1663), pp. 141-95.

[28] For Francisco Carneiro and his dealings with the Dutch cf. H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702* (1948), pp. 210-31; Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, pp. 499, 683-84. Vieira had been trading at Flores and Solor in sandalwood in partnership with Carneiro since 1643. Cf. also Appendix III below.

[29] The first Anglo-Dutch War started with the skirmish between Blake and M. H. Tromp off Dover in May 1652, and Portugal was embroiled with the Commonwealth of England in 1650-51 because of the shelter given to Prince Rupert's Royalist Fleet in the Tagus by King D. João IV in 1649-50.

mercy, as could be seen by the arrival of this ship [the *Zeelandia* with Evert Buys on the 5th of July 1653]. I told them that if things were really going as well for the Dutch in Amboina as they claimed, they would not have come here to beg humbly for peace. I added that the Portuguese would come from India by the strait of Solor or by some other straits, to bring textiles and to take away cloves, and that the Nabob would send a ship or two." Vieira told the Viceroy that he had already sent an emissary in a lateen-rigged dispatch boat to Masulipatam, in order to incite Mir Jumla to send ships to Macassar. He urged the viceroy to back these representations to the Nawāb, after consultation with "Padre Frei Anselmo".[30]

Vieira reminded the viceroy that he had asked his predecessor, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, to request the King of Portugal to send an ambassador to the rulers of Macassar, thanking them for the help and favours which they had given the Portuguese. He now renewed this suggestion, adding that if no ambassador from Lisbon could come this year, then the viceroy should send an envoy on his own responsibility, providing him with gifts of gunpowder and weapons in addition to the usual presents and letters of compliments and thanks. These viceregal letters should also urge the King of Macassar to continue the war in Amboina as vigorously as possible, assuring him that both the King of Portugal and the Viceroy of Goa would show themselves to be duly grateful. Vieira also requested that he should be nominated as vice-ambassador and authorised to remain at Macassar as accredited and resident envoy when the special ambassador had left. This, he said, would enhance his personal prestige, and enable him to order the numerous Portuguese adventurers and rolling-stones who frequented Macassar to betake themselves wherever they might be most useful for the royal service. He claimed that the Dutch had offered a bribe of 50,000 *patacas* to anyone who would kill him, and that he had received warnings from Batavia not to trust anyone, not to go out at night, nor to eat anything outside his own house. He stated that if he was invested with the title of resident-ambassador, then none of the natives would venture to do him any harm, whatever bribe they might be offered by the Dutch.

In this voluminous dispatch of the 11th of July 1653, Vieira likewise elaborated a four-year plan of naval strategy for the Portuguese galleons at Goa against the Dutch shipping routes between the Persian Gulf

[30] I have not been able to identify this Padre Frei Anselmo, but presume that he was either a Dominican or a Franciscan missionary.

and Japan. He suggested that as soon as the Dutch discontinued their annual blockade of Goa at the end of April or the beginning or May, the galleons should leave the river Mandovi three or four days later for Macao, sailing via the straits of Malacca, where they would, in all probability, pick up some richly laden and unsuspecting Dutch prizes. On reaching Macao, one galleon and a locally equipped pinnace (*pataxo*) would make a quick dash to the port of Gião [Giang] in Tongking,[31] where they would stand a good chance of capturing the Dutch Indiaman which called there every year laden with Japanese silver bullion from Nagasaki. These vessels would then rejoin the other galleons, which, after provisioning at Macao, would have taken up their cruising station off the island of Pulau Tioman where they would be virtually certain of intercepting the richly laden Dutch Indiamen bound from Japan and Formosa to Siam, Malacca, or Batavia, between mid-January and mid-February.[32] These ships, which amounted to fifteen or sixteen sail all told, did not sail in convoy, but only in ones or twos, and so would successively fall an easy prey to the waiting Portuguese squadron. After making this rich haul, the galleons could then come on early in March to Macassar, where they would make a brief stay in order to take on provisions and water. Leaving Macassar about the 20th of March, the galleons would then cruise off Pulau Butung until late July or early August, so as to intercept the Dutch ships bringing the annual world's supply of mace and nutmegs from the Banda islands and cloves from the Moluccas. Vieira assured the viceroy that all this could be achieved at little or no risk, since the Indiamen returning from Japan carried most of their guns in their holds and had

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[31] i.e. the entry to the Red River, the Dutch Factory in Tongking being located at Ke-cho (the modern Hanoi) some days of difficult navigation up-stream. Cf. W. J. M. Buch, *La Compagnie des Indes Néerlandaises et l'Indochine,* (Hanoi, 1937), pp. 152-53; C. C. van der Plas, *Tonkin, 1644-45. Journaal van de reis van Anthonio van Brouckhorst,* (Amsterdam, 1955).

[32] "... todas estas não passão sem tomar pulotimão que são [*sic*] trinta legoas antes do estreito de sincapura por ser ilha de muito refresco e boa agoa".

Pulau Tioman, "an island situated off the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula, whose peak and 'asses ears' were points of landfall and departure for mariners of all nations sailing the South China Sea. The bay on the south-west of the island provided a sheltered roadstead with a gently sloping, sandy floor; the drinking water... was obtained a few dozen yards inland from the cascade which is purified by filtration through a bed of sand; timber is abundant even at the present day; and in the words of 18th-century sailors, 'the island is very plentiful in refreshments'." (P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese. Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500,* Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 229).

their gun-ports battened down, owing to the stormy China Sea; while those returning from Banda and the Moluccas were usually old and ill-armed vessels which were ending their days on short routine voyages in these calmer waters.

In the year following this spectacular naval campaign — the results of which would inspire the Indonesians everywhere to rise against the Dutch, whom they cordially hated — the government at Batavia would naturally expect the Portuguese to try to repeat this performance at the end of the annual blockade of Goa. The Dutch would therefore concentrate a strong fleet in the straits of Malacca; but the Portuguese galleons, instead of sailing eastwards, would take their course westwards in two divisions, bound respectively for the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, where they could capture some of the Dutch ships trading in those waters. This would throw the Dutch planners off their balance, so that in the third year they would not know whether the Portuguese objective would be the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, or the South China Sea, or the Indonesian area. They would therefore reinforce all those regions; but the galleons could then slip out of Goa to intercept Dutch ships trading in the Bay of Bengal, particularly those laden with textiles from Coromandel.

In the fourth year, the galleons would be prepared at Goa ostensibly for a campaign in the northern part of the Indian Ocean; but at the end of November or the beginning of December they would set sail and take their course south of Sumatra and the Lesser Sunda Islands to make an unexpected appearance in Amboina by way of the straits of Solor or of Wettar. They would not only be able to capture Amboina, where they would be enthusiastically received by the natives, but also the Banda islands, which were populated mainly by slaves originating from the lands bordering on the Bay of Bengal, who were pro-Portuguese or at least spoke that language. Vieira averred that the Dutch were already so tied down by the Amboina rebellion, that any small Portuguese force would suffice to throw them out of the Spice Islands altogether ("*de sorte que qualquer poderzinho que fosse nosso podia tomar tudo*").

In a final flight of fancy, Vieira suggested that the galleons at Goa might also be sent to intercept the homeward-bound Dutch East-Indiamen at the start of their voyage in the straits of Sunda. He stated that these Indiamen, like those from Japan, were very richly laden and carried most of their guns in their holds until they reached the island of St. Helena, since they did not expect to encounter any enemy warships in the Indian Ocean. Vieira concluded this lengthy dispatch of the

11th of July 1963, by repeating a previous request that King D. João IV should confer a knighthood in the Order of Christ on Francisco Mendes, "cousin and secretary of the King of Macassar". Mendes had always been a strong and influential supporter of the Portuguese, and he would not be satisfied with a knighthood in either of the lesser Orders of Santiago and São Bento.[33]

It is hardly necessary to add that nothing came of Vieira's fantastically ambitious schemes in the realm of naval strategy. Far from the Portuguese galleons intercepting Dutch Indiamen in the South China Sea and Indonesian waters, it was a Dutch squadron under Rijkloff van Goens which intercepted and destroyed five Portuguese galleons off the coast of Malabar on their return voyage from Colombo to Goa in May, 1654.[34] The Viceroy of Goa sent complimentary letters of thanks to the King of Macassar and Prince Pattingalloang, and a knighthood in the Order of Christ was eventually conferred on Francisco Mendes; but the Portuguese were too hard pressed by the Dutch in Ceylon, to be able to send any substantial help to Macassar. Nor did the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652—54 shake Dutch maritime dominance in the Eastern Seas, but, on the contrary, it only served to strengthen it. The Nawāb of Golconda, possibly influenced by Vieira's appeals, sent a ship laden with textiles to Macassar; but this ship was diverted by the Dutch to Batavia and compelled to dispose of her cargo there. Admittedly, the Nawāb regarded this as an additional affront to the capture of the *Nazaré*; but the dispute over the price paid for the cargo of the former vessel and the inadequate compensation offered for the seizure of the latter, did not lead to a permanent breach between

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[33] Cf. Appendix III below for the full text of this lengthy dispatch. Francisco Mendes, described by Navarrete in 1658 as "Knight of the Order of Christ, son to the last Sumbane [= Mohamad Said], and a black woman" (*Travels*, ed. Cummins, p. 118, where he is erroneously termed Antonio), and "a good Christian and akin to the Sumbane" (*op. cit.*, p. 385). He was evidently the Secretary for Portuguese affairs to the rulers of Macassar as was Entji' Amin for Malay affairs (cf. C. Skinner, *VKI*, XL (1963), p. 27). A letter written in Portuguese by Francisco Mendes to the King of Portugal on behalf of the King of Macassar, requesting closer co-operation against their common Dutch enemies and dated 29 May 1637, is reproduced in Appendix I *infra*.

[34] Dutch versions of this naval action (or rather series of actions) in J. Aalbers, *Rijcklof van Goens* (Groningen, 1916), pp. 92-4; W. M. Ottow, *Rijckloff Volckertsz van Goens* (Utrecht, 1954), pp. 170-75. Portuguese versions in M. A. H. Fitzler, *O Cêrco de Columbo* (1928), pp. 117-24; C. R. Boxer, "Novas da India Oriental, Ano de 1655" (*Arqueologia e História*, Vol VI, Lisboa, 1928).

Mir Jumla and the Dutch, as Vieira had hoped.[35] The Macassars were therefore left to fight on alone in support of the rebels in the Moluccas, and the losses they sustained induced them to make a compromise peace with the Dutch in February 1656.

The war was still raging when King Mohamad Said died suddenly in November 1653, and Karaéng Pattingalloang followed him to the grave nearly a year later (Sept. 1654). Their deaths did not affect Vieira's position and influence at court, since their respective sons and successors, King Hasanuddin and Karaéng Karunrung, were equally well disposed and the latter, like his father, was fluent in Portuguese. Writing to the new Viceroy of Goa, Conde de Sarzedas, on the 12th of June 1656, Vieira extolled the courage with which the Macassars had fought in Buru, Ceram, and elsewhere, but he admitted that there was some excuse for the young King Hasanuddin having made peace with the Dutch — "for he had no gunpowder in his land, nor munitions, nor anyone who could supply them".[36]

The Dutch blockade of Macassar had been remarkably effective and no Indian textiles had reached the place for three years, "so that even the kings and queens complained that they had nothing to wear, apart from the fact that there was no trade at all. The people all complained and wanted peace, and many of them bitterly hated me, since they realised that I was the cause of the war. This did not worry me in the least; but they also reproached me to my face for having promised that galleons would come from India to help His Highness, with a large supply of gunpowder, munitions and men, whereas what came in actual fact was the news that all the galleons were lost and that Goa itself was on the point of perishing (which God forbid). For this reason, the Kings became very disheartened and they no longer take seriously my offers and protestations; so that the Hollanders are already here again, establishing themselves on shore, as they were before. However, they are not so welcome as they thought they would be, for the Macassar cannot stomach the Hollander (*"não mastiga bem o macassã ao*

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[35] T. Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, VKI,* XXXVIII (1962), pp. 50-51, 124, and Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, pp. 760-61, for the diversion of Mir Jumla's ship to Batavia, the forced sale of its cargo there in 1654, and the subsequent disputes between the Nawāb and the Dutch.

[36] Vieira to Viceroy, Macassar, 12 June 1656 (Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", nr. 26 B, fls. 370-72). The Count of Sarzedas was viceroy of Portuguese India from 23 August 1655 until his death at Goa, 13 January 1656. Cf. The letters printed in Appendixes IV-VI below.

olandes"), and they live in great fear. The Hollanders treat me very courteously and they are very anxious for closer contacts. I am equally polite to them, but very cautious, since I have been warned by well-informed persons at Jacarta not to trust them on any account, and that I should be careful how I drink toasts with them — though I don't drink wine myself. I have also been warned that if the ambassador [Johan van Wesenhagen?] invites me aboard his ship, I should not go; and this is what I have done, as he asked me and I declined. I profess outwardly to be his very good friend, and that it was I who persuaded the King to make peace with them; but they know very well that the truth is just the opposite. It is necessary that I should act in this way, so that I can find out their plans; for if I held myself aloof, I would never find out anything from them, nor could I warn Your Excellency or take counter-measures to foil their nefarious designs."

After telling the Viceroy that he had received discouraging news of the situation at Macao, where things were going from bad to worse, Vieira continued: "And reverting to the King of Macassar, I may add that he received the letter of His Majesty and that of Your Excellency, with both of which he was very pleased.[37] I will venture to say that if the State [of Portuguese India] could send something in the way of help here to Macassar, I would soon induce these kings to break the peace again with the Hollanders; for since they are young and fickle, it would be easy to contrive this business, which I do not neglect trying to accomplish, as I continually remind and reproach them for the harm they have done in making peace with such an infamous nation."

In this same dispatch of the 12th of June 1656, Vieira gave the viceroy news of the severe reverse recently inflicted on De Vlaming van Oudshoorn in Timor by a pro-Portuguese force under the command of Balthasar Gonçalves, whom he described as "an old man of over seventy, a native of Amboina, and married in Solor". He also stated that the King and Queen of Mena in Timor had been condemned to death and executed by order of Francisco Carneiro, as the royal pair had been accused of being friendly with the Dutch. Vieira added: "I do not think that this affair was well managed, even if they deserved to die; for, after all, they were King and Queen, and it is a cause of great scandal to all these other kings, including those of Macassar, when they see that a private individual passes sentence of death on a king and queen. He could have had them killed secretly by poison,

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[37] Cf. the letters printed in Appendixes VIII-X below.

or in some other way which would not have aroused such resentment nor caused such a scandal. I don't know how Francisco Carneiro could have committed such a blunder, since he is such a very good man" (*não sey como Francisco Carneiro sendo tão bonissimo homem cometteo tal erro*).

Vieira sent his dispatch, accompanied by another from the governor of Macao, in an English ship bound for Madras, whence the Portuguese governor of São Tomé de Mailapur was to forward them by swift dispatch-boat (*patamar*) to Goa. Vieira was naturally on good terms with the English, particularly in view of their common dislike of the Dutch.

During his visit to the Coromandel coast in the *São João Baptista* in 1651, Vieira acted as the mediator who composed the quarrel between the English at Madras and the Portuguese of São Tomé over the reciprocal kidnapping of the French Capuchin friar, Ephraim de Nevers, by the Portuguese, and of the ecclesiastical governor of the bishopric of São Tomé, Jeronimo de Sá, by the English. Reporting the settlement of this dispute to the Court of Directors at London in January 1652, Agent Greenhill and his council at Madras wrote that fr. Ephraim had been released by the Goa Inquisition, "as we have been lately advised by letters under his own hand, brought hither by one Signor Francisco Vieira, an eminent fidalgo of that nation and known friend to ours in the South Seas, on whose earnest mediation for renewing a correspondency with our neighbours of São Tomé, we have condescended to some articles of agreement (relating to the general peace) that if possible we may live the more quietly with such insolent people . . . . " [38]

At the height of the Dutch-Macassar War a couple of years later, the English Agents at Bantam commented in a letter to their principals at Madras: "These troublesome times fall out very cross, in regard we might have had a very good trade at Macassar, where the Dutch are outed by reason they would not give satisfaction for the taking of Francisco Vieira his two ships, and the Portugals not daring to carry cloth thither, we might have had all that trade unto ourselves, which doubtless could not have been without much profit to our honourable employers, but these are wishes and so we leave them".[39]

[38] IOL, O.C. 2246, *apud* N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708* (ed. W. Irvine, 4 vols., London, 1907-08), Vol. III, pp. 433-34. Cf. also W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1651-1654* (Oxford, 1915), pp. XXVIII, 79, 92, 96.

[39] IOL, O.C. Vol. 23, nr. 2284, Bantam to Madras, 15 July 1653.

It is worth noting that although Vieira complained in his above-quoted dispatch of the 12th of June 1656, that trade at Macassar had been completely dead in the years 1653—55 and that there were no sellers of cloth nor buyers of cloves, the correspondence of the English Factors at Bantam indicates that Vieira himself was making good profits, at any rate intermittently. The Factors at Macassar complained that he was outbidding them in the purchase of cloves, paying more than they could afford to do, to which their principals at Bantam retorted: "We have little to say touching Vieira's doings in his lawful negotiations, neither he doth therein not more than all the world besides, that is to [one word illegible] the gain of wealth, and having so great a store as you say, he will the sooner attain unto it if the Dutch do not exact too great a toll upon it; and if you cannot agree together, no wonder if he sells to outweigh you, anyone being tolerated to do with his own what please him best, and most redounding to his profit; but at so high rates as is 360 mass for cloves we hold it more convenient to desist the buying of any more, and rather invest the more of your monies in tortoiseshell, to try if happily their price may thereby be brought lower, especially having already so good a quantity in your hands".[40]

Later in this same letter, the Bantam Factors observed that they were surprised that cloves sold for such a high price at Macassar, "seeing the Nabob's junk being disappointed of her Macassar voyage, his Chief with you cannot be in a capacity to hurt you in the buying of them. We require you, therefore, notwithstanding Vieira, to try to do your endeavour to bring them to a lower rate, which we hope may be the easier done if the Macassars have any good success against the Dutch." The Macassars, as we have seen, did not have very good success against the Dutch in Amboina, and the price of cloves continued to go up rather than down, being more than doubled four years later.[41] The Nawāb's Factor at Macassar, after first cooperating with Vieira, then quarrelled violently with him; accusing him of presenting inflated claims of the cargo in the *Nazaré* which had belonged to Mir Jumla. This man and a Persian merchant, who had originally come to Macassar from Coromandel with Vieira, presented the Dutch with a list of what they claimed were the Nawāb's real losses — much smaller than the

[40] IOL, O.C. Vol. 24, nr. 2421, Bantam to Macassar, 14 Oct. 1654.

[41] In July 1658, cloves at Macassar were selling "from 700 to 730 old Mass the bahar" (IOL, Factory Records Java, III, iii, fl. 198, Macassar to Bantam, d. 22 July 1658). O.C. 2479 and O.C. 2635 contain other references to the high price of cloves at Macassar in 1655-57, and to Vieira sending to Manila for them.

claim put in by Vieira. The Dutch doubtless found these lists useful in resisting the claim for full compensation made by Mir Jumla; but the Nawāb's trust in Vieira does not seem to have been shaken — at any rate for long — by the accusations of these Indo-Persian merchants.[42]

In May 1656, the Portuguese at Macassar were temporarily heartened by the arrival of the pinnace *Santa Tereza* from Goa, piloted by Captain Gaspar Pereira dos Reis. She came by way of one of the straits in the Lesser Sunda Islands, never previously used by the Portuguese, and brought letters from the Viceroy of Goa to the King, to Prince Karunrung and to the Secretary Francisco Mendes, as well as a small supply of gunpowder and lead. The Viceroy apologised for not being able to send more substantial assistance, but he explained that the Portuguese were so tied down in Ceylon, where the Dutch were closely besieging Colombo, that it was impossible for the present. He notified the King that the Portuguese had recently expelled the Dutch from their last strongholds in Northeast Brazil (January 1654), and that a fierce Dutch assault on Colombo had been repulsed with very heavy loss to the assailants on the 12th of November 1655. If these victories continued, more help for Macassar would soon be on the way. Meanwhile, he urged the King to continue (or renew) the war against the Dutch, which had brought His Majesty great glory and renown "not only in Asia but in all the kingdoms of Europe". The Viceroy also promised a knighthood in the Order of Christ for Francisco Mendes; but as he did not actually send the requisite insignia in this ship, the King and the Prince indicated their disappointment in their respective replies.[43]

The Portuguese were, of course, delighted with the news of the victory of the 12th of November 1655; and according to the Rev. Philip Baldaeus, who was in Macassar at the time, they boasted that Colombo was impregnable and that the Dutch would never take it, however hard they tried. Baldaeus reported that Vieira was particularly cock-a-hoop, "being a man of great prestige and one of the finest merchants in Asia".[44] The Portuguese were correspondingly crestfallen when news

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[42] *DRB, Anno 1653,* pp. 106-09, 115-16, where the names of Vieira's accusers are given as the Persian merchant "Mola Assenaly", and the Nawāb's Factor, "Mameth Chaffia" [= Mehment Jaffar?].

[43] Cf. the documents from the Goa Archives printed in Appendix VIII-X *infra.*

[44] "Byzonder maakte *Françisco Viero,* groote rodomontados ende snorkeryen, (opgeblazen zijnde door de tijdinge van ons eerste ongeval, hem zekerlijk bericht zijnde) als wezende een Man van groot aanzien, ende een van de voortreffelijkste Kooplieden in India" (Ph. Baldaeus, *Beschryving Van het machtige Eyland Ceylon,* Amsterdam, 1672, p. 141). The great siege of

arrived later that Colombo had finally surrendered to the Dutch after a heroic resistance in May 1656 — an occasion which enabled the *predikant* to indulge in some moralising on the theme of "pride goeth before a fall". The *Santa Tereza* made a quick voyage to Macao, calling at Macassar again on her return to Goa, which she reached on the 3rd of September 1656. Replying to the Viceroy's letter, the King assured him that he had only made peace with the Dutch because of their greatly superior sea-power and because his vassalls asked him to; but he realized that the Hollanders were nothing but pirates, and he would renew the war against them in alliance with the Portuguese as soon as an opportunity presented itself. He also assured the Viceroy that he would continue the favour and protection which he and his predecessors had always showed to the local Portuguese, including toleration of the Christian religion.[45]

As mentioned previously, we have some interesting glimpses of Macassar and Vieira at this period from the pens of Spanish and Portuguese missionaries who called at this port on their way to Macao in the year 1658. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete O.P., after describing how he received a social call in Vieira's house from the Karaéng Karunrung, adds: "I had no thoughts of repaying his visit, as believing those people did not take notice of such things. I learned the Prince had complained of my neglect, so I desired Captain Francisco Vieira, in whose house Karaéng Karunrung had visited me, to bear me company. We went together three quarters of a league to the Palace which was very good and the Prince kept us till one of the clock, and showed us some European maps and books, for he kept his father's library, which was considerable, and also had an excellent striking-clock. We talked of Mahomet, and the Portuguese [Vieira] who was a very zealous Catholic, flatly told him he was in Hell. 'Do not say so, captain' quoth Karunrung. I commended this man's resolution, another would have called it folly. If he had died on this account he had been a martyr. We returned home through a beautiful row of palm-trees, the finest and beautifullest in the world. The sun's rays could not pierce it, and it was above a league long, though we did not go the whole length. How it would be valued among us, and with good cause! The prince repeated his visits oftener than I could have wished. As soon as I took his hand, which was the

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Colombo in 1655-56 is well documented in the previously quoted *O Cêrco de Columbo* (Coimbra, 1928), of M. A. H. Fitzler.

[45] Governors of India to the Crown, Goa 27 December 1656 (Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", nr. 26, fl. 21).

way of paying him respect, he would say, 'Our Lord be with your Reverence'. He one day brought the Sumbane to Vieira's house along with him and I, being presently called, came, and in truth they both did me too much honour and courtesy. Their garb was the most ridiculous that can be expressed; they were both in their gay dress, had European cloth coats over their bare skins, their arms naked, the sleeves hanging down, and their bellies uncovered after their fashion." [46]

Navarrete considered, however, that the Portuguese lived in "great subjection to the Mahometans", neither their laity nor their clergy having the least authority, despite Vieira's great personal influence: "Upon Maundy Thursday, when I was in the church, a company of Moors [Muslims] came into the church, and went up to the sepulchre to see what was in the monstrance, nobody stirring to oppose them — there being present the governor of the bishopric, the parish priest, prelates, and other Portuguese, including Francisco Vieira, of the Order of Christ, it did not become me to set up to oppose such disrespect". Earlier in the same year, a Dominican and a Jesuit church had been demolished by the King's order; but whereas Navarrete blamed Paulo da Costa, the secular priest who acted as governor of the bishopric of Malacca, for instigating this deed, out of jealousy of the Religious Orders, Padre André Ferrão S.J., alleged that one of the King's uncles, "a great secretary of Mahomet", was the prime mover.

Both Navarrete and Ferrão remarked how prosperous the port of Macassar had become under the tolerant rule of Hasanuddin and his forbears. The Jesuit wrote that "Macassar is one of the great and pleasant islands of this archipelago. It has provisions in abundance and although it is almost beneath the equator, lying in five degrees southern latitude, yet it is extremely healthy. It is frequented by Portuguese, Castillians from Manila, English, Dutch, and many Asian nations with their respective merchandise. So that although it produces no spices of its own, yet it is nowadays one of the greatest emporia of Asia". Navarrete noted that its prosperity had greatly increased after the arrival of numerous Portuguese refugees from Malacca in 1641. "Many Malays also repaired thither, and I have seen an ambassador there from the great Nabob, that is of Golconda. No man paid anchorage or

[46] J. S. Cummins [ed.], *Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete* (1962), pp. 113-25, 267-68, for Navarrete's stay at and description of Macassar. For the original Spanish text cf. *Tratados de la Monarchia de China* (Madrid, 1676), pp. 329-32, and *Ibidem, Controversias Antiguas y modernas entre los Missionarios de la Gran China* [Madrid, 1679], p. 627. I have modernized the English spelling and the orthography of the proper names.

any other duty there, and saving the presents that captains of ships and merchants of note made to the Sumbane, all the trade was free. This made it the universal mart of those parts of the world".[47]

The testimony of these two independent eyewitnesses is interesting as offsetting to some extent the complaints of the English and Dutch merchants about the exactions to which they were sometimes subjected, and their laments (in which Vieira joined) about the "deadness of trade" at this period. In July 1658, for instance, the English Factors at Macassar wrote to their principals at Bantam: "True it is, Your Worships say, small encouragement to continue a factory here in this place for us; for of cloves and [tortoise] shells, the only two commodities this port hath formerly afforded, very few comes; cloves we confess came this year betwixt 30 and 40 bahares, which Francisco Vieira bought and sold again in truck for cloth to captain Minors at 700 old mass the bahar". Merchants of all nationalities, then as now, were apt to complain that they were doing badly when in fact they were doing quite well; and even if the Dutch and English East India Companies made no great profits from their trade at Macassar, no doubt their servants did in the "private trade" which they drove there, sometimes in collaboration with Francisco Vieira.[48]

The peace patched up between Macassar and the VOC in February 1656, satisfied neither of the parties concerned, and Vieira, as we have seen, did his best to incite the rulers of Macassar to renew the war. The governors of Portuguese India, writing to the Crown at the end of 1658, reported: "Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo is of great importance in Macassar, where he not only favours the Portuguese who frequent that region but he helps to relieve the great poverty of Macao; and moreover, he incites and supplies those of Solor to continue their war against the Hollanders, 500 of whom and their allies have already been killed, according to what the said Francisco Vieira affirms.... And not only does this individual make war on the enemy in this way, inciting the kings [of Indonesia] against them, but he has organized a fleet of

[47] André Ferrão, S. J., "Relação da viagem", *apud* A. A. Ferreira da Cruz, *Notícias do Oriente* (Porto, 1958), pp. 39-42.

