

# **Dutch merchants first contacting Asian coasts: preparing, meeting and reporting**

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## Introduction

Dutch ships entered Indian waters for the first time when the sixteenth century had almost come to an end. Maritime Asia by that time had been contacted by Portuguese merchants for over a century, and trading posts, sea routes and contacts had been established. After the first fleet, piloted by De Houtman, had returned in 1597 from southeast Asia, an enormous expansion in the numbers of Dutch fleets and voyages to Asian coasts took place. It seemed as if the Netherlands were suddenly shaken awake and determined to stay so.

The so called 'Voorcompagnieën' that preceded the chartered VOC sent fleets to establish trading relations peacefully and see if factors could be installed and manned.<sup>1</sup> As no Dutch maritime traditions on voyages of such scope existed, some foreigners were recruited for these journeys, which derived mostly from the southern Netherlands and West Germany.<sup>2</sup> Apart from seafaring skills, the higher officials were selected upon their lingual skills as well: knowledge of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian or Malay was recommended.<sup>3</sup> As the Dutch had started trading in Asia on Portuguese fleets since 1570, it was possible for pilots to be that experienced.<sup>4</sup>

However, the language skills of high officials did not change anything about the fact that the Dutch had never appeared on Asian coasts independently and still had to introduce their nation in these areas. And being forced to rely entirely upon Portuguese experiences and searoutes was not convenient, since the Portuguese rather kept the spice monopoly to themselves. The strategies and struggles that derived from this situation are the subject of this thesis.

Since much has been written about this pre-VOC period, it is remarkable that the practicalities of the realization of the Dutch-Asian connection were not researched and described. The question I put forward in this thesis is what it is we can learn from the travelogues that were written by the first Dutch merchants and sailors of the voyages to maritime Asia about the communication and contact with the indigenous people they met and how they have reported on these experiences.

Therefore I have studied the books and reports that were written by these pioneers in the following regions: India, Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Korea, Sri Lanka, China and Japan. I excluded the Malaysian peninsula from the study since no travel report exists as it was a Portuguese trading port that was hostile to other European visitors, and the first Dutch contacts were established only in 1641 when the Dutch took the port by force. My criterium was to use reports written by merchants or pilots,

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<sup>1</sup> Jacob Cornelisz van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)*/ uitg. door H.A. van Foreest en A. de Booy (Den Haag 1981) 9.

<sup>2</sup> Van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders* 63.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, 65.

<sup>4</sup> H.J. den Heijer and C.P.P. van Romburgh, *Reizen door de eeuwen heen : 100 jaar Linschoten-Vereeniging (1908-2008)* (Zutphen 2008) 9.

so I chose not to incorporate Jesuit letters or letters by merchants. This had the consequence of relying on Jan Huygen van Linschoten and Dirck Gerritsz Pomp for their accounts on China, Japan and India, although their experiences had been within the context of a Portuguese voyage. However, they were the first Dutch merchants in these regions and their work has been highly influential on later voyages, so I chose to incorporate their texts. This criterium also had the consequence of the exclusion of Formosa (Taiwan), as the first Dutch report on this island is written by its third Dutch governor in 1629.<sup>5</sup> Regarding Korea and had the problem that the first reports were written in a much later phase, in the context of the VOC empire of the mid-seventeenth century. Still, these are the first Dutch merchants arriving on these coasts, and to achieve a complete research I have incorporated these regions after all.

This research is performed in the second part of this thesis, which consists of the analysis of the experiences of these Dutch pioneers. At risk of writing too much of a narrative on their adventures, I have chose to incorporate their struggles and experiences as well, since these are inherent in the contacts and means of communication. To provide a historical context for this study, in the first part of the thesis an overview is presented of the existing literature on travelling and trading in the East. This is also necessary for providing a frame of what the Dutch merchants had already learned about the regions they visited, and to see what literary tradition on reporting on such travels existed.

The final part of the thesis comprises the second part of the question I posed: how did the merchants report on their experiences? Here I used the analytical framework of Edward Said's theory of 'Orientalism' to look critically at the way regions, nations and cultural differences were described. As will be shown in the first part, a considerable amount of information on Asia had been collected and produced in the sixteenth century, which would only expand during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and to place the Dutch reports into this context I will see whether 'Orientalist' roots are found in these reports.

