Barretto de Resende’s Account of Malacca.

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Manuscript No. 197 of the Sloane collection of manuscripts in the British Museum is Barretto de Resende’s “Livro do Estado da India Oriental.” The manuscript, which has not yet been published or translated, is divided into three parts. The first contains portraits of all the Portuguese Viceroy’s from Francisco de Almeyda, the first Viceroy, to Dom Miguel de Noronha, the 44th, in A.D. 1634, with an account of the Government of each Viceroy.

The second part contains “the plans of the fortresses from the “Cape of Good Hope to the fort Chaul, with a detailed “description of all that is to be found in the said fortresses, “the receipts and expenses of each and everything that concerns “them.” In this part are a plan and description of the fortress of Sofala, a map and description of the rivers of Cuama, a description of the Islands of Angola; plans and descriptions of the fortresses of Mozambique, Mombassa, Curiate, Mascate, Matara, Sibo, Borca, Soar, Quelba, Corfacam, Libidia, Mada, Dubo-doba and Mocomlin; a plan of the fortress of Ormus, a description of the Congo; plans and descriptions of Bassora, and the Island of Baren; descriptions of Sinde and the “Kingdom of Cachia and Magana;” plans and descriptions of the fortress of Dio, Suratte, Damas, Sangens, Danu, Trapor, Maim, Agassym, Manora, Mount Aserim and Bassaym; descriptions of the Fort of Saybana, the Fort of Corangangens, Tana and its bastions, Mombayon and Caranya, and plans and descriptions of the mole of Chaul and of Chaul.

The third part of the book contains “the plans of all the “fortresses from Goa to China with a similar description and “contains also plans of other fortresses not belonging to the “State, they being included as being situated on these coasts and “being of interest.” In this part are plans and descriptions of “the lands and forts of Bardes”, Goa, Rachol, Salsete, Onor, Cambolim, Barselor, Mangallor, Cananor, Cunhale and Cranganor; a description of Balliporto; plans and descriptions of Cochim, Conlam, Negapatam, San Thome, “the Dutch town of Palleacate”, Pulikat and the Island and Fortress of Manar; a plan of the island of Ceylon; plans and descriptions of the fortress of Jafnapatam, Colombo, Calleture, Negumbo, Gualle, Batecalou and Triquilimale;

* The accounts of these places will be found (in Portuguese) in the appendix to the fourth volume of the Hakluyt Society’s Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque.

§ Notes on the plans of these fortresses state that they were demolished and abandoned as being of no use after the book was written.

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a plan of the Maldivé Islands; a plan and description of the fortress of Malacca; plans of the isle and fort of Achem, "the Dutch fortress of Jacatra" (the site of the present city of Batavia), the Maluco Islands and the Banda Islands; plans and descriptions of the Solor Islands and the town of Macao; and plans of the Island of Formosa and the Island and Province of Manilla. It concludes with notes on the size and extent of various islands.

The manuscript, which consists of 412 folios, sets forth on its first page that it was written by "Captain Pedro Barretto de Resende, Professed Knight of the Order of St. Benedict of Avis", native of Pavia, in the year 1646."

Writing in Kedah, I regret to be unable to obtain any account of de Resende's life.

With two or three exceptions the plans are all coloured, and in addition to them the manuscript contains eight pen and ink charts signed:

"Petrus Berthelot primum cosmographicum indicorum imperium faciebat anno domini 1635."

Berthelot was born in Honfleur in A.D. 1600. He was for some time a pirate, and then became a barefooted Carmelite monk. He went to Goa, and in 1629 was appointed first pilot to a Portuguese fleet sent to defend Malacca against the attack of the King of Acheen.

He greatly distinguished himself and was given the appointment of Cosmographer Royal of the Indies. After this he made a number of voyages and prepared charts of the coasts he visited. He fell in a massacre, in which the Portuguese ambassador was also killed, at Acheen on the 27th November 1638."

It would appear that the date, A.D. 1646, given by de Resende to his work is that of a year some years after the date of its having been written. The list of viceroys only goes down to 1638. Malacca is written of as a Portuguese possession, whereas it had been surrendered to the Dutch on the 14th January, 1641. There are notes on some of the plans (referred to above) to say that the fortresses of which plans are given had been demolished and abandoned "after the book was written." Lastly Berthelot the cosmographer was murdered in A.D. 1635, or 1638. The probabilities would therefore appear to be that the account of Malacca was written at least before 1638.

