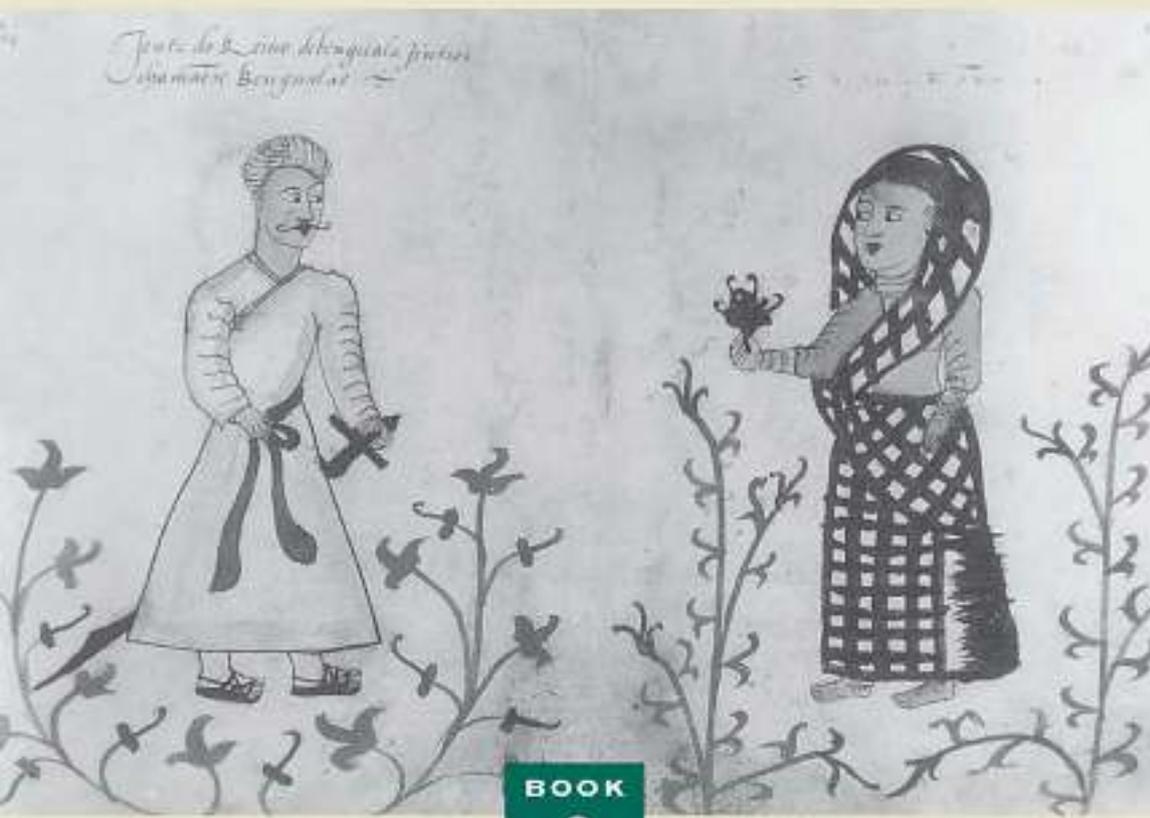


# *Asia in the Making of Europe*

---

**VOLUME I  
THE CENTURY OF DISCOVERY**



**BOOK  
2**

---

**Donald F. Lach**

---

# ASIA

IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE



---

# ASIA

IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE

DONALD F. LACH

VOLUME.

I

*The  
Century  
of Discovery*

BOOK TWO



---

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO AND LONDON

---

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO 60637

The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 1965 by  
The University of Chicago  
All rights reserved. Published 1964  
Second Impression 1972  
Paperback edition 1994  
Printed in the  
United States of America

98 97 96 95 94 5 4 3

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 64-19848

ISBN 0-226-46731-7 (v. 1, bk. 1)

ISBN 0-226-46732-5 (v. 1, bk. 2)

⊗ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

---

# Contents

## BOOK ONE

### PART I

#### *Heritage*

Introduction	3
<b>Chapter I: ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES</b>	<b>5</b>
1. India in the Greek Tradition (600–100 B.C.)	5
2. The Expanding Horizons of the Graeco-Roman World (26 B.C.– A.D. 300)	12
3. The Medieval View of Asia (300–1300)	20
4. The Revelation of Cathay (1240–1350)	30
<b>Chapter II: THE RENAISSANCE BEFORE THE GREAT DISCOVERIES</b>	<b>49</b>
1. Trade, Exploration, and Diplomacy	50
2. Travel Accounts of India	59
3. Cartography and Geography	65
4. Fine Arts	71
5. Literature	74
6. Technology and Invention	81
7. Summary	84

---

*Contents*

PART II

*New Channels of Information*

Introduction	89
Chapter III: THE SPICE TRADE	91
1. The First Voyage of Vasco da Gama	92
2. The Beginnings of Trade between Portugal and India, 1499-1503	98
3. The Reorientation of Commerce in Europe, 1500-1515	103
4. The Conflict over the Moluccas	114
5. The Conduct of Trade at Lisbon and Antwerp, 1509-48	119
6. The Revival of Eastern Mediterranean Trade, 1548-70	127
7. The New Era of Contract Trade, 1570-98	131
Appendix. Pepper Prices in the Sixteenth Century	143
Chapter IV: THE PROMISED WORLD	148
1. Portugal's Control of Information	151
2. Circulation in Europe of the First Reports, 1500-1520	154
3. The Wandering Circle, 1521-50	173
4. The Iberian Commentators and Linschoten	181
5. The Great Collections of Travel Literature	204
6. The Evidence of Maps	217
Chapter V: THE CHRISTIAN MISSION	229
1. The Portuguese "Padroado" (Patronage) of the East	230
2. The Jesuit Enterprise, 1542-1600	245
3. The Mission Stations of India	262
4. The Mission Stations of Further Asia	281
A. Xavier's Reconnaissance, 1546-52	281
B. Malacca and the Spiceries	286
C. Mass Conversions and Reform in Japan, 1552-82	290
D. Macao and Manila	295
E. Troubles in Japan, 1582-1600	303
F. Priests and Adventurers in Cambodia	309
5. The Jesuit Letters, Letterbooks, and General Histories	314