[48] IOL, Java Records, III, iii, fls. 198, 349-50, 354, 521, for Vieira's dealings with the English EIC Factors and private traders in 1658-59. Skinner (at Bantam) complained to Madras in June 1655, that if Bostock, chief at Macassar, had not loaned the services of the EIC carpenter to Vieira, the *Hope* pinnace could have been refitted in time to catch the monsoon to Bantam (O.C. 2487). On the 18th of September 1657, the EIC Factors at Macassar reported to Bantam that Vieira had written to Manila for cloves (O.C. 2635).

galleys which harass the small Dutch ships, so that he deserves Your Majesty's thanks for his conduct and for the way in which he has asserted himself in Your Majesty's service in so far as he can".[49]

The Viceroy of Goa had conferred a knighthood in the Order of Christ on Vieira in 1648, but when this grant was referred to Lisbon for confirmation, the Board of Conscience and Military Orders advised against it, on account of Vieira's working-class origin. The Crown accordingly procrastinated for some years more, despite renewed appeals from successive viceroys and governors of India. Only in 1664 was the question definitely resolved in Vieira's favour, though he was entitling himself (and being locally accepted as) a knight of the Order of Christ many years before that.[50]

Quite apart from Vieira's incitement of the rulers of Gowa and Tallo' to renew the war against the Dutch, this became increasingly unavoidable as the free-trade policy of the rulers of Macassar conflicted with the monopolistic claims of the VOC in the Spice Islands. As the Macassar delegates told the Dutch envoys at a final meeting on the 27th of April 1659, when the discussion was held in Portuguese, the King considered that the Company's claim conflicted with the commandments of God, "who has created the world so that all men can enjoy the use thereof. Or do you believe that God has reserved for your trade alone those islands which lie so far distant from your own country?" [51] Both sides now began to prepare for the renewal of the war which was seen to be inevitable. It began with the expedition of Van Dam and Truytman, comprising 31 sail manned by 2,600 men, which left Amboina on the 12th of May 1660. After an abortive appearance off the Portuguese base of Larantuca (Flores), the vanguard

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[49] Governors of India to the Crown, Goa, 17 Dec. 1658, *apud* P. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho de Estado da India*, III, *1644-1658* (Goa, 1955), p. 625.

[50] Senhor Frazão de Vasconcellos, who kindly sent me some details about the delay in granting Vieira's knighthood (in a private letter dated Lisbon, 6 Febr. 1952), informed me that this was finally conceded by the Crown in 1656, and not in 1664. However, from the wording of the King's minute to the Overseas Council dated 12 April 1664, which is reproduced in Appendix XV *infra*, it seems likely there must have been some further hitch in the procedure after 1656, as the final grant *is* dated 1664. In any event, Vieira was already calling himself — and being accepted as — a Knight of the Order of Christ from 1649 onwards, as can be seen by the references in the Dutch records, Navarrete etc.

[51] *Apud* F. W. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag* (1922), p. 62. Pp. 50-62 of this work give an excellent synthesis of the abortive negotiations between Macassar and the VOC in 1656-59, in which the King's demand for full compensation for the *São João Baptista* and her cargo figures prominently.

of the Dutch fleet, the ship *Mars* and the fluit *Breukelen,* appeared off the roadstead of Macassar early in June. What followed is well documented from the Dutch side, but an unpublished eyewitness account by one of the English Factors, William Mainstone, is worth reproducing here.[52]

"May 28 [= June 7] last appeared in this Road two Dutch ships; running under the King's forts, they ducked their sails thrice and at each duck saluted them from each ship with three guns. No sooner had they cast anchor, but they whistled their remaining countrymen on board;[53] the next morning they assault the Portuguese ships in the road, being six in number and a junk, two whereof were laden for Goa (one of which bore 600 tons and 26 guns), one for Macao, the junk for Batavia [? Bantam], and the three other intended elsewhere. Confidence overnight and fear this morning prevented those wise merchants from providing themselves with ammunition, guns, or men; so that the great ship was soon blown up, the Macao-man taken (wherein Mr. South was so deeply interested that his present voyage is spoiled),[54] another ship and the junk burnt; two crawling into the shore saved themselves; and the third, though taken, by slipping her cable showed her enemy a slippery trick, bringing three of them [the prize-crew] also to the shore, where their heads were soon lopped from their shoulders. The King here in the interim showed his displeasure

[52] IOL, Java Records, III, iii, fl. 175. William Mainstone was evidently a somewhat "difficult" character, who was often on bad terms with his colleagues, as noted by the *DRB* on the 5th of Febr. 1659. "... de meeste oneenicheden onder de Engelsen ontstont uyt 't heftigh humeur van den coopman, Mainstone, synde een nieulinck ende vry wat fier..." (*op. cit.*, p. 24). There is another virtually similar account of the expedition of Van Dam and Truytman, signed by W. Mainstone and W. Turner at Macassar on the 8/18th of June 1660, in Java Records, III, iii, fls. 320-23. The standard Dutch account of the expedition is by W. E. van Dam van Isselt, "Mr. Johan van Dam en zijne tuchtiging van Makassar in 1660", in *BKI,* LX (1908), pp. 1-44. Cf. also F. W. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag*, pp. 62-66.

[53] There were only three of them, two of whom rowed off to the ships at once, and the third, "Jan the sailor", two days later (Stapel, *op. cit.*, p. 64).

[54] John South was an interloper who had been left at Macao by the ship *Richard and Martha* in 1658. He established himself in Siam in 1661-62, later visited Batavia and Surat, and returned to London from Bantam in the *Richard and Martha* in 1665 (D. K. Bassett, "The British Country Trader and Sea Captain in South East Asia in the 17 and 18 centuries", *Journal of the Historical Society of the University of Malaya,* Vol. I, nr. 2, pp. 9-10, Kuala Lumpur ,1961). The captured Macao ship was the richly-laden *Nossa Senhora dos Remedios,* in which Vieira undoubtedly had a share. He was the owner of the large ship which was blown up and of the one bound for Macao which was burnt (IOL, Java Records, III, iii, fl. 323). See Plate III.

for the violation of his port, by plucking down their house, speaking to them by the loud interpretation of his brazen guns, but to no great purpose while the Dutch had brazen ears.

June 2 [12]. They returned again with a fleet of 23 ships and 12 to 13 sloops; above 2,000 great shot were made this day along the whole town but they did no great harm; only a fort they stormed (being of principal moment), carried it with about the loss of 40 men, and immediately fired all up to the River Garassi'; the concept of which loss struck this buffle-headed King into such a panic fear, that he would not admit the Malayans or others to adventure the restorming of it;[55] but the next morning hung out his white flag to beg a truce, which they granted and is since protracted, so that he must empower one to go to Batavia and sign what articles the General [Maetsuyker] will give him.

This we must expect for certain: that the Portuguese must be gone or surrendered; and the Malayans (which are the pillars of this trade) will not stay under such a dull-witted king, or the tyranny of the Dutch; and then undoubtedly Your Worships will not let the Factory continue here to be a trophy in the Dutch triumph, while they must lord it. Nor can here ever be any trade again; for the country hath nothing native, the Portuguese are banished, the Malayans fled, the Manilla-men gone to Siam, and here none to deal with. And indeed my clear opinion is that no peace shall keep the Dutch from prosecuting their advantage, but that they will demolish all the forts, transport the guns, fire the town and vessels, and leave it an open country, which will save them of a great charge; un-nest us (who are the eyesore), unburgh the Portuguese, disperse the Malayans, and disenable those kings from ever hurting them again.

Things standing now in this posture, my humble opinion is that Siam will be the only place for your settlement of a Factory.... The place is a seat of great trade, governed by a potent and prince-like King, the staple for the Manila, Japan, Macao and Cochin-China [trades], and since the late wars in Cambodia have removed all commerce out

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[55] This is not quite accurate. The defenders did make a fierce though unsuccessful counter-attack in an endeavour to regain the fort of Panakkukang. What Mainstone probably means is that the Sultan gave permission too late. It is interesting to note the important part which Mainstone assigns to the Malay community in both the defence and the trade of Macassar at this period.

of that barbarous hole,[56] it is devolved thither; and the wealthiest of the Portuguese and Malayans intend that their station." Mainstone concluded this dispatch by offering his services as chief of the projected agency in Siam, since he had quarrelled with his colleagues at Bantam and had no wish to return there.

In the event, Mainstone's fears that the victorious Dutch would devastate Macassar proved to be unfounded. By the terms of the armistice, Hasanuddin agreed to send the Karaéng Popò' and some delegates to Batavia, where they would remain as hostages until the final clauses of the peace-treaty were agreed on. Meanwhile, the fort of Panakkukang was to remain garrisoned by the Dutch. The subsequent negotiations at Batavia lasted for some weeks, and it was not until the 19th of August that an agreement was reached. The principal terms of this treaty were: The Macassars should henceforth refrain from any interference in the affairs of Menado, Butung, and the Moluccas; that the Portuguese should be expelled from Macassar once for all, "together with all their followers and hangers-on"; that Macassar should pay a war indemnity and hand over the Ternaten prince, Kaitjili' Kalimata, who had taken refuge there some years previously. When these terms were presented to the Sultan for ratification, he hesitated a long time before doing so; and the Dutch gave away on a few points, dropping their demand for the indemnity and allowing Kalimata to remain. It was also agreed to dropp all claims and counter-claims over the *São João Baptista* and the *Nazaré,* and to regard this incident as closed. But the Dutch insisted on the expulsion of the Portuguese, to which Hasanuddin for a long time demurred; though he finally ratified the Treaty on the 2nd of December 1660, and told Vieira that he and his compatriots would have to leave Macassar within a year, as stipulated in the final treaty. The Dutch then evacuated and demolished the fort of Panakkukang, the garrison returning to Amboina and Batavia, after leaving Jan Barra with a small staff as their representative there.[57]

It was one thing for the Dutch and the King to tell Vieira to go, but it proved quite another to get him to leave. Though hard hit by the loss of two of his best ships in the battle of 8 June 1660, he still had resources elsewhere, as implied in a letter from the Factory at

[56] Cf. D. K. Bassett, "The Trade of the English East-India Company in Cambodia, 1651-1656", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* April 1962, pp. 35-61.

[57] Cf. F. W. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag*, pp. 65-68, and the sources there quoted, to which should be added J. E. Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, II, *1650-1675*, *BKI*, LXXXVII (1931), pp. 168-79.

Madras to the Court of Directors at London in January 1661: "The *Katherine* arrived in our road from Bantam and Macassar the 9th of August, and by reason of the war the Dutch made with the King of Macassar we had but slender returns. She neither brought gold or silver, and some of her goods as China-root and musk not so well requested, it seems, by the Dutch surprising of the town and in burning all vessels in the road, wherein Senhor Francisco Vieira had a very great loss, and being much indebted to Your Worships most of the commodities were taken off him to prevent making of a bad debt." [58] But it was not long before Vieira had discharged his liabilities to the East India Company, and from being a debtor became once more a creditor of the English.

The Dutch reports from Macassar show that Hasanuddin had reluctantly decided to accept the Dutch terms largely because the Bugis of Bone had risen again in revolt and he feared that the Dutch might join them. Moreover his "oldest and dearest wives" with the wives of many leading notables had forced their way into the midnight council which was debating the question, and urged their husbands to make peace with the Dutch as the only way of saving the kingdom. No sooner had the treaty been ratified at the beginning of December, than the Macassars turned on the Bugis and defeated them with great slaughter. This victory and the Dutch evacuation of Panakkukang gave them their second wind, and they now began to hesitate about expelling the Portuguese. Karaéng Karunrung, who had been deprived of his post of chief minister in favour of the more pro-Dutch Karaéng Sumanna', but who still retained some influence, was particularly opposed to the expulsion of the Portuguese, who were said to number about "two thousand, whites, blacks, and half-breeds". The King, however, still maintained they would have to go; and Jan Barra reported at the end of February 1661, that the Portuguese were giving away their houses "like desperate men" to the Macassar notables.[59]

These houses, incidentally, were merely bamboo shacks, as Navarrete and Ferrão had both noted on their respective visits to Macassar in 1658. The Jesuit observed: "The Muslims do not want in their lands anyone who ventures to erect more imposing buildings. They do not allow the Portuguese to place one stone upon another. Even Francisco Vieira, who is probably the richest man in the whole island, lives in

[58] IOL, O.C. Vol. 26 (1659-1660), nr. 2865, fl. 2, Madras to London, 11 Jan. 1661.
[59] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 18, 133-34.

some shacks, for this is all that houses made of bamboo amount to". This Asian mistrust was, of course, motivated by the tendency of the Europeans, whether Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, or English, to transform their humble wooden "factories" into strongly built stone castles and forts, wherever they had the chance to do so, as witness Goa, Malacca, Macao, Batavia, Ternate, Tidore, Pulicat and Madras, to mention only a few of the most obvious.[60]

Barra further reported: "Francisco Vieira is fitting out his newly-bought vessels to take the common people therein to Larantuka and Solor, offering to carry all those who are poor free of charge; but it seems they would all rather go to Batavia". The Dutch did, in fact, send some ships to transport to Batavia those of the Portuguese who were prepared to emigrate thither. Barra likewise gave warning that Vieira himself might go to Solor and organize an expedition to attack the Dutch fort of Concordia at Kupang on Timor; but this turned out to be a baseless rumour. The *diaspora* of the Portuguese from Macassar continued for the next few years, some of them going to Flores, Solor and Timor, others to Macao, others to Batavia and Siam. Vieira and several of the more important members of the community, however, still hung on at Macassar, under one pretext or another.

Barra reported in mid-July 1661 that: "The whole government of Macassar take it very much to heart that the Portuguese are leaving, and the King [Hasanuddin], Radja Tello [Harun-al-Rasjid] and others who are favourably disposed towards them, try to hinder their departure; but the Portuguese do not wish to stay, being afraid that the Macassars will not be able to protect them against the Company". Even the pro-Dutch Karaéng Sumanna' urged Barra not to be so strict about insisting on the departure of the Portuguese; and pleaded that if they were expelled, they should at least be allowed to return yearly to trade. The Macassars feared that if the Portuguese left, then the Malays and the English would soon follow, "so that they would all be reduced to a 'snoode vassiliteyt'." Barra replied that the VOC did not wish to reduce Macassar to complete destitution, but insisted on the expulsion of the Portuguese, "as being the chief cause of the disputes which had arisen between the Company and the Macassars". The latter, he added, were very suspicious of the way in which their hostages were still being

[60] Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence, 1500-1630* (The Hague, 1962), p. 255; B. Schrieke, *Ruler and Realm in early Java* (The Hague, 1957), p. 135; C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Sea-borne Empire, 1600-1800* (London, 1965), pp. 187-90.

detained at Batavia; and they were busy fortifying Sombaopu, the Portuguese quarter and other places, in expectation of a renewed Dutch attack.[61]

Reporting again to Batavia a month later, Barra stated that the Macassars were more upset than ever about the departure of the Portuguese, which, they said, would involve the complete commercial ruin of the place. The Resident was sufficiently impressed by their pleas and arguments to warn the Governor-General and Council that a rigid insistence on this clause of the treaty might mean a renewal of the war. The Macassars would be prepared to fight the VOC again rather than sever their connection with the Portuguese, "at any rate so long as Macassar can be nourished by the Macao milch-cow". Hasanuddin now openly protected the Portuguese, and told Barra that he could not be expected to banish so many foreigners who had been settled there for over eighty years ("*zoodanige vreemdelingen, dewelke meer als 80 jaren in Macassar gewoont hebben, nu gelyk als met een stale roede voor eeuwig uyt te bannen*"). Admittedly, some of the Portuguese themselves were still anxious to leave, and Barra sent 65 of them on a ship to Batavia. Among those who hung on, besides Francisco Vieira, Barra specially mentioned Francisco Mendes, although, as we have seen, this man appears to have had little or no European blood in him, despite his name and knighthood in the Order of Christ.[62]

Vieira himself wrote two letters to Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker (who he politely reproached for being personally inimical to him), explaining the reasons for his delay, and asking for a pass for a ship which he owned in partnership with the Jesuits, and which he wanted to send to Goa.[63] He claimed that he had persuaded Hasanuddin to make peace with the Dutch in 1660, and to agree to the expulsion of the Portuguese, by his having (so he said) assured the Macassar monarch that neither the King of Portugal nor the Viceroy of Goa would resent this clause, since they would realize that it had been imposed by *force majeure* ("*. . . . om dat se genoegsaem conden sien zyn Hoogheyt zulks niet met wille, maer uyt nood moste doen*"). He further asked for a postponement of his own departure until the monsoon of 1662, and he offered to sell to the VOC the supplies of sappan-

[61] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 139, 223-25.

[62] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 264-67. For the somewhat dubious paternity of Francisco Mendes cf. note 33 above. It is possible that the "black woman" ("una negra") described as being his mother was in fact an Eurasian.

[63] Vieira to Maetsuyker, 1 July and 2 August 1661, in *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 277-81.

wood which he had accumulated on Bima (Sumbawa) [64] and of sandalwood on Timor. He concluded this correspondence by offering to do the Company "any service within my power, which is not to the detriment of my King".

In the upshot, Maetsuyker and his Council decided to buy Vieira's sappan-wood and sandalwood, but to send VOC ships to fetch it, instead of giving Vieira passes for his own vessels to do so. Writing to Barra on the 8th of December 1661, the government at Batavia told him he was to insist on the departure of the Portuguese, "as we are resolved to send ships to cruise against all their merchantmen, and attack them even in the roadstead of Macassar itself". However, Vieira and his associates were to be given free and safe passages in their own or in the Company's ships to Batavia, or to one of the Portuguese settlements — other than to Solor or Timor, "where that nation is as harmful to the Company as it is on Macassar". Barra was also instructed to think of some way of getting the English out of Macassar as well.[65]

Under the terms of the 1660 Macassar-Dutch Treaty, Vieira should have left by the end of 1661, but he contrived to stay for another two and a half years on various pretexts, some of them specious and others genuine enough. For a long time, the Dutch did not press him too hard, as they realized that he needed time to collect his debts and that he was suffering from some kind of eye-disease (opthalmia?). Moreover, they were trading officially with him in sappan and sandalwood, and unofficially, it would seem, in gold and musk. At any rate, the ship *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e São Domingos Suriano,* which belonged to Vieira and the Jesuits in partnership, was carrying a quantity of Chinese gold and musk when she was detained at Batavia on her voyage to Goa in October 1661. During her enforced stay in the port, the gold and musk were embezzled by a dishonest notary; but on the complaint of the Portuguese captain, Maetsuyker and his Council arrested the culprit and recovered most of the stolen valuables. They kept this gold and musk in safe custody when the ship was eventually allowed to proceed on her voyage to Goa, which she reached at the end of March, 1662. In December of this year, Padre Gonçalo Martins S.J., wrote from Goa to Maetsuyker, asking him to forward these com-

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[64] Bima was (and is) the largest town on Sumbawa; but both Portuguese and Dutch often extended the name of the town to the island as a whole, or even for eastern Sumbawa and western Flores together with the intervening islands.

[65] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 298-99, 347, 455-56.

modities either via Wingurla, or Surat, or through Francisco Vieira, but I do not know how the matter ended.[66]

It was not only commercially that Vieira was closely involved with the Jesuits at this period, for, as a patriotic Portuguese, he had occasion bitterly to criticise some of the French and Italian members of the Society for their hostility to the Portuguese in Asia. Writing to Goa in July 1662, he complained that the Italian Jesuit, Martino Martini, was unduly friendly with the Dutch at Batavia, who had given him a passage in one of their Indiamen (*Oliphant*) to Europe in 1653—54. Worse still, on his way back to China in 1658, Martini passed through Macassar, where he told the kings of Gowa and Tallo' that D. Affonso VI was not the rightful king of Portugal, as the Crown really belonged to Philip IV of Spain. Martini had also told them that Affonso VI was not merely a usurper but an illiterate spastic ("*hera aleijado de huma perna e hum braço, e que nem assinarçe podia*"). This treacherous Italian had also spread rumours among his colleagues in China that Affonso's father, King D. João IV, had died excommunicated and had not been buried in consecrated ground.[67]

An Italian Jesuit missionary in Cambodia, added Vieira, had refused to mention the name of the Portuguese king when offering mass, but had employed that of the Spanish monarch instead. When a Portuguese Jesuit had protested about this, he had been reprimanded and disci-

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[66] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 277-81, 289-90, 298-99; *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 198-99. Padre Gonçalo Martins S. J., in his letter of the 4th of December 1662, reminded Maetsuyker that they had met at Goa in 1644, when Maetsuyker had negotiated the Truce with the Viceroy Count of Aveiras, and had slept the night in the Jesuit College of São Paulo. Perhaps this was a gentle reminder to Maetsuyker that he too had been involved in trading with the Portuguese Jesuits of Goa, as can be seen from Maetsuyker's autograph letter dated 19 December 1645 to Saloman Sweers, which is reproduced on plate XLII of H. Brouwer, *Atlas voor Nederlandsche Paleographie* (Amsterdam, 1944), p. 102. For the trade driven by the Jesuits to support their Far Eastern missions and the criticism which this aroused, cf. H. Chappoulie, *Aux origines d'une église. Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1943), Vol. I, pp. 154-59; C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 157-73; *Idem*, "Missionaries and Merchants of Macao, 1557-1687" (*Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, Lisboa, 1957*, Vol. II (Lisboa, 1960), pp. 210-24).

[67] Vieira to the Governors of Portuguese India, Macassar, 2 July 1662, in Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções do Reino", Livro 28 A, fls. 250 ff., printed in Appendix XI below. Martino Martini (1614-1661), was one of the most celebrated China missionaries and author of the *Atlas* of China published by Blaeu at Amsterdam in 1656. D. Affonso VI was notoriously incapable, both mentally and physically, and was deposed by his younger brother, D. Pedro, in 1667, so Martini's snide remarks were not wholly unjustified.

plined by the Italian, who was his Superior. A French Jesuit, Germain Macret, passing through Macassar, had told Vieira that he ought to be ashamed of himself for inciting the Muslim rulers of Indonesia to make war on the Dutch, who were Christians even if they were heretics. He should fight them himself if he wanted to, but not employ "Moors" as his instruments. Vieira further complained that French, Italian and other foreign Jesuits in the Far Eastern missions "ganged-up" on their Portuguese colleagues by trying to exclude them from any positions of power and influence, although these missions were in the sphere of the Portuguese Crown patronage or *Padroado.*

In this same dispatch, Vieira likewise complained of the laxity, corruption, and immorality of some of the secular clergy at Macassar, most of whom were Eurasian. He was especially critical of the parish priest (*Padre Vigario*), who, he wrote, had tried to curry favour with the Dutch by telling them that Vieira was to blame for the Portuguese staying on at Macassar. Vieira added that this unedifying priest was a disgrace to his cloth: "for when the heretics see one like this, they point him out to their very children and slaves, telling them that although the Papist priests have not got wives, yet they use those of other men, as they can see for themselves; and thus they come to believe that all our priests are like this".[68] We know from other sources that this priest had several natural children.[69]

In forwarding Vieira's complaints to the Crown, the viceroy at Goa commented that he could hardly believe the accusations made against the foreign Jesuits, which, he wrote, must have been told to Vieira by some malicious critic of the Society, but he promised, nevertheless, to have these complaints investigated. The viceroy gave much more credence to Vieira's accusations against the *Padre Vigario* and the secular clergy of Macassar, who, he observed, "were mostly born in India and have little Portuguese blood in them. They behave in this manner because they are born such a long way from the breath of the Church of Rome ("*. . . . são homens da India e tem pouco de Portugueses e obrão neste particular como quem naceo mais longe do bafo*

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[68] For other criticism of the low standards of the secular clergy of Macassar cf. António Francisco Cardim, S. J., *Batalhas*, pp. 284-85; Fr. Sebastião de São José, O. P., Larantuca, 16 May 1647, *apud* H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor*, p. 225.

[69] Historical Archives, Goa, "Livros das Monções", Vol. 31, fls. 9-17; Vol. 35, fls. 125-150.

da Igreja Romana").[70] In point of fact, Vieira's allegations against Padre Martino Martini were far from unfounded. It is quite clear from the contemporary Dutch records that he was strongly anti-Portuguese. He gave the government at Batavia every encouragement to send an embassy to China, which was the last thing the City of Macao wanted. He even urged the Calvinists recently established at the Cape of Good Hope to strike northwards into the gold-bearing "empire" of Monomotapa, which the Portuguese regarded as their tributary in the hinterland of Zambesia.[71]

Vieira's ambivalent relationship with the Dutch continued throughout the years 1662—64. On the one hand, they bought considerable quantities of sappan and sandalwood from him, and on the other hand they burnt or seized his ships off Timor when they could intercept them.[72] Maetsuyker and his council also found that the ubiquitous Vieira now cropped up again in their difficult and delicate negotiations with the Nawāb Mir Jumla, Viceroy in Bengal since June 1660. In 1661—63, Mir Jumla was engaged in a series of campaigns to conquer Kuch-Bihar and Assam; but he found time to write to the Governor-General at Batavia, asking him to send four bronze field-guns, and the sum of 3,500 *pagodas* which he said Vieira owed him. Maetsuyker disclaimed responsibility for Vieira's debts, but he replied (29 August 1663) that Vieira was due at Batavia shortly, and that payment would then no doubt be forthcoming. The hardships of the Assam campaign had cost the Nawāb his life before this assurance reached him, but this demand was evidently a final echo of the capture of the *Nazaré* in 1652.[73]

Jan Barra's periodic dispatches to Batavia during this period emphasized that the Macassars were continually strengthening their fortifications, as if in preparation for a renewal of the war. In October 1662,

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[70] Viceroy to Crown, Goa, 4 January 1663, in Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções", 28 A, fl. 248, printed in Appendix XIII below.

[71] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, *1639-1655*, pp. 606, 739, 757; E. C. Godée Molsbergen (ed.), *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd*, III (The Hague, 1922), p. 1-3, prints J. van Riebeeck's letter of 4 May 1653 to the Heeren XVII, with Martini's suggestions; D. B. Bosman & H. B. Thom (eds.), *Dagregister gehouden by den oppercoopman J. A. van Riebeeck, 1651-1662* (3 vols., Cape Town, 1952-57), Vol. III, p. 294; G. McCall Theal, *Chronicles of the Cape Commanders, 1651-1691* (Cape Town, 1882), p. 54.

[72] *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 393, 406, 496, 505-08, 538-39.

[73] *DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 480-81, 525; *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 107-08, 166-69, 389, 410-11, 424, 503, 665. Maetsuyker's letter to Mir Jumla, d. Batavia, 29 August 1663, is reproduced in Appendix XIV *infra*.

he reported that they were holding frequent parades and practising the use of muskets, "and they have made such great progress therein that they think they already surpass the Hollanders". Although many of the Portuguese had left or were leaving, Vieira was still high in favour at Court. The supposedly pro-Dutch Karaéng Sumanna' wrote to Maetsuyker on the same occasion: "any favour that the Governor-General does to Senhor Francisco Vieira, I will take as a favour done to myself".[74] Sumanna' added that he was sending a ship to Timor for sandalwood, manned with a Portuguese crew, "alsoo de Macassaren niet wel bevaren sijn". This is rather a surprising remark, when we recall that the King of Tallo' had dispatched a considerable fleet against Timor in 1641, and that the Macassars were making regular voyages to the coast of North Australia before 1654.[75] Sumanna's vessel was made prize by the Dutch off Timor, and this formed another bone of contention between Batavia and Macassar.

In March, 1663, Vieira wrote personally to Maetsuyker, assuring him that he really did intend to leave as soon as he had wound up his outstanding affairs — "it is enough that I have given Your Excellency my word to leave here, as I have always made a maxim of scrupulously fulfilling my promises". In the same month, he was officially notified in writing by the King and Sumanna' that he must leave without fail before the end of the year 1664. The wording of this notification made it quite clear that the rulers of Macassar had issued this expulsion order with the greatest reluctance, and solely in fulfillment of the terms of the 1660 Treaty with the Dutch: "Not that we have any fault to find with him personally, but on the contrary we are greatly indebted to him for his good behaviour and the many services he has rendered this kingdom, for which we are duly grateful. And we likewise request that King Affonso VI should thank him on our behalf. We take this step solely in order to ensure the safety of our kingdom".[76]

In forwarding a certified copy of this notification, Barra added that Vieira had promised to leave for Goa in June or July 1664, provided

[74] *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 229-32. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag*, p. 74, erroneously ascribes Karaéng Sumanna's letter to King Hasanuddin.

[75] For the King of Tallo's expedition to Timor in 1641, cf. Fr. Antonio da Encarnação, O. P., *Breve Relaçam das cousas que nestes annos proximos fizerão os Religiosos da Ordem dos Pregadores, e dos prodigios que succederão nas Christandades do Sul, que correm por sua conta na India Oriental* (Lisboa, 1665), pp. 19-23; H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor, 1515 a 1702*, pp. 184-88. For the mention of regular Macassar voyages to N. Australia in 1654 cf. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, *1639-1655*, p. 680.