* A military order of Cistercians in Portugal instituted by King Alphonso I, in the middle of the twelfth century, to commemorate the capture of Evora from the Moors.

* An account of Berthelot will be found in the Manuel de Bibliographie Normande—Vol I, p. 336. (Frère, Paris 1850—1860); cited in the commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque (Hakluyt Society) Vol 2—Introduction page CXXI.

* The date of this Massacre is given in Marden's History of Sumatra (page 362) as 1635. 1638 is perhaps a misprint in the Hakluyt Society's volume,
Of the plans, charts, and portraits with which Barretto de Resende's manuscript is embellished, six have been reproduced in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque. They are:

- The map of Arabia in Vol. I. p. 80
- The plan of Ormus
- The portrait of D. Francisco Dalmeida
- The chart of Goa
- The plan of the fortress of Malacca
- The portrait of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira

Gohindo de Eredia's account of Malacca—the December de Malaca e India Meridional dated A.D. 1613, and translated into French by Janssen in A.D. 1882, is the best known Portuguese work on Malacca, and as a comparison of his account and as Resende's account is interesting, give in an appendix a translation of de Eredia's first and fifteenth chapters entitled "Regarding the city of Malacca" and "Regarding Gunoledam" respectively. I have translated them from Janssen's French, and not from the original Portuguese.

Description of the Fortress of Malacca.

The fortress of Malacca is situated on the east coast of Jun-tana between the River Panagim and Muar 2° 20' N. lat.

It was conquered and founded by the great Alfonso de Albuquerque on the 15th of August 1511. At the present day it is a city, containing a fortress, and surrounded by a stone and mortar wall twenty feet high, twelve palms thick at the foot and seven at the top.

It contains six bastions, including the breastwork (couraça), each one called by the name written on it. All the walls have parapets, and each bastion occupies a space of twenty paces and the one named Madre de Deos double that space, so that it can scarcely be defended and covered by the other bastions. The circumference of the whole wall is five hundred and twelve paces, including the space occupied by the bastions. From the bastion de Ospital to that of St. Dominic there is a counterscarp, as also from that of Sanctíngo to Madre de Deos, with a ditch in the centre, the whole being fourteen palms wide. The bastions contain forty-one pieces of artillery of twelve to forty-four pounds iron shot. All are of bronze, with the exception of nine iron pieces, and there is sufficient powder and ammunition in His Majesty's magazines for their supply. Twelve of the big pieces lie unmounted on the plain, destined for the fort in process of building on the Ilha das Naos, and some of the remainder are broken.
There are in the town two hundred and fifty married whites who would possess two thousand black captives of different races, all competent to carry arms, of which there is a sufficient supply; as rarely is a married man without his supply of lances, and six, eight or ten muskets or flintlocks, with their ammunition. However of these two hundred and fifty married white men, one hundred live on the other side of the river which gives its name to the land of Malacca.

With regard to the small space within the walls it is almost entirely covered by three convents, that of St. Paul, St. Dominic and St. Augustin; and the aforesaid married couples live in straw huts, so that there is a great risk of fire. There are in this place a number of fruit gardens and orchards of varied fruits. A number of married native Christians live outside Malacca, they are all, very good soldiers, and use all kinds of arms, especially muskets, in the use of which they are very skilful. In times of war they are very ready and active: the majority of them seek a means of livelihood. They are so hasty, for very little they will run a man through the belly with a cris, and there is little, if any, cure for the wound, since these weapons, apart from being generally poisoned, are so fashioned, in an undulating shape, as to cause great injury: if the weapon is poisoned, it is only necessary to draw blood to cause death.

The fort within this town where the Captain resides is five stories high; the captain lives on the second storey, which is square like the tower, each wall being twenty paces wide. The other apartments are set apart for the Captain's guests, and for storing ammunition. On the first floor four thousand cands of rice were stored, but are no longer there. It is surrounded by a wall of the same height and thickness as that of the town. The Captain's family lives in houses on a level with the second storey of the tower. The only artillery is that of the bastions already referred to. The town receives a duty of one per cent applicable to the works of fortification, of which those of the wall are now being completed.