The Dutch saying 'unknown is unloved' is in the case of this research reversible, as once more and more information was collected on maritime Asia, the continent became even more fascinating and interesting for the Dutch. The first contacts that were made in this region would be the first steps of Dutch expansion in Asia, an enterprised that was much loved during the following centuries.

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<sup>5</sup> Donald F. Lach & Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe* III, book 2 (Chicago 1994) 1799.

# 1 The Literary tradition

What did Dutch sailors know when they arrived on strange coasts?

This question is the starting point of my thesis, as before diving into the travel reports and the findings that are expressed in these stories, it is needed to sketch the period and its 'spirit' first. To look for prejudices is only possible when knowing what these prejudices might be, and for this reason I have tried to map the information that became available and widespread in Europe during this period of European expansion and before. As the subject of my question concerns Dutch merchants and sailors, I will look at the first contacts of Europeans with South Asia and East Asia and take into account the information that may have reached the Netherlands. This will form the historical background from which prejudices and expectations can be discovered in the travel reports. Because India (South Asia) and China are the regions with the longest history of European contacts and about which the most information on 'first contacts' was available, I will discuss these regions here.

## 1.1 South Asia

The history of travelling to India in the Renaissance is treated extensively by Joan Pau Rubiés in his book 'Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance'. Rubiés states in the introduction of that book that he has tried to avoid in this study the current idea that travellers saw only what they already knew and carried this with them as a prejudice from their own nation.<sup>6</sup> This position influences his theories on the perception of European travellers meeting 'The Other' in South Asia. What knowledge existed about these 'others', and what information was available to the Dutch nation? I will discuss the existing travel literature that was written until the beginning of the seventeenth century, since that was the moment the Dutch became involved in travelling to the East as well, and were less dependent on foreign writers for their knowledge.

The history of described contacts between South India and Europe begins with the expansion of the ancient Greek. From these encounters a few accounts have been the source of a compilation of oriental marvels for decades.<sup>7</sup> In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries a renewed clerical tradition of western ethnography developed, from which descriptions of South India and other parts of it derived. The writings of missionary friars like John of Montecorvino, Jordanus Catalani, Odoric Pordenone and John of Marignolli (in the period between 1290 and 1350) are characterized by their tone of describing a well-established missionary purpose.<sup>8</sup> In this period eventually a new genre of descriptions of India was introduced by the Venetian Marco Polo. His fourteenth century's "Divisament dau monde" was the first travel report that consisted of a lay observer's personal observations, followed by the

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<sup>6</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance. South India through European Eyes, 1250-1650* (Cambridge 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance* 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

'Encyclopaedic Synthesis' written by the fictional John Mandeville.<sup>9</sup> Both works were translated in English, German, Latin and Italian, which made these books not only the most comprehensive, but also the most influential narratives that shaped European views of India prior to the Portuguese discoveries. Furthermore, Marco Polo's "Divisament" became a potential model for travel accounts in which 'marvels were no longer traditional marvels, but rather new observations of natural and human diversity'<sup>10</sup>. According to Rubiés, Marco Polo was unique in addressing the most complex audience from the widest experience.<sup>11</sup>

After these publications, a stagnation in travel literature existed during the following century, until after the fifteenth century the pilgrim lost ground as the starting point for a medieval traveller, and secular travellers took their place.<sup>12</sup> Ludovico de Varthema of Bologna was the second European traveller to Vijayanagara, whose 'Initerario' was published in 1510 and became one of the most successful and well-known travel books since Marco Polo's. However, it is probable that parts of Varthema's book are made-up, since it is unlikely that he indeed visited Pegu, Melaka and the spice islands.<sup>13</sup> But it was within this literary context that Portuguese travellers and merchants became involved again, and this time more vigorously, in the 'discovery' of India. The two most comprehensive early Portuguese accounts of the East are "Suma Oriental", written in 1512 by Tomé Pires, and "Livro", written circa 1516, by Duarte Barbosa.<sup>14</sup> These works took the form of geographical treatises that followed trade routes along the coast of the Indian Ocean, and were published only in 1550, when they became part of 'Delle navigationi e viaggi' by Giovanni Battista Ramusio.<sup>15</sup>