[76] *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 393, 406, 438-40, 444-46.

the government at Batavia gave him a pass for his ship, authorising him to pick up sandalwood at Timor and Larantuca on the way. Barra stated that if this request was refused, then Vieira would settle down at Solor [? Larantuca] instead; "which would not be a good thing, for even if he does not return to Macassar, he can easily incite the rulers thereof against the Company through his letters. When he does leave, there will remain here only three or four householders and a bunch of the rabble (*"3 of 4 huysgesinnen en partye canaille overblijven"*), who will also be difficult to dislodge, as Karaéng Sumanna' says he cannot and will not banish them from his land".[77]

Another point at issue was that the Dutch insisted not merely on the expulsion of the resident Portuguese at Macassar, but that they should not be allowed to return thither for a "monsoon-trade" (i.e. without having an agency or base ashore); whereas both the Macassars and the Portuguese were anxious to do this, particularly in order to maintain the connection with Macao. After much cogitation, Maetsuyker and his council decided in December 1663, that Vieira should be given passes for his ships to fetch sandalwood from Timor and Larantuca, as also for his new Macao-built ship in which he was supposed to leave for Goa, either sailing directly or else via Batavia. The Macassars were also to be officially informed that the Dutch in Europe had finally made peace with Portugal (signed 1661, ratified 1662), but that "we still insist on the execution of the twelfth article of the Treaty [of 1660], stipulating for the expulsion of the Portuguese, without their ever being re-admitted again". At the same time, Jacob Cauw, who was being sent with these and other instructions on a diplomatic mission to Macassar, was told that he need not really insist on the expulsion of the remaining Portuguese after Vieira had gone — presumably because they were only a "lousy rabble" and not dangerous commercial competitors of the Dutch.[78]

Here it may be noted that while the Governor-General and his council at Batavia were doing their best to get Vieira out of Macassar, the Viceroy at Goa was doing his best to keep him there. Vieira had obtained leave from the Portuguese Crown to return to Europe in 1659, but successive viceroys and governors had been reluctant to let him go, although Vieira told the Dutch in 1663 that he had obtained viceregal permission two years previously. If so, it was soon withdrawn; and the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, spoke for his predecessors and

[77] *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 436-37.
[78] *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 565, 693; *DRB, Anno 1664*, p. 240.

successor as well as for himself when he wrote to the Crown in January 1664: "The King of Macassar also keeps his old friendship for this State, and he will continue to do so for as long as Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo resides there, since this man has acquired great prestige with that king. For this reason I have declined to allow him to use a licence which he has from Your Majesty permitting him to return to Portugal. It seems to me that Your Majesty should grant him some reward, at the same time telling him to stay on in that place". The King adopted this suggestion, belatedly conferring (or confirming) the coveted Order of Christ on Francisco Vieira, and enjoining him to continue his services in South East Asia.[79]

In April 1663, Vieira paid his first visit to Timor. Although he had traded in sandalwood and other Timorese products for many years, and had visited Flores and Solor in the 1640's, he had not been as far as Timor itself — "something which I never did during all the many years that I have been in these regions", as he wrote in June 1664. He went in an oared *prahu* at the end of the monsoon, but stayed for only eight days, leaving for Macassar on the 1st of May, after calling briefly at Lifao, where he had a narrow escape from being captured by Dutch cruisers. The object of this flying visit was to soothe the wounded pride of the Captain-Major in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Simão Luís, who had been promised a knighthood in the Order of Christ but who had not yet received it.[80]

At the end of 1663, Vieira paid another visit to Timor and this time he stayed for several weeks. He was not molested by the Dutch, news of the belated ratification of the Luso-Dutch peace treaty of 1661 having at last reached this remote island group. Simão Luís died at Lifao a fortnight after Vieira reached Timor, and there was considerable bickering over the choice of his successor. Vieira, who had, or claimed to have, overriding authority by virtue of his title of Captain-General over all the Portuguese establishments east of Malacca with the exception of Macao, eventually secured the appointment of his own candidate, the Eurasian *Larantuqueiro,* Antonio de Hornay, son of the Dutch deserter, Jan de Hornay, by a native mother. Simão Luís had

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[79] P. Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da India,* IV, *1659-1695* (Goa, 1956), p. 529, and documents printed in Appendix XV *infra.* Cf. also H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor, 1515-1702,* p. 194.

[80] "Relação que dá Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo das cousas proximas deste Sul", d. Macassar, 28 June 1664, published in Appendix XVI *infra.* For his narrow escape from the Dutch on this flying visit, cf. *DRB, Anno 1663,* p. 496.

orignally been a protégé of Vieira, who had recommended him for a knighthood in the Order of Christ; but Vieira in his report of the 28th of June 1664, implies that he had become disillusioned with him before his death. The Dutch alleged that Simão Luís, after suppressing a minor local rebellion in Timor had hung one of the rebel chiefs at Lifao and forced other *datus* of whose loyalty he was doubtful, to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the culprit. This allegation may have been exaggerated, but ritual cannibalism seems to have been not unknown in Timor. Vieira did not mention this incident in his report of 1664; but he did accuse Simão Luís of failing to rectify some wrongs done to the natives by unspecified Portuguese, and of openly protecting one of his men who had seduced the wife of the "King" of Amanubão.[81]

Vieira likewise claimed that his own opportune arrival in Timor had not only prevented the intensification of inter-tribal warfare but the renewal of hostilities with the Dutch. The Timorese were doubtful at first whether the long war between the two rival European nations was over; but Vieira alleged that he finally induced them to believe it by showing them that the Hollanders were fetching sandalwood for him as if they were his servants! This he did by banquetting and entertaining the captains of three Dutch ships at Kupang, telling them they could load on board their ships the sandalwood which he had accumulated at various places and take it to Batavia, where he would accept whatever price the Governor-General chose to pay for it.[82]

In May 1664, Vieira returned to Macassar, where the visiting Dutch Commissioner, Jacob Cauw, promptly complained to the rulers about Vieira's activities in Timor, stating that this island rightfully belonged to the King of Tallo' and not to the Crown of Portugal. So, at least, Vieira alleged; but this particular allegation seems rather doubtful, since the Dutch were no more desirous of the Macassars interfering in Timor than they were of the Portuguese presence there. In any event, renewed Dutch representations to the rulers of Macassar on the expulsion of Vieira, induced them to notify him that he must leave forthwith. Vieira retorted that he would gladly do so if they would compel his local creditors to pay the debts which they owed him and which

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[81] "Relação" of 28 June 1664, in Appendix XVI *infra*. For the atrocities of Simão Luís cf. *DRB, Anno 1664*, pp. 271-72, and for his dealings with Vieira, H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor, 1515-1702*, pp. 235-38.

[82] "Relação" of 28 June 1664, in Appendix XVI *infra*. For the Dutch version of their ships *Nachtegael, Purmerlant*, and *Ilpendam* transporting Vieira's sandalwood to Batavia cf. *DRB, Anno 1664*, pp. 220, 272-73.

amounted (so he said) to over 70,000 *pardaus*.[83] He reminded them that he had their official written permission (*chapa* or 'chop') to stay till the end of the year, and added that he intended to leave for Batavia soon in order to make a personal appeal to the Governor-General, Joan Maetsuyker, for a further extension.

Writing to Batavia at the end of July 1664, the Dutch resident at Macassar, Abraham Verspreet, reported that Vieira had received a richly laden yacht from Macao, but that he was "singing his old song" (*zyn oude deuntie*) about postponing his final departure until he had collected all his outstanding debts. Verspreet stated that King Hasanuddin had told him that if Vieira went to Batavia to interview Maetsuyker, but left his wife and family at Macassar, than the Governor-General would do well to hold on to him. Verspreet repeated this allegation in a later dispatch, claiming that Karaéng Sumanna' had said to him that once Vieira had reached Batavia, "the Governor-General can do what he likes with him".[84] On the other hand, Vieira wrote a personal letter to Maetsuyker on the 22nd of August 1664, alleging that Verspreet had offered to let him stay unmolested at Macassar in return for a substantial bribe, but that he was resolved to come to Batavia, "even if I should gain nothing thereby but the honour of kissing Your Excellency's hands".[85]

In the face of such conflicting evidence, it is difficult to decide who (if anyone) was speaking the truth. But in spite of these mutual intrigues and backbitings, Vieira and the Dutch continued their commercial relations amicably enough, presumably because they both profited from them. This is a fair deduction from the correspondence of the English Factors at Macassar with their principals at Bantam. This former reported on the 3/13th of May 1664: "There arrived this monsoon a ship from Macao but brought so little of China commodities [and] as we can ascertain to ourselves, little thereof besides. She belongs to Francisco Vieira, who what with his own trade to India and strict engagements to the Dutch, we are quite shut out from any share therein, yet shall not our endeavours be wanting to strike in for a share". Three

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[83] "Relação" of 28 June 1664, in Appendix XVI *infra*; *DRB, Anno 1664*, pp. 238-42. The threats of the King of Tallo' to invade Timor are frequently mentioned in the *DRB, Anno 1664-1665*, but they do not seem to have materialised. The *pardau* was an Indo-Portuguese gold coin worth 6 *tangas* or 360 *reis*. There was also a silver *pardau* worth 5 *tangas* or 300 *reis*, but this coin was more often termed *xerafim*.

[84] *DRB, Anno 1664*, pp. 344-47, 386.

[85] *DRB, Anno 1664*, p. 382.

weeks later, they reported that they were trying to obtain some sappan wood from Bima, "where the King is tributary to this Emperor". They added: "what Francisco Vieira hath is not to be disposed of, he carrying on such a great trade for Goa, besides so fast linked in friendship with the Dutch, as what with the one and the other, none can be expected from him". In the event the English did obtain the sappan-wood which they required from Vieira.[86]

In view of Vieira's procrastination and tergiversation during the last three years, the Dutch were probably rather surprised when he actually did arrive at Batavia on the 20th of October 1664, in his richly laden yacht *Santo Antonio,* and a "saletty ofte Macassars snedig roey vaertuyg".[87] He brought with him a (presumably sealed) letter from Verspreet, in which the latter repeated his previous recommendation that Vieira should be detained on some pretext at Batavia. Vieira also brought a letter from the English Factors at Macassar to their Factory at Bantam, from which the following extract is relevant here: "This at present serveth to accompany Captain Francisco Vieira, who, since we have brought his sappan-wood, hath been so civil as to proffer of carrying it to Bantam if possible. However, if [not], please to send a boat or two to Batavia [when] he will readily deliver it, being 58 *bahar* at 2,709 sticks. Also, said Captain Vieira hath desired us to advise Your Worship that his resolution are [*sic*] to return this ship by the end of the monsoon, and therefore if [it] please [you] to lade either goods or what else for this place, he shall be very ready and willing to carry them for you, though it be for the lading of her, else she will return empty. Freight for the wood nor aught you shall send hither, he will not receive, the Honourable Company using the like with him upon occasion. He is a person ever ready and willing to serve them and doth deserve a civil respect; but we shall not enlarge upon his commendations, not

[86] IOL, Java Records, V, Section 72 B, fl. 17, 3/13 May 1664; *ibid,* fl. 59 Macassar to Bantam, 27 May (o.s.) 1664. The Dutch, on the contrary, reported that Vieira's Macao ship was richly laden with *spiauter,* musk, and silk. This seems more likely, as Vieira sent her back to Macao with a return cargo worth fl. 300,000 in June *(DRB, Anno 1664,* pp. 220, 344).

[87] *Saletty,* presumably from the Malay word *selat* = straits, but which was also applied to the Celates or 'sea-gypsies', the Orang Laut or proto-Malay coastal population of he Straits of Malacca. In the years 1630-40 the Celates frequently gave intelligence of Portuguese shipping movements to the Dutch blockading squadrons. Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence 1500-1630,* pp. 27-28, 39, 86, 139, and the denunciation of them in Antonio Bocarro and Pedro Barreto de Resende, "Livro do Estado da India Oriental" (Goa, 1635), in British Museum, Sloane MS 197, fls. 385-86.

doubting but you have formerly heard of his noble disposition".[88]

Evidently influenced by Verspreet's suggestions that Vieira should be detained at Batavia, the Governor-General and Council decided to inform him on the 31st of October that he must not leave without Maetsuyker's express permission. What happened next is related in two successive dispatches from William Turner at Batavia to the English Factory at Bantam, the first of which was dated the 24th of October/ 3rd of November 1664.

"Sunday morning they saluted Francisco Vieira with an unwelcome message, which was that he should not return for Macassar but must remain [here], and only send to bring his wife and his estate and so proceed to Europe. Hereupon he went to the Governor[-General], intreating they would not deal so with him, but all in vain, so that he intends to protest against them. This so unhappily falling out, he cannot be master of his own, so must be excused from delivering us any sandalwood as otherwise he had done; and we on the other side cannot continue it safe to put any of the Company's goods on board him, so that the *Nut* with them and the sappan-wood etc., is now dispatched towards you".[89]

Vieira's protests to the Governor-General and Council proving ineffectual, he decided to abscond from Batavia in his *selat,* which he did on the 23rd of November, as related in Turner's dispatch to Bantam two days later: "Since my last conference with Vieira, which was Saturday night late, he is privately gone upon his selletah and left his ship and estate here, advising his friends by letters which were this day brought on shore the cause of his departure *vizt.* the Governor and Council's unworthy dealing with him, and that they should see how little he valued them, he left his ship and estate in their hands to do their pleasure, he knowing one [way] or other to requite them to the full. I made a journey proposely about the town to hear how the grandees etc. resented it, and it is told me that part of the Council commended

[88] IOL, Java Records, V, Section 72 C, fl. 9, Macassar to Bantam, 18/28 September 1664. At *ibidem,* fl. 8, is a letter from W. Turner at Batavia to the Factory at Bantam, dated 13/23 October 1664 which states *inter alia:* "Visiting Senhor Francisco Vieira, he acquaints us that 50 or 60 *bahar* sappanwood, which Mr Bale at Macassar had laden on his ship, he obliging to bring it to Bantam in case he proceeded thither, but that failing in regard his business here succeed [= ? exceeds] his expectation, 'it is his request to acquaint Your Worship herewith, that order may be taken for its conveyance accordingly." Cf. Appendix XVII *infra.*

[89] IOL, Java Records, V, Section 72 C, fl. 18, W. Turner at Batavia to Bantam, 24 October (O.S.), 1664; *DRB, Anno 1664,* pp. 457, 470.

him, [the] other are vexed at it. The sole cause proceeded from the Governor, who, they say, was ever his implacable enemy;[90] nay, it seems their malice reached further, as he going so immediately on my arrival as that I should have been an instrument. It hath occasioned my sudden going away, else [I] should have attended your answer to have fulfilled your commands, which perhaps upon this change you may have lain upon me."

In the letters he wrote to Maetsuyker and the Council justifying his flight, Vieira adopted an attitude of injured innocence. He stressed his straight dealing with the VOC and claimed that his detention was a breach of the 1661 Luso-Portuguese Treaty. He averred that he could not leave his wife and family unprotected at Macassar, but he had left power of attorney with two friends and associates at Batavia, to settle all business connected with his ship and cargo in agreement with the Dutch authorities. In a personal letter to Maetsuyker, he denounced Verspreet for indulging in contraband trade with Macao and elsewhere; adding that the Resident had lied when he reported that the rulers of Macassar had suggested that the Governor-General might well detain Vieira at Batavia. Maetsuyker and his Council were sufficiently impressed by these accusations to tell Verspreet he must clear himself of them; but they also told him that if Vieira boasted about his loyal dealings with the Company, then Verspreet should "stop his mouth" by using the intercepted letter of 1651, in which Vieira had boasted to the Viceroy of Goa that he had been primarily responsible for the Ceram revolt and the massacre of so many Netherlanders of both sexes and all ages.[91]

I do not know whether Verspreet cleared himself of Vieira's allegations to the satisfaction of his superiors at Batavia, but the reactions of Maetsuyker and his Council to Vieira's abscondment seem to have been relatively mild. The *Santo Antonio* was eventually released; and the sum of 8,000 rixdollars which Vieira had deposited as security for

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[90] As Vieira himself previously complained in his letter to Maetsuyker dated 1 July 1661 (*DRB, Anno 1661*, pp. 277-78). Cf. p. 41 above. Turner to Bantam, 15/25 November 1664 (IOL, Java Records, V, Section 72 C, fl. 23-24).

[91] "Soo Vieira meer swetst van syn diensten, aen de Compagnie gedaen, soo sal de coopman, Verspreet, hem de mont snoeren met de brief, die hij anno 1651 aen de vicerey van Goa geschreven heeft." (*DRB, Anno 1664*, p. 501). Cf. pp. 11-12 above. Vieira's letters to Maetsuyker and Council explaining the reasons for his flight from Batavia, d. 22 November 1664, in *DRB, Anno 1664*, pp. 429-97. The personal letter to Maetsyker had been drafted on the 3rd of November but was not sent until he had decided to leave.

his departure from Macassar was duly refunded to his agents in October 1666.[92] The Dutch naturally renewed their representations to the rulers of Macassar about the expulsion of Vieira, but this was something on which they would have insisted in any event, being a prime cause of the war of 1660. Even so, some months elapsed before Vieira actually took his oft-postponed final departure from Macassar, which was reported by the English agent there to Bantam in a dispatch of the 13th/23rd of April 1665: "Senhor Vieira was commanded hence with his wife and family the 28 Febr./8 March last, and is gone to Larantuca on Solor. The Dutch compels this King to such punctuality of the articles that no excuse could plead his longer stay".[93] William Turner was hardly fair in accusing of the Dutch of being rigorously harsh on this occasion, since they had, however reluctantly, given Vieira several years' grace since the signature of the 1660 Treaty.

Vieira's long-deferred expulsion from Macassar came at a very awkward time for him, as it coincided with the peak of a crisis in the China trade, in which he was so deeply involved. The Manchu government at Peking, feeling helpless by sea against the Ming partisan, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (*alias* Coxinga), after he had conquered Formosa from the Dutch in February 1662, determined on an unprecedentedly drastic measure to prevent his receiving aid and comfort from the inhabitants of the mainland coast. At the suggestion of Huang Wu, one of his former generals who had deserted to them, the Manchu government promulgated an edict in May 1662, ordering the coastal inhabitants of Shantung, Kiangnan, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung provinces to remove inland to a distance of between 20 to 50 *li* from the shore.[94] The object of this mass migration was to deprive Coxinga's raiding parties of any means of obtaining food supplies and military intelligence. As might easily have been forseen, the social and economic results were far more damaging to the people of the mainland littoral, where numerous towns and villages were evacuated, than to the Ming partisans

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[92] *DRB, Anno 1665*, pp. 8, 69; *DRB, Anno 1666*, pp. 158, 260. The amount of Vieira's security is variously given as 8,000 rixdollars and as 8,000 rupees.

[93] W. Turner at Macassar to Bantam, 13/23 April 1665 (IOL, Java Records, V, Section 72 A, fls. 25-26); *DRB, Anno 1665*, pp. 59-60, 128.

[94] According to H. A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference* (Honkong, 1878), p. 78, the *li* corresponds to about 1/3 of the English mile; 27 4/5 *li* being equivalent to 10 miles. Huang Wu had originally suggested this measure in 1657, and although successively relaxed from 1667 onwards, it was not entirely abandoned until after the Manchu conquest of Formosa in 1683. Cf. Hsieh Kuo Ching, "Removal of the Coastal Population in the early Tsing period", in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. XV (1932), pp. 559-96.

in Amoy and Formosa who followed Coxinga's son and successor after his father's death in June 1662.

The terms of the decree had originally granted Macao partial exemption, on the grounds that the inhabitants were mostly foreigners who had been settled there for several generations; but the simultaneous prohibition of engaging in any form of overseas trade was likewise extended to include the citizens, whether native or foreign born. This, in effect, meant the end of the City of the Name of God in China, as the Portuguese could not pay for the provisions and daily necessities which they received from their Chinese neighbours without the resources which they derived from their seaborne trade with Goa, Indochina, and Indonesia. By repeatedly bribing the regional Cantonese authorities, the Senate of Macao contrived to evade strict compliance with the letter of the edict, but a Chinese coastguard flotilla closely blockaded the port for three and a half years. Only a few ships could be loaded or unloaded by night in the shelter of the neighbouring islets, whence their cargoes were smuggled piecemeal into (or out of) the city. A pinnace of Vieira, bound from Goa to Macassar, which was forced by adverse weather into Macao roadstead in June 1663 was confiscated by the Chinese, who also demanded the surrender of her cargo of Indian textiles which had been smuggled ashore. Another of his ships which tried to run the blockade was detained for a long time; but the ever-resourceful Vieira still contrived to get a few ships in and out of the place even before the blockade was officially relaxed in August 1667 — a date which roughly coincided with his own death.[95]

Vieira's last two years were spent in trying to consolidate his authority in Timor. As noted in the Batavia *Dagh-Register* of the 29th of September 1665, Vieira made his headquarters at Larantuca, where he built himself a large wooden house.[96] The *Dagh-Register* also informs

[95] For references to Vieira's trade with Macao at this period and the confiscation of his ships and goods etc., cf. the contemporary diary of Padre Luís da Gama, the Jesuit Visitor at Macao, published serially under the title of "Uma resurreição historica (Paginas inéditas d'um visitador dos Jesuitas, 1665-1671)", in J. F. Marques Pereira, *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* (4 vols., Lisboa, 1899-1901), especially Vol. I, pp. 115-16, 307-09; Vol. II, pp. 694-95, 748, 750-57. Cf. also J. S. Cummins (ed.), *Travels and Controversies of Fr. Domingo Navarrete, O.P.*, Vol. II, pp. 229-230, and the sources there quoted, to which should be added the letter of the Senate of Macao to the Viceroy of Goa, d. 10 February 1664 in Historical Archives Goa, "Livros das Monções", Livro 31, fls. 156-57.

[96] "Francisco Vieira had syn residentie op Laurentoucke genomen en aldaer een groot huys van plancken getimmert; seker jacht, hem toebehorende, stont van daer vol sandelhout nae Macao te vertrecken" (*DRB, Anno 1665,*

us, correctly enough, that the authority of his nominee, Antonio de Hornay, for the post of Captain-Major in succession to Simão Luís, was soon challenged by another *Larantuqueiro,* Mattheus da Costa, who had likewise distinguished himself in repelling the Dutch attacks on Timor. The details of the ensuing civil war, or, rather, internecine tribal broils, are far from clear, since flatly contradictory accounts are given by the protagonists on either side, as can be seen from the documents published in Appendix XVIII—XIX *infra.* This dispute inaugurated a long period of rivalry between the two families of the Hornays and the Costas for the paramountcy over the "Topasses or so-called Black Portuguese" (*"Toepassen ofte sogenaamde swarte Portugueesen"*) in Timor, Solor, and the eastern tip of Flores island.[97] Mattheus da Costa had won the first round by the time of Vieira's death in 1667, but the confused situation prevailing on Timor two years previously is reflected in a letter from the English Factors at Macassar to their principals at Bantam dated the 31st of May/10th of June 1665:

"Whilst we had set our resolution to sail the 28 inst., if Francisco Vieira's sandalwood arrived not, ... the 27th his vessel arrived with only a 1,000 *bahar,* the wars at Timor being so hot that he could not procure more; so he promiseth next year to furnish the Company with what more they should desire out of the 1,000 *bahar* we made choice of, but for which [we] have satisfied him in cloth, but our books being put up must leave it out until the next year. Senhor Francisco Vieira is intended for Europe, and in order thereto sends a ship for Goa which is at present preparing in the road. He intends to send her first for Bantam, there to desire Your Worships to supply [her] with a pilot, being disfurnished of one that can undertake the charge, so hath writ to us to make known his request to Your Worships".[98]

It is difficult to say whether Vieira really intended to return to Europe at this late stage of his career. He was obviously chagrined

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p. 283). Fr. Antonio da Encarnação, O.P., *Breve Relaçam* (1665), p. 59, states that when Vieira reached Larantuca, the local chiefs gave him "o sitio de São Lourenço por ser mais salutifero, e melhor".

[97] For succinct accounts of this struggle cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Topasses of Timor* (Amsterdam, 1947); and *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (1948), pp. 174-98; H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor, 1515-1702* (1948), pp. 235-64. Cf. also the documents printed in Appendixes XVI-XIX below.

[98] Macassar to Bantam, 31 May/10 June 1665 (Java Records, V, Section 72 A, fls. 41-42). Another letter dated 5/15 July 1665 (*Ibidem,* fl. 86), states that Vieira's ship will leave within 20 days for Bantam via Japara, "... with great hopes that Your Worships will grant him a pilot, else fear [he] shall not proceed on his voyage".

by the subsequent defeat of his protégé and the victory of Mattheus da Costa, which he considered to be largely due to the attitude of the Dominican missionary friars, and this reverse may have decided him to leave South-East Asia for good. On the other hand, he makes no allusion to any such intention in his letter to the Crown written from Larantuca on the 26th of May 1667, which seems to be the last surviving document from his pen. In this missive, he complained that although he had asked the Viceroy at Goa to send him a royal galleon with 200 soldiers (for whom he offered to pay) in order to enforce the hitherto largely nominal suzerainity of the Crown of Portugal over Timor, the Viceroy had only sent him an old unseaworthy vessel with 30 soldiers, half of whom had died by the time that the ship reached Larantuca after a year's voyage. He also complained that although he had asked for some experienced miners to be sent him, to examine the metal-rich ores of the island which were believed to contain gold, silver, and *tambaca* (an alloy of copper and zinc), none had arrived in the *São Francisco*. This omission, it may be added, was no fault of the Viceroy of Goa, since there were no mining experts in the whole of Portuguese Asia, or, for that matter in Portuguese Africa and America.[99]

Even if Vieira had decided to return to Europe in 1667, after his eventful career in the East, he was not destined to do so. Within a twelvemonth of inditing this letter of the 26th of May he was dead, though I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of his death. His widow, a Macaonese lady named Dona Catarina de Noronha, remained at Larantuca for a couple of years in order to wind up her late husband's business affairs. Her return to Macao at the end of June 1670, is recorded in one of the last entries in the diary of Padre Luís da Gama S.J. "On the 29 June [1670] there anchored off the Ilha dos Veados the ship *Nossa Senhora de Rozario e Almas do Purgatorio:* there came in her the owner of the said ship, Dona Catarina de Noronha, with her household and family. She was accompanied by the Padre Antonio Francisco. The captain and pilot, Domingo Monteiro,

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[99] Vieira to the Crown, d. Larantuca, 26 May 1667, in Appendix XIX *infra*. For the inability of the Viceroy to send a miner, see P. Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da India*, IV, *1659-1695* (1956), p. 172; and for the perennial lack of expert miners in the 17th century Portuguese colonial empire cf. C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the struggle for Brasil and Angola, 1602-1686* (London, 1952), pp. 13-14; E Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700* (Johannesburg, 1960), pp. 59-60, 62, 99, 111. Such few expert miners as there were in Portugal's overseas territories were invariably Spaniards or Germans.

died during the voyage to Macao off the island of Pulo Laor, and the ship was navigated from there on by Manuel Delgado, who was the Master of the same, and who brought her safely home with the divine aid. Finally, on the 30 June, at nine or ten o'clock in the morning, the said ship anchored in the Manjericão, where the ship which had come from Manila had been lying for a month".[100]

CONCLUSION

Having outlined the adventurous career of Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo in South-East Asia, it remains to say a few words about his personal character and private life before briefly assessing his place in the history of his time. It is unlikely that he ever had his portrait painted, nor do I know of any pen-picture of him, so I can say nothing about his physical appearance — but we know that he made a great impression at Bantam when dressed the part as envoy from the Viceroy of Goa (p. 6 above). He maintained his own chaplain at Macassar, and he was obviously exceedingly devout, for Navarrete is not the only Roman Catholic priest to pay a tribute to his piety.[101] The contemporary chronicler of the Dominican mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands tells us that when the friar who founded their church at Macassar (*c.* 1650) met with calculated obstruction from the refugee Chapter of Malacca Cathedral, he overcame their opposition by persuading Francisco Vieira and his (first) wife, Dona Jacinta da Costa, to become the *padroeiros* or patrons of the living — "for as the former was a great favourite of the King, he easily weathered all the storms which had blown up against the Padre and the Church".[102] Regarding D. Jacinta da Costa, I do not know when Vieira married this lady,

[100] Apud *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, II, p. 756. Vieira's death at Larantuca is mentioned *Ibidem*, pp. 751-52, under the date of 14 August 1668, in terms which imply it must have occurred several months earlier. Padre António Francisco S.J. was Vieira's chaplain. On the 17th-century Portuguese charts, "Pulo Laor" is shown as an island off the east coast of Johore, the "Ilha dos Veados" ("Island of Stags") as an island in the South China Sea about 35 km. SSW of Macao, and "Manjericão" as the channel or roadstead between the islands of Dom João I (Macareira) and Montanha, just to the south of Macao.

[101] The exemplary pious Portuguese captain who took Père Alexandre de Rhodes S.J., from Batavia to Macassar in 1646 was almost certainly Francisco Vieira (*Divers Voyages et Missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres Royaumes de l'Orient*, Paris, 1653, Part III, p. 31).