The king of the interior of that country where the fortress of Malacca is situated is the King of Jor and Pam, a great friend of the Portuguese. He is lord of more than one hundred leagues of coast, but his lands do not extend far inland: at sea he also possesses a chain of islands situated in this vicinity, the majority being inhabited. The people are Malays, and profess the creed of the Moors. They can put twelve thousand men of arms into the field; they fight with artillery, muskets, assegays, saligas, or darts of fire-hardened wood, swords, shields, bows and arrows, crisps beforementioned, and sumpitans or very small poisoned arrows, which they blow through tubes, and if they draw blood death will ensue. There is no Christian Settlement in their lands. Up the river beyond Malacca, the married men own many very fertile orchards, with a great variety of fruit, as the land produces
very good fruit of many kinds, besides all those to be found in India, and it is remarkable that the town, though nearly below the line, has a salubrious climate and excellent water, the soil being fertile for any seed that is sown: it rains nearly every day and night. The married men of Malacca possess many leagues of land, extending on one side as far as Cape Rachado and on the other to River Permoozo and also many leagues in the interior, but all uninhabited with none to cultivate the land, though it is fertile and would yield much rice. Inland the land borders on that of the Manamcebos, Moors of a land called Rindo, vassals of the King of Pam, and, close by live five or six thousand of the same Manamcebo Moors, vassals of His Majesty, under the Government of a Portuguese married man of Malacca called Tamungam, an office conferred by the Viceroy. To him they owe obedience and should one of these Moors die without heirs, the said Tamungam inherits his property, and if there are heirs he makes an agreement with them and receives ten per cent upon such goods as he thinks fit. At the present day a Portuguese holds the office for life. These Moors cultivate extensive lands by which they maintain themselves. They especially cultivate the betre. They purchase tin from the inhabitants of the interior and bring it to Malacca. The river of this city, and the port of Malacca is of fresh water and is a stone’s throw in width. At low tide the bar has a palm and a half of water, and in conjunction with the fresh water there is four fingers of water only, which barely covers the mud which forms the bottom. At high water there is one fathom four palms of fresh water and five or six palms of salt. At a little distance from its mouth the river becomes narrower, and is three or four fathoms deep; and in some parts there is always one fathom whether at high or low tide. There are many large carnivorous alligators, for which reason, and because of the mud, it cannot be forded. Along the river and inland there are many orchards belonging both to the married Portuguese and the natives: the men live here with their families cultivating the land to great profit. There are many tigers which before they were exorcised by a bishop were very fierce, but are now less so. All these married men have their weapons. Half a league up the river a log of wood is thrown across the water at night, the chain being padlocked to a sentry-box where stands a Portuguese provided by the city, which pays him six cruzados a month. This is to prevent any forbidden merchandise being smuggled out or in from the large vessels lying at anchor beyond the Ilha das Naos. For the same reason, order has been given to build a fort on the said island, which does not actually face the city, but lies a little lower down at a distance of one thousand five hundred paces from it. The channel in between is small and not navigable to large ships at low tide: the water is very shallow, and the bottom is of mud. Further out to sea, lies another sand-bank; and, between it and the island, is a channel six fathoms deep. The island is nearly the shape of a
horseshoe, and is sixty braceas in circumference, its length is one and a half times greater than its width. It contains a mountain four or five braceas in height.

The fort which is being built here, for the foundations are already laid, is small, being thirty paces square. It is to be square, to allow space for the artillery to be separated. Its purpose is to defend the large vessels which cannot lie under the artillery of the fortress. As yet only the foundations are laid; the materials are being gathered together at Malacca so that the whole building may be finished at once, because if it were built gradually it might fall into the hands of the enemy and, once occupied by them, it would be a great danger to Malacca.

The bridge shown in the plan has two abutments, each one being two and a half braceas in height, and the same in length and very narrow, so that there is no danger, as has been suggested, of them affording the means of an attack upon Malacca. The bridge above them is composed of large strong planks, which can be cut down when necessary.

Fifty to sixty soldiers are drawn from the garrison every year to equip a fleet of three, four or five jaleas to cruise along the coast. They set sail in May for Pulopinam or whatever place is decided on, to await the ships from Goa, to inform them of the position of the enemy and to assist in discharging the cargo. In September they go to Junsulam to await those from Negapatam, St. Thome and also from Goa; and in December they go to the Straits of Singapore to await those from China and Manila for the same purpose.