PART III

*Four Images and a Composite Picture*

Introduction	335
Chapter VI: INDIA	337
1. The Portuguese Profile	338
A. Geographic Placement and Adjacent Islands	339
B. Malabar	347
C. The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar	369
D. The Deccan States and Giza	381
E. Gujarat (Cambay)	392
F. From Cape Comorin to Bengal	406
G. Hindustan and the Afghan-Mughal Struggle for Supremacy	418
2. The Jesuit Newsletters and Histories	427
A. The "Indian Letters" in Europe, 1545-1601	428
B. The First Impressions, 1552-70	431
C. The Second Generation, 1570-1601	446
3. The Italian, English, and Dutch Commentators	468

BOOK TWO

Chapter VII: SOUTHEAST ASIA	493
1. The Printed Sources in Review	493
2. Malaya, the Crossroads of Asia	505
3. Siam	519
4. Burma	539
5. Indochina	560
6. Sumatra, Borneo, and Java	571
7. The Spiceries	592
8. The Philippine Islands	623

---

*Contents*

Chapter VIII: JAPAN	651
1. First Notices	652
2. "The Best [People] Who Have Yet Been Discovered"	663
3. The Successors of Xavier, 1552-85	674
4. A Japanese Mission in Europe, 1584-86	688
5. Maps, Histories, and Polemics in Europe, 1585-1601	706
Chapter IX: CHINA	730
1. Behind the Portuguese Curtain, 1520-90	731
2. Mendoza's Book and Its Sources	742
3. The "Mightie Kingdom"	751
A. Political Entity, Organization, and Administration	752
B. Economic Resources and Crafts	764
C. Customs, Social Practices, and Learning	772
D. Military Weakness, Trade, and the Tribute System	786
E. Criticism and Evaluation	791
4. The Jesuit Writings	794
5. The Evidence of Maps	816
Chapter X: EPILOGUE: A COMPOSITE PICTURE	822
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY	837
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHERS	865
INDEX	913

---

## *Illustrations*

### FOLLOWING PAGE 20

- Map of the world according to Eratosthenes
- Christ extending his divine power to all peoples, even the monstrous ones
- Detail from Central Tympanum, Church of St. Magdalen, Vézelay, France
- Elephant, from Reims Cathedral, France
- Seal of Grand Khan Kuyuk on a letter to Rome
- The pepper harvest
- Dog-headed people of India
- Fantastic Indians
- The Hereford (England) World Map, ca. 1276

### FOLLOWING PAGE 32

- Martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta, by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 1333(?)
- Ecclesia militans*, by Andrea da Firenze, ca. 1365
- Paravent de Narbonne, silk altar hanging, ca. 1375
- Winged creatures, from an illustration in *Heures de Rohan*, ca. 1420
- Madonna in a mandorla of exotic angels, by Gentile da Fabriano, ca. 1420
- Adoration of the Magi, by Gentile da Fabriano, ca. 1423
- Sketch of a Mongol archer, by Antonio Pisanello, ca. 1440
- Illuminated Titus Livius manuscript of Charles V, ca. 1370
- Gluttony. Treatise on the Vices, attributed to the "Monk of Hyeres," ca. 1400
- Ptolemy's map of Asia
- Martin Waldseemüller's map of the Far East, 1507

### FOLLOWING PAGE 100

- Lisbon in the late sixteenth century
- Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century
- The Fortress of Malacca, ca. 1630

### Illustrations

Macao, ca. 1600  
Coins used in commerce in the East Indies, Cambay, Ormuz, Goa, Malabar,  
Coromandel, Bengal, and Malacca  
The Bourse at Antwerp  
The port of Lisbon in the sixteenth century  
A small merchant ship, ca. 1532  
Manuelina Naam. A painting of Portuguese ships executed ca. 1521 by Gregório  
Lopes  
Leaves and berries of cassia or "wild cinnamon" (*Ravensara aromatica*)  
The clove tree  
Leaves and berries of the pepper plant  
East Indian trees  
East Indian trees and plants  
Animals of India

#### FOLLOWING PAGE 164

Woodcut of Indian warriors  
Title page of Valentim Fernandes' Portuguese translation of *Marco Polo*, 1502  
Title page of João de Barros, *Asia*, 1552  
Title page of Volume I (revised second edition) of G. B. Ramusio, *Delle  
navigationi et viaggi*, 1554  
Title page of Book I of the *Historia* of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, 1551  
Portrait of João de Barros; first printed in the 1615 edition of his *Décadas da Asia*  
Painting from life of Luis de Camoë's, by Fernando Gomes  
Portrait of Damião de Góis  
Title page of first edition of *The Lusads*  
Title page of a sixteenth-century edition of António Galvão's *Treatado*  
Title page of first edition, printed in Goa in 1563, of Garcia da Orta's *Colloquies*  
Title page of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, 1596  
Map of Asia, from A. Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1575  
Map of eastern Asia and the East Indies, from Linschoten's *Itinerario*  
Map of Eurasia and Africa from G. Mercator's World Map of 1569

#### FOLLOWING PAGE 260

Panoramic view of Goa in the sixteenth century  
Chapel of Saint Catherine constructed in 1510 by Albuquerque and rebuilt in  
1550 by Jorge Cabral  
Cathedral of Old Goa  
Dom Costantino de Braganza, Viceroy of Goa from 1558 to 1561  
Alessandro Valignano, S.J. (1539-1606)  
Coimbra in the sixteenth century  
The ruins of the façade of the Church of Saint Augustine (Goa)  
Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552-1610)  
Title page from a typical Jesuit letterbook