[102] Fr. António da Encarnação, O.P., *Breve Relaçam* (1665), p. 35.

nor when she died; but some ten years later we find him married to the young wife who survived him. I may add here that after her return to Macao in 1670, Dona Catarina de Noronha refused to give up the corpse of Fr. Hernando de San José, the Augustinian proto-martyr of Japan (1617), which had somehow come into the possession of her late husband. The Augustinians at Macao then sued her for the return of the body; but they only obtained a decree in their favour from the Congregation of Rites at Rome after a lengthy lawsuit in 1692.[103]

If Vieira was never backward in the service of his God and his king, he was likewise an ardent devotee of Mammon. His career exemplifies an aspect of the Portuguese presence in Asia which is too often disregarded; for it is commonly believed that the Portuguese were essentially warriors and missionaries rather than traders and merchants, and that they were unable to compete effectively with their Dutch and English rivals. The Portuguese were certainly hampered by the *conquistador* and clerical mentality of most of their governing class, and their ramshackle "*Estado da India*" can, I think, be fairly described as a commercial and maritime empire cast in a military and ecclesiastical mould. But many of the *fidalgos* and clerics who affected to despise all commercial pursuits, were themselves traders on a considerable scale, either from necessity or from choice. In fact, I would go so far as to affirm that the vast majority of Portuguese laymen who went out to "Golden Goa" and beyond, did so with the intention of making a fortune by trade. Fr. Heitor Pinto, the Jeronymite friar whose *Imagem da Vida Christã* was one of the most popular devotional works of the 16th-century, was not alone in lamenting of his countrymen that "they will go to the ends of the earth in search of riches, but will not take a step for the love of Christ".[104] Indeed, they had virtually no option,

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[103] Joseph Sicardo, O.S.A., *Christiandad del Japon y dilatada persecucion que padeció* (Madrid, 1698), pp. 159-60.

[104] "... os que vão ao cabo do mundo em busca de riquezas e pelo amor de Christo não dão um passo" *(Imagem da Vida Christã,* Vol. II, first published in 1572 and frequently reprinted, *apud* C. R. Boxer, "*Missionaries and Merchants of Macao, 1557-1687*", p. 222). St Francis Xavier wrote from Amboina to King D. João III of Portugal (16 May 1546) "... we have such a brisk trade with the heathen, and so little religious zeal, that we more readily treat with them about temporal profits than about the mysteries of Christ Our Lord and Saviour". Another Jesuit, writing from Goa to his colleagues at Coimbra (12 Nov. 1546), observed: "The men who come out to India, come to get money to take back to Portugal and not to save souls" (António da Silva Rego, ed. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente,* III, *1543-1547,* Lisboa, 1950, pp. 351, 378). Nothing would be easier than to multiply such quotations.

since the salaries which soldiers and government officials were paid by the Crown were usually either insufficient, or in arrears, or not paid at all.[105] Consequently, everyone from Viceroy to cabin-boy traded only or on the side, and everyone else knew it.[106]

The records of the Dutch and English East India Companies during the 17th-century contain numerous allusions of the keen commercial competition which they met from the Portuguese, even after these latter had lost Ormuz (1622) and Malacca (1641), or in other words two out of the three key-bases on which their dominance of the Indian Ocean orignally depended. This respect for Portuguese commercial acumen is reflected in the correspondence of the Governor-General and Council at Batavia with the Heeren XVII during the uneasy truce-years of 1644—52. They described their Portuguese competitors as being "smart merchants" (*"snedige cooplieden"*), and feared that if the latter were given any respite from the hammer blows of superior Dutch naval power, then they would soon regain much of the seaborne trade which they had lost.[107] Francisco Vieira was undoubtedly one of the "smart merchants" the government at Batavia had in mind, as can be seen from the numerous reference to him in the *Dagh-Register.* Admittedly, Vieira was outstanding in his day and generation, but there were several other comparable figures in 17th-century Portuguese Asia, such as Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho, Dom Francisco de Lima, and Antonio Coelho Guerreiro.[108]

It is unfortunate that we cannot trace in detail any of Vieira's commercial transactions, since none of his account books or commercial correspondence has so far come to light. But it is obvious that he was a trader and entrepreneur on a considerable scale, dealing (as we have seen) in Indian textiles, Chinese silks, gold and musk, Spanish-American silver bullion, Indonesian spices, sappan and sandalwood, to name only the more obvious commodities. At one time or another he was in some

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[105] As Padre Fernão de Queiroz S.J. observed sardonically in 1687: "Aos que trabalhavão nas obras del Rey, depois de largas queyxas, fazião as tres pagas ordinarias, tarde, mal, e nunca" (*Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão,* ed. Colombo, 1916, p. 861).

[106] Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence,* pp. 116-35, and the sources there quoted.

[107] Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven,* II, *1639-1655,* pp. 507-08.

[108] For Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho, cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon, 1555-1640* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 90-139; for Dom Francisco de Lima, cf. E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700* (1960), pp. 129, 132-134, 136; for Coelho Guerreiro, cf. Virgínia Rau, *O "Livro de Rezão" de António Coelho Guerreiro* (Lisboa, 1956).

form of association or partnership with the Sultans and chief ministers of Gowa and Tallo'; with the Nawāb Mir Jumla of Golconda; with the Jesuits of Macao; with English and Muslim traders at Bantam, Macassar and Madras, as well as the officials of the VOC with whom he traded and fought alternately (and often simultaneously). We cannot be sure whether he held a predominant or a subordinate share in each of the numerous commercial ventures in which he engaged with his various Asian associates; but his activities illustrate Dr. D. K. Bassett's assertion that at this period the true merchant who participated actively in the daily exchange and shipment of goods in South East Asia was the man of alien origin rather than the member of the local dynasty or ruling class.[109] Having such diversified interests, not even the disasters he suffered in 1652 and 1660 adversely affected him for very long. After losing his two best ships, fully laden, on the occasion of the Dutch attack on Macassar in 1660, four years later he had at least seven ships of his own operating in Indonesian waters and the South China Sea, besides the stocks of merchandise which he had accumulated at Goa, Macao, Macassar, Larantuca, and Timor. This remarkable resilience in the face of repeated disasters is something which he shared with many of his countrymen. It helps to explain how they struggled for so long against superior Dutch seapower, manpower, and economic resources.[110]

Finally, mention must be made of the part played by Vieira in the survival of Portuguese influence in the Lesser Sunda Islands. As a Dominican chronicler noted at the end of the sixty-odd years' Luso-Dutch colonial war in 1665: "We cannot fail to consider here something which is truly remarkable, namely, that the Hollanders often tried and actually succeeded in conquering heavily fortified and well-gunned strongholds in the State of India. But though they often tried with greatly superior forces to conquer the islands of Solor, where there were no fortifications at all, nor any artillery save a few guns at Larantuca, yet they never could achieve their aim".[111] Fr. António da Encarnação,

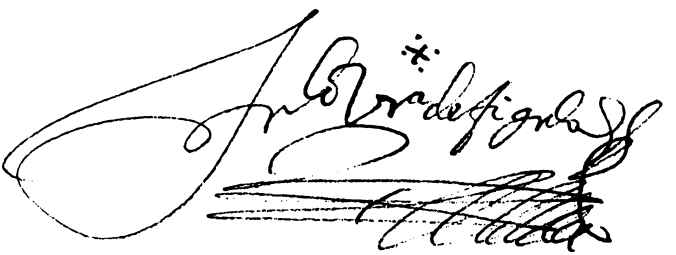
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[109] "The sultan undoubtedly played the passive role of financier, money-lender, collector of customs duties and occasional pre-emptor of commodities, but surely the true merchant who participated actively in the daily exchange and shipment of goods was the man of alien origin, the Coromandel Hindu, the Gujerati, the Chinese?" (*Journal of South-East Asian History*, September 1963, p. 143).

[110] Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade & European Influence*, pp. 178-91, 213-14, 273-77.

[111] Fr. António da Encarnação, O.P., *Breve Relaçam* (1665), p. 62.

O.P., piously ascribed the Dutch failure to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary and St. Dominic at critical moments. Francisco Vieira boasted that the result was largely due to the support and encouragement which he sent from Macassar to Flores and Timor. The sons of St. Dominic can justly claim a large share of the credit; as was explicitly recognised by Pieter van Dam, when he ascribed the Portuguese successes in the Lesser Sunda Islands "to their priests and clergy having got most of the natives on their side; and having thus secured a great advantage over us, they have then been able to reap the full benefits".[112] But Francisco Vieira also made a vital contribution by keeping the sandalwood trade going through thick and thin. If he overreached himself at the end by backing Antonio de Hornay against Mattheus da Costa, by that time a lasting peace with the Dutch had been signed, and the continued presence of Portugal in Timor was thus assured.



Signature of Vieira.

[112] Van Dam - Stapel, *Beschrijvinge van de O.I.C.*, II Boek, Deel I, p. 258.

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APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM THE KING OF MACASSAR TO THE KING OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, 29 MAY, 1637 [1]

Como em mim está tão vivo o antiguo amor e sincera amizade com que ha tantos annos me tenho comonicado com as duas coroas de Vossa Magestade, Portugal e Castella, me pareceo não dava nesta parte satisfação a meu dezejo se deixasse passar esta ocazião de portador, é pois ella a meu parecer he tão serta, e assy quiz dar principio a esecução ao que tanto ha que dezejava como he que Vossa Magestade visse hũa minha que confio no Criador de todas as couzas será esta a qual servirá de que Vossa Magestade tenha noticia deste seu leal amigo servidor porque nesta parte viu em algũa desconfiança e por esta via pertendo tirar-me della, pelo que a Vossa Magestade pesso me não falte assy nessa parte como em novas couzas do seu Real servisso se por ventura neste meu Reino he cumprir, porque como leal e antiguo amigo prometo dar inteiro comprimento; e como tenho o meu intento ja declarado, não sou mais largo, só advirto a Vossa Magestade que ponha os olhos no grande poder e largueza com que os Rebeldes a Vossa Magestade e meus capitães inimigos andão e se tem apoderado em muita parte do Sul e da India, possuindo o melhor do mar e terra; e no mais que nesta parte pudera dizer deixo a informação do portador [2] pelo qual envio a Vossa Magestade hũa mutrazinha de contra pessonha em sinal do amor e oferende de hum Rey pobre; com elle peço a Vossa Magestade em lembrança sua me faça possuidor de hũa espada dous dedos de largo, e hũa pedraneira do seu servisso cuja Real pessoa o Senhor guarde etc. deste meu Reino de Macassar 29 de Maio de 1637.

Eu Francisco Mendes Secretario del Rey de Macassar a escrevi.

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[1] Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisboa, Cod. 51-II-4-fl. 44 *verso, apud* H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor,* p. 202.

[2] Presumably João Pinto, "morador do Sul", who is mentioned in the viceroy's letter below.

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY PERO DA SILVA TO KING PHILIP IV, 30 AUGUST, 1638 [3]

A El Rey de Macassâ escrevy na mesma monção de mayo, em certificacão da amizade que lhe deve este estado, e em conservação da sua, pola muita importancia que hâ de que o tenhamos por amigo porque em todo o Archipelago do Sul, não houve outro que com mais firmesa e amor recolhesse aos portugueses, nem consentisse à frequentação dos sacramentos, nem á conversão da fee, não sey se erdado este dote de seus antepassados que com vivas vozes pedião ministros do evangelho e o bautismo de seus vassallos, sendo ainda gentios, e não sey a quem atribua a falta deste grande serviço de Deus, pois todos aquelles que virão este Reino, e tratarão o antecessor publicarão esta verdade! [4]

E depois de eu lhe ter escrito me chegou carta sua, em agradecimento de hum cavallo que lhe mandey por conta do estado, com certas contrapessonhas que elle estima por de valor, em resão de sua virtude, e que não hâ malicia venenosa que possa corromper, quando com este antidoto se lhe acuda. Foi portador da carta que digo João Pinto, morador do Sul e grande amigo deste Rey, a quem pedio de palavra que me dicesse que quizesse eu dar consentimento para que na cidade de Machao pudesse fundir a sua custa e despeza hũas poucas de pessas de artelharia de bronze,[5] e que as não queria pera mais que para se defender de nossos proprios inimigos, mostrando certeza que se dos olandezes a quizecem só a troco de sua amizade a poderia alcansar. Não tenho resolvido este ponto ainda que me afirmo ser tão verdadeira a amizade deste Rey que se lhe faz pouco na tal concessão. Com a resposta que em setembro lhe der farei tambem aviso a Vossa Magestade destes e dos mais particulares, cuja catolica e real pessoa guarde nosso Senhor como a cristandade há mister. Goa a 30 de Agosto 1638.

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[3] Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, "Documentos Remitidos da India ou Livros das Monções", Livro 43, fl. 29, *apud* H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor,* pp. 201-02.

[4] An early allusion to the tradition cited on p. 3, *n* 6 above.

[5] For the universal desire of Asian princes and potentates to acquire European-cast cannon cf. pp. 80-81 *infra.*

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO TO THE VICEROY CONDE DE OBIDOS, 11 JULY, 1653 [6]

O Senhor Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas levou muito a sua conta a fazer com Sua Mangestade que Deus guarde, a que mandasse embaixada a estes Reys, com grandes mostras de amor acompanhada de mimos. Se eu sou tão ditozo que venha a efeito, será grande dita minha, porque me tenho empenhado que Sua Magestade que Deus guarde lhe hade mandar embaixada; e quando por este anno não aja efeito e o senhor Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas tiveçe algum ruym suçesso na viagem, que Deus não permita,[7] convem que Vossa Excellencia escreva a Sua Magestade mande embaixada a estes Reys e se corra com amizade, que [elles] são de muita importancia neste Sul, poderozos, temidos, e muito afeiçoados nossos. E quando, como digo, a de Sua Magestade que Deus guarde não tenha efeito por este anno, importa muito que Vossa Excellencia lha mande com alguns mimos e armas em companhia dos mimos e alguma polvora boa, e as cartas principais de cumprimentos e agradecimentos, a boa amizade e correspondencia que sempre tiverão e tem com os Portuguezes, porque estas cartas de embaixada se leem em publico; e logo mande Vossa Excellencia outras particulares em que lhe peça com grande encarecimento siga as couzas de Amboino com todo o poder que for possivel, que Vossa Excellencia e todo esse Estado saberá agradecer a Suas Altezas, e em particular El-Rey nosso Senhor que Deus guarde.

Na embaixada que Vossa Excellencia mandar se sirva de me nomear em segundo lugar e que fique com titulo de embaixador assistente; porque suposto que estes Reys me fazem tanta merce, não conhecem nestas partes mais que a embaixador e lhe tem grande respeito, e como são terras largas se acolhem muitos vadios da nossa gente, para que eu os possa mandar para donde mais convir ao serviço del-Rey nosso senhor, juntamente como os Holandezes tem prometido doze mil patacas

[6] Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções do Reino", Livro 23 B, fls. 364-68. Defective copy, corrected in some places from a copy in my own collection previously published in the *Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau,* Ano 36, nr. 434, pp. 734-35.

[7] Vieira seems to have had a foreboding that D. Felipe Mascarenhas, who had governed Portuguese India from 30 December 1645 to 31 May 1651, might die on the homeward voyage, as in fact he did in 1652, being buried in the Jesuit College at Luanda (Angola).

a quem me matar e agora prometerão sincoenta mil que darão de boa vontade; e eu tive avizos de Jacatra me não fiaçe nem dos nossos nem sahiçe fora de noite, nem comesse cousa fora de minha casa; e para tudo hé bom ter nome de embaixador, porque os naturais por nenhum interesse se atreverão arriscarçe.

O Senhor Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas levou muito a seu cargo a pedir a Sua Magestade um habito de Christo para Francisco Mendes, primo e secretario deste Rey de Macassar. Sendo caso que viesse, Vossa Excellencia se sirva de lhe mandar com ordem que cá se lhe possa botar, e ainda que não ha aqui cavaleiro do habito mais que eu só, está o Padre Governador [8] e dous prelados, hum de Sam Domingos e outro da Companhia, que poderão suprir em falta de cavaleiros se Vossa Excellencia assy ordenar, e será gosto particular para estes Reys, porque tendo-lhe dado as honras do seu Reino como seu primo, o desejão ver mais honrado com o habito de Christo e não querem outro. Guarde Deus a Vossa Excellencia com muita saude e larga vida para aumentação do Estado da India e destruição dos herejes olandezes. Desta enseada dos Malayos do Reino de Macassar, a onze de Julho de 653 annos. *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo.*

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM THE INTERIM GOVERNOR, DOM BRAZ DE CASTRO, TO THE KING OF MACASSAR, 12 JANUARY, 1654 [9]

Antes de chegar o pataxo que o Capitão Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo mandou a esta cidade, havia o Senhor Conde de Obidos escrito a Vossa Alteza, dando-lhe conta de sua chegada; depois do que sucedeu em 22 Outubro proximo [passado], haver nesta cidade um tumulto pelo Povo dela, que chegou a desapossarem do governo ao mesmo senhor Vice-Rei, obrigando-me com violencia e rigor, que aceitasse este lugar, por ser o conselheiro mais antigo, e sem que podesse fazer outra cousa,

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[8] Paulo da Costa, governor of the refugee bishopric of Malacca, who comes in for a good deal of criticism in contemporary records. When the Portuguese were finally expelled from Macassar, he moved successively to Cambodia, and to Goa, where he died at a great age *c.* 1670.

[9] Contemporary copy in the writer's collection. First published in the *Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau,* Ano 36 (Maio de 1940), num. 434, pp. 732-33.

fico continuando nele,[10] onde Vossa Alteza me terá mui propicio para todos os particulares que se oferecerão de seu serviço e gosto, pois conheço e me são presentes as muitas obrigações, em que este estado, e a nação portuguesa está a Vossa Alteza, e o que mais ela poderá fazer e eu de sua parte, e a dar Vossa Alteza as devidas graças pelo patrocinio e favores que todos acham nesses Reinos de Vossa Alteza, pois a distancia do lugar e falta de navegação não permite outra cousa, sendo que Sua Magestade encomenda por duplicadas cartas que se mande visitar a Vossa Alteza, emquanto o divertimento com que anda das guerras de Castella lhe impedem escrever a Vossa Alteza por uma pessoa de qualidade; mas como há pouco que sucedi neste governo, não me foi possivel obrar o que desejava, por me achar divertido com a despedida das Naus do Reino, e preparar quatro ou cinco galeões, que hão de sair a navegar brevemente,[11] mas fie Vossa Alteza de meu animo, que na primeira ocasião que haja não faltarei na demonstração de correspondencia que se deve a Vossa Alteza, cuja saude festejarei sempre seja mui perfeita, acompanhada de maiores aumentos e felicidades.

Lucas de Saa, que Vossa Alteza me encomenda por sua carta, era passado a Golconda, e aqui se lhe fez todo a favor possivel, e se lhe passou certidão de sua apresentação, na forma de uma ordem de Vossa Alteza; agora dizem que voltou para esta cidade, com intento de passar a esse Reino.[12]

Chegaram duas naus de Portugal com boas novas da saude de Sua Magestade e Altezas, e de haver bons successos no Reino, e por parte de Sua Magestade se afirma que estavam feitas as pazes com os Inglezes;[13] eles trazem guerra com o Holandes, que lhe tem tomado na India algumas naus; comnosco tem a mesma hostilidade, e não foi pequena a que Vossa . . . .[14] na tomada das Naus do Capitão Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, sobre que esperamos, mande Vossa Alteza fazer

[10] The popular revolt which deposed the Viceroy Conde de Obidos, and which Dom Braz de Castro was suspected of having organised, in October 1653, is documented in P. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da India,* III, *1644-1658* (Goa, 1955), pp. 279-82, 556-57.

[11] These were the galleons subsequently intercepted and destroyed by Rijkloff van Goens on their return voyage from Colombo off the coast of Malabar in May 1654.

[12] I have not been able to identify Lucas de Sá.

[13] The humiliating treaty or rather *diktat* of Westminster which Cromwell enforced on Portugal was not actually signed till the 10th of July 1654, and only ratified 2 years later.

[14] Some words missing, but the reference is obviously to the seizure of the *São João Baptista* and the *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré* by the Dutch in 1652 (p. 9 above).

inteiramente justiça que tão violenta acção merece. Deus guarde a Vossa Alteza, e o alumie com sua divina graça, e com ela haja sua Real pessoa e Estado em sua guarda, Goa, 12 de Janeiro de 1654. *Dom Braz de Castro.*

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM THE INTERIM GOVERNOR, DOM BRAZ DE CASTRO, TO THE KARAÉNG PATTINGALLOANG, 12 JANUARY, 1654 [15]

Pela carta que [se] escreveu ao senhor Rei de Macaçá ficará Vossa Alteza entendendo o motivo que houve para eu assistir no governo, onde Vossa Alteza me achará tão pronto como obrigado a todos os particulares que se lhe ofereçam de seu gosto, pois tanta razão temos por isso, á vista da generosidade e favor que da serenissima pessoa de Vossa Alteza e de seu real animo alcançam os Portugueses, porque dou a Vossa Alteza uma e muitas vezes as devidas graças, que é o mais que por hora posso obrar, sendo que desejava muito mandar visitar ao senhor Rei de Macaçá e a Vossa Alteza, porque Sua Magestade o ordena por duplicadas cartas suas, mas não o pude conseguir por haver pouco tempo que assisto neste lugar, e achar-me divertido com o expediente das naus do Reino, e apresto de quatro ou cinco galeões, que brevemente sairão a navegar mediante o favor divino; mas na primeira ocasião que se ofereça, não faltarei eu com a demonstração do empenho, em que nós os Portugueses estamos a Vossa Alteza, cuja carta de 5 de julho vi, e como por ela entendesse logra Vossa Alteza, mui perfeita saude, a festejei; será Deus servido dilatála a Vossa Alteza por muitos e felizes

[15] Copy in the writer's collection. First published in the *Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau, op. et loc. cit.*, pp. 733-34. Pattingalloang's fluency in Portuguese is attested by many contemporary visitors to Macassar, including Alexandre de Rhodes S. J., in his *Divers Voyages et Missions* (Paris, 1653), Pt. III, pp. 34-38; "Je rencontray à mon arrivée le grand Gouverneur de tout le Royaume, qu'ils s' appellent Carim Patingaloa, que je trouvay fort sage, & fort raisonnable . . .

Il sçavoit fort bien tous nos mystères, avoit leu curieusement toutes les histoires de nos Roys de l'Europe, il avoit toujours nos livres en main, & particulierement ceux qui traittent des Mathematiques, où il estoit très bien versé, aussi avoit il une si grande passion pour toutes les parties de cette science, qu'il y travailloit jour et nuit . . . à l'ouïr parles sans le voir, on l'eust pris pour un naturel Portugais, car il parloit cette langue avec autant de facilité que ceux de Lisbonne mesme . . ."

annos com os maiores aumentos de estado que Vossa Alteza merece e deseja.

O padre Frey Anselmo [16] veio a esta Cidade, donde partiu para Golconda, e agora voltou para ir a esse Reino por esta via, porque o não pode fazer por aquela; e assim por ele como pela relação que aqui enviou o capitão Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, se entendeu os particulares desse Sul, e a hostilidade que o Holandez usou com a tomada das naus do mesmo capitão, contra todo o direito, pois quando tudo faltasse, lhe poderá só valer o ir por embaixador do senhor Rei do Macaçá, sobre que se espera haja Vossa Alteza feito justiça neste particular.

Do Reino de Portugal chegaram duas naus com boas novas da saude de Sua Magestade e Altezas, e de haver bons sucessos daquela parte; os que aqui precederam, referirão a Vossa Alteza as pessoas que nestes barcos vão.

For via do capitão Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo mando a Vossa Alteza um mimo, que servirá de manifestar em parte o muito amor que tenho a Vossa Alteza e de empenho para que na monção que uem dando-me o tempo lugar não falte. Deus guarde a Vossa Alteza e o alumie em sua divina graça, e com ela haja sua pessoa e estado em sua guarda. Goa, 12 de janeiro de 1654. *Dom Braz de Castro.*

APPENDIX VI

LETTER OF FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO TO THE GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA, 12 JUNE, 1656 [17]

Senhor,

Pella que v.sª me fez merce escrever, soube, em como sucedera no Governo desse Estado, que com grandissimo alvoroço, e affecto festejey summamente, a boa, e muy acertada elleição que fizerão em a pessoa de v.sª, de cujas ilustres partes, e experiençia, pode toda a India, esperar confiada, melhoramento, e ainda prosperidades em seus sucessos, em

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[16] As noted on p. 14 above, I have not been able to identify this friar.

[17] Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções do Reino", Livro 26 B, fls. 370-72. The letter is addressed to Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, elected interim Governor of Portuguese India after the sudden death of the viceroy Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, Count of Sarzedas, on the 13th of January 1656. He governed alone until the 22nd of May 1656, when he was joined in office by Francisco de Mello e Castro and António de Sousa Coutinho, this triumvirate remaining in office till the 14th of June 1661.

recuperação de tantos danos que tem tido. De minha parte dou a v.sª os devidos parabens e espero que pellos muitos, e excelentes merecimentos que em v.sª há, tenha, lugares, e postos differentes.

A morte do senhor Conde V. Rey, me causou grandissimo sentimento, pellas amaveis partes que nelle avia; mas como isso estava decretado pello Ceo, era certo que por mais interposição humana que ouvesse, senão poderia atalhar a falta de tam grande bem.

Chegou Navio del Rey, em companhia de *S. Miguel* a tres de mayo, cousa ja não esperada, e fora da monção, por partirem muito tarde dessa cidade, e o navio *S. Antonio* chegou a 20 de mayo, que causou admiração a todos, por ser ja contra monção, e virem em tempo que o olandes vai ja de Amboyno pera Jacatara, e pello mesmo caminho que os navios vem dos estreitos pera dentro, vão os olandeses, e hê força encontraremse, como se encontrarão; mas foi Deus servido livralos.[18] De sorte que partio o navio del Rey, e o navio *S. Miguel,* e dous de Macao que estavão neste porto todos quatro juntos a sete de junho pera aquella Cidade, que Deus os leve a salvamento; o navio pequeno *S. Antonio,* me pedio el Rey para mandar a Manilla por ter aqui em seu poder quantidade de fazenda do licenciado Manoel Soares de Oliveira, e Antonio Peres, portugueses, que são homens os mais poderosos que hâ em Manilla, e vivem nella, [por] mais não poderem, conforme me escrevem, eu lhe dou meyos para averem de sahir, não sey se averâ effeito, e juntamente por o navio não ter por onde hir, porque voltar para essa Cidade era cousa impossivel, porquanto no tempo que elles vierão, o não avia ja para poder hir pera a Emseada, de donde se avia de fazer viagem como nestes anos se obrou.

Tanto que o anno passado despachei o navio para a India, logo vierão novas a el Rey, como a sua gente que tinha em Amboyno, era desbaratada, respeito que lhe faltou o comer, e monições, porque o socorro que el Rey lhe mandou, como foi cousa pouca, não chegou lâ, e chegarão a comer os macassãs raizes de arvores pizadas, estarem sem huma carga de polvora nem bala: comtudo isso os cometeo o olandes tres, ou quatro vezes, com mayor poder do que os macassés tinhão; e os macassãs sahirão das tranqueiras a recebelos a campo com crizes, e rodilhas, não mais, para se fazerem amocos, como custumão; conhecendo

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[18] The voyage of the pinnace *Santa Teresa,* and Vieira's two ships, the *São Miguel* and the *Santo António* from Goa to Macassar and Macao is related in detail by one of the passengers, on pp. 39-65 of the *Relation du voyage du P. Joseph Tissanier, S. J., depuis la France, iusqu'au Royaume de Tunquin* (Paris, 1663).

os olandezes isso, se retirarão com seus esquadrões fechados com muita vergonha, e uzarão logo doutra traça, sabendo a muita necessidade que os macassãs padecião, se valerão dos naturais dos montes, que socorrião aos macassãs com alguma cousa de comer, parece que lhe derão tanto ou lhe prometerão que vierão contra os macassãs, e a traição matarão os cabeças com que se desbaratou tudo.[19] Tanto que El Rey soube disto, logo tratou de mandar embaixada a Jacatara, como de effeito nomeou logo embaixadores, e estando ja para partirem com dous barcos, me fui huma noite a el Rey, e lhe disse tanto para aver de dizistir de mandar a embaixada, que me obriguei, que se não viesse embaixador de Jacatara a pedirlhe paz, como tinha vindo sinco veses, que me mandasse cortar a cabeça (suposto que elle o não avia de fazer); e me obriguei a mais a escrever huma carta a huma velha por nome Monica da Costa, muita respeitada e nomeada e que lhe daria a entender em como sua Alteza tinha vontade de fazer paz, que vindo de lâ a embaixada, e receberia. Nesse tempo que el Rey tinha ja os barcos no mar e a gente preparada para hir a embaixada, estavam aqui dous barcos de mouros pera hir a Jacatara, como forão os quais derão lâ novas que ficava o embaixador pera partir, e que o Rey dezejava muito a paz. Esta nova dizem que alegrou muito aos olandeses, e com elle, logo foi o que estava pera General de Jacatara pera Ceilam, que hê o que v.s[a] lâ ouvirâ, que poz cerco a Columbo: elle ficou ferido do primeiro assalto, permita Deus que o leve lâ o diabo.[20] Como esta nova de embaixada foi a Jacatarâ, ficou o olandes tam ufano, que disia, conforme contão, que não se lhe dava de macassa, nem querião câ mandar a embaixada; mas como vio que passou o mes de Novembro e se acabou a monção sem chegar lâ a embaixada, tratou logo de mandar a sua, como mandou no mes de Dezembro;[21] e como o Rey estava tão desejozo de se abraçar com a paz que não soube fazer negoçio nenhum, para mais que eu lhe tinha ensinado. De sorte que como se vê, que não podia estorvar nada, fiz com o Rey que não largasse o titulo de Rey de Amboyno e da Ilha de Buro, que estâ pegada com Amboyno, que bota de seiscentos bares de cravo para riba cada anno. Respondeo o Embaixador que em cousa de Amboyno não tinha ordem pera nada, mais que sua Alteza, o escrevesse a Betavia, e ficou isso no ar. Pedio elRey a não *S. João Bauptista,* e sua

[19] Cf. Livinius Bor, *Amboinse Oorlogen door Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn* (Delft, 1663), for the Dutch version of the 1651-56 campaigns, which are also related at length by Ridjali and Valentyn.