The Captain Major receives an allowance of one hundred cruzados, but the soldiers and the captains of the jaleas receive nothing whatever beyond their food; but are quite satisfied. The captainship of these jaleas is a much sought after and coveted post, because in the many losses caused to our ships, from all parts, by the Dutch, the jaleas get the best of the booty: but the worst is that they do not return it to the owners. This applies especially to the ships from China, because of the great value of the salvage, being gold, silks and musk. Neither can it be denied that these jaleas save many vessels, and much merchandise; but it is very necessary that they should be in the hands of persons very disinterested and conscientious, a virtue rare among soldiers. The sailors are the chief expense of these jaleas, as they carry over fifty, about twenty-three being required to take the oars on either side, besides the two at the helm and stern, the extra men being required to replace those who may fall sick or become fatigued. Each sailor receives one vara of rice, a little over an alqueire, per month, and a cruzado of four hundred and sixty reis the whole time that they are on board. A jalea is the swiftest vessel at sea, being about fifty palms long, and four palms deep, and rowed by forty-six oars. They are of great use in carrying news and relief, and can evade the enemy; so that the more there are the better service
they may render. Other vessels are sent out from Malacca with advices such as bantines, very much smaller than jâles the only expense being, as aforesaid, the sailors, and the provisions for the soldiers. The latter, who receive their pay on shore at rare intervals, embark with much good will; because, at times, when they put in at a certain place such as Pera, and other ports, they can earn a quartel from the merchants. They are not discharged from the fortress when they thus go to sea, neither do they lose their pay; but, while away from the fortress, they are masters. But for this no soldier would remain in the fortress for the King's pay is very small and the country very dear. Even as it is, it is a source of wonder that any soldiers are found who will remain there.

One thing may be said of the married women of this land which is greatly to their credit; and that is that there is not one who would ask for any help from her husband towards the expenses of the home, which really is their support: for they themselves supply the household money by making eatables which are usually sold in the streets by their slaves, and their houses take the place of inns in the town. Their daughters are brought up from childhood to the same custom, so that there is no girl who has not her own fortune put aside in this way in her father's house; and thus, as in India, girls are not afraid of their husbands not being able to support them; for this reason too persons of much merit are satisfied with a small dowry. This custom has greater effect in this country than in India.

As regards the merchandise in the fortress of Malacca very little is of the country, and the greater part is imported. The chief products of the country are tin, some bezoor stones, porcupine quills and wild agallochium. A certain quantity of Japalu, or red wood, of somewhat less value than that of Brazil, is brought from the interior. All the southern commodities and merchandise from China and cloths from Cambay and the Coromandel coast are imported. All the southern tribes were wont to come here to buy in exchange for other merchandise so that the commerce was very extensive, and profits no less; but now it is almost entirely extinct, for never or rarely do any natives come to Malacca to seek anything: having all they require from the Dutch. But nevertheless voyages are still undertaken from Malacca to many parts, China, Manila, and Cochin-China being the principal points of destination and the less important voyages being to Patane. As Siam is now at war, communication with Camboja, Champa and those parts, which would otherwise be very frequent, is interrupted. The ships bear to the South to avoid the windy season which in Malacca is from April to end of August.

The merchandise carried to these places is as follows:—
To Patane, stuffs from Cambay and all the Coromandel coast, according to the stuffs in use, as every southern tribe follows a different fashion. From Patane, patacas, some gold, good bezoor

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stones, rice, meats, vegetables, black cane sugar, oils, all kinds of provisions and the best fowls and capons of all the southern lands.

This kingdom of Patane is governed solely by a woman in accordance with a very ancient custom.\(^{35}\) It is one hundred and fifty leagues from Malacca along the coast and can be reached without encountering the northern monsoon, more especially if the voyage is made in baloons\(^{36}\) (which resemble ships of war being wider but not so long, having oars, two masts and two helms called *canudes*)\(^{37}\) or in Malay galleys (which are smaller than our panchellos,\(^{38}\) and which are really neither galleys nor baloons, but more closely resemble the latter than the former)\(^{1}\) and in *bantims* of the size of a *manchua*,\(^{39}\) which are very swift vessels with oars and masts. The last are the vessels most in use along the coast of Malacca; they are manned by Christian Malays of Malacca, who carry their guns and powder flasks.