*Illustrations*

Akbar and Prince Salim

Title page from the Venetian edition (1589) of G. P. Maffei's *Historiarum Indiarum libri XVI*

Map of Asia, from G. B. Peruzzi's *Informazioni*, 1597

FOLLOWING PAGE 356

India in the late sixteenth century (according to European sources)

Quilon at the beginning of the sixteenth century

Cannanore at the beginning of the sixteenth century

The king of Cochín with his attendants

The "famous zhiangocus" of Cambay; woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, 1513

Mahmud III, king of Cambay (reigned 1537-54)

"Raiabutos" (Rajputs) of Cambay

"Baneanes" (Banyas) of Cambay

Sati, or widow-burning

Gujarat

Bengal

Juggernaut and ceremonial religious suicide in the *Rath-jatra*, a Hindu procession

A Portuguese fidalgo in India

Ships and boats of India

FOLLOWING PAGE 328

Southeast Asia in the late sixteenth century (according to European sources)

The map of southeast and eastern Asia in Ramusio's *Navigazioni* (2d rev. ed.; Venice, 1554), Vol. I

Ortelius' map of southeast and eastern Asia

The map of Sumatra in Ramusio, *op. cit.*

The map of Java inserted into the Madrid edition (1615) of João de Barros' *Décadas da Asia*

"Inhabitants of Malacca, who surpass all other Indians in courteous and amorous behavior"

Natives of Pegu, the Moluccas, and St. Thomas

Pigafetta's list of Malay words learned from the inhabitants of Tidore Island in the Moluccas

FOLLOWING PAGE 656

Fresco in the Teatro Olimpico depicting the young Japanese emissaries in attendance at a performance

Title page of Benacci's *Breve viaggio*, showing one of the Japanese emissaries clad in the European garments presented by Pope Gregory XIII

Letter of August, 1585, written in Japanese to the Duke of Mantua from Milan by Içô Maucio expressing the thanks of the Japanese emissaries for Mantua's hospitality, with Italian translation

---

*Illustrations*

- Wood engraving of a map of Japan showing the major Christian places and the Jesuit houses, ca. 1585  
Excerpt from a letter written by Father Balthasar Gago from Firando, September 23, 1555, with sample Chinese and Japanese characters  
Excerpts from the same letter printed in *Cartas . . . dos reynos de Japão e China*, 1598  
Map of Japan by Luis Teixeira

FOLLOWING PAGE 752

- Title page of first edition of Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia . . . del gran reyno de la China . . .*, 1585  
A Chinese or Javan junk with red sails and wooden anchors  
Palanquin and land ship of China  
Simple Chinese in their elegant native costume  
Chinese mandarin and lady in their rich costume  
Map of China by Luis Jorge de Barbuda  
Discussion of China on verso of Barbuda's map  
Tartary, northern China, and Japan

## *Southeast Asia*

In our definition, southeast Asia divides into two vast geographical groupings: the continental peninsulas east of Bengal and south of China, and the insular world which lies within a vast triangle that has Sumatra, the Philippines, and New Guinea at its vertices. Life in the mainland states follows the rivers and flows in a north-south direction; communication and trade along the sea lanes of the archipelago run along east-west lines. In 1500 most of these lines intersected at Malacca, a hub of commerce for both the mainland states and the archipelago. A few places unrelated to this complex, such as the Ladrões (Marianas) will be mentioned collaterally. Australia is omitted because there are no certain references to this continent in the contemporary printed materials. It should be noticed, however, that Portuguese historians have claimed on the basis of evidence in sixteenth-century maps that voyagers touched on Australia in about 1522 and brought back to Europe word of its existence. The absence of additional references to Australia is attributed to Portugal's policy of secrecy and desire to conceal from the Spaniards whatever information it may have possessed on the continent down under.<sup>1</sup> But the evidence for Portugal's discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century is still much too vague and tenuous in our estimation to warrant more than mere mention.

## I

### THE PRINTED SOURCES IN REVIEW

There is no question that the Portuguese jealously guarded every scrap of information which might have led potential competitors to the sources of the spice trade. And, so far as the published accounts and printed maps show, they

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Major, *Early Voyages to . . . Australia* (London, 1859), pp. v-vi. For a statement of the claim that Australia was discovered by the Portuguese in 1522 see Armando Cortesão, "A expansão portuguesa através do Pacífico (Austrália, Malau, Japão)," in António Haidy (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa no mundo* (3 vols.; Lisbon, 1937-39), II, pt. 3, chap. 26.

were successful for a time in keeping from others the authoritative information in their archives on routes, maps, prices, and methods of trade. Spies and the agents of foreign governments and commercial houses were naturally able to acquire copies of maps and rutters, and some of the interested outsiders, like Peutingcr in Augsburg, collected a significant number of these documents.<sup>2</sup> But, it is worth repeating,<sup>3</sup> that no accounts of the East Indies by responsible Portuguese authors were in print before 1550. All of the rutters and pamphlets on the spice trade which appeared before mid-century were the work of foreigners who had been employed by the Portuguese or who had derived their information either from participating themselves in the voyages or by interviewing those sailors fortunate enough to return. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the general announcements by the crown of Portuguese successes in Asia.