[20] The reference is to Gerard Hulft, who was killed at the siege of Colombo, 10 April 1656, though Vieira did not know this yet.

[21] Willem van der Beeck. Cf. Stapel, *Het Bongaais Verdrag,* p. 53.

fazenda, ficarão de restetuyr, não sei se o faram que quanto eu não procurei por andar naquelle tempo tam afligido destas negras pazes que não me lembrava de intereços proprios, mais que o zello de sua magestade e bem desse Estado.

Hâ poucos dias que chegou aqui huma nao de Amboyno, e deu por novas que na Ilha de Buro estavam fortificadas alguns macassãs que de Amboyno escaparão, e o olandes, como lâ não foi com poder nenhum, não pode render e ficou no mesmo estado.

Deu mais por novas que Hornoldo Flamem, General supremo cá destas partes,[22] avia de hir de Amboyno a Ilha de Timor, com des naos e quinhentos soldados, a vingarse do que neste septembro passado la lhe sucedeo, que foi hum capitam de Amboyno de muita fama, e valentia a solor, e ahy se consertou com os mouros daquellas Ilhas a o acompanharem alguns quatrocentos, e levarão todas as cabeças das nove Povoações que hâ naquellas Ilhas, e se forão a Timor, ajuntar com D. Luiz que os tinha chamado, e com outros Reys, que estavam conjurados não darem vida[a]nenhum christão, pellas sem rezoins que lâ lhe fazem; mas foi Deus servido dar aos nossos tam grande victoria, que sendo os enemigos mais de quinze mil, sem embargo que os timores não são homens de armas, mas bastavão pera atemorizar os nossos poucos que não herão mais que duzentos e dez e dando estes poucos no enemigo deixaraão em campo trezentos e des homens, quarenta e oito olandezes, e hum tomarão vivo, e todas as nove cabeças das Povoações dos mouros, e outros mouros muitos e os mais forão timores com que perfizerão o numero dos trezentos e dez mortos: e de nossa gente não morrerão mais que dous hum Pero Pinheiro, yrmão, cuido que bastardo de João Pinheiro de Gamboa, e hum filho de macao casado neste macassar. O olandes perdeo duas pessas de campanha de bronze, e toda a monição, e mais dispojo que levava. Não foi pequeno bem para os nossos por estarem faltos de tudo, e o pouco que tem, se eu lhe não mandara a minha custa, o não tiverão. O capitão dos nossos que alcansou esta victoria, se Vossa Excellencia o vir, não dará des xerafins por elle, hâ hum velho de mais de setenta annos, natural de Amboyno, casado em solor.[23] Francisco Carneiro de siqueira por conhecer o seu valor o mandou lâ, pera retirar outro que tinha feito muy mal sua obrigação. Depois do dito Francisco Carneiro ter novas deste bom sucesso passou

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[22] Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn, "Superintendent voor de Oosterse kwartieren".

[23] Fr. António da Encarnação, O.P., *Breve Relaçam* (1665), p. 48, states this captain was "Balthazar Gonçalves, nascido em Larantuca". Cf. p. 19 above.

logo a Timor e levou consigo o Reverendo vigairo fr. Manoel da Concepção que la morreo, e foi com zello de compor as cousas em Timor; e não sey se as descompoz, porque hindo ao Reyno de Mena, não faltou que a Raynha se tinha confederado com os olandezes e ella diz que o confessou conforme escreveo o mesmo Francisco Carneiro, de sorte que deu a sentença de morte contra a dita Raynha e o Rey: eu não aprovo o caso ser bem feito, inda que o merecessem, por que alfim erão Raynha e Rey e hê grande escandalo pera estes Reys assi de macassar, como de todos os mais, virem que hum homem particular manda matar hum Rey e huma Raynha por sentença. Pudera se lhe dar outra morte com peçonha ou outro modo que não se sentira e não fora tanto escandalo; não sey como francisco Carneiro sendo tão bonissimo homem cometteo tal erro. Agora me escreverão estarem as cousas de lâ de peor condição que nunqua, porque com a morte destes Reys estão os mais atemorizados e não se hão de ficar, e com esta hida dos olandeses lâ, tenho medo não suceda alguma disgraça. Eu hâ muito que tenho lâ avisado porque quando o embaixador olandes que aqui veo em dizembro, tive inteligençia por meu dinheiro com que hum capitam vinha a minha caza darme aviso de como levavão ordem do Geral de Jacatara pera de volta de Amboyno dar em Timor e em Solor.... [24] venho alcançar ser assi pelo que vierão nesta nao de Amboino deram a mesma nova a elRey, eu despachey logo hum barco a minha custa como sempre faço a dar este segundo aviso juntamente e mandar a polvora e espingarda que v.s[a] mandou para aquelles homens. Foy hum frade dos sete que vierão dessa Corte, dous forão para macao e quatro ficão aqui, pera verem Turcos de Palanquim. Estas são as novas que ha por ora daquellas Ilhas.

E no tocante a este Rey fazer as pazes com olandes, num certo modo tem disculpa, porque elle não tinha ja na sua terra polvora, nẽ monições nem quem lhe socorresse com ella, aqui não se faz. Os olandeses trazião estes annos atrazados e esses aqui ja não vinhão nem esperanças que viriam e o olandes usou de huma traça terribel, que era por cerco que não viesse nenhum barco a macassar com roupas ja avia tres anos que aqui não entrava nada que athe os Reys e as Raynhas se queixavão que não tinhão que vestir, deixando a parte o comercio que não avia nenhum e o povo todo se queixava e todos queiram pazes, e muitos [me tinhão grande] odio por verem ser eu a causa da guerra, disso se me não dava; vião tambem que faltava e me davão em rosto o que eu

[24] A few words are missing here.

tinha prometido que avião de vir galiões de india ajudar a sua alteza com grande socorro de polvora e monições e gente, e o que veo forão novas serem todos os Galeões perdidos, e que estava Goa quasi em estado de se perder de que Deos a goarde.[25] Isto foi causa de quebrantar muito a estes Reys e não se lhe dar ja de minhas reclamações o offerecimento de sorte que os olandeses aqui estam ja fasendo casas, como tinhão dantes: mas não com aquella aceitação que elles imagiavão, não mastiga bem o macassã a olandes, e elles vivem com grande receo; fazem me grandes cortezias e desejão muito de se meter comigo: eu lhe faço as mesmas com grande cautella porque de Jacatara tenho aviso de quem sabe de seus conselhos, me não fie delles por nenhum caso, e que veja como aceito seus brindes, suposto que eu não bebo vinho: se o embaixador me convidasse a sua nao, que não fosse. Tudo o experimentei, porque me convidou, e escuseime, mostrome que sou muito seu amigo, e que fiz com elRey que fizesse pazes com elles; mas elles bem sabem o contrario; e hê força pera eu aver de saber de seus desenhos que faça assi; e se me mostrar izento, não saberei nunca nada, nem poderia avizar, nem remedear as pretenções que tiverem detriminadas contra nossas cousas: Tambem me disserão que tem grande olho na cidade de macao, Deus arremedee, porque he huma lastima ouvir contar os que de lâ vem o estado em que ella estâ, v.s[a] o verá por huma via do capitam geral que aqui me remetteo, que com esta mando a v.s[a], pareçeme vai segura nesta nao Inglesa que vai pera a costa e a mando entregar ao Geral de São Thomé, pera que elle a mande por patamar [26] a v.s[a] e como o dito capitam Geral de macao deve escrever a v.s[a] largo, como pessoa que está prezente, escuso eu cansar a v.s[a] com leitura, com lhe rellatar os maos sucessos que tem tido aquella cidade.[27]

E tornando a elRey de macassar, digo que recebeo a carta de sua magestade que Deos goarde, e a de v.s[a] com grande aplauso. Eu me atrevo se desse estado pudesse vir alguma cousa a este macassar, fazer com estes Reys tornassem outra ves a quebrar com o olandes, porque como elles são mancebos, e variaveis, facil seria pôr em effeito este negoçio, que eu não descanso, e mandar de contino emredandoos, e

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[25] The galleons destroyed by Rijkloff van Goens in May 1655. Cf. p. 17 above.

[26] A lateen-rigged dispatch vessel used on the west coast of India, described in detail in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. 1903), p. 687, and Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*. Vol. II, pp. 186-88.

[27] João de Sousa Pereira was the governor and captain-general of Macao in the years 1650-56, when the city was going through a very difficult period owing to the repercussions of the Manchu conquest of South China, Canton being sacked with appalling loss of life in December 1650.

dandolhe sotaques do mal que tem feito, em fazerem pases com gente tão infame; e certo que quando considero que estava o olandes destruydo com ter perdido ja a metade de Amboyno, e em vesperas de perder todo que isso bastava pera de todo cahir, se vio outra ves com Amboyno e alevantado, atrebuo aos pecados da India, e parece que não he nosso senhor ainda servido de alevantar o azurrague de sua divina justiça desse Estado.

Espero o navio *S. Miguel* de macao, pera que trasendo-o Deos mandalo a essa corte o anno que vem, farei tudo o que puder inda que seja a custa da minha fazenda, porque essa tenho dedicada, havendo ocazião, gastar no serviço de sua magestade que deos goarde, e assi pode v.s^{a} estar descansado neste particular, que emquanto Deos me der vida, e eu estiver neste Reino, não perecer o serviço de sua magestade em tudo aquillo que eu com traça e com dinheiro puder acabar, e com minha pessoa. Goarde Deos a v.s^{a} com todas as felecidades que lhe desejamos ett^{a}. Macassar 12 de Junho de 1656.

francisco vieira de figueiredo.

APPENDIX VII

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GASPAR PEREIRA DOS REIS FOR HIS VOYAGE FROM GOA TO MACASSAR, 10 AND 20 JANUARY, 1656 [28]

2° regimento a Gaspar Pereira dos Reis

Dom Rodrigo da Silveira ett^{a} faço saber a vos Gaspar Pereira dos Reis cavaleiro profeço da ordem de Sam Bento de Aviz que pella confiança que faço de vossa pessoa e da experiencia que tendes adquirido na vizita que fostes fazer por ordem dos viso-reis deste Estado aos reis de Pegu duas vezes em que procedestes com boa satisfação e por esperar de vos que com a mesma vos avereis nos particulares em que fordes

[28] Goa Archives, "Regimentos e Instrucções", Livro V, fls. 109-110. Gaspar Pereira dos Reis was an experienced pilot who had served in the East since 1620.His services prior to the year 1643 are listed in Alberto Iria, *Da Navegação Portuguesa no Indico no século XVII. Documentos do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Lisboa, 1963), pp. 93-96. He settled at Goa and was the father of another pilot and cartographer, André Pereira dos Reis, some of whose charts are now in the W.A. Engelbrecht Collection in the Maritiem Museum, Rotterdam.

ocupado vos quiz encarregar para hirdes por enviado a el-rey do Macaça Principe Carraym Canrronro [29] e pera o que aveis de tratar com elles me pareceo darvos este regimento que guardareis tão inteiramente como nelle se contem.

Tanto que chegares ao reino do Macaça procurareis ter vos com Francisco Vieira de Figueredo que logo vos deve vir buscar e dar lhe conta que levais carta de sua magestade que Deus guarde para aquelle rey e huma minha e outra para o Principe Carraym Canrronro e que vos mando por enviado do Estado a elles para que vos diga a forma em que lhe haveis de falar e entregar o que lhe levais de saguate para hum e outro e de mais do que vos advertir Francisco Vieira, direis ao rey e Principe que por sua magestade ser informado da antiga amisade que seu pay teve com este Estado lhe mandava escrever a carta que lhe dareis para o obrigar a que lhe mandace boas novas suas e por ser fallecido lhe remeto a elle a mesma carta como a seu filho e herdeiro daquelle reino, dirlhe-heis tambem que sua magestade e a mais casa real fica de saude e que se restaurou todo o Estado do Brasil [30] e que posto que as guerras de Castella continuacem, ha muy bons sucessos de nossa parte e logo o visitareis da minha e lhe dareis os pezames da morte del-rey seu pay e os parabens da sua sucessão em que espero tenha muitas vitorias e fellicidades animando-o a que prosiga na conservação da guerra do olandez, pois se lhe segue disso grande fama e louvor não so na India mas em todos os reinos de Europa, onde seu nome he celebrado por esta acção digna de seu vallor e pello muito que sente o olandez a guerra que el-rey seu pay lhe fez e que se os empenhos com que nos achamos de prezente em Ceilam com o mesmo inimigo não forão tam grandes ouvera de mandar alguns navios e gente para que lhes assisticem mas que agora se alçançou delles huma grande vitoria porque querendo entrar a cidade de Columbo se lhe defendeo com tanto valor que se retirarão com morte de mil homens ficando alguns prisioneiros e se lhe tomou huma nao de trinta pessas e seis lanchas [31] e se as couzas melhorarem ao diante como esperamos em Deus emtão trabalharey por mandar o que digo e que em tanto se sirva de sincoenta

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[29] Karaéng Karunrung.

[30] The Capitulation of Taborda, by which the Dutch defenders of Recife agreed to evacuate their remaining strongholds in North-east Brazil was signed on the 26th of January 1654, the victorious Luso-Brazilian forces entering Recife two days later. For the reaction to this news in Europe and Asia cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 244-45.

[31] For the unsuccesful Dutch assault on Colombo, 12 November 1655, cf. p. 22 above.

barris de polvora e quinze quintais de chumbo e do mais que constara da lista do veedor da Fazenda Geral que servira de demostração do animo e boa ventade que me fica para me empregar em seu serviço como o farey nas occasiões que haja.

E se acaso vos propuzerem averdes de ficar mais tempo do que levais limitado no outro regimento lhe direis que tendes o barco e socorro de Macao a vosso cargo e que não podeis obrar outra cousa se não ir a aquella cidade por muitos respeitos para o que vos deve dar todo o favor e ajuda e não impidir vos.[32]

Tambem lhe encomendareis de minha parte que não deixe de assistir ao capitão Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo para socorrer as christandades de Solor e as mais visinhas como espera .... [33] Sua Alteza pello zello e afecto com que trata nossas cousas e a mesma vizita e mais cartas de pezames da morte do pai e parabens de sua sucessão que neste vão refiridas fareis ao [Principe] Carraym Canrronro dando lhe a carta e o[mais] que levais para elle tratando o por Alteza .... [33] assy estillo e no mais que o tempo .... [33] ocasionar deixo a vossa experiencia .... [33] e espero obreis em tudo com[o for mais conv]eniente ao serviço de sua magestade comunicando todos os particulares com o capitão Francisco [Vieira de] Figueredo para melhor acerto dos negoçios. [Dado] em Goa, Christovão de Menezes o fez a 10 de Janeiro de 656.

Hey por bem que Gaspar Pereira des Reis cumpra e guarde este regimento assy e da maneira que nelle se contem sem duvida alguma sem embargo de ir feito em nome do [Conde] das Sarcedas e assinado por mim porquanto por seu fallecimento sucedi na governaça deste Estado. Goa a 20 de Janeiro de 656. O secretario Joseph de Chaves Sotomayor o? urareis. *Manoel Mascarenhas Homem.*

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[32] Père Joseph Tissanier S. J., refers to Gaspar Pereira dos Reis' interview with King Hasanuddin in the following terms: "Le Roy n'est pas si barbare, qu'il ne prenne plaisir de sçavoir l'estat des Royaumes d'Europe, si bien que quand il donna audience au Capitaine du vaisseau *Sainte Therese,* lequel estoit comme Ambassadeur du Vice-Roy des Indes pour le Macassar, il luy parla en langue Portugaise, & luy demanda des nouvelles touchant la guerre de France & d'Espagne. L'Ambassadeur parla si bien des victoires et de la grandeur du Roy de France, que ce Prince infidelle en témoigna beaucoup de ioye." (*Relation du Voyage,* pp. 59-60).

[33] Some words missing here owing to the paper being worm-eaten. This document is briefly resumed in the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa,* No. 27 (Lisboa, 1964), p. 193, nr. 115, where it is noted as being very difficult to read, (" leitura muito dificil").

APPENDIX VIII

LETTER FROM THE KING OF MACASSAR TO THE INTERIM GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA, 12 JUNE, 1656 [34]

Esta faço a vossa senhoria por via de huma nao yngreza que ora parte pera o Reino de Bantão pera dahi paçar ao de ynglaterra, deixando por outra occazião mas seguida, a reposta da carta de vossa senhoria e a de sua Magestade que trouxe a seu cargo Gaspar pereira dos Reis pella incerteza que avera de Nao pera a costa choromandel. Estimarey que a sua chegada ache a vossa senhoria com saude, e fellices suceços da boa fortuna e augmento desse estado.

Pella carta que me remitio vossa senhoria de sua Magestade me fas avizo da merce que fez a francisco mendes nosso secretario do habito de christo, o que ymaginei fosse com ella remitido por vossa senhoria por que com particular gosto o dezejamos ver seu acrecentamento não porque lhe faltarião outros quando fosse da nossa religião por ser tanto a nos chegado que esta desunião ynplica o ser admitido que por esta rezão o principe meu thio carrai Pantingaloa [35] procurou seus augmentos por via desse estado. Peço a vossa senhoria ordene per qualquer via venha este despacho que o terey por particular favor cuja peçoa o senhor guarde por largos e fellices annos, deste meu Reyno de Macassar em 12 de Junho de 1656.

Carimbo.[36]

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[34] Goa Archives, "Livro das Monçoes do Reino", No. 26b, fls. 367.

[35] Karaéng Pattingalloang.

[36] This seal is in Arabic characters, see Plate I. It is also mentioned in *DRB, Anno 1664,* p. 379, where the Arabic text is translated as: Den glorieusen Coning, besittende, door de genade van den barmhertigen Godt, het gebied van Gowah. (The glorious sultan who, by the grace of the merciful God, is owner of the kingdom of Gowa.)
This document and the following two are listed in the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa,* No. 27 (1964), pp. 192-93.

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM THE KARAÉNG KARUNRUNG TO THE INTERIM GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA, 12 JUNE, 1656 [37]

Pellos navios que chegarão aqui dessa Corte tive cartas de Vossa Senhoria deixo a reposta dellas pera outra occazião mais seguida. Este faço a vossa senhoria nesta. Numa nao Ingreza que vay pera o Reyno de Bantão pera dahi passar a Inglaterra que não sirvirá mais que fazer parte a vossa senhoria como chegarão aqui todos os navios a salvamento contra todo o contraste assim do perigo do mar como de algumas Naos europeas que tiverão vista dellas, como largamente saberão vossa senhoria pella carta e relação de francisco vieira de figueredo.

O Principe meu Pay Carraim Patingaloa escreveo ao V. Rey dom Phelipe mascarenhas que foi desse estado sobre pedir lhe habito de christo para francisco mendes nosso secretario do que foi consultado pera o Reino, agora por carta de sua Magestade que vossa senhoria nos remitio dis assim em hum dos seus capitulos. A francisco mendes secretario de V. Alteza mando lançar o habito de christo visto estar esta merce e nesse estado como vossa senhoria tãobem o relata no sua carta. Estimarey por particular favor nos remitira na primeira occazião que se offerecer por qualquer via que nisto muito intereçamos por ser em augmento de quem he tanto chegado a nos que por elle ser de outra religião não he admitindo nos titulos que se lhe devem, e sua peçoa merce; do que fico serto me não faltara vossa senhoria que o desempenho delle tomo a minha conta para qualquer outra cousa do serviço e gosto de vossa senhoria que Deos Guarde e augmento por largos e fellices annos. deste nosso Reino de Macassar em 12 de Junho de 1656.

Carimbo.[38]

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[37] Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", No. 26b, fls. 368.

[38] Seal in Arabic characters, see Plate I. This seal is also mentioned in *DRB, Anno 1665,* where the Arabic text is translated as: O [God], die door middel van den doorluchtigen profeet genade en gunste doet aan Abdul hhamīd Karaing Koronrong, sone van Machamoed t' jaer 1068. (O [God], who through the illustrious prophet shows mercy and favour to Abdulhamid Karaeng Karunrung, the son of Mahmud; the year 1068.)

APPENDIX X

LETTER FROM FRANCISCO MENDES TO THE INTERIM GOVERNOR OF PORTUGUESE INDIA, D. MACASSAR, 12 JUNE, 1656 [39]

Huma Recebi de vossa senhoria com a cheguada das embarcações que vierão dessa corte que muito festejei ver occupar esse governo que tanto merece sua peçoa. O senhor lhe conserve em seu augmento fellices annos, e pellos favores que vossa senhoria me fas nella lhe dou as graças aynda que sem mereçimento algum que de minha parte tiveçe; mas tudo cabe em nesse ylustre peito que não carece couza alguma, que por esta obrigação estimarey se offereção muitas couzas do serviço de vossa senhoria que lhe peço me ordene e mande no que for do seu gosto, cujo cumprimento será com o meu muito em particular.

E pella merce que sua Magestade que Deos Guarde me fes do habito de christo será quando vossa senhoria levar muito gosto mandarme, que dessas liberais mãos espero gozallas, e ordenarme no que lhe pareçer em serviço desse senhor que obediente fico, e do que em particular for vossa senhoria que Deos Guarde sua peçoa com os augmentos que dezeja; deste Reino de Macassar em 12 de Junho de 1656 Annos.

De V^a S^a
Muy servidor
Francisco Mendez

APPENDIX XI

LETTER OF FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO TO THE VICEROY OF GOA, 2 JULY, 1662 [40]

Hê me força fazer esta com minha mão, e sou ruim escrivão, e estou maltratado dos olhos, mas o zello de christão, e de bom Portugues me faz fazer esta.

[39] Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", no. 26b, fls. 369. Listed in the *Boletim da Filmoteca, loc. cit.*, p. 193. On p. 194 of the same work are calendared two other documents, dated Goa 22 February and 22 October 1656, respectively, urging the Crown to grant the Order of Christ to Francisco Mendes. On page 192, *ibidem,* are listed two other documents dated Goa 17 January 1657 and 23 January 1659, stating that the Crown had authorised the grant.

[40] Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções do Reino", Livro 28 A, fls. 250 ff. Though written by Vieira under the impression that Portuguesc India was still

Sou muito amigo dos padres da companhia, não quizera tellos por Inimigos; em primeiro lugar digo que o padre Martim martins [41] Italiano que na China andou annos foi para Europa com os olandeses deste Macassar com tenção com elles e muitos companheiros, não lhe derão licença em olanda, passou a Portugal a donde sube que a Raynha nossa senhor lhe fizera merçes e veyo com seus companheiros a este macassar a donde teve entrada com os Reys. Despois de se elle hir me disserão os ditos Reys que o dito padre dissera que elRey nosso senhor Dom Afonço que hera aleijado de huma perna, e hum braço, e que nem asinarçe podia [42] e mais que não hera Rey por direito que seu Pay usurpara o Reino a elRey Phellippe, e hum padre por nome Manoel Jorge que assiste na China escrevera huma carta ao padre Antonio francisco [43] que aqui assiste comigo em que lhe pedia que o avizaçe se elRey nosso senhor [44] morrera excomugado e se se enterrara em sagrado porque o padre Martim Martins assy o dizia pello Reino da China; outro padre Italiano que assistio muitos annos em camboja e se chama João Marleria nunca fizera comemoração na missa delRey Dom João que Deos tem nos çeos, senão de Phellippe, e por hum padre Portugues seu subdito o fazer huma vez lhe dera penitencia [e] dizia que hera Rey intruso; isto não se compadece, sofrerçe tal nas conquistas da Coroa delRey nosso senhor haver Inimigos que o desautorizem com

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being governed by the triumvirate of D. Manuel Mascarenhas, Luís de Mendonça Furtado and D. Pedro de Lencastre, who had assumed office on the 14th of June 1661, the direction of affairs had been taken over by the new Viceroy, António de Mello de Castro, as from 14th December 1662 until he handed over to his successor on the 17th of October 1666.

[41] Martin Martini, a native of Trento in the Italian Tyrol (1614-1661), worked in China 1643-50, and again from 1658 until his death on the 6th of June 1661. For his anti-Portuguese sentiments see p. 34 above, and the sources there quoted.

[42] An allegation which was largely, if not entirely true. The French envoy at Lisbon in 1667, described King Dom Affonso VI as being: "un gros petit tonneau, à moitié paralysé d'une jambe, goulu et malpropre, presque toujours ivre et vomissant alors après les repas" (*apud* C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the struggle for Brazil and Angola,* London, 1952, p. 341, where the more charitable opinion of the English envoy, Sir Robert Southwell, is also quoted).

[43] Manuel Jorge, Portuguese Jesuit missionary in China from 1651 till his death at Nanking, 28 September 1677. Padre António Francisco S. J., seems to have been Vieira's chaplain and returned to Macao with his widow in 1670. Cf. p. 48 above.

[44] King Dom João IV. It was commonly, if erroneously, believed that this monarch had died excommunicated by the Inquisition, owing to his support of the *Christãos-Novos* or crypto-Jews in the organisation of the Portuguese Brazil Company.

as nasções estranhas; e aqui me socedeo com padre frânçes que se chama Germano mabrete [45] dizerme, ou para melhor dizer reprenderme porque eu havia de fazer guerra aos olandezes por via de mouros, sendo elles christãos; que se eu podia a fizesse com meu braço, e não dos mouros, de sorte que todos os estrangeiros se mostrão nossos Inimigos; ja na provincia da China, não me pareçe que hâ dez Portugueses, todos os extrangeiros os vão botando huns para huma parte, outros para outra, pareçe querem ser senhores absolutos da Provincia da China, e Japão com descredito da Coroa de Portugal, e dos padres da companhia Portugueses.

Tambem me pareçeo advertir a Vossas Senhorias como está aqui hum clerigo por vigairo,[46] o qual, o foi hâ muitos annos, nos quais lhe vierão da China huma quantidade de pains de ouro,[47] e outras pessas pera mandar a Negapatão, e se foi com tudo pera essa cidade em tempo do conde d'Aveiras,[48] pareçe repartio o que levou com os ministros, e com mais alguns papeis fantasticos que levou, alcansou esta Igreja em vida, e a mais a ouvidoria, Provedor dos defuntos, depozitorio de seus bens, procurador dos auzentes, Juis das justificações; no tempo que pessuio estes cargos, não se acha no cartorio papel nem enventario nenhum porque o escrivão hera hum homem preto quasy tonto e dizem lhos dera bem baratos, veyo aqui o governador [do bispado] de Mallaca Paullo da Costa,[49] e despois de estar na terra alguns dous annos pareçe que por ver seus procedimentos lhe tirou a Igreja, pareçe que teve que mandar a essa Cidade veyo lhe restetuydo e ainda mais que não fosse o Governador seu Juis que o fosse o superior que aqui assistiçe da companhia e como o dito Governador se foi o anno passado pera Camboja, e levou tudo o que havia na Igreja por o mesmo vigairo lho dar com pretexto de se hir pera Jacatara com genrro, filha e nettas a qual viagem, eu lhe estrovey; agora está teymoso a se querer hir pera Ja[catara] hâ dous meses que não diz missa a seus freguezes que ha mais de quinhentos e diz que [tem] Jurado de a não dizer nunca; no Macassar está reteudo os benezes dos que morrem sem sacramantos diz que não importa, basta

[45] Germain Macret S. J., who later worked as a missionary in China from 1664 until his death at Fu-chou (Fukien) in 1676.

[46] António Homem de Azevedo (?).

[47] For these "loaves", "boats", or "shoes" of gold, as they were variously termed, which varied in value between 1 and 20 *cruzados*, cf. the quotation from Gabriel de Magalhães S. J., *A New History of China* (London, 1688), pp. 136-37, *apud* C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon, 1555-1640*, (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 338-39.