The first major narratives on the Portuguese expansion appeared during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, Joao de Barros and Braz de Albuquerque wrote volumes in which ethnographical descriptions were given a limited role.<sup>16</sup> According to Rubiés, the first attempts to define Indian civilization from a comparative perspective and on the basis of personal experience were the result of Christian missions in the East, like the one in which Jesuit Alessandro Valignano was involved. His three travel reports became the basis of the 'Historia del principio.. etc.' (1584) which provided "for the first time a sophisticated framework for the comparison of different peoples under the concept of rational behaviour"<sup>17</sup>. Other influential Portuguese travel reports are Diogo de Couto's 'Decades', written in 1590, and the works by Gaspar Correa, Leonardo Nunes and Domingos Paes. However, their influence is considered more limited since their work was published much later: 'Decades' was published only partly in the

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<sup>9</sup> Idem, 46.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, 57

<sup>11</sup> Idem, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, 85.

<sup>13</sup> Idem, 125.

<sup>14</sup> Idem, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Idem, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Idem, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

seventeenth century, while Correa's, Nunes' and Paes' books were published only during the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

The reason for this delay was the policy of secrecy the Portuguese maintained towards news about their discoveries in the east, although there has been a debate about the extent to which this policy existed.<sup>19</sup> It is true that Prince Henry inaugurated a system of discovery and commerce that was in essence exclusive and monopolistic. Through a series of Papal bulls Portugal's exclusive rights to explore and develop its discoveries in Africa were pursued.<sup>20</sup> However, these bulls did not prevent foreigners to invade these seas anyway, and at the same time many foreigners were employed by the Portuguese as navigators, arms-makers, map-makers, printers and commercial agents as aides in their maritime and trading activities. King Manuel decreed in 1504 that complete secrecy was to be kept with regard to south-eastern and north-eastern navigation, under pain of death.<sup>21</sup> It is probably for this reason that not a single work on the new discoveries in Asia is known to have been published in Portugal between 1500 and mid-century. As noted before, the *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires and the *Book* of Duarte Barbosa, both written before 1520, were not published, even in part, until Ramusio put their texts into print in 1550.<sup>22</sup> As a result, in the first half of the sixteenth century the monopoly on news was so effective that interested persons in other countries had to rely upon ancient writers, medieval travelers, official announcements, and the sketchy written and oral reports of merchants, sailors and spies for information about Asia. This rigid control broke down at mid-century, and the beginning of a systematic publication and spread of the Jesuit letterbooks around this period may have been a reason for the undermining of the secrecy policy.<sup>23</sup>

During the seventeenth century another literary genre was introduced among the travel literature: the genre that expressed the aim to open the door to the European understanding of the hidden meaning of idolatry, with a treatise on gentile religion.<sup>24</sup> Catholic missionaries provided the models and the contexts for this genre, but the attempt to *understand* a non-Christian religion and taking idols as serious evidence for a doctrine was new, and according Rubiés took place during the period from 1580-1620. An example of this discourse can be found in the letters by Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), that were published in mid-seventeenth century's Italy. His work mediated between chivalric piety of the Counter-Reformation and the corrosive distinctions of an increasingly analytical historical discourse.<sup>25</sup> What distinguished della Valle from contemporary authors is the fact that he not

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<sup>18</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>19</sup> Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe* 151.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, 152.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Idem, 153.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, 154.

<sup>24</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance*, 309.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, 353.



only observed, but also interpreted what he saw, and that his insights were personal and at the same time informed by previous reading.<sup>26</sup>