The first printed material on southeast Asia was included in the *Itinerario* of Ludovico di Varthema which appeared in 1510. Though there is some doubt whether Varthema himself actually got east of Ceylon,<sup>4</sup> we may conjecture that his vague material on Tenasserim (Mergui), Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and the Spice Islands should be dated approximately as 1505-6.<sup>5</sup> Nothing more was published in Europe on this region until after the return of the "Victoria" to Spain. The survivors of Magellan's expedition were courted and interviewed by a number of scholars, diplomats, prelates, and kings in an effort to learn from them the secret of the Spices. In 1523, Maximilian of Transylvania's *De Moluccis insulis* . . . was printed at Cologne and Rome, and it gave to Europe, on the basis of the author's interviews with the survivors, the first concrete information on the location of the Moluccas and the conditions prevailing there. Two years later, a truncated version of Pigafetta's story was published for the first time at Paris under the title *Le voyage et navigation fait par les Espagnols es isles de Moluques*.<sup>6</sup> Pigafetta was the only participant in Magellan's expedition who left a written account. His work is particularly important for its vocabularies of Bisayan and Malayan words as well as for the author's deliberate and thorough investigation of trading practices in southeast Asia. After Pigafetta's story had been told in Venice, it was not until the publication in 1543 of the *Vaggi fatti alla Terra* that fresh news of Malacca, Sumatra, and the Moluccas appeared in print at the spice center on the Adriatic.

An aftermath of the successful circumnavigation of the world by a remnant of Magellan's crew was the dispatch of two more Spanish expeditions via the Pacific to the Spice Islands. These voyages, while unsuccessful in themselves, helped Charles I to establish a claim to the Moluccas which he finally abandoned

<sup>2</sup> A. Corsetti and A. Tabetto da Moca, *Portugalia monumenta cartographica* (Lisboa, 1960), I, 15.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> A table with approximate dates is given in Sir Richard C. Temple (ed.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1510* (London, 1928), p. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> Translations of this French version into Italian and English were reproduced later in the century by Ramusio and Eden, respectively. See above, pp. 207, 210.

to Portugal in 1529 at Saragossa in return for a cash payment. While this arrangement officially brought an end to the contest for the Moluccas, the Spanish, particularly those in the New World, continued to hope and plan for a trading and missionary foothold in southeast Asia. The chronicles of Oviedo (Book XX, which deals with the East, was first published in 1548) and Gómara (published in 1552) summarized the information on the Spiceries obtained through the Spanish voyages and provided Europe with its first comprehensive accounts of the Philippines, Borneo, and the Spiceries.

In the first volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni* published in 1550, much of the data available at mid-century on southeast Asia was put between two covers for the first time. The Italian collector printed in the same volume the *Periplus of the Indian Ocean*, then ascribed to Arrian, along with the fifteenth-century travels of Nicolò de' Conti. He reproduced from manuscripts the letters on the spice trade prepared early in the century by Tomé Lopes, Giovanni da Empoli, and Andrea Corsali. He republished the *Itinerario* of Varthema in a new Italian version. The original text, Ramusio contended, was too full of errors to warrant reproduction. He included some of the available accounts of the Spanish circumnavigation of the globe by translating into Italian the Latin text of Maximilian of Transylvania and the French text of Pigafetta. He also published, apparently for the first time, the narrative of Juan Gaetano (also written, Ivan Gaetan) who described the expedition of 1542 headed by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos which sailed from Mexico across the Pacific to the Moluccas. Though he included in Italian translation a large part of the *Suma oriental* of Tomé Pires, Ramusio was unable to acquire the prize portion on the archipelago and Malacca which went unpublished until 1944. Ramusio's version, however, did include Pires' short accounts of Cambodia, Champa, Cochin-China, Burma, Siam, Pegu, and Arakan, as well as collateral references to the trade between Malacca and the Spice Islands with India, Pegg, and other parts of continental southeast Asia. The slighter and less authoritative summary of southeast Asia contained in the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, who probably never got east of India, was acquired by Ramusio and is included in its entirety in Italian translation in his first volume.

In the 1554 augmented edition of Volume I, Ramusio added a map of the East Indies (probably drawn by Giacomo Gastaldi), Italian translations of two Jesuit letters from Malacca, and a brief narration on the Spiceries by a Portuguese who had returned on the "Victoria" from the Moluccas. In his second volume, which deals with the land travels into Asia, Ramusio included in the first edition (1559) his version of Marco Polo and in the second edition (1574) the travels of Odoric of Pordenone. The third volume of the *Navigazioni*, first published in 1556, deals primarily with America but in it he included some authors, like Oviedo, who had remarks to make about the Pacific ventures of the Spanish, and also the discourses of Pierre Crignan on the French voyage of 1529 to Sumatra.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> George B. Parks (comp.), *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigazioni* (New York, 1915).

The major Portuguese sources on southeast Asia, which began to appear contemporaneously with Ramusio's compilations, are six in number: Castanheda's *História*, Albuquerque's *Commentários*, Barros' *Décadas*, the materials of António Galvão in the *Tratado . . . dos descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1563), Damião de Góis' *Chronica do felicissimo Rey D. Manoel* (Lisbon, 1565), and Jorge de Lemos' *História dos cercos que em tempo de António Moniz Barreto, Governador que foi dos estados da Índia, os Achems, e Jaos puzerão á fortaleza de Malaca, sendo Tristão Vaz da Veiga capitão della* (Lisbon, 1585). All but the last of these books deal with events in southeast Asia during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese chroniclers, like the Jesuit historian, Maffei, characteristically confine their attentions to the empire during its zenith. It was not until the seventeenth century that Diogo do Couto and Manuel de Faria e Sousa, both of whom were employed by the Spanish, endeavored to write general histories of the empire's decline and even they were forced from lack of information to leave a gap for the five years from 1575 to 1580.<sup>8</sup>

Castanheda, who was resident in Asia from 1528 to 1538, may possibly have journeyed to Malacca and the Moluccas. In his book he makes the general claim to have visited the places which he describes; Do Couto, keeper of the Goa archives in the later sixteenth century, records in his *Asia* that Castanheda traveled extensively east of India and even to the Moluccas.<sup>9</sup> The eight books of Castanheda's *História* were published between 1551 and 1561, but it is mainly in Books II through VI (published in 1552-54) that he takes up southeast Asia in connection with Portuguese activities there for the period from 1511 to 1542. While his first book was translated a number of times into various languages during the sixteenth century, the books (II-VI) pertaining to southeast Asia were translated only into Italian and that did not occur until 1577-78 (Venice).