[48] Viceroy of Portuguese India, 24 September 1640-30 December 1645.

[49] For this governor of the bishopric of Malacca cf. p. 24 above.

confeçaremse, os cazamentos manda por os chitos na porta da igreja a donde não vay ninguem por não haver missa nella e conforme diz o ouvidor que pellos enventarios tem muitas missas dos defuntos por dizer; diz que são ja poucos fregueses, e que a Igreja lhe não rende pera se sustentar, eu lhe mandey dizer que alem da missa que são dous cupões que he meo Bulay [50] que lhe daria hum bulay cada dia; riosse disso, mas que a renda da Igreja havia de ser pera mym; de sorte que tambem estou detreminado a empedirlhe a hida para Jacatara; ja o anno passado tinha o orgão da Igreja em casa dos olandeses, e arpa com que quer hir a ganhar dinheiro como fez em outra ocasião que lhe emportou muito com grande escandalo e descredito da ley de Deos; aqui he necessario hum homem branco de letras, vertude a vista destes herejes e mouros, se Vossas Senhorias forem servidos informarçe da vida deste clerigo de Manoel de souza Cabral se podem emformar e de todos quantos tem vindo a este macassar; agora me disserão que dandolhe os cargos que lhe deu o Conde de Aveyras e lhos tirou Dom Phellippe mascarenhas que dira missa em consciençia os não pode servir por ser clerigo, ediota, escandoloso, sem hum dia lhe vierem mil pardaos em tres dias, não tera húm sô, pera rellatar suas couzas hera neçessario fazer grande volume, macassar aos 2 de Julho de 1662. *francisco vieira de figueiredo.*

Despois de ter a detras escrita, e assinada me vierão dizer que fora o padre vigairo queixarçe ao feitor olandez [51] que eu tinha a culpa de os portugueses ficarem outra vez neste macassar que o escrevece a seu geral a batavia para que mo agradecesse; não se pode ver mais desejos de se hir para Jacatara e ganhar a vontade aos olandezes, eu heide defender que elle não vá the Vossas Senhorias me avizarçem do que heide fazer, e proverem esta Igreja por serviço de Deos; não o digo por mym, porque sempre tive capellão, e o tenho, senão por zello de serviço de Deos e credito da nossa sagrada e santa fee, e não quizera que elle fora dar lhe bofetadas, porque todas as veses que os herejes vem a hum semelhante athe a seus filhos e escravos mostrão e lhe dizem que os padres papistas não tem molheres, mas tomão as alheas, e vẽm elles por seus olhos, cuidão que todos são do mesmo modo, Vossas Senhoria farão o que virem que he mais serviço e honra de Deos ett[a]. *francisco vieira de figueiredo.*

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[50] *Bulay* for Macassarese *bulaeng* = gold, which as a currency equals Malay *mas,* see the Glossary *infra.*

[51] Jan Barra.

APPENDIX XII

LETTER OF THE VICEROY OF GOA TO THE CROWN, 29 DECEMBER, 1662 [52]

Os olandeses forão sobre a Cidade de Macao com quantidade de Naos e estando a vista della lhes deu hum temporal que os derrotou e perderão algumas;[53] despois deste suçesso não sabemos que outra ves a intentassem. Francisco Vieira de figueredo que assiste no Reino de Macassar a socorreo por veses, com dinheiro pera a paga da Infanteria que tem em sua defença; por esta causa romperão os olandeses a guerra no Macassar e ganhando hum forte que fica na entrada do porto,[54] fiserão dar a costa dous navios nossos, hum que tinha chegado de Macao pera vir a esta Cidade, e outro de mercadores. O aperto em que se vio ElRey do Macassar o obrigou a fazer pazes, com obrigação de lançar fora de seu Reino ao dito francisco Vieira e todos os portugueses; despois foi dissimulando, e fortificandoçe com intento de se deffender se la tornassem. Este Rey he nosso amigo, e Francisco Vieira muito fiel vassalo de vossa Magestade. A ambos escrevo por hum Pataxo que aqui invernou, e se fica aprestando pera fazer viagem, e lhes agradeço as finesas, e os animo a que as continuem, prometendolhes socorro tanto que ouver lugar de lho mandar, com a chegada das Naos do Reino. Francisco Vieira espera a pax de olanda pera usar da liçença que tem de Vossa Magestade e irçe pera esse Reino; por esta mesma via escreverey a Macao pera que se anime aquella gente, e continue com a mesma resolução em sua defença. Deos guarde ett[a]. Goa 29 de Dezembro de 1662. *Antonio de Mello de Castro.*

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[52] Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", no. 28a, fl. 141.

[53] For the abortive Dutch expedition against Macao under Jan van der Laan in 1660 which was diverted to Formosa, cf. C.E.S., *'t Verwaerloosde Formosa* (Amsterdam, 1675), pp. 32-43.

[54] Panakkukang.

APPENDIX XIII

LETTER OF THE VICEROY, ANTÓNIO DE MELLO DE CASTRO TO THE CROWN, 4 JANUARY, 1663 [55]

Senhor,

Da macassa escreveo Francisco vieira de Figueredo ao governo passado a carta cuja copea será com esta, e della entendo que alguma pessoa pouco zelosa do serviço de vossa magestade e mal afeita a religião da companhia lhe deu aquella informação, porque se não pode crer de quem vay a verter o sangue pella fe, que se haja de embaraçar com cousas a que se deve tão pouca, nem do dito francisco vieira, cujo zello no serviço de vossa magestade he tão conhecido se pode presumir que o obrigaçe outro respeito mais que o amor de seu Rey e credito de sua nação. Eu determino mandar fazer sobre este negoçio as diligençias convenientes, e com o padre francisco Barreto visitador da companhia [56] as farey tão bem para que debaxo de outro pretexto recolha estes religiosos com o que cessara a cauza da queixa que faz o dito francisco vieira.

Da mesma carta se vem os procedimentos do vigairo que assiste no macaçar que foi provido pello cabido, delles entendera vossa magestade quais sejão os sugeitos que custuma elleger quando se mandou este a huma igreja curada em terra de mouros, ordinariamente frequentada de herejes, e o exemplo que se dâ com vida tão depravada aos novamente convertidos de que hâ grande quantidade; e seja vossa magestade servido de mandar conciderar que como a mayor parte do cabido são homens da India e tem pouco de Portugueses, obrão neste particular como quem naceo mais longe do bafo da Igreja Romana.

Por outra carta nesta mesma via respondo ao que vossa magestade quer entender sobre o mesmo cabido e sobre a resolução que veyo acerca das missões mande as vossa magestade ver porque me parece que se não derão a vossa magestade as noticias verdadeiras que se as tivera não se consentira perder vossa magestade a jurisdição do seu padroado sem conseguir o fruto que o seu catolico animo pretendia Deos goarde. Goa 4 de Janeiro de 663. *Antonio de mello de castro.*

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[55] Goa Archives, "Livro das Monções do Reino", no. 28a, fls. 248. This is the covering letter to Vieira's of the 2nd of July 1662, printed in Appendix XI above.

[56] Francisco Barreto, S. J., born at Montemor-o-Novo in 1599, served as a missionary in India since 1624, and died at Goa, 24 October 1664, while Visitor of the Jesuit Provinces of Goa and Malabar.

PLATE II

LETTER OF GOV.-GEN. JOHAN MAETSUYKER *(See App. XIV)*
(part of the original)

Aen syn Hoogh: Chan Channa
Luppersteluer: groot Mogh: en Generael
Vestheer vanden groten Mogol in Assam
Bengale &c:

Aen den groot vermogenden Heere ende
victorieusen Vorst.

U:E: hoogh: aengenaem brief, in het Mogolse Legar in Assam aen ons gesonden, gelesen wy met besonderste leere wel verstaen, ende met groote blijdschap en vergnoegh aen ons verstaen, hoe dat U:E: hoogh: met triumphant legar, tot groote lof ende heerlijckheyt vermogt, veele sterckte ende gebouwde forten, Stormenderhant ingenomen, Siende wat aen wel 50 Vrienden verslagen, ende wegen gecontrabeleerde gesangen, ende alsdan voorts en meer, met t gunstigh Rijck van Godtsalm vermeerderende, ende U:E: hoogh: Eer, Glori, Ehre, Staet, gestelt, ende alle contrarien gebracht hebt, met welcken voortspoedighe Victorie wy met hoogh: blijdschap gelieft hebben te verstaen, ende dat U:E: hoogh: voorspoedig in Bengale mogt en sullen, ommer alsoo Compagnies saecke is mogen met U:E: hoogh: gunste t voortsaemen. Ende onsen Directeur in synen voortmaligen verstaen bijnepigh te zijn, dat ons aengaende wel te mogen verstaen.

Ende nadien U:E: gesien ons principaelen in t Vaderlandt, ons geen diensteliker Mattighe aenden Heere te verstaen, Raed van Indien gepromoveert, ende gedenommeert hebben, Sijn E: persoon gereserveert t'ontbieden, ende alsoo een groote vacature U:E: hoogh: ingevolge t'employeren, hebben wy gaetgevonden, met dese schepen in Sijn plaetse wederom naer Bengale te senden de heer Rogier van Heijningen, Extraordinaris Raedt van Indien, — ommede daer in plaetse te gebruycken Mattheus vanden Broucke Extraordinaris raedt van Indien ende Comptr: Generael, met U:E: hoogh: liefde ende favoure, waerdoor wy ons altijt U:E: hoogh: bevelen onderdanigh.

Directeur, ende ingesondergeyt d'Heeren vande Comp:, voor gedenommeerden Heyden, ende onder U:E: vermogende protectie gunstelijck aen te nemen, daermede ons den hoogsten Godt vrolijck, Ende wenschen U:E: hoogh: by d'selve, in herten van ons Hovaerdighe gedenckenisse, tot vermeerderinge voorspoedt, wesende —

Met den Cachen van onsen Hoogsten Canon, met zeer affligten ende t'hebbouwen, U:E: hoogh: verseeckerende dat wy daer aen geen behagt hebben, als oock U:E: hoogh: Landen, Heyden ende alvoort ongestoort te regieren, alleen ons Hoogh: Heylsaligheyt, ende geluckigh vaerden, Postigeeld Jaerlijcks Vivat, bevorgende U:E: hoogh: begeeden, volgende U:E: hoogh: begeren, in Macassar met groot gevoordt, ontrent verscheyde Vivat, en ontrent twee jaren, langh gewacht gelegt, ende voor door ons geïnviteert uyt te batavia te comen, Sulcke door den gemachten vrede met Portugal en corten van Macassar te verbeyden staet, soo gebeurt wy U:E: tot Sijne persoonlijcke vercomst achtervolgh, uytgestelt, met hoogh: eerbiedt ende wy sullen U:E: hoogh: Schangaen p:e 2e naeste comen contenteeren doen.

Batavia in t Casteel den 29 Augusty Ao 1662

Joan Maetsuyker

APPENDIX XIV

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL JOAN MAETSUYER TO THE NAWĀB MIR JUMLA, 29 AUGUST, 1663 [57]

Aen sijn Hoogh[t] Chan Channa
Supperselaer,[58] groot Hertogh, en Generael
Veltheer vanden grooten Mogol in Assam,
Bengale &C[a]

Edel grootvermogenden Heere, ende victorieusen Vorst.

UE. hoogh[ts] aengename brief, uijt het Mogolse leger in Assam aen ons geschreven, hebben wij met behoorlijke eere wel ontfangen, ende met groote blijdschap en vreugde daer uijt verstaen, hoe uwe hoogh[t] met sijn triumphant leger tot groten lof, en treffelijcke renommé, veele stercke ende wel geboude Forten, stormenderhand had ingenomen, sulks naer dat wel 50 duyzend vijanden verslagen, ende ruijm 300 duyzend in't geberghte gejaegt, ende aldaer voorts verstikt, ende omgecomen waren; 't groot magtige Rijck van Cos Assam vermeestert, ende aende Mogolse Croone vanden grootmagtighsten Coningh Chia Orang Zeeph [59] gehecht, ende onder contributie gebragt hebt, met welke voortreffelijke Victorie wij uwe Hoogh[t] bijdesen veel geluck sijn wenschende, ende dat UEd. Hoogh[t] voorspoedig in Bengale moogt retourneren, omme aldaer Compag[s] handel en nnegotie met UE. Hoogh[ts] gunste t'overschaduwen,

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[57] From the original in the author's collection. It was seen by François Valentyn, who reproduced the text in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën,* Deel V (1), pp. 173-174, with the following descriptive note, which is still largely applicable today, though the colours are somewhat faded by time: "Deze gansche brief was met roode vergulde Boketten, en Lelien, in 10 Reyen, ieder van 5 Boeketten en Lelien zoodanig van boven tot beneden toe, bezaeyd, dat dan een Rey met een Boket en een Lelie (en zoo vervolgens) en dan weder een Rey met een Lelie en een Boket (en zoo vervolgens) begon; dog de Lelien waren geheel, en de Boketten boven, daar zig de bloem vertoond, rood, en rondom het zelve, mitsgaders beneden geheel veréguld; dat een schoone luyster en glans aan dezen brief, welke ik aldus gezien hebbe, byzettede". For other references to this letter, which is written on fine Indian paper measuring 35 x 62 *cm.*, see *DRB, Anno 1663,* pp. 389, 410, 411, 451, 665. The writer may have been the celebrated Herbert de Jager who had just arrived from Holland (21 June 1663), and was then employed as clerk and interpreter in Oriental languages at Batavia Castle.

[58] *Khān-Khānān* ('Lord of Lords') and *Sipāh-Sālār* (commander-in-chief), two of the many Mughal Court titles conferred on Mir Jumla.

[59] The Mughal Emperor Aurangzēb, who reigned 1658-1707.

ende onsen Directeur in sijne recchtmatige verzoeken behulpigh te sijn, dat ons aengenaem werdt te mogen verstaen.[60]

Ende nadien d'Ed. heeren onse principalen in 't Vaderlandt, den heer directeur Matheus vanden Broeck [61] tot Ordinaris Raed van India gepromoveert, ende geordonneert hebben, sijn E. persoon herwaerts t'ontbieden, ende alhier aen 't groote werck in de hooge regeringe t'employeren, soo hebben wij goedtgevonden, met dese schepen in sijn plaetse weder nae Bengale te senden de heer Rogier van Heijningen,[62] Extraordinaris Raede van India, omme aldaer in plaetse van de heer Matheus vanden Broeck te succederen, ende des E. Compag^es^ negotie met UE. hoogh^ts^ hulpe ende faveur, nae behooren waer te nemen, dies UE. hoogh^t^ believe onsen voorsz. Directeur, ende insonderheijt de Saeken vande Comp^le^, voor gerecommandeert te houden, ende onder UEd. vermogende protectie gunstelijk aen te nemen, daermede ons ten hoogsten suldt verobligeren, ende werden UE. hoogh^t^ bij desen, in teeken van onse onveranderlijke genegentheijt, tot vereeringe toegesonden, vier metale stukken van ons beste Canon, met hare affuijten ende toebehooren,[63] UEd. hoogh^t^ verseekerende dat wij van herten bereijdt sijn,

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[60] Mir Jumla had died near Dacca (10 April 1663) as a result of the hardships of his Assam campaign, an interesting account of which will be found in the *Vervaerlyke Schip-breuk van 't jacht Ter Schelling* (e.d. C. E. Warnsinck-Delprat, Utrecht, 1944). Cf. also S. K. Bhuyan, *Atau Buragohain and his times. A history of Assam from the invasion of Nawāb Mir Jumla in 1662-1663 to the termination of the Assam-Mogul conflicts in 1682* (Gauhati, 1957).

[61] Mattheus van den Broecke, or Van den Broeck, served the West-India Company for ten years in Brazil, and wrote an account of the outbreak of the rebellion of Pernambuco (*Journael,* Amsterdam, 1651) before entering the service of the VOC in 1648. He was Director in Bengal, 1658-1663, admiral of the return-fleet of 15 sail in 1669-70, and Burgomaster of his native town of Dordrecht in 1677.

[62] Rogier van Heyningen died at Chinsura, Bengal, on the 9th of June 1665, little more than a year after taking over from his predecessor early in 1664.

[63] As the writer of the *Vervaerlyke Schip-breuk van 't jacht Ter Schelling* noted in 1662, Mir Jumla was a great "liefhebber van 't geschut" (p. 114 of the 1944 edition). The contemporary Dutch, English, and Portuguese records contain many allusions to the Nawāb's fondness for cannon and his frequent endeavours to beg, buy, or borrow them. He employed many Europeans as gunners besides those from the yacht *Ter Schelling* whom he used in his Assam campaign. This was a trait which he shared with many other Asian princes and potentates from the Shah of Persia to the Shogun of Japan. Even in countries where artillery existed before the coming of the Europeans, Western cannon were always more valued than those of native manufacture. The general Asian opinion was reflected by the Japanese official who told the English Factor at Hirado in 1617 that they "would rather have one of those cast in Europe than ten of such as were ever

de oude vrindtschap met UEd. hoogh^{t} Eeuwigh ende altoos ongekreuct te continueren, alleen ons excuserende, dat de schuldt van den Portugees Francisco Viere, bedragende 3500 pagoden, volgens UEd. begeren, in Macassar niet en is gevordert, ontstaen ter saeke dito Viere nu ontrent twee jaren lange getracht heeft, ende ook door ons gelicentieert is op Batavia te comen, sulks nu door den gemaekten vreede met Portugal, in corten van Macassar te verschijnen staet, soo hebben wij 'tselve tot sijne personele overcomst alhier, uijtgestelt, niet twijfelende ofte wij sullen UEd. hoogh^{t} dienaengaende p^{r} de naeste connen contentement doen.[64] Batavia in 't Casteel den 29 Augustij A° 1663.

Joan Maetsuyker.

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cast in Japan". The Indonesian rulers carried this passion for cannon to great lengths, as can be seen from the "holy guns" in their kratons, forts, and palaces, so painstakingly documented by the late Dr. K. C. Crucq in the series of articles published in the *TBG,* 1937-41. Naturally, the Europeans were usually rather reluctant to initiate or to improve Asians in the art of casting cannon, as instanced by the decision to move the first gun-foundry at Batavia from its original site to within the castle walls, since it was situated "too close to the view of all and sundry, and in particular the natives and Javanese, from whom this art should certainly be kept secret". On the other hand, the Malay and Indonesian rulers seldom made effective use of the numerous cannon which they possessed, as the English Factor at Kedah pointed out to his superiors at Madras in 1772: "The King of Quedah and all the Maly Kings have got guns enough to drive all the Europeans out of India if they knew how to use them, and yet they want more". *(apud* D. K. Bassett in *Journal of South-East Asian History,* Vol. IV, 1963, p. 148). In South-East Asia cannon were often regarded as status-symbols, royal regalia, and even as having certain sacro-magical properties. Cf. my article in the *JMBRAS,* Vol. XXXVIII (2), pp. 156-72.

[64] On the 13th of December 1663, Maetsuyker and his Council decided to reject a "seer impertinente" demand from Mir Jumla's grandsom for the payment of these 3,500 pagodas, "die niet de Compagnie, maer Francisco Vieira schuldig was". They also decided that the four bronze guns, which they had been very reluctant to send to Mir Jumla in the first place, should now be returned to Batavia (*DRB, Anno 1663,* p. 665, where, however, the 3,500 is misprinted 35000).

APPENDIX XV

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE OVERSEAS COUNCIL AT LISBON, 27 MARCH, 1664 [65]

Havendose visto neste Conselho a copia da carta inclusa, que Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, estante no Reino de Macassá escreveo ao Marques de Niza em 6 de Agosto de 1662.[66] e considerados os pontos que ella conthem de conveniencia ao serviço de Vossa Magestade, e dano dos vassallos da India, de os Ingleses ou Olandeses conseguirem os intentos de se senhorearem da Ilha de Timor,[67] de que jà por tres veses, (com o favor delle Francisco Vieira, e munições com que lhe acodio em aquelas occasiões) forão rechassados com perda consideravel dos naturaes, que com o Rey seguem a sua parçialidade, pela esperança que tem de se aproveitar do Sandalo (que he remedio da cidade de Machao), ouro, prata, e tambaca, que botão os Rios, Pareçeo, que não se havendo já representado a Vossa Magestade pelo Conselho de Estado (por a dita carta ser escrita a hum Conselheiro delle) remeterlha, para que averiguandose, por essenciaes os pontos que nella se relatão, mande Vossa Magestade advertir delles ao governador da India, para que tenha daquela Ilha o cuidado possivel; E agradeçer a Francisco Vieira o bom procedimento com que se tem havido no serviço de Vossa Magestade, e espera o continue, emquanto se detiver naquele Reino, para ter occasião de lhe fazer merce, por poder suçceder que ainda o achem nelle estas naos, e que não tenha usado da Provisão que Vossa Magestade lhe concedeo para vir em hũa embarcação sua para este Reino. Em Lisboa a 27 de Março de 1664. *O Conde — Mello — Miranda — Dourado — Falcão.*

[This document is endorsed on the *verso* as follows].

A Francisco Vieira mando agradeçer este serviço, e encomendar a continuação delle. E lhe faço merce do foro de fidalgo da minha casa, com a moradia ordinaria, E do habito de Christo com quarenta milreis de pensão em huma comenda, que se haja de pensionar da mesma ordem. E disto se escreveo ao Governador da India, e ao mesmo

[65] Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Codice do Conselho Ultramarino, nr. 16, fl. 3 *verso*. Reproduced by H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor*, p. 203.

[66] This letter is not reproduced by H. Leitão, *op. cit.*

[67] The English never made any attempt to occupy Timor or to drive out the Portuguese.

Francisco Vieira pela Secretaria de Estado, por mayor brevidade. Lisboa, 12 de abril de 1664. *Rey.*[68]

APPENDIX XVI

FRANCISCO VIEIRA'S NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, 28 JUNE, 1664 [69]

Relação que dá Francisco Vieira de figueiredo das cousas proximas deste sul. (28.VI.1664)

Em primeiro lugar o China *Cohosim,*[70] poderosissimo, que avia de dar muito a que entender aos olandezes morreo; o seu poder se deuidio porque o filho que lhe ficou pareçe não imitou ao Pay; sua morte foi cauza de não passar o seu poder a Manilla; dizem que se la pasara a tomara sem duvida; com tudo suposto o seu poder se deuidiçe ainda dá que fazer aos olandezes que tem la hido estes dous annos atrazados e sempre perderão Naos; suposto que se ayuntarão com os tartaros; e ajudarão a recuperar algũnas povoacoens que o china aleuantado pesohia; e duas Ilhas na Costa do chincheo de pouca emportancia;[71] contudo na Ilha fermoza não puzerão ainda os pes; e pello que dizem não porão.[72]

Os Tartaros lhe offereçem comerçio, mas não me pareçe que continuarão porque os Tartaros sam insolentes de soberbos; e os olandezes não sam menos; assim não sei se ia tiuerão; o mais certo he que não; e se for não será com a largueza e intereçe da Ilha fermoza, nem a liberdade sempre lhe será necessario hir com muitas de naos de guerra a fazer muitos gastos, e tirar pouco proveito; porque suposto que dê

[68] As explained on p. 26 above, although Vieira had been unofficially accorded the Order of Christ since 1656 at least, the categorical nature of this Crown *despacho* indicates that he was not really entitled to this privilege prior to 1664.

[69] Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, "Colecção de São Vicente", Vol XII, fols. 477 *et seq.* There is no indication to whom this *Relação* was addressed, and the copy made available to me is very badly transcribed, being quite unintelligible in places.

[70] Cheng Ch'eng Kung, the famous Ming partisan known to Europeans as Coxinga, or Koxinga, who died on Formosa in June 1662, five months after his conquest of the island from the Dutch.

[71] Amoy and Quemoy, offshore islands of Fukien province.

[72] Vieira was wrong here. The Dutch reoccupied the northern fort of Kelung in Formosa, 1664-68, when they evacuated it as being commercially useless.

boa entrada fação campo franco aos Tartaros, com muitas larguezas, para com elles, se enganão porque hão de querer que seia cada vez mais, e nunca se hão de fiar dos olandezes.

A pratica que eu fis aqui ao Embaixador[73] ha dous annos foi de muito effeito porque he certo que logo detriminarão não hir a Macao, suposto se disece por fora que havião de hir tomar aquella Cidade erão couzas do bazar, porque antes estauão ia muito fora de tal cometer; isto soube de pessoa que sabia tudo; e eu tinha seus auizos que me custauão muito de minha fazenda.

No que toque às Ilhas Molucas, estão os olandezes absolutamente senhores dellas, porque apertarão tanto com os Castelhanos que lhe não deixarão nenhũa só arvore de Cravo thé dentro as suas hortas e aserca dos Padres da Companhia lhe forão cortar algũas que tinhão; com que os Castelhanos com achaque de que hera necessario accudir a Manilla per respeito da china Cohosim largarão tudo, mas ia com novas que o China era morto.[74]

O Estado da Cidade de Macao (he este) ouve que la deçe hum alvitre ao Emperador da China;[75] que se queria que este China lhe obedecesse, que mandasse retirar todas as Cidades, e povoacoens de fralda do Mar de todo seu Reino des legoas pella terra dentro; e Mandace que nenhũ barco navegaçe em todo seu Reino, nem ouuesse taboa sobre o Mar que com isso lhe darião os alevantados obediençia; porque as terras da fralda do mar o sustentauão de Comerçio e bastimentos, e faltando lhe não tinhão mais remedio que obedecerê; com este Conselho Mandou logo o emperador por em execução o Negocio, de tal sorte que se quebrarão muitas Cidades, e uillas, e aldeas, tudo o que estaua des legoas pera a Costa do mar, que dizem he grande lastima ver; vierão tambem a Macao que se recolhese a Cidade pera dentro, e que não Navegassem, fizerão os moradores no principio pouco cazo, por lhe parecer que sendo Portugezes, não corrião nesta conta; veio hum Vizitador General que he entre os Chinas como hum Deus e chegou Mea legoa de Macao adonde está hum pedaço de muro dos mesmos chinas, que se chama a serca,[76] cuidando que aly fosse logo a Cidade com grande prezente como deuia de vir bem emsaiado dos mesmos chinas, que com nosco tem Comonicação; os quaes avizarão a Cidade

[73] Adriaen Nieuland.

[74] The Spanish evacuation of their forts on Ternate and Tidore in 1662-1663 is fully documented in the *DRB, Anno 1663*, pp. 239-46, 394-98.

[75] The renegade Ming General Huang Wu. Cf. p. 45 above.

[76] *Porto do Cerco* was the more usual name, and *a serca* is probably a copyists' for *o serco*, which it was often called for short.

que accudisse logo; fes se pouco Cazo deste avizo; o Vizitador como vio que lhe não accudirão logo foise e deixou posta hua bandeira naquelle lugar em que significava que aquella Cidade ficava de fora como desobediente; quoando os Moradores ou a Cidade quis accudir era ia tarde; tratarão de outros remedios com o Rey de Cantão que favorece a Cidade, porque elle sem Macao de que hade ser Rey que he muito ambiciozo, elle he o que aconcelha, e dizem que tem offereçido a metade dos gastos que se fizerem; tense mandado a Corte por seu conçelho e traçe esperavase boa Reposta; mas não muito com evidencia; antes estavão todos desconçolados, porque como ficou a Cidade como de fora da obediencia do Rey e mandarão recolher todos os chinas de la pera Cantão; e que todos os dias mandassem trinta picos de aros a aquella serca adonde o uão comprar; replicou a Cidade que não bastava, porque hera muita a gente; responderão lhe que se não bastava que se fossem embora; com isto todos ficarão muito desconçolados e esta em grande Mizeria por aver dous annos que não navegão, e dinheiro tomarão os olandezes a Nao que hera a gadelha de Macao em Timor no mesmo Anno hindo a Nao de Vasco Barboza de Sião pera Macao se foi a pique no Golfo de Ainão, parte da gente se salvou na barca [e] foi dar ao Chincheo,[77] adonde os Portuguezes virão o espetaculo de tantas Cidades quebradas, e despovoadas; hum Manoel da fonçequa que está neste Macassar que mo contou; sucedeo chegar o meu Pataxo que vinha dessa Cidade de Goa pera este Macassar não chegou por partir de la tarde; e por não saber o estado da Cidade entrou; sendo que foi avizado do Geral que não entrasse mas a Cidade não quis senão que entrasse, e ficou reteudo como estão os daquella Cidade; despois a hum mez chegou hum Pataixo meu que eu daqui mandei não sabendo o estado daquella Cidade o quoal ordenarão emtão assim o Geral, como a Cidade que não entrasse ficou de fora de noite descarregou a fazenda que levava e carregou cõ algũa dos vizinhos da dita Cidade e se Veio, bem me enportava mandado a essa Cidade de goa; mas foi forçado mandalo outra vez a Macao com outro barco mais que aqui se comprou;[78] ambos

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[77] Chincheo was the name by which the Portuguese and Spaniards often called the coastal province of Fukien. It was also applied to the ports of Ch'uan-chou, Chang-chou, and to the region of the Bay of Amoy. Cf. C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953), pp. 313-26.