In the last decade of the sixteenth century the English and Dutch became interested in exploring this area themselves, and started contributing to the search for information on interior routes, marts, products and military activities.<sup>27</sup> The most comprehensive British accounts by sailors, chaplains and emissaries were those by William Finch, Thomas Roe and Edward Terry, whose works were published by Samuel Purchas in his 'Pilgrimes', published in 1625.<sup>28</sup> On the Dutch side, Jan Huygen van Linschoten was the main contributor to the genre in the Netherlands of the fin de siècle, with his comprehensive 'Initerario', written from 1595-1665.<sup>29</sup> The rising interest of the Dutch in overseas enterprises was highly influenced by the events that occurred in the last decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>30</sup> In the year in which Van Linschoten left home for Seville and eventually Goa, Antwerp was sacked by the Spanish and the cause of Dutch independence appeared to be in danger. When Van Linschoten returned home in 1592, Maurice of Nassau was in control of the Northern Netherlands, and the merchants and capital that had left Antwerp were contributing to turning Amsterdam into a trading and financial centre of northern Europe.<sup>31</sup> The information gathered by the merchant Dirck Gerritsz Pomp about the eastern trade stimulated the Dutch to prepare a Dutch fleet for India, and a final stimulus was given by Philip II when he barred the port of Lisbon for Dutch and English vessels.<sup>32</sup> In sum, the Holland to which Van Linschoten returned was eager to learn about his experiences in the East. Apparently, so was Europe, as Van Linschoten's *Initerario* was published abroad soon after its appearance in the Netherlands in 1595 and 1596.<sup>33</sup> It was translated in German and English in 1598, in the following year two Latin versions appeared, and in 1610 a French translation was published.<sup>34</sup>

Rubiés derives three conclusions from his research of the travel literature on India in the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> First, he states that there was no clear, coherent image of Indian civilization in sixteenth century Europe, not even a simple stereotype. Secondly, he finds that the most complete accounts of India did not circulate extensively before 1550. And finally he states that the focus of travel literature was based mostly on economic possibilities or Portuguese activities, although indigenous customs and basic political realities were often described as background information. Furthermore Rubiés notes that it is important to take

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<sup>26</sup> Idem, 356.

<sup>27</sup> Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe* 604.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, 605.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, 603.

<sup>30</sup> Idem, 199.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>32</sup> Idem, 200.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, 202.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance* 11.

into account the fact that Europeans became acquainted with the empire of Vijayanagara before they had an entry to the 'pagan' communities of Japan and China.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, these contacts were "a challenge to European narrative topoi and political ideas that had few counterparts in the sixteenth century."<sup>37</sup> This might have influenced the negative tone that sometimes characterized sixteenth century- works on India. The lack of a unified political system in India and the image of idolatry contributed to this negativity, combined with a racial aspect as after all, the Chinese and Japanese were considered 'white'.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.2 China

Like with India, the first European stories about this 'golden empire' go back to Antiquity. The Romans wrote about a people they called the 'seres', after the silk material they produced ('serici').<sup>39</sup> The empire they were thought to live in was called 'Cathay' or 'Cathaia'. The first European who met Chinese and wrote about their empire in the Middle Ages was the Flemish Willem van Rubroek, in 1253.<sup>40</sup> After him, the Franciscan monk Odoric de Pordenone travelled through Asia and China in the fourteenth century and wrote an 'Descripto orientalium partium', and the aforementioned travel report of John Mandeville, who also claimed to have visited China, was published in 1371 as well.<sup>41</sup>

In the sixteenth century, China was discovered again, this time by the Portuguese. The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had divided the world that could be discovered and Christianised in two halves, and allocated the Eastern half to the Portuguese. As a result, the Chinese seas were sailed by Portuguese vessels, and attempts to enter China were taken. The first book in which China is mentioned in this period is 'De Gloria', written by the Portuguese humanist and theologian Jerónimo Osório. A sincere admiration for the Chinese empire is expressed in this work, from which he distances himself only when he mentions their ignorance of Christianity.<sup>42</sup> Hereafter, China was mentioned in several works on Asia that were mentioned above and all written during the 1550's: De Castanheda, De Barros and Ramusio collected information about China, and Ramusio even included letters from Jesuits in Japan.<sup>43</sup> From the 1550's on, an international interest in China was expressed in printed works. This interest was aroused by the permission of an official trading post for the Portuguese on the Macao peninsula in 1557, from which a flow of information could be sent to Europe.<sup>44</sup> The first book that was dedicated completely to China was written by the Dominican Gaspar da Cruz in 1569, which did not become widespread.

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<sup>36</sup> Idem, 18.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Idem, 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Arie Pos, *Het paviljoen van porselein: Nederlandse literaire chinoiserie en het westerse beeld van China (1250-2007)* (Leiden 2008) 30.