In his treatment of southeast Asia, Castanheda follows closely the enterprises of the Portuguese but pays little attention to local conditions. He has less interest in geographical description than Barros and pays only passing deference to the pre-European history of the peoples in the regions discussed. Malacca, the Moluccas, and Pegu are described and commented upon in considerable detail, and his discussion of Pegu is clearly his best effort. It is probable that Castanheda used Barbosa for some of his data on the trade and ports of southeast Asia, though without acknowledging it. His narrative, which is generally prosaic and dry, begins to take on life when he comes to describe the struggles at

<sup>8</sup> See I. A. Macgregor, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on South East Asia," in D. G. E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia* (London, 1961), p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> *Décadas* IV, Book 3, chap. 1. Many students of Castanheda seem not to have known about this possibility, or, if they did, dismissed it as being improbable and insufficiently documented. Certainly such travels were possible, even though we do not have contemporary documentation to clinch the matter. J. H. Hareton, "Five Portuguese Historians," in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1962), p. 163, has no hesitation in asserting unqualifiedly that "the great value of Castanheda lies in his personal acquaintance with Malacca and the Moluccas."

Malacca, Ternate and Tidore—perhaps another indication of the fact that he may have actually been in those places.

The *Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque* (Lisbon, 1557; rev. ed., 1576), prepared by the great captain's son on the basis of his father's letters written from the East, contains a mixture of firsthand observations and secondhand reports. Albuquerque's only direct experience in southeast Asia came during the siege and conquest of Malacca in 1511. While most of the description naturally relates to Malacca and its immediate vicinity, Albuquerque also comments on the initiation of relations with Siam and the dispatch of an expedition to explore the Moluccas. He also makes brief references to Sumatra, Pegu, Java, and Pahang. The abbreviated *Commentarios* includes rich detail on Malacca's history under the Malay sultanate. On the siege and capture of Malacca, there is considerable disagreement between the *Commentarios* and the letter of Giovanni da Empoli published by Ramusio. The account in the *Commentarios* is particularly valuable, no matter what Braz de Albuquerque might have done to his father's report, because the original is no longer extant.<sup>10</sup>

While references to various parts of southeast Asia are scattered throughout the *Décadas* of Barros, it is only the third decade (relating to the years from 1515 to 1525, not published until 1563) which deals extensively with the region. Since he never traveled to Asia, Barros' work is necessarily based exclusively on the reports of others, a fact which probably helps to account for his acceptance of several tall stories. But he more than compensates for his critical failings by his thoroughgoing researches into the official and unofficial sources available in his day. Barros' survey is more systematic for the region as a whole than any of the others produced in the century. While his description of Sumatra remained unsurpassed until the eighteenth century, Barros' information on Java and Indochina was not extensive and his narrative consequently is not always as clear and informative on these two territories as the reader might reasonably expect from an author of his competence and erudition.<sup>11</sup> But, unlike Pires and other writers who report from the scene, Barros seems to get his proportions better. He realizes that the intermediate world between India and China is similar to both but different from each. Always hostile towards the Muslims, Barros points out that Pegu and Siam are dominated by heathens and that they are rich and powerful states. While conscious of the wealth of the Indies, he does not overestimate, as do so many of the Portuguese, the importance of the archipelago and Malacca in the economy and politics of the entire region.

After the appearance of Lemos' book in 1585, the Portuguese secular writers provide no more sources of significance. Once again, the books which appear

<sup>10</sup> *Academia das ciências de Lisboa, Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* (7 vols.; Lisbon, 1884-1935); although invaluable on Albuquerque's activities, the collection does not include his report of the siege. For the translation of his remarks on Malacca see Walter de Gray Birch (trans. and ed.), *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque* ("Publications of the Hakluyt Society," Old Series, Vols. LXII and LXIII [London, 1880]), Vols. III and IV.

<sup>11</sup> See Zoe Sweeney, "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960), pp. 113-14.

between 1585 and 1601 are from the pens of outsiders. These later sources may be divided into three groups: the accounts of two Spaniards who obtained their information about the East by way of the Philippines and Mexico; the narratives of the commercial travelers and explorers from Italy and northern Europe; and the Jesuit letterbooks and histories.

The two Spanish books, which first appeared respectively in 1585 and 1590, are the work of religious writers with experience in America and hence are only collaterally concerned with southeast Asia. The first of these was from the pen of the Augustinian friar, Juan González de Mendoza and was called *Historia de la cosas mas notables, ritos, y costumbres, del gran reyno de la China* (Rome, 1585).<sup>12</sup> While this famous book deals primarily with China, as the title indicates, it also includes in its last chapters some interesting materials on Malacca, Indochina, and the Philippines. Mendoza depends for these comments on the experiences there in about 1579 of Martin Ignatius de Loyola, a relative of the first Jesuit general and a Franciscan missionary himself. The second book by a Spaniard was the work of the famous Jesuit Humanist, José de Acosta, who sojourned for a long period in Mexico and learned about eastern Asia at this crossroads of the Spanish empire. Acosta's volumes first appeared in Latin (1588-89), and, in their complete form, were published in 1590 at Seville under the title *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. While Acosta's work centers on the New World, it also includes scattered comments on the East Indies. From the viewpoint of the scholar interested in southeast Asia, Acosta's work illustrates strikingly how a Humanist of the late sixteenth century with overseas experience mentally wrestled with himself to integrate his knowledge of Asia inherited from antiquity with the newer information.