[78] Cf. the diary of Luís da Gama S. J., transcribed in the *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo,* Vol. I, pp. 115-16, 307-09, Vol. II., pp. 694-95, for the difficulties of Vieira's ships and their cargoes at Macao during these years of the Manchu blockade.

forão carregados e ricos, queira DEUS levalos a salvamento.

Quando o Navio de Goa chegou estava o Comercio aberto, e ainda se Vendeo algũa fazenda não minha; logo que se lavantarão os chinas de suberbos com hũas embarcaçoens pescadeiras a que chamao trombas [79] que dizem que são mais de dez mil; e tomarão todos os Rios de Cantão com que se não pode fazer nenhũ, nem passar a Cantão nem dela a Macao; estes Vivem no mar, [e] não tem povoacoens nem cazas mais que os seus barcos não querem obedeçer ao mandado do emperador, mas esperavase que ouuesse Conçertos como digo tinha boas esperanças pello menos de se vender bem a fazenda, porque Estava em Cantão muita dos chinas pera passar a Macao avendo lugar de o poderem fazer ou por peitas, ou por outro algũ Remedio avia de aver negoçio não sej the ao prezente de outra couza.

Vamos aos Negocios de Timor: o anno passado fui la a compar ao Capitam Mor Simão Luis, que estava descomfiado de lhe não vir o Habito,[80] e avia embusteiros, e emveiozos que lhe disserão e escreverão que nao se fiasse de my que o enganava foi necessario hir minha pessoa, couza que em muitos annos que ando nestas partes nunca o fis; fui no Cabo da monção em hum paró de remos e estive só oito dias, dexeio satisfeito e me vim logo no mez de Mayo [1663], chegou o mez de novembro começou o Meu Coração a dar me na vontade hir a Timor, porque chegarão novas que tinhamos pazes com os olandezes; e que o meu Pataxo que Esperava de Goa passara pera Macao por lhe não dar o Vento lugar de chegar a este porto, e que vinha o Habitu ao Capitam Mor Simão Luis, fis conta de lhe hir botar; e se avia de ir no tarde, hir no cedo, e assim o detriminey ainda que com repugnançia e lagrimas de D. Catharina minha esposa: comtudo DEUS me inspirou que tudo dei de Mão por me pareçer hia fazer grande serviço a el Rey e a DEUS. e me partj a derradeiro de dezembro [1663]; logo em solor emcontrey hũ barco que vinha de Jacatara com Miguel Nogueira Valente que foi prezioneiro na Nao que tomarão em Timor; me disse que o Capitam da Nao que levou o Socorro a Timor assim como chegou a Jacatara

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[79] This word must be a copyist's error for something else. In any case, the reference is obviously to the *Tanka* (lit. "egg-people"), or boat-people of the Pearl River delta, who hardly ever went ashore from the boats in which they lived. The Senate of Macao in appealing to the Cantonese provincial authorities against the enforcement of the blockade, stressed their own dependence on the sea, alleging that "just as the fish cannot live out of the water, so the people of Macao would die if they were moved inland" (*Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo,* Vol. I, p. 307).

[80] Of the Order of Christ. Cf. p. 39 above.

que soube que tinhamos pazes se mostrou muito sintido; dizendo grande vintura da gente de Timor, porque este anno avia de ser a Ilha sua com morte de todos os christãos que la estavão de sorte que me fui a Timor; E este Miguel Nogueira tambem; E tomou a fortaleza de Cupão dos olandezes pera dar novas das pazes, mas ia la os sabião, suposto se mostrarão neutrais, e disse que vira na Fortaleza mais de quoatro centos olandezes sendo que o que nella tinhão em tempo de guerra, erão duzentos fora pretos, e que hũa Nao Grande tinha levado muita gente no sedo, e de lá se fora pera amboino por não ser sinoda; logo daly a um mez tive novas que erão chegadas a Cupão tres Naos grandes duas de guerra, e hum churrião [81] que he o que sempre hia com socorro, e que levarão pera Cupão mais de trezentos olandezes; ia neste tempo o Capitam Mor Simão Luis era morto, que depois da Minha chegada a Timor a quatorze dias Morreo em Lifão que nem eu me morey com elle, em má occazião sube que os Reis de Amanubão que sam do porto donde eu Estava sam os mais poderozos de Timor, e forão sempre Nossos amigos e nos ajudarão nas guerras, não fizerão simenteiras aquelle anno, e o mantimento que tinha, o tinha metido em seus lopos [82] que sam seus Palaçios, e se eu não mando hũa Galle de aros a lifão e levo comoigo tambem, Morre a Nossa gente a fome, porque ja estava tudo tomado e conçertado; de sorte que os Nossos não teuessem que comer; despois do Capitam Mor morto as couzas que ouvi as sem Rezois que se fazião aos Timores he cousa emcrivel o certo he que as sem Rezoins que alguns Nossos fizerão aos Naturais da jndia foi couza della se perder;[83] algũas queixas tinha eu ouvido e eu escrito ao Capitam Mor que as Remediase; elle me Respondia que Cupão era Cauza de elle não poder fazer Justiça que seu tempo viria; mas elle era a mesma injustica pois me contarão e foi assim que achando o Rey de Amanubão hum filho de Solor com sua molher hũa noite matou a Molher e mandou dizer ao Capitam Mor, que elle matara sua molher pella achar com fulano; e que elle não tinha maons pera christão; mas

[81] The *Nachtegael, Purmerlant,* and *Ilpendam.* Cf. *DRB, Anno 1664,* pp. 220, 272-73.

[82] I cannot identify this word and suspect it is a copyist's error for *guno(s),* the mountain or hill-top fortified refuges in which the Timorese took refuge when danger threatened. Cf. A. B. de Sá, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulindia,* Vol. IV (1956), pp. 191, 477, 548.

[83] An admission made by many other Portuguese, both priests and laymen at this period. Cf. J. S. Cummins, *Travels and controversies of Fr. Domingo Navarrete,* pp. 124-25, 265-67; C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 69-73.

que sua merce fizeçe justica; o Capitam Mor não tão somentes não fez iustica, mas nenhũa só demonstração; e o diliquente passiando em Timor; diligencias fis eu pera apanhar e mandalo dependurar Em hũa arvore nao pude, por esta sem rezao poderão julgar outras com que tinhão os Timores resão de se levantarẽ e Vingarem afronta de seu Rey; agora quoamdo cheguei mandej logo Vizitar aos Reis, elles me mandarão avião de vir a baixo logo verme; passarão mais de dous mezes de dia em dia sem virem com que derão mais a conhesser sua Velhacaria, parece que os olandezes tinhão entiligencias, que lhe mandavão dizer conseguisẽ sua promesa e que se nos diziamos que tinhamos pazes que era mintira; isto dizião elles aos Nosos que era mintira dizeremos tinhamos pazes; e logo pera mais sertificarem não teremos pazes mandarão pelos seus Timores que tem em Cupão mais de doze mil de armas fazer entrada em Amarrasi, terras nossas fronteiras a Cupão, e da primeira vez levarão vinte e duas cabecas, a segunda oito, os nossos mandarão me pedir licença pera deserem cõ Armas suposto que elle mandou dizer el Rey de Amarrasy que foi sempre e hé nosso fiel amigo que soubesse que avão tinha em Timor a ninguẽ mais que a elle por fiel, e ao Amacono; mas que o tal era só e não os seus com que acabei bem de certificar, que a treicão estava armada mandey ordem que os nossos não bullissem, que não estivesem descuidados se os viessem buscar se deffendessem, mas não buscalos a elles porque isso he o que queria olandez que nos nos desmandaçemos pera elles sahirem, porque por contas tinhão na fortaleza mais de oito centos Europeos e os seus Timores que sam os Reis de Amavi, E do sonavay que se forão pera elles com sua gente quoando lhe tomarão os nossos o ferro [serra?] de Molo, mas isso foi com ajuda dos que agora estavão contra nos; se os Nossos dessem a elles os de Amanubao E de Lifão e todos os que tinhamos por amigos dão em nos, e não escapa ningũe que desse novas de como se perdera a Ilha de Timor, eu me ui com grandes cuidados descurcei que mandasse a Cupão chamar a tres Naos que la estavão que lhe queria dar sandalo, escrevilhe hũa carta logo vierão Amanubao adonde eu estava, recebios com grandes mostras de alegriã e de muitos tiros, e lhe dei de merendar e fis mais; suposto que aly eu tinha sandalo dise lhe que não era meu que fosse hũa Nao a Bacumião que he outro porto avante oito legoas e que fossem as duas a Terris e Serrim que são outros portos mais avante, e lá lhe mandei dar sandalo, sem preço nẽ pesado mais que eu me fiava delles, que o que pesasse em Jacatara me pagaria o Geral pello que quizerẽ; ficarão elles mui contentes, e partirão logo; e os Timores ficarão dezenganados, que não tão somentes tinhamos pazes, se não lhe fis

entender que erão meus subditos e que o mandei vir de Cupão a meu servico buscar o meu sandalo, como elles vierão; e logo o crerão e dentro em tres dias baixou os Reis não todos os que estavão menos comprendidos, que era o Rey Velho que ja não governa E seu Irmão o Vailape recebeo bem, e lhe dei grandes datas e primeiro lhe mandei dizer que me não trouxessem nada; Do que elles se admirarão por acharem moeda que nunca correo em sua terra, se não dei ca, o mais dei ca; pedirão me perdão do passado, que lho desse por escrito Em Nome del Rey Noso Senhor logo lho passei; mandei vir o escrivão do Arrayal com papel e tinta e mandei dizer aos Reis que eu hia a aquella Ilha pera Castigar os que os tivessem agravados que nomeassem que está o escrivão pera os escrever, em castigalos; sao tão coitados que disserão que não tinhão agravo de ninguẽ; mas que pois ia tinhamos pazes com os olandezes que alimpasse o seu Reino botase fora a muitos que elles os não podião nomear; mas que eu me enformasse; respondilhe que assi o faria; o Capitam Mor que eu a levantei novo que agora não avia barcos pera os botar; mas que o faria na primeira occazão; pedio me lhe comfirmasse por escrito hũas terras do Reino de Allavi, que ainda a destruir com os Nossos por ser o dito Reino comfederado dos olandezes e que o Capitam Mor, francisco Carneiro de siqueira, lhe prometera the tal sitio, concedilhe a caza em que o recebi lhe mandei armar toda de panos pintados, despois de lhe dar grandes Datas Mandei que aquelles panos mandasse levar pera seus criados, foi grande a festa [e] a luta sobre os panos que os seus levarão quazi todos em pedaços, e forão-se muito Contentes.

Vejo logo o Amacono que foi Rey de Boife comquistado ha ja annos mas despois disso foi tanto Nosso fiel que muitas Vezes ariscou sua vida com os seus; e se elle não fora não se puderão Vencer os grandes poderes do Inimigo olandez, e Naturais, este morava seis dias de Caminho de Amamubao, veiome vizitar escoteiro, mas com mais de tres mil homẽs darmas, e a este fis muitas honrras; porque elle estava descomfiado do Capitam Mor por lhe dizer algũas vezes que era seu captivo, porque fora conquistado, tanto assim que El Rey de Amanubão, o Mançebo quis cazar com hũa filha sua e por ouvir dizer ao Capitam simão luis que elle era seu captivo largou o Cazamento, e o Amacono ficou desconcolado; a estes fis grandes honrras e lhe dei o titulo de Rey de Boife que era sua propia terra, e lhe dei o titulo de Rei de Batuguede que foi tão bem destruido pellos Nossos com penssão de pagar todos os annos trinta bares de sandalo a el Rei nosso senhor quinze de Sonavay, e quinze de Batuguede, e lhe passei hũa provisão em nome del Rey

Nosso senhor que ficava izento aos Capitaïns e a outros que não nomeio de lhe dar tutais que he hum grande penção, nem de dar sandalo mais que este a El Rei nosso senhor, e o de mais podia Vender livremente como seu fazer seus tratos como he custume; como Rey livre; so nas guerras a que fossem chamado accodiria; e que ao tempo adiante aindo o farião mayor senhor se elle se mostrasse como the ao prezente o tinha feito, e que elle não era cativo de ninguem, Vassallo del Rei Nosso senhor sy; do que se podia prezar muito; ficou tão Contente que não cabia na pelle de prazer.

Logo El Rei de Amarrassi, mandou hum Irmão e sobrinho seu com grande acompanhamento; o Irmão que governa o Reino que he o que Vençeo ao flamem [84] cõ a Nossa pouca gente que bautisasse ao Irmão e sobrinho, e que fosse seu padrinho, fico eu cõ toda a pompa que pude, e Mais me mandou dizer que o Capitam Mor francisco Carneiro de siqueira lhe prometera o Reino de Amave que nos foi traidores, e foi para os olandezes, se elle nos ajudasse a comquistar; que elle o fez agora que tinhamos pazes com os olandezes se se lhe avia de dar o Reino, ou não; eu Respondi que agora que tinhamos pazes que de milhor Vontade; e lhe passei logo hũa provizão em Nome de sua Magestade em que lhe dava as terras de Amave o destrito que lhe pertençia; fora dó que se deu a El Rei de Amanubão Com penção de pagar cada anno des bares de sandalo a el Rei noso senhor dizendo eu que El Rei nosso senhor não avia mister tal, mas que era Custume os Reis que se sometião debaixo de sua protecção pagarlhe hum reconhecimento, e lhe fis passar cada hum seu papel; ficarão em poder do Capitam Mor; em que elles se sometião debaixo da protecção del Rey de Portugal e que nunca em nenhum tempo elles nem seus suçessores darião entrada a Nação nenhũa em seus Reinos nem portos, nem por Comerçio nem outro nome nenhũ; todos sem repugnar o passarão pera dezemgano dos olandezes, e deste Rey de Macassar.

Aavia pertençores naquella Ilha que por morte do Capitam Mor avião de fazer ranchos e as espingardadas ganhar a Capitania Mor (isto dito por todos) e assim que todos me davão os perabens da minha hida em tal occazião atreboindo tudo a Milagre e detriminei eu por contentar a todos por nos mais votos e assim o fis, sahirão os mais pelo Capitão e Tenente Antonio Hornai, empregado e não avia outro; com tudo não deixej de ter grandes desgostos, e ainda ouve motis causados por que se não pode dizer; emfim ficou tudo quieto, deixo à descrição do

[84] Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn.

leitor em que a occazião morreo o Capitam Mor e os nosos avião de fazer ranchos e jugar espingardadas, e ainda fiados Em pazes, E a traça estava ordida e couza sabida por elles, porque o Capitam Mor avia tres mezes tinha tomado tres Timores de Amanubão que vinhão de Cupão e lhe deu tratos ao que la forão, e o comfessarão, e vião sinais evidentes nos Timores, e os olandezes caio lhe a sopa no mel; porque conforme se entende todos avião de Morrer, se DEUS la me não leva; isto he evidente te pella traça dos olandezes com os naturais; e isto feito em Vida de Simão luis que o sonhavão quanto mais com sua morte, e que todos avião de andar as espingardadas huũs com os outros.

O Embaixador olandes que aqui tinha cheguado ao Macassar [85] nao faltarão dos Nossos quem lhe foi logo dizer o que eu fis em Timor; logo se foi aos Reis cõ os feitores apertar com elles que logo naquelle mez me botassẽ fora de seu Reino e que não querião que eu fosse para Solor nem Timor, que o Rei se avia de obrigar a isso; respondeu-lhe o Rei que agora tinhamos pazes, que como elles podião fazer isso responderão que si podião porque Timor era del Rei de Tollo, e não del Rei de Portugal, e que se eu para la fosse que a forssa de armas me hirião tirar como quem queria estar na terra alheja do Rei de quem elles erão amigos virão se os Reis tão apertados e chejos de datas que naquella occazião lhe largarão dezasseis pessas graças que elles vinhão Requerer e pedir de hũa Nao que o anno passado se perdeo nesta costa;[86] mandarão me recado que me fosse logo; eu Respondi que o não podia fazer e que se suas Altezas quesessem que me mandasem pagar mays de setenta mil pardaos que me devião em sua terra e que logo me hiria, mas que eu tinha a sua Real chapa que me dá de Plauzo, o anno de 64; que ainda durava the dezembro, mas que eu hiria a Jacatara em Outubro, e que se o geral não quisese largar mão de my se não que me fosse que tinha tempo pera me hir neste mesmo anno de 64. Com isto fiquei pera hir a Jacatará, Muito mais tinha que dizer mas não tenho tempo de o fazer nem quero emfadar aos leitores Macassar — 28 de Junho 1664.

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[85] Jacob Cau, with Abraham Verspreet as his second.

[86] *De Walvis,* from which Karaéngs Tallo' and Sumanna' had recovered 16 guns. Cf. Stapel, *Bongaais Verdrag,* pp. 74-78.

APPENDIX XVII

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF AGENT QUARLES BROWN AT BANTAM TO THE E I C AT LONDON, 31 DEC./10 JANUARY, 1664/65 [87]

"The 19 October having news from Batavia that Senhor Francisco Vieira, a noble Portugal, had brought your 58 *bahar* (of 500 lbs. each) of sappan wood freight free from your Factors at Macassar, we did at first intend to have fetched it with Java prows, the Dutch not suffering him (as he intended) to come to Bantam .... and being invited by the said worthy person, Senhor Francisco Vieira, that what goods we had occasion to presently send to Macassar, he would carry them freight free, which great favour and opportunity we took into serious consideration, and knowing how faithful he had been to you, and what love and respect he always bare to our nation, we sent 40 bales of your goods in the pinnace amounting to [blank].

A principal reason of our accepting of this kindness was lest we should be shortened of tonnage, but no sooner your pinnace arrived in Batavia Road and had got out your wood, but the General etc., seized on Senhor Vieira's ship and confined him, so your vessell returned with your 40 bales of cloth, they telling Senhor Vieira the reason of their being so strict with him was occasioned for his kindness to you, and so for the present released both him and his ship...."

APPENDIX XVIII

PETITION OF THE LARANTUQUEIROS AGAINST FRANCISCO VIEIRA'S ACTIVITIES, 28 MAY, 1666 [88]

Certificamos nos abaixo asinados ser verdade vir o R. P. Fr. Françisco da Conceipção Religiozo da Sagrada Ordem dos prêgadores procurador das Cristandades,[89] a esta Ilha, emviado por Francisco Vr.ª de figueiredo

[87] India Office Library, O.C. Vol. 28 (1663-64), nr. 3041, fls. 30-31. This version of Vieira's arrest at Batavia in 1664 is not so accurate as that given in the text above (pp. 42-44), but is inserted here as an additional proof of the cordial relations prevailing between Vieira and the English.

[88] Historical Archives, Goa, Documentos avulsos.

[89] Born at Coulão (Quilon) on the Malabar coast, "Religioso activo, animoso, e de bom zelo" according to the *Breve Relaçam* of 1665 (p. 48). He had been admitted to the Order in the convent at Cochin.

por conheçer ser o dito P.e amado e respeitado de toda esta Cristandade, apaziguar as desordens que havia, cauzado por mao governo de Antonio hornay capitão mor feito por Francisco Vr.a de figr.do e trouxe todos os seus poderes p.a por e despor e apaziguar as alterações, pellas avexaçõis em que estavão e por outra vez a Antonio hornay por capp.am mor, antes que o dito P.e chegase todos de comum pareçer estavamos despostos a não admitirmos o tal governo, por ser tiranno, e de Fr.co Vr.a de Figr.do couza algũa por tratar sô de seus intereços particulares, destroindo esta Ilha. Como o R. P. Fr. Françisco da Conçeipcão he de todos amado e respeitado não pudemos deixar de o admitir e sugeitarmos; sô uindo elle pudera ter effeito as prouizõis que se lerão de Fran.co Vr.ra de figr.do, sendo outro sugeito não ouvera de ter lugar; fes o dito P.e as diligencias possiveis por admoestaçõis, petitorios, e afagos, pera que tornassemos a obediençia de Antonio hornay, não pode effeituar por quanto não sô nos, mas todos os Reis cristãos e gentios nossos confederados como aveixados concorrerão cõ grandes clamores, das forças, Roubos, e tirannias, cõ que erão tratados de Antonio hornay, e iuntamente querer absolutamente Francisco V.ra de figr.do comer desta Ilha sô, excluindo aos que nella cançarão, e sostentarão, e defenderão a custa propria, cõ grandes empenhos; e a cidade de Macao tirar os contratos que nesta Ilha tem, e sô com elles se sostenta a dita cidade (Ambição intoleravel) que em tempo em que os homens se havião de Remediar depois de ter derramado tanto sangue, querer excluir Françisco V.ra de figr.do e comer elle sô, pondo a Antonio hornay por seu feitor, e tomar todos os porttos p.a sy, não dando Lugar a pessoa algũa de poder tirar hũ pao de sandalo, e os Reis não erão Senhores de seus thezouros por que Antonio hornay tudo tinha Roubado e atributado, cô tributos de sandalo, tão grandiozos, que se sentião incapazes de poderẽ dar comprimento. Forão tantas as culpas tão atrozes que aprezentarão que ficou o dito P.e atonito, vendo que tudo constavão por papeis e uos publica absolutamente o Respublicarão os ditos Reis a uozes cõ deliberação que se An.to hornay governase outra vez ouverão de fazer aos olandezes, ou Mouros senhores desta ilha e ià não podião soportar tantos Roubos e tirannias, e a nossa gente tãobem cõ seus protestos e Requerimentos das aveixaçõis, e iniustiças, que ficou o dito P.e suspenso e temerozo da perdição de suas cristandades, prometendo de manifestar a Fran.co V.ra de figr.do e levar devassa e mais papeis que se tirarão por ordem do mesmo Fran.co V.ra de figr.do e elle como cristã ouvera mais de render o que era tanto de serviço de Deus, augmento das cristandades, bem das almas, e serviço de Sua Mag.de, cortando por seus intereces; foy o dito Padre mal

reçebido de fran.co V.ra de figr.do e não quis admitir papeis nenhuns, senão querer a força que governasse Antonio hornay esta ilha forçozamente, atentando mais por seus intereçes que bem das cristandades, e dizia que a puro dr.o, ouvera de governar, ou fazer cõ que o dito Antonio hornay governasse esta ilha outra vez. Passados alguns mezes depois da partida do R. P. Fr. Fran.co da Conçeipção pera Larantuca, portou o R. P. Fr. João do Rozario [90] cõ poderes do mesmo fran.co V.ra de figr.do, afim de por cabedal, a que governasse Antonio hornay esta ilha, o que senão pode conseguir pellas rezõis acima apontadas, vendo a rayna prometeo a todos assy aos Religiozos como seculares que mais obrigado estava as suas cristandades, do que os interesses de Fran.co Vr.ra de figr.do, quando elle não quizesse por os olhos no bem dellas ouvera de Lançar fora de Larantuca pondo o cabedal por destruidor e arvynador das cristandades, vendo nos esta rezolução e promessa lhe demos sinco païs douro e outros particulares mais da [?] [91] cõ que se prefizerão sete païs douro, sô a aiudar a este fim; indo a Larantuca fes tanto ao contrario da obrigação de Religiozo e bem de suas cristandades, pos se contra nos, e contra seus irmãos levado do interesse de fran.co V.ra de figr.do, prometendo de nos destruyr, e governar Antonio hornay, solicitando p.a este effeito favores dos naturaes, e fran.co V.ra de figr.do sem adivtorio do dito Padre não podia conseguir seu mao intento: conheçendo nôs sua mâ tenção por cartas donde cauzar grandes ruinas, entimamós hũ protesto a todos os P.es Vigairos das cristandades que tornando o R. P. Fr. João do Rosr.o, a esta Ilha o sobstivessẽ nella pello dano que podia rezultar por quanto vinha arvynar esta Ilha por cauza de Antonio hornay, em rezão de ter o dito Antonio hornay no prinçipio do seu tiranno governo, peitado cõ seis païs douro e dez corias [92] de Roupas sô afim de favoreçer as suas sẽ rezoïs, Roubos, e tirannias; e de nos tinha Levado sete païs de ouro pa o fim açima declarado, e de fran.co V.ra de figr.do açeito novamente peitas p.a haver de tratar da perdição das cristandades, os p.es como inteirados da verdade açima declarada pellas cartas que tiverão de Larantuca prometerão de o fazer pera pax e quietação das xp.es e bem da religião, não teve effeito a vinda do dito P.e fr. João do Rozr.o a esta Ilha pera haver de se por em execussão; passados dous mezes depois do nosso protesto aos Religiozos e determinação delles chegou o R. P. Frei Fran.co da Conçeipsão

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[90] "A native of Lisbon and a son of the Congregation of India", according to the *Breve Relaçam* of 1665 (p. 51).

[91] An illegible word here.

[92] *Corja,* for which see the Glossary *infra.*

sendo actualmente Vigairo da povoação de Conhas [93] depois de estar prezo e aveixado de Fran.co V.ra de Figr.do cõ notavel escandalo da xp.e, dizendo ser o dito P.e cauza de não governar Antonio hornay esta Ilha imputando iuntam.te termos dado peitas a este fim, o que tudo he falço: porque em todas as ocazioïs assy governando Timor, como não governando, sempre foy muy desintereçado e desapegado de interesses tratando sô do bem da cristandade; vendose pobre e roubado passou a esta Ilha pa haver de areccadar algũas dividas que lhe devião; depois da chegado do P.e, fr. Fran.co da Conçeipção a esta Ilha, a oito dias portou o P.e fr. João do Rozr.o nella cõ engano, dizendo que trazia as couzas findas, e acabadas em bem das xp.es, fomos todos em sua demanda a praya, Logo se tornou a Embarcar pella notiçia que teve do protesto que fizemos aos P.es pa haver de o sobster, a Reçeozo que pedisemos tãobem os ditos sete païs douro que nos tinha tomado, por mais que os P.es fizerão e pedirão por cartas que desembarcasse não poderão acabar cõ elle que viesse a terra; fes logo volta p.a Cupão fortaleza dos olandezes, p.a dahy ter communicação cõ Antonio hornay em dano das xp.es e nosso: pelas carta soubemos fazer ao P.e fr. Fran.co de Conçeipção autor do protesto e asento que fizemos cõ os mais P.es, sendo tudo falço, porque nesse tempo não estava o dito P.e nesta Ilha, senão dahy a Dous mezes aporttou; e por passar o açima conteudo na verdade iuramos aos Santos Evangelhos.

Muchy 28 de Mayo de 1666.[94]

(Seguem as assinaturas, reconhecidas pelo escrivão publico judicial do Crime e Civel, Gaspar da Cunha, em Muxi, 28 May 1666).

APPENDIX XIX

LETTER FROM FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO TO THE CROWN OF PORTUGAL, 26 MAY, 1667 [95]

Á carta que Vossa Magestade, que Deos guarde, foi servido mandar me escrever em 8 de Abril de 1664, tenho feito reposta, e beijado a mão

[93] The hamlet of Conhas on Flores island.

[94] I cannot identify Muxi unless it is the same place as "Mutis" located in the "kingdom" of Amacono in Servião, on Cdte. H. Leitão's sketch-map of Timor.

[95] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, "Documentos avulsos de Timor de 1648 a 1843". Published by H. Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor*, pp. 204-05. I have modernised the spelling and punctuation in a few places, for greater clarity. The letter was addressed to King Dom Affonso VI, but he had been deposed by his younger. brother, Dom Pedro, who had assumed the title of Prince-Regent after the *coup d'état* of October, 1667, and the meeting of the Cortes in January 1668, which legalised it.

de Vossa Magestade pellas mercês que nella me fes, e dobrarão o animo a me dispor a fazer dos impossiveis possiveis no serviço de Vossa Real Magestade, cuja vida felicissima e dobrados augmentos de sua Real coroa dê Deos a Vossa Magestade segundo a medida de seu desejo.

Antes da dita carta tinha Eu escrito ao Vizo Rey da India, e pedido me mandasse hum navio de Vossa Magestade com 200 soldados pagos à minha custa, e para isso lhe mandava dar 10 mil xerafins para as ditas pagas para metter a ilha de Timor debaixo da protecção e dominio de Vossa Real Magestade, que Deos guarde, não devia de poder ou como fosse;[96] não mandou se não no anno seguinte com 30 soldados, desses, chegarão cá 16 em hum galleão podre, que aqui fica, e servio mais de opprobrio dos Estados da India, que de serviço de Vossa Magestade; porque se os de Timor estavão rebellados, mais o ficârão com a vinda do Galleão tão falto de gente, que, por milagre, chegou cá, depois de hum anno de viagem, por ter invernado em Java, e foi cauza o ter partido mui tarde de Goa.