<sup>40</sup> Pos, *Het paviljoen van porselein* 27.

<sup>41</sup> Idem, 32-24.

<sup>42</sup> Idem, 54.

<sup>43</sup> Idem, 56.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

From 1567 on, the Spaniards were involved in trading with the Chinese as well, as they had acquired a trading post on the Filipinas. The first Spaniard that visited China was Martin de Rada, who was granted access to Fujian in 1575 and whose travel account was included in Juan Gonzales de Mendoza's *'Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China'*, published in 1585.<sup>45</sup> This book had an encyclopaedic function and consisted of the information hitherto collected about China. It remained the most influential work on China until the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Like with India, the British became involved in the literature on China at the end of the sixteenth century. Richard Hakluyt wrote *'The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation'* in 1599, including a story about the journey of 5 Japanese princes to Europe, which was written by the Italian Alessandro Valignano.<sup>47</sup> The Dutch literary genre was introduced to China by the Dutch Dirck Gerritsz Pomp, who returned from his travels through Asia in 1590. Information about this journey was included in *'Thresoor der Zeevaert'*, published in 1592 by Lucas Jansz Waghenaer.<sup>48</sup> After Pomp, attempts to visit China were made by Olivier van Noort, Jacob van Neck and Cornelis Matelieff, but these journeys ended in hostility. Hereafter China was only placed on the agenda again with the foundation of Batavia.

Pos considers the perception of China in the period between 1200 and 1600 twofold. From 1200-1500 the concept of the 'Far East' was derived from classical geographers and the Bible. It was based on curiosity of meeting other Christians in the East, and close a pact again the Muslim world.<sup>49</sup> The second phase was the 'Catholic century', from 1500-1600, in which contact between the Portuguese and the 'Chin' that were white, ate pork meat and were considered 'their kind of people' fascinated Europeans. The trading and missionary possibilities rendered positive descriptions by the Portuguese, but the Spaniards, frustrated by the inaccessibility of the empire and their failed missions sketched an image that was far more negative.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Idem, 61.

<sup>46</sup> Idem, 69.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>48</sup> Idem, 81.

<sup>49</sup> Idem, 78.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem.

## 2 Meeting Asian coasts- strategies and struggles

### 2.1 Joris van Spilbergen in Ceylon

Joris van Spilbergen was born in Antwerp.<sup>51</sup> The journal of this journey has been written by a sailor from Enkhuizen: Cornelis Jansz Vennip, about whom we know nothing but his presence on the journey. He kept the diary until 27-5-1603, after which it was finished by an unknown writer.<sup>52</sup> Before Spilbergen published this encounter on his experiences in Ceylon, all that was known of this island was the information Van Linschoten had provided in his *Itinerario*. In chapter 13 of this book he wrote positively about the region, but remarked also that the Portuguese owned a fortress in Colombo.<sup>53</sup> Additionally, the journey of the De Houtman brothers had provided some knowledge about the island, although they had never actually reached it. However, they learnt on their way that on the East coast of Ceylon, in Batticalao (a place called 'Matecalo' in Spilbergen's account), a trading centre could be found where cargo and refreshments were available.<sup>54</sup> And most importantly, the brothers were told that the king of Batticalao was hostile towards the Portuguese.<sup>55</sup>

On May fifth three ships called Ram, Schaep and Lam left Zeeland, Van Spilbergen being captain of the Schaep.<sup>56</sup> An illustration of the present relation between the Dutch and Portuguese nation at sea is offered soon: at Puerto Daele three Portuguese ships that ride at anchor open fire on the Dutch ships, without any severe consequences.<sup>57</sup> At the island of Annabon a delegation consisting of the captain lands to ask for refreshments. The Dutch hand the authorities of Annabon a letter, because speaking to them in person was considered rash: "ter oorsaecken wij ons te lande niet en derfden betrouwen, om met hen mondelinghe te spreecken".<sup>58</sup> On December the third, the ships land at Table Bay and they are granted permission to bring a tent ashore for the ill of their ships. This tent is visited by "savages" who show their friendship a day after this by promising to bring them supplies: "ende ons by teecken te kennen gevende dat sy ons ossen/koeyen/schape ende andersins van alles ghenoech soudē brenghen, tot welcken eynde den Generael hen elck een bondelken Coralen oft Glasen teeckenē geschonken heft mitsgaders eenen dronck Wijns, ofte twee, dewelke hen seer wel smaecten en seer blijde daer met ware".<sup>59</sup> After this encounter