The King of Camboja, where there is a church and fathers of the Society, is very friendly to the Portuguese. There is here a quantity of very thick angely wood;\(^{40}\) and very good benzoin\(^{41}\) and almond milk\(^{42}\) and excellent lac\(^{43}\) are brought in, and a quantity of rice better and cheaper than that of Bengal. The majority of the inhabitants are Japanese and Chinese Christians of bad character who have been expelled from Manila by the Spaniards; and therefore they are the bitterest of our foes. In this kingdom there is an abundance of calambac\(^{44}\) and agallochium.\(^{31}\) There are two or three ports on the coast of Champa where the Portuguese go to trade taking black cattle from China and some gold thread, which they exchange for black wood much bigger and better than that of Mozambique. There is here a church and Christian Settlement with a father of the Society.

Beyond lies the kingdom of Cochin China and at the entrance to its port is situated an island where the fathers of the Society have a Christian Settlement. It is called Pullo Cambim. Within the said port, too, the same fathers have a church and a Christian Settlement.

Besides this island there are two ports in this kingdom frequented by the Portuguese for commerce. In one resides the King, and the other is called Turan. The Portuguese had a better welcome here than anyone else and quantities of stuffs are brought here. The contract is however now broken through the violence of the Captain of Malacca and only ships from China go there. Some calambac,\(^{44}\) an abundance of agallochium,\(^{41}\) and a quantity of copper is obtained from the said kingdom, it is carried there by Malays and Japanese.

The shortest voyages taken from Malacca are those to Pam, a port eighty leagues from Malacca. It belongs to the aforesaid king, who is very friendly to the Portuguese and is lord also of Jor and the maritime islands. Any ships may come to this port from Malacca without hindrance. They bring stuffs and opium in exchange for gold dust\(^{45}\) of the country and gold coin, bezoar
stones, porcupine quills, a quantity of rice, agallochium from the coast, and also some wares which have been brought here by the southern natives who will not go to Malacca. In the same land there are two rivers belonging to the same king, where the Portuguese go to trade in the same merchandise. Facing this place to the sea lies the small mountainous island of Pulo Timo thickly populated by Malays. Pigeons are plentiful, and there is a certain kind of animal called palandos, which resembles a deer and is very good and fat. There are very fine fresh water fish, rivers of excellent water, and an abundance of figs and tar. The anchorage close in to land is in 25 fathoms.

Port Jor lies inland from Point Romania. It is once again becoming inhabited, and many galleys and other vessels are being built there. There is an abundance of provisions, agallochium and tar.

On the other side, in the chain of islands called Bintang, lies the town of Bintang, which is once again inhabited. It is thickly populated, and has many fortifications for fear of Achem. This King of Jor and Pam has other inhabited but unimportant islands in this vicinity.

Here close to the Straits of Singapore, is the port of Bullu, thickly populated with Malays and frequented to excess by numbers of merchants from all the southern tribes, who come here to sell their wares, from which the King of Pam receives great profit. They come here rather than go to Malacca because of the great abuses committed by the captains of that fortress, who buy their merchandise at a price much lower than the current price of the country and also compel them to accept their money: a thing which is very usual in all the towns and fortresses of the Portuguese State; and which causes as much misery as the Dutch themselves. To such an extent is the abuse carried that even when Christians come to these ports of Malacca to trade in certain kinds of merchandise the captain seizes their wares, assessing them at a price below their real value and using much abuse: and for this reason some merchants bring their wares to the customs house at night time in order to pay duty to the customs official in secret. All this is the cause of great losses to Malacca.

On the other side of the island on the coast of Sumatra lies the port of Jambi, on a deep and rapid river, which contains a large body of water. The Dutch are much welcomed here and have a factory and a large trade in pepper. Further on, a little distance from this port, towards Malacca, is the large river Andregy, where the Dutch also procure a quantity of pepper. There are other rivers from which pepper and agallochium are exported; of which no special mention is made because they are unimportant. The port of Siaca, also inhabited by Malays, is close to the Island of Sabum, which is nearer to Malacca. Here at every new and full moon great fairs are held where all the merchandise of the south is sold, gold, precious stones, bezoar stones, agallochium, calambac,