Tenho tido aqui muitos gastos em sustentar a gente do dito galleão que me ficou âs costas, porquanto o galleão não pode fazer viagem para a China, para donde avia de ir por ordem que trazia do Visorei.[97] Mandei pedir mineyros, não veo nenhum; a ilha de Timor geralmente dizem, que tem minas de prata, ouro, tambaca; bem soliçitada dos olandezes, e perderão muita gente pella querem conquistar; foi muitas vezes defendida com meus soccorros; Agora he defendida pellos Religiozos de São Domingos (cujas christandades são de nome); defendem, digo, e não querem que o nome de Vossa Magestade entre nella, e assim tem irritado aos naturaes destas partes, que na dita Ilha assistem,[98] que não obedeção, nem consintão entrar o braço de Vossa Magestade nella. Ja em outras occazioens botarão daqui Capitaens môres, querendo matallos; o mesmo pretendem fazer a mim por eu zelar o serviço de Vossa Magestade, que Deos guarde.

Tambem me pareçeo dizer a Vossa Magestade que como Rey tão

[96] Some words missing or mis-transcribed here, due to a copyist's error.

[97] The galleon *São Francisco,* sent from Goa to Macao via Larantuca in 1666-67, did eventually reach Macao despite Vieira's complaints about her unseaworthy condition. Cf. the report of Fr. Manuel da Trindade Custódio O.P. (d. 6 September 1671), *apud* A. Faria de Morais, *Sólor e Timor* (Lisboa, 1944) pp. 120-21, and P. Pissurlencar, *Assentos,* IV, 1659-1695, pp. 172, 183.

[98] These "naturaes" were the Christianized inhabitants of Eastern Flores and Solor, variously known as "Larantuqueiros", "Topasses", and "Black Portuguese". Cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Topasses of Timor* (Amsterdam, 1947).

Catolico mande acudir a estas christandades porque se perdem muitas almas por falta de ministros, e que estes religiozos não vivem como taes, são grandes os escandalos que dão a estes naturaes, os quaes podendo ser grandes christãos, o não são, mais que de nome, pello mao exemplo que os sobreditos lhe dão.

Guarde Deos a Vossa Magestade para augmentação de seu Reyno, e emparo de seus vaçallos. Larantuca, terras de Solor aos 26 de Mayo de 1667.

Fr^co V^ra de Figrd^o

This letter is endorsed with the following minute by the members of the Conselho Ultramarino or Overseas Council:

"Que se faça prezente a Sua Alteza o que contem esta carta no tocante ao procedimento destes Religiozos para que se ordene ao Viso Rey que comonicando tudo com o seu provincial faça tirar daly aos ditos Religiozos pello seo mao procedimento e que mande para aly outros de boa vida e costumes e obedientes a Coroa; e que constando que os Religiozos que aly assistem são desobedientes às ordens de Vossa Alteza na forma que refere esta carta os faça embarcar e remeter a este Reino, e avendose o provincial remiso neste negocio lhe faça pôr verbas nas suas ordinarias em toda a India e dê conta para Sua Alteza mandar o que fôr servido. Em Lisboa, a 15 de Março de 1670".[99]

(Initialled by five of the Councillors).

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[99] It will be seen that the Overseas Councillors took seriously Francisco Vieira's allegations against the Dominican missionaries in Timor, which were echoed by many other layman and officials who served in that island, both then and later.

These complaints, though certainly not unfounded, must be balanced against what the *Larantuqueiros* and Timorese themselves alleged in favour of their spiritual pastors, as exemplified in Appendix XVIII above, and in their petition against a reported proposal to replace the Dominicans by Jesuit missionaries in 1677. The petitioners, who described themselves as being the principal *moradores* (heads of households) of Timor, Solor, and Flores, assembled at Larantuca, 1 September 1677, emphasized their preference for Dominicans as follows: "these are they who taught our grandparents and ancestors, and who now teach us and our children; we were brought up by them; it is not right that we should abandon them and take others in their place, since they have fulfilled the duties of their office with due satisfaction" (Goa Archives, "Livros das Monções", Livro 36, fls. 273-74).

Vieira, as a friend and patron of the Jesuits at Macassar and Macao, clearly contemplated introducing them into these islands, which was one of the reasons for his unpopularity in 1665-67.

ABSTRACTS
OF THE PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH DOCUMENTS PRINTED IN THE APPENDICES

I. *Letter from the King of Macassar to the King of Spain & Portugal, 29 May, 1637*

Stresses his old friendship and regard for the Crowns of Portugal and Castile and takes this opportunity of sending a letter which he hopes King Philip will see and which will reassure him of his amity. Urges King Philip to take effective measures to meet the menace of the Dutch, who already control most of the Asian Seas. The bearer will give further details. He sends an antidote against poison, "as the gift of a poor king", and he asks for the present of a broadsword and a swivel-gun.

II. *Covering letter from the Viceroy of Portuguese India to the above, 30 August, 1638*

Wrote to the King of Macassar in May last, assuring him of his friendship, which is indeed vital to the Portuguese in S.E. Asia. This King is very tolerant and places no obstacles in the way of conversion to Christianity — a trait probably inherited from his ancestors, who could have been converted to Christianity but for the negligence of those who should have done it. The viceroy later received this letter from the king of Macassar, acknowledging the present of a horse, and sending in return some antidotes against poison. João Pinto, the bearer of the king's letter, made a verbal request on his behalf that some cannon might be cast for him in the City of Macao, which he only wished to use in self-defence, and which he otherwise could obtain by asking the Dutch. The Viceroy has not yet decided what to do about this request, although he has been assured that the king's friendship for the Portuguese is genuine and that little will be lost in granting him this favour.

III. *Extracts from a letter of Francisco Vieira to the Viceroy, 11 July, 1653*

Stresses the need of a Portuguese embassy to reassure the kings of

Gowa and Tallo' of Dom João IV's friendship for them. If it is not possible to send one direct from Lisbon, one should be sent from Goa. The viceroy should also send confidential dispatches to the King of Macassar, urging him to continue the war in Amboina against the Dutch. Vieira suggests that he should be nominated as vice-ambassador and empowered to remain as duly accredited resident envoy at the court of Macassar after the principal ambassador's departure. The Dutch are trying to bribe the natives to kill him; but if given this post, his position will be automatically safeguarded, as none of the natives will dare to harm him. Reminds the viceroy of the urgent need to confer the promised Order of Christ on Francisco Mendes, "cousin and secretary of this king of Macassar".

IV. *Letter from Dom Braz de Castro to the King of Macassar, 12 January, 1654*

Briefly recounts the deposition of the viceroy, Count of Obidos, and the popular revolt which compelled him to assume and retain the governorship. Assures the king of continued Portuguese friendship and that an embassy will be sent from Portugal as soon as the war with Spain permits, or from Goa as soon as the war with the Dutch permits. Is fitting out five galleons to cruise against the latter. Lucas de Sá went to Golconda but has now returned and good news has been received about the health of the Portuguese royal family. War has broken out between the English and the Dutch. Hopes that the king will exact satisfaction for the seizure of Vieira's ships by the latter.

V. *Letter from Dom Braz de Castro to the Karaéng Pattingalloang, 12 January, 1654*

Opens in the same way as the foregoing letter to the king. Acknowledges Pattingalloang's letter of the 5th of July 1653, and is delighted to hear that he is in good health. Padre Fr. Anselmo went to Golconda but has now returned to Goa. Hopes Pattingalloang and the king will exact satisfaction from the Dutch for their seizure of Vieira's ships. Good news received from Portugal. He is sending Pattingalloang a small present via Vieira and hopes that something more substantial will follow in the next monsoon.

VI. *Letter from Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo to the Governor of Portuguese India, d. Macassar, 12 June, 1656*

Congratulates Manuel Mascarenhas Homem on his succession to the

governorship after the untimely death of the Viceroy Count of Sarzedas. Miraculous arrival of the Crown pinnace *Santa Teresa* and of Vieira's own two ships, *São Miguel* and *Santo António,* on the 3rd and 20th of May, respectively, after a narrow escape from the Dutch. The *Santa Teresa, São Miguel* and two Macao ships left for that port in June. The King of Macassar wants to send the *Santo António* to Manila with some goods belonging to leading Portuguese there, whom Vieira is scheming to get away. News received last year after the departure of Vieira's ship to India, that the Macassar expeditionary-force in Amboina had been defeated by the Dutch, through lack of adequate munitions, reinforcements and provisions, although the Dutch did not dare to come to close quarters with them. The Alfurese auxiliaries of the Dutch then killed some of the Macassar leaders by treachery, which completed the defeat of the Macassars. Hearing of this disaster, the King decided to send an envoy to Batavia to sue for peace, but was dissuaded by Vieira, who wagered his head that the Dutch would send one, as they eventually did after the departure of Hulft for Ceylon. Arrival of the Dutch embassy at Macassar in December, and the King's anxiety to conclude peace in spite of Vieira's efforts. King's claim to the kingship of Amboina and Buru left unsettled, as also the claims over the *São João Baptista.* A Dutch ship from Amboina has just brought news that some of the Macassars who escaped from Amboina are fortifying themselves in Buru. De Vlamingh's unsuccessful expedition to Timor, where he was defeated with the loss of 310 men, including forty-eight Hollanders killed and one taken alive. Criticism of the Captain-Major, Francisco Carneiro de Sequeira, and his tactless handling of the Timorese, especially for his illegal execution of the King and Queen of Mena. Repercussions of this murder in Timor, and fear of another Dutch attack on Timor and Solor. Vieira has sent a vessel at his own expense to take the gunpowder and matchlocks sent from Goa to Timor.

The King of Macassar had some excuse for making peace with the Dutch, since their three-year naval blockade had reduced his kingdom to great straits. There was a general longing for peace, and Vieira was highly unpopular for being the cause of the war. He did not worry about this, but was more upset by the failure of the promised help to come from Goa, and the loss of the galleons destroyed by Rijkloff van Goens. He and the Dutch at Macassar continue to be on friendly terms outwardly, but intrigue against each other secretly. Vieira warns that the Dutch have their eyes on Macao, which is in a very precarious position. Vieira continues to urge the Kings of Macassar and Tallo' to renew

the war with the Dutch, and hopes that his ship, the *São Miguel,* will return safely from Macao, so that he can send her to Goa next year. Concludes by assuring the governor that he will continue serving with his intelligence, money, and person for as long as he lives.

VII. *Instructions for Gaspar Pereira dos Reis for his voyage from Goa to Macassar, d. Goa, 10 and 20 January, 1656*

The original instruction was dated 10 January 1656, three days before the death of the Viceroy Count of Sarzedas, and confirmed by his successor, the *interim* governor-general, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, on the 20th of January 1656.

Gaspar Pereira dos Reis, knight of the Order of São Bento de Aviz, is ordered to act as envoy and the bearer of letters from the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Macassar and the Prince Karunrung. As soon as he reaches Macassar, he must contact Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, tell him what he has come for, and be guided by his advice how best to proceed. After presenting the letters, he is to tell the King and Prince that the Portuguese royal family are all in good health, that the whole of Brazil has been recaptured from the Dutch, and that the war with Spain is still continuing but going well for the Portuguese. He is to condole with the King on the death of his father, congratulate him on his succession, and urge him to continue the war against the Dutch, which has brought His Majesty great renown throughout Asia and Europe. The Luso-Dutch war in Ceylon prevents any adequate help from Goa being sent to Macassar at present; although the Portugese have just won a great victory at Colombo, where the Dutch assault has been repulsed with the loss of 1,000 men, and a 36-gun ship and some launches. Meanwhile, the governor sends fifty barrels of gunpowder and some other things as an earnest of better things to come later if conditions improve. If the King asks Pereira dos Reis to stay there with his ship, the captain must politely decline on the plea that he has to continue his voyage to Macao. He is also to help Francisco Vieira to succour the Christian communities of Solor etc., in so far as he can. Prince Karunrung is to be adressed as "Highness", and Francisco Vieira's advice is to be sought in everything concerned with the negotiations at Macassar.

VIII. *Letter from the King of Macassar to the interim Governor of Portuguese India, 12 June, 1656*

Sends this letter by an English ship which is bound for England but

will call at Bantam en route. Will acknowledge letters of the Governor and the King of Portugal at a later date and a better opportunity. Acknowledges the news of the grant of the Order of Christ to his Secretary, Francisco Mendes, but complains that the actual Habit has not yet come as was expected. Expresses his disappointment, and hopes that the Governor will see to it that the grant is made effective, for which he will be very grateful, as the recipient cannot enjoy corresponding Muslim honours.

IX. *Letter from the Karaéng Karunrung to the interim Governor of Portuguese India, 12 June 1656*

This is only an interim acknowledgement of the Governor"s letters, and to tell him that all the ships from Goa had arrived safely, as Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo will inform him at greater length. His father, Karaéng Pattingalloang, had written to the former Viceroy, Dom Philipe Mascarenhas, about granting the Order of Christ to "our secretary" Francisco Mendes. This application was referred to Portugal; and the King and Governor in their respective letters both gave categorical assurances that this would be done in India. However, the Habit has not yet been received, and the Prince would take it as a great personal favour if it was sent on the first opportunity, being very concerned in this by reason of his close relationship to Francisco Mendes, who, by virtue of being a Christian, cannot enjoy the corresponding Muslim honours which would otherwise have been conferred on him. Counts on the Governor's active cooperation in this matter and offers his own in return.

X. *Letter from Francisco Mendes to the interim Governor of Portuguese India, 12 June, 1656*

Compliments and thanks for the grant of the Order of Christ, which he hopes to receive soon. Is ready to do any service that he can.

XI. *Letter from Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo to the Viceroy of Goa, 2 July, 1662*

Apologises for writing this ill-written letter with his own hand when he is suffering from sore eyes, but his Christian zeal and Portuguese patriotism compel him to do so. He does not want to offend the Jesuits, but he must report the anti-Portuguese activities of some of the French and Italian Fathers in the China Mission, including Martin Martini, who has told the rulers of Macassar that D. Afonso VI is an illiterate

spastic who has no right to the Portuguese Crown, which his father usurped from King Philip of Castile. Martini also told people in China that King Dom João IV died excommunicated and could not be buried in consecrated ground. An Italian Jesuit in Cambodia forbade his Portuguese subordinate to pray for the late King D. João IV, alleging that King Philip was the rightful king of Portugal. A French Jesuit priest passing through Macassar had reprimanded Vieira for stirring up the Muslims of Indonesia against the Christian (if heretic) Dutch. All the foreign Jesuits seem to be very anti-Portuguese, and they are trying to obtain complete control of the mission-fields of China and Japan, to the discredit of the Crown of Portugal and the Portuguese Jesuits. He also complains of the immorality and laxity of the local secular clergy at Macassar, giving concrete instances of their misdeeds. He adds a postscript complaining of the pro-Dutch attitude of the local *Padre Vigairo,* whose lack of chastity enables the Dutch to tell their children and slaves that although the papist priests are not allowed wives, they enjoy those of other men. These observers then argue from the particular to the general, that since one Catholic priest misbehaves like this, all the others must do so. Asks the Viceroy to take measures to end this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

XII. *Letter of the Viceroy of Goa to the Crown, 29 December, 1662*

Abortive Dutch expedition against Macao, which was scattered by a storm. Francisco Vieira helps Macao by sending money to pay the garrison. The Dutch have attacked Macassar, taken a key-fort, and forced ashore two Portuguese ships bound for Macao. The King of Macassar was forced to make peace with the Dutch and agree to the expulsion of Francisco Vieira and all the Portuguese residents there; but he is trying to evade this obligation and is fortifying the place for a renewal of the war. This King is our friend and Francisco Vieira a very loyal vassal. The Viceroy is writing encouraging letters to them both. Francisco Vieira hopes to return to Europe after peace has been made with the Dutch. The Viceroy will write to Macao to encourage the people there to stand fast.

XIII. *Letter from the Viceroy of Goa to the Crown, 4 January, 1663*

This is a covering letter to Francisco Vieira's letter of the 2nd of July 1662, printed in Appendix XI above. The Viceroy promises to investigate these complaints and take what remedial action may be necessary. He finds it difficult to believe the allegations against the

Jesuits, but can well believe those against the Asian born and bred secular clergy.

XIV. *Letter from G.-G. Joan Maetsuyker to the Nawāb Mir Jumla, 29 August, 1663*

Congratulates him on his conquests in Cuch Bihar and Assam. Hopes that he will shortly return to Bengal and continue his patronage of the V.O.C. trade there. The present director, Matheus Van den Broeck, has been promoted and recalled to Batavia, being replaced by Rogier van Heyningen, who is likewise commended to Mir Jumla's good graces. As a token of friendship and goodwill, Maetsuyker presents the Nawāb with four bronze cannon, complete with their gun-carriages and gear. Regarding Vieira's debt of 3,500 pagodas, this cannot be collected at Macassar; but Vieira is shortly expected at Batavia, and the money can doubtless be obtained from him then.

XV. *Minute of a meeting of the Overseas Council at Lisbon, with the King of Portugal's decision thereon (March—April 1664)*

The Councillors summarise Vieira's outstanding services to the Crown in Timor, Macassar and Macao, and suggest that he should be thanked and encouraged to remain at Macassar if he has not already left. The King agrees and confers on him the Order of Christ with an annual pension of 40,000 *reis*. The Viceroy of Goa and Vieira are to be informed accordingly.

XVI. *Vieira's narrative of recent events in China and S.E. Asia, 28 June, 1664*

Narrates the mass evacuation of the coastal provinces of S.E. China by order of the Manchu government with the aim of depriving the Ming partisans from Formosa of any support on the mainland. Blockade of Macao by a coastal flotilla and the resultant crisis in the city's life and overseas trade. Portuguese-Dutch relations in Timor after the proclamation of peace between the two powers, and Vieira's efforts to tranquilise the Timorese tribes and maintain Portuguese prestige. Complains of the misbehaviour of the late Simão Luis, and describes his own attempts to impose the authority of Antonio Hornay as the latter's successor. Has decided to leave for Batavia in October.

XVIII. *Petition of the Larantuqueiros against Vieira's activities in Timor, 28 May, 1666*

Explain their resentment of Vieira's efforts to impose the authority of his nominee, Antonio de Hornay, by fair means or foul. They denounce Vieira as a monopolist and engrosser who is only out for his own profit. In this connection, the petitioners also denounce Fr. João do Rozario O.P., as a supporter of Vieira's machinations, and they praise Fr. Francisco da Conceiçao O.P., for opposing him and Antonio de Hornay.

XIX. *Vieira's letter to the Crown of Portugal, 26 May 1667*

Thanks the King for his letter of the 8th of April 1664, and promises to redouble his services. He had asked the Viceroy to send him a royal ship with 200 soldiers (whom Vieira would pay out of his own pocket) so that Timor could be brought under effective control of the Crown. The Viceroy sent a crazy galleon with 30 soldiers, only half of whom reached Larantuka alive after a voyage which took nearly a year. Vieira had also asked the Viceroy for miners to assay the mineral wealth of the island, which was believed to include gold, silver, and zinc, but he had sent none. The Dominican friars have usurped the government of Timor, and incited the natives to recognise only their authority and not that of the lawful representatives of the Crown. They set a very bad example and their converts are Christians only in name.

The Overseas Councillors, in submitting this letter to the Prince-Regent for his consideration, advise that the Viceroy should be told to investigate these allegations and take remedial action in consultation with the Dominican Provincial at Goa.

GLOSSARY

Bahar. An Indian weight which varied widely in different regions, and according to the different commodities for which it was used. In the Far East, the Portuguese often reckoned the *bahar* as equal to 3 piculs, or 400 lbs. avoirdupois. The official VOC, *Uytrekening van de goude en silvere munts waardye, inhout der maten en swaarte der gewigten in de respective gewesten van Indiën* (Middelburg, 1691), gives the weight of the *bahar* as 5 piculs in Timor and Solor, 3 piculs in Bima (Sumbawa), and 100 "Catty Banda", at Macassar, one "catty Banda" being equal to 5½ Dutch (? Amsterdam) lbs. Quarles Brown in his letter printed in Appendix XVII *supra,* reckons the *bahar* at 500 lbs. at Macassar.

Benjamin, Benzoin. Defined by *Hobson-Jobson* as "a kind of incense, derived from the resin of the *Styrax benzoin,* Dryander, in Sumatra, and from an undetermined species in Siam". Cf. also Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático,* Vol. I, pp. 112—113.

Bulay. Dr. J. Noorduyn informs me that this is a 17th-century rendering of the Macassarese word *bulaeng,* which means gold, and which word was also used for denoting the currency and the weight usually known as *mas.* The gold *bulay,* or gold *mas,* was sub-divided into 4 smaller units called *coepang* or *cupang,* as is indicated in the *Uytrekening* of 1691, and in Vieira's letter of 2 July 1662 (Appendix XI *supra*).

Carraim, Carain, Caraing etc., Portuguese forms of *Karaéng,* prince.

China-root, a once famous drug, known as *radix Chinae* and *Tuber Chinae,* being the tuber of various species of *Smilax,* and believed to be a remedy for many diseases, including gout and syphillis. Cf. the quotations in *Hobson-Jobson,* and in *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (under *pau da China*). Also known as China-wood.

Corja (corge). A mercantile term for a score. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. 1903), p. 255.

Cupões. One *cupão* was a quarter of the gold *mas,* and worth 7½ stuiver at Macassar according to the *Uytrekening* of 1691.

Datu(s). Also written *dató(s)*; village headman or chief in Timor.

Fluit. Called by the English "flute" or "fly-boat", this was a lightly manned and gunned cargo-vessel with a large carrying capacity, mass-produced by the Dutch in the 17th century in a way which anticipated the Liberty ships of World War II.

Larantuqueiros. Term applied not merely to the inhabitants of Larantuca, but to the Christianised natives of Eastern Flores and Solor, later termed *Toepassen* and "Black Portuguese". Though sometimes at odds with the "white Portuguese" from Goa and Macao, they were the backbone of the Portuguese presence in the Lesser Sunda Islands and mainly responsible for the victories against the Dutch in Timor.

Mas, Maes, Maas etc., a small gold coin current in Indonesia, whose value varied widely. The *Uytrekening* of 1691 values the Macassar *maes* at ½ rixdollar or 30 stuivers, and the Bima *maes* at *60 stuivers.* Tavernier (or his English editor) equated the former at one shilling and nine pence in the 1684 edition of his *Travels.*

Nawāb (*Nabob*). A viceroy or governor of a province under the Mughal government. Here applied to Mir Jumla, first in Golconda and then in Bengal.

Pães de ouro. Chinese gold ingots used as bullion currency in the Far East and South-East Asia, described as follows by Gabriel de Magalhães S.J., *A New History of China* (London, 1688), pp. 136—37: "The pieces of gold and silver are not coined, but cast into ingots in the form of a small boat, which at Macao are called *pães* or loaves of gold and silver. Both the one and the other are of different value. The loaves of gold are of the value of one, two, ten, and twenty *cruzados.* Those of silver, of the value of half a *cruzado,* one *cruzado,* ten, twenty, fifty, and sometimes a 100, and 500 *cruzados.* These they cut with steel scissors, which the people carry about with them for that purpose, and divide them into pieces, bigger or lesser, according to the value of the purchased commodity; and they are weighed in a balance which is called *dachem*". The Dutch called these ingots *schuitgout* or *schuitzilver,* and the English "shoes" or "boats".

Pagoda (*Pagode*). European denomination of an Indian gold coin, called by various names in the kingdoms of the Deccan (*hon, hūn, varāha* etc.), and which varied in value according to time and place of issue. The Dutch, English, and French East-India Companies at one time or another struck their own *pagodas* on the Coromandel Coast; but the Portuguese never did so, and they often equated the *pagoda* with their own *pardau de ouro São Tomé* of 360 *reis*.

Pardau (*pardáo*). This term was usually applied to the gold *pardau São Tomé* worth 360 *reis*, and its Indian equivalents.

Pataca. Indo-Portuguese money of account, usually equated with the rial-of-eight, the *cruzado*, or the gold *São Tomé* with a nominal value of 360 *reis*.

Patamar. Swift sailing, lateen-rigged dispatch-boat, used on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Cf. Appendix VI, note 26.

Pataxo. Usually termed "pinnace" or "pink" by contemporary English writers. A merchantman of anything from 100 to 500 tons, lightly gunned or unarmed.

Pra(h)u (*Prow, Proa,* etc.). Indonesian term for any sailing or rowing vessel, but usually applied by Europeans to the indigenous vessels of South-East Asia.

Rial-of-eight. The commonest and most popular silver coin in the Far Eastern seaborne trade after the establishment of the Spaniards in the Philippines. At this period, the factors of the EIC usually converted it at five shillings.

Saletty. Here used for a swift Macassar dispatch-boat. Cf. p. 42 note 87 above, for suggested derivation of this word.

Shahbandar. "King of the Haven" in Persian. Usually translated as "harbour-master", or "captain of the port", this official often had more far-reaching functions, being vested with judicial as well as administrative authority over foreign traders.

Spiauter (*spelter*). An old Dutch word for zinc.

Tael of silver. Chinese money of account, and trade name for the "ounce of silver" or *liang.* The silver *tael* was often equated with the Portuguese *cruzado* of 400 *reis,* and, more roughly, with the rial-of-eight.

Tambaca. An alloy of copper and zinc. The word was sometimes used for copper and bronze.

Tutenague. Sometimes used as a term for zinc, but more often for an alloy of copper and zinc, like *Tambaca.*

Xerafim. An Indo-Portuguese silver coin nominally worth 5 *tangas* or 300 *reis,* but in weight and consequently in intrinsic value, it varied greatly.

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PLATE III

VIEW OF MACASSAR 1660

drawing by Fred. Woldemar, reproduced by courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from the original (900 x 705) in the possession of Société Géographique, Paris, No. S.G. Y 832. Cf. *Catalogue des Cartes nautiques sur vélin*, ed. M. Foncin, M. Destombes, M. de la Roncière, Paris 1963, p. 210, No. 169.

Legend:

AFTEYCKENINGE

Van de Stadt MACASSAR met haere Casteelen ende Sterckten, mitsgaders hoe deselve, op den 8^{t} Juny An^{no} 1660 albevoerens ter dier Rheede geruineert ende verbrant zijnde 4 Portugeese gelaeden scheepen door 2 Hollantse Battavise scheepen, uit het getal van 7 Portugeese scheepen ende jachten, door de Nederlantse Vloote van Battavia ende uit de Oosterse Quartieren op den 12^{e} Dagh daernaer volgende des voors. Maants Juny te water is bestoockt ende beschooten geworden door de Navale Macht ende Wapens (?) te lande, Hoe daer door de Nederlantse Crijghs Armade het Zuyder Casteel Pannacoque met gewelt (?) is bestormt ende geocc[u]peert. Onder het beleyt ende gesagh soo te water als te lande van de 2 gestelde Conducteuren over de voors. Vloote ende Armade
De Heere Mayoor Johan van Dam ende den ED. Johan Truytman.

A. 't Fort Bontecouge
B. Macassaerse Bolwercken
C. Portugees Quartier
D. Hollantse Logie
E. Engelse logie
F. 't gesprongen schip van Fransisse Fiera en 2 wracken op strant
G. Mogols schee[p]jen
H. Moorse quartier
I. Portugees Jacht van Manuel Jorge
K. Het Royaele Casteel Sampoppe
L. Ternataense quartier
M. Een Jonck gelaeden vol Sandel Houdt
N. De Rivier Grezee
O. Maccassaerse joncken en vaertuigen
P. Conings Prauwenhuis vol schoone galleyen en vaertuigen verbrant
Q. Het lack ofte Moras after het verooverde Casteele
R. Het geconqest voor de Casteel Pannacoca
S. Maccassaerse troppen vluchten
T. Het fort Baiou
V. Eee Eylandschen zijnde het Por[tu]geese Timmerwerffe

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1. Het schip de Mars
2. Het Jacht Armuiden
3. D° Bloomendael
4. D° Dromedaris
5. D° Tortelduyffe
6. Het schip N. Rotterdam
7. 't Jacht Coukerken
8. D° Sautelande
9. D° Hasselt
10. Fluyt de mees
11. D° de Zeeridder
12. D° Waeckende Boeye
13. D° Suylen
14. D° Breuckelen
15. Het jacht de Cat
16. Fluit de Vinck
17. Dito Terbouwe
18. D° Charloos
19. D° Emmeloet
20. Het Gallioodt Nachtglas
21. D° Appelboom
22. D° Hanenhiel
23. 't jachtje 't waapen van Batt^{a} Chaloupen groodt en cleyn Negen int getale
24. 't Vliegende Harte
25. D° de Cleyne Vincke
26. D° de Creefft
27. D° Coulangh
28. D° Balombanger
29. D° Jaccatra
30. D° de Troncke
31. D° de Swalwe
32. D° de Tomyen
33. De prijs Madre dios de los Remedios



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