The Italian, Dutch, and English merchants who comment on southeast Asia had their narratives published between 1587 and 1599. The *Viaggio* (1587) of the Venetian, Pedrici, records that he was east of India on at least three different occasions, on the last two of which he was engaged in the opium traffic between Cambay and Pegu. On his first and most extended trip into southeast Asia, he visited from 1566 to 1569 in northern Sumatra (Achin), Malacca, Tenasserim (Mergui), Tavoy, and Martaban. His second voyage, which seems to have been restricted to Pegu, probably occurred in 1572-73. His third voyage, which again seems to have been limited to Pegu, possibly took place as late as 1577-78.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of these experiences it is not surprising, when we consider that Pedrici probably kept a diary, that he was able to provide the fullest and most accurate account of Burma (Pegu) prepared by a European in the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Gasparo Balbi, another Venetian, published his *Viaggio* in 1590. It is clear, because the author is precise in dating his peregrinations, that Balbi was in

<sup>12</sup> For a full analysis of this book see below, pp. 743-45.

<sup>13</sup> Since he gives so few dates in his record, it is difficult to determine exactly when he was at a given place and how long he stayed there. The above dates are based on the estimates given in Jari Charpentier, "Cronaca di Federico and Gasparo Balbi," *Indies Antiquary*, LIII (1924), 53-54.

<sup>14</sup> "Pedrici . . . has left us the best description of Burma that we have from a European source." See D. G. E. Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma (1587-1743)* (London, 1908), p. 18.

Pegu for more than two years (1583 to 1586). While Balbi pirated many of his comments on India from Fedrici, his record of events and his description of Pegu are the most independent and best part of his book.<sup>15</sup> It is also clear that Balbi's contemporaries in Europe valued the *Viaggio* most for its detailing of affairs in Pegu. Though Hakluyt probably knew Balbi's work, he never published it. When it finally appeared in English translation in Purchas' collection,<sup>16</sup> his account of India, except for materials on St. Thomas and Negapatnam, were omitted while the portion on Pegu was included in its entirety.

Linschoten, who was in western India from 1583 to 1588, published his *Itinerario* in its complete form in 1596. Though he never traveled east of India, Linschoten managed to reconstruct, from informants in Goa and from the books and maps at his disposal after he returned home, a comprehensive survey of the places in southeastern Asia known to the Portuguese. In his disquisitions on the flora and fauna of the East, Linschoten remarks on curiosities such as the elephants of Pegu, the great shellfish of Malacca, and the valuable camphor of Borneo. In 1597, the year after Linschoten's book appeared, an account of the first Dutch voyage to Java was published at Middelburg and in the following year it came out in an English translation.<sup>17</sup> While this narrative mainly recounts the problems of the voyage and the strife between the Dutch captains, it also includes comments on conditions affecting trade in Java.

Ralph Fitch was the first Englishman to visit southeastern Asia and record his experiences there. The account of his peregrinations which Hakluyt published in 1599 is based in part upon Fedrici and in part upon his own experiences. Fitch arrived at Pegu in 1586 and in the following year he made a journey to Chiengmai in the Siamese Shan states. After returning to Pegu, he left for Malacca in 1588 to collect information on the trade there. Then he made his way back to Pegu by way of Mantaban, and, after a short respite in Pegu, began the long journey back to England. Since Fitch kept no diary or notes, his recollections are hazy and his descriptions much less precise than those recorded in the accounts of Fedrici and Balbi. Still, his experience of about three years in southeast Asia gave him a genuine understanding of certain features of life there, particularly of Pegu where he spent the most time. His independent picture of the Buddhist monastic system of Burma is still respected as a faithful representation.<sup>18</sup>

When Drake circumnavigated the world in 1577-80, his ship, the "Golden Hind," called at Ternate in the Moluccas, at Roma Island, and at Java. Notices of these places appeared in books and on maps prepared in northern Europe

<sup>15</sup> Charpentier, *loc. cit.* (n. 13), p. 62.

<sup>16</sup> As reproduced in Samuel Purchas (ed.), *Hakluyt's Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes* ("Publications of the Hakluyt Society," Buxton Series, Vol. X [Glasgow, 1905-7]), pp. 143-64.

<sup>17</sup> The original is entitled *Verhael vandy Reys by de Hollandsche Schepen gefaen naar Oost Indien* (Middelburg, 1597). The English version, translated by William Phillip, is entitled *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certain Ships of Holland into the East Indies* (London, 1598). See above, p. 102n.

<sup>18</sup> D. C. E. Hall, *Burma and Burma. A Study of European Relations with Burma in the Domination of Thibaw's Kingdom* (1886) (London, 1945), p. 15.

beginning in 1582. Of particular importance is the narrative compiled by Hakluyt from documents written by participants in the Drake enterprise. The final version, the last of several earlier and less complete compilations, appeared in 1600 in the *Principal Navigations*<sup>19</sup> and was entitled *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea . . . begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577*. This short narrative is particularly rich in its description of the garb and court ceremonies of Ternate. It also gives a few notes on the political conditions prevailing in the Moluccas in the crucial year of 1578 when the Portuguese established themselves at Tidore, and it also provides a few references to the rulers of Java in 1579. The first voyage to the East of James Lancaster, an Englishman with long experience in Portugal, took place in the years 1591 to 1594. He was sent out by a group of London merchants to make a reconnaissance of the Portuguese route to Malacca. Two narratives of these voyages of pillaging and surveying were acquired and published by Hakluyt.<sup>20</sup> These documents contain fascinating data on Portuguese trade, but very little material on Asia itself. The English narratives are especially important because they refer to times for which we have very few other contemporary sources on the eastern archipelago.

The Jesuit letters published in Europe give scattered bits of information on various parts of southeast Asia from 1552 to the end of the century. Most of the Xavier letters from Malacca and the Moluccas were not published until the Turcellinus collection appeared in 1595-96. The early letterbooks, published mainly in Portugal and Italy, frequently include letters from his followers in southeast Asia. But, as in the case of India, a sharp break in published versions of the letters occurs beginning with the letters penned in the period from 1564 to 1568.<sup>21</sup> Several of the letters written before 1564 were republished beginning in 1569. Over the entire period (1552-1600) ten of the letters dated from southeast Asia were published three or more times. It is not until the last decade of the century, however, that new and substantial additions were incorporated into the letterbooks. Most of the letters dated from the islands give information on native customs and the problems being faced by the Jesuits in the Moluccas and in Amboina before 1570. Not a single Jesuit letter from the Moluccas was published during the last generation of the century. Those dated from Malacca are ordinarily concerned with matters far removed from the

<sup>19</sup> III, 750-82; also see XI, 201-51.

<sup>20</sup> Barce's narrative is in Vol. II, Pt. D, pp. 100-1; May's narrative is in III, 571-72. For recent, edited versions of these documents see Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Second Series, No. LXXXV [London, 1940]), pp. 1-51.

<sup>21</sup> C. Wessels, S. J., *Histoire de la mission d'Asie . . . 1564-1603* (Louvain, 1934), p. 9, asserts that as far as he can determine not a single letter from Amboina or the Moluccas was printed in the period from 1570 to 1600 which had been written during that time. He accounts for this by referring to the complete dependence of the mission upon the crowns of Spain and Portugal. He also points out how slow Rome was to publish Teixeira and Valignano's surveys of Xavier's activities in the East; from the context into which he puts this discussion he seems to imply that the papacy was also under pressure from the Iberian powers to keep detailed information on the Spice Isles out of print.

local scene. The Jesuits at Malacca, like the merchants, were usually in transit, and mostly write about the places from which they came or about what they have heard of the place to which they are going. As a whole, the Jesuit letters are much less valuable for southeast Asia than they are for Japan.<sup>22</sup>

The first author to use the Jesuit letters extensively, as well as many secular sources, was Maffei whose *Historiarum Indiarum libri XVI* appeared at Florence in 1588. In his scattered sections on the various parts of southeast Asia, Maffei includes more from the Jesuit letters than he does when commenting on India. As he recounts the expansion of the Portuguese and the Jesuits to about 1557, Maffei interrupts his narrative at appropriate points to present thumbnail sketches of what he knew from his researches about such places as Sumatra, Siam, and Pegu. The Spanish Jesuit, Guzman, in his *Historia de las misiones* (1601), likewise gives occasional vignettes of those parts of southeast Asia where the Jesuits were active. Since Guzman depends more than Maffei upon the letters and Spanish sources, and less upon the Portuguese historians who wrote almost exclusively about the first half of the century, he recounts political events in a slightly less stylized manner and without too much regard for the sensibilities of the Portuguese. His detailed descriptions of the wars going on in southeast Asia during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the amount of information he possessed on Cambodia reflect the fact that some of his sources came to him from the missionaries in the Philippines. In short, Guzman is particularly useful for the history of southeast Asia during the last generation of the sixteenth century, a period when firsthand accounts, aside from Jesuit letters, are in short supply. Neither Maffei nor Guzman had traveled to Asia and both based their narratives on the materials available to them in Europe.

The European sources generally tend to consider southeast Asia as a part of "farther India," even though they bring out clearly how important the Chinese, Japanese, and Muslims were at Malacca and in the islands. The Moluccas, always of interest for its cloves and other spices, receives the attention of most of the writers, including the Jesuits. As the place where the Spanish and Portuguese empires met in the East, the Spice Islands in the sources receive radically different treatment on a number of relatively simple matters. The sources are especially contradictory on the exact location of the Moluccas and the Philippines, important questions in the debated question of ownership. The Portuguese historians and other Europeans who traveled in Portuguese India are especially authoritative on Pegu, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra. The Spanish writers are best on the Philippines, Borneo, and Cambodia.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Based on a study of Robert Sreat, *Missionen in Ostindien* (Aachen, 1928), IV, passim.

<sup>23</sup> While Portuguese adventurers and the Dominican missionary Gaspar da Cruz were in Cambodia by 1552-56, it is not until the last years of the century that concrete information begins to appear on Cambodia in European published works. It was mainly in connection with the Spanish efforts to get a continental foothold that Europeans became aware of Cambodia. In 1601, the first description of the ruins of Angkor was included in E. Marizolo de Ribadeneyra, O. F. M., *Historia de las islas del archipiélago, y reyno de la gran China*. . . (Barcelona, 1601), pp. 173-87. For an excellent summary of the discovery of Cambodia by the Iberians see Bernard P. Grodier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958), chap. II.

Java is the territory most slighted and the Javanese are the people viewed most hostilely by the Iberian authors, perhaps because of the sporadic wars in which they engaged the Portuguese, who sought to replace them as the great international traders of the region.<sup>24</sup> That the Portuguese were ultimately unsuccessful in their effort to eliminate the Javanese is brought out by the voyage of Lancaster which transgressed the Portuguese monopoly and by Linschoten when he writes to his countrymen: "... men might very well traffique [to Java] without any impeachment [hindrance], for that the Portingales come not thither, because great number of Java come themselves unto Malacca to sell their wares."<sup>25</sup>

It was in the Byzantine versions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* that the first general description of southeast Asia became available before the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Book VII, chapter 2 of the principal extant version lists the coastal features, riverine divisions, and the inland towns of the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula). But no effort is made by the compiler to describe its countryside, people, or products. If the stylized Ptolemaic co-ordinates are abandoned when evaluating the data on southeast Asia, a clearly recognizable delimitation of the coast of peninsular southeast Asia from the Bay of Bengal to Indochina emerges from the *Geographia*.<sup>27</sup> While modern scholars are not agreed on the identifications of the many rivers, gulfs, and inland towns mentioned in the *Geographia*, it is clear that the Byzantine compilers were aware of the strategic importance of the emporiums of the Malay peninsula in the trade of southeast Asia.<sup>28</sup>

Not until the late thirteenth century did the entrepôts, capitals, islands, and states of southeast Asia begin to be heard about in Europe under the names by which we know them today. Marco Polo refers by name to Champa (which corresponds roughly to modern Cochin-china), the Great Island of Java (Java or Cochin-china) and to Java the Less (Sumatra), while describing many other islands, towns, and peoples more difficult to identify. Significantly neither Polo nor Odoric of Pordenone, who returned to Europe in 1330, mentions Malacca. This may be accounted for by the fact that Malacca had not yet become a great merchandising center.<sup>29</sup> Odoric discourses on "Nicuveran" (the Nicobar Islands), but gives nothing more than some legendary information about them.<sup>30</sup> Other European travelers of the fourteenth century also refer to Champa, Java, and Java the Lesser (Sumatra), possibly based on the traditional yarns told to them by the Arab sailors with whom they voyaged. Niccolò de'

<sup>24</sup> The Javanese are usually described by the Iberian writers as fierce warriors who are base and unreliable in their business dealings. For an independent, and similar judgment see L. A. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malacca," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXVBT (1955), 24.

<sup>25</sup> A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele (eds.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Nos. LXX and LXXI, Old Series [London, 1895]) I, 112.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1963), pp. 33-40.

<sup>27</sup> For a map showing the Ptolemaic coastline superimposed on a modern map of southeast Asia see *ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>28</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 251-52.

<sup>29</sup> Probably founded ca. 1400. *ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>30</sup> D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London, 1960), p. 282.

Conti, the Venetian who returned home in about 1444, calls Sumatra by the classical name of "Taprobana" and refers to "Andamania" (the Andaman Islands) and the city of "Panconia" (Pegu), the capital of the Mon kingdom of Pegu in Burma. Girolamo da Santo Stefano, the Genoese merchant, who visited Pegu in 1496 gives its name more correctly, tells about setting out on a trading expedition to Malacca, and of finally having ended up in Sumatra.<sup>21</sup> From this brief recapitulation of Renaissance travel accounts it can be observed generally that the few Europeans who traveled into southeast Asia before the opening of the sea route included in their summaries some information on Champa, Java, Sumatra (though not under this name until Santo Stefano's visit there in 1497), Pegu, and the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. Many other places and peoples in "farther India" they also referred to under designations which are not so readily identifiable.

Varethema, whether or not he actually traveled east of India himself, was the first writer formally to introduce Malacca to Europe, though the Portuguese and those who sailed with them had heard about it shortly after landing at Calicut.<sup>22</sup> The merchant from Bologna also comments in some detail on Venasserim (Mergu) and Pegu, and he seems vaguely to understand that the religion of Burma (Buddhism) is different from Hinduism.<sup>23</sup> Like Santo Stefano, he calls Sumatra by the name which we use today, and like Conti, he identifies it with Taprobana.<sup>24</sup> He also sailed eastward to Banda and to the Moluccas "where the cloves grow," and was the first European writer who even made an effort to describe the Spice Islands. Varethema then began his return westward and stopped on his way at an island which he calls "Bornei." It is not clear from his brief description whether or not he is referring to Borneo, the great island which derives its name from one of the chief Malay states (Brunei) existing on it when the Europeans first arrived there.<sup>25</sup> If we assume, as I do, that he is referring to Borneo, it can then be concluded that most of the major islands of the archipelago and some of the leading cities of continental southeast

<sup>21</sup> R. H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol. XXVI [London, 1857]), Pt. IV, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> In the Dutch work *Calicut* (1504), "Malacca" is mentioned as the place from whence come the spices. The Nuremberg newsletter of 1503 (*The Right Way to Travel from Lisbon to Calicut*) gives the distance from Quilon to "Mellarka" and to "Scharmaratta" (Sumatra). But, the Satwata letter from King Manuaj to Carajo (1503) makes no mention of Malacca. See above, pp. 160-61.

<sup>23</sup> Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 161a.

<sup>24</sup> Conti also says that it is known locally as "Srisamudra." But as far as its name is concerned, "even to the present day, it is like the other large islands of the Archipelago, Java perhaps excepted, without a name familiar to the inhabitants" (John Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* [London, 1836], p. 412.) For its derivation from "Simudra" rather than "Samudra" see N. J. Krom, "De naam Suttatca," *Afdragen tot de taalk., land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, C (1947), 5-25. Luichosen (in Burnell and Tiele [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 25], I, 107-8) continues to call it Taprobana at the end of the century, even though Barros had earlier invited upon Taprobana's identification with Ceylon.

<sup>25</sup> It may be that he actually is referring to the island of Borne, south of the Malacca, see Temple, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 160y-160v. Crawford (*op. cit.* [n. 24], p. 63) believes that he is talking about Borneo, and is simply giving one spelling of the Malay city or state which later European writers render as "Borne," "Brouai," "Borne," or "Bornei."

- [download online The Sources of Social Power, Volume 3 Global Empires and Revolution, 1890â€“1945 \(1st edition\) here](#)
- [read Underneath the Southern Cross pdf](#)
- [download online Death of an Ordinary Man: A Novel for free](#)
- [click Clarkesworld, Issue 77 \(February 2013\) for free](#)
  
- <http://toko-gumilar.com/books/The-Triumph-of-Propaganda--Film-and-National-Socialism--1933-1945.pdf>
- <http://aircon.servicessingaporecompany.com/?lib/End-of-Exile--Exiles--Book-3-.pdf>
- <http://fitnessfatale.com/freebooks/Death-of-an-Ordinary-Man--A-Novel.pdf>
- <http://creativebeard.ru/freebooks/Chess-Story.pdf>