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<sup>51</sup> Joris van Spilbergen, *De reis van Joris van Spilbergen naar Ceylon, Atjeh en Bantam, 1601-1604* [uitgeg. met inl. door een commissie bestaande uit F.C. Wieder ... et al.] (Den Haag 1933) xxi.

<sup>52</sup> Spilbergen, *De reis van Joris van Spilbergen naar Ceylon, Atjeh en Bantam* xix.

<sup>53</sup> Idem, xxv.

<sup>54</sup> Idem, xxxii.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>56</sup> Joris van Spilbergen, *Historis journael van de voyage gedaen met 3 schepen uyt Zeelant naer d'Oost-Indien onder het beleyt van den commandeur Jorisvan Spilbergen (etc.)* (Amsterdam 1648) 3.

<sup>57</sup> Van Spilbergen, *Historis journael van de voyage* 4.

<sup>58</sup> Idem, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Idem, 12.

Spilbergen expresses his surprise on the language spoken by the people of Capo de Bona Esperanza: “hebbende een seer vreemde spraecke, klockende gelijk als Calicoensche haanen”<sup>60</sup>, showing an awareness and interest in this foreign language.

On the second of February 1602, the Dutch ships arrive at Soffala, Mozambique, where they are awaited by natives: “hebben ons de Negros, oft volck van ‘t landt, terstont by vieren, en roocken teecken en ghedaen, waeromme wij tot andere wederteecken onze vlagghen laten wayen, ende een stuck afgheschoten hebben”.<sup>61</sup> This showing off leads to no change in the behaviour of the natives, so a shallop was sent there, and a Dutch delegation met nine to ten native men. With gestures and by showing some commodity they tried to clarify their intentions: “ende hebben haer by teecken, alsoock by sommige stucken yzers, ende andere monsteren van Coopmanschap te kennen ghegeven, dat wij met haer wilden handelen”.<sup>62</sup> Unfortunately the inhabitants do not seem to be interested in trading: “Waerop sy ons soo sy best konden met sommige Portugesche woorden, ende teecken, wederomme remonstreerden, dat aldaer niet te handelen en was, dan wel 5 ofte 6 mylen voorder, als namentlijck inde reviere van Quama, alwaer Portugesen waren, ende van alles genoeg te handelen was.”<sup>63</sup> This scene proves not only that the Portuguese language was known in this region, but also that the Dutch came bearing some knowledge of the language as well.

After having sailed past the island of Mulaly, they reach Ceylon on May 29, anchoring at Matecalo. On the first of June they first encounter the inhabitants of Ceylon: “Den eersten Iunij quamen sommige Indianen aan boort, welcke natie sijn cingales, mede brengende eenen Tolck, die Portugijs koste spreken: seyden ons datse Peper ende Caneel genoeg hadden. (..) De cingales met hunnen Tolck werden vereert met fraye glazen ende andere frayigheyt, ende voeren also weder na ‘t lant.”<sup>64</sup> Shortly after, captain Van Spilbergen is invited by the king, bringing musicians with him- much to the king’s delight. These joyful spirits however change into suspicion the next day, when the Dutch captain is suddenly accused of being a Portuguese.<sup>65</sup> In front of the king, Van Spilbergen was pressed to convince him otherwise, after which he retrieved his freedom.

When the air was cleared after this misunderstanding, another tension arose as the king demanded the Dutch merchants to bring their ship and cargo ashore, promising to provide for cinnamon and pepper within a few days.<sup>66</sup> The Dutch were reluctant to grant his wish, not having seen this promised cargo yet, especially when “some Moors and Turks”, who also traded in Matecalo, tell them they know that there is no pepper available at all, since they were an interested party as well. “Oock so vernam den Generaal door eenige Mooren ende Turcken, die daer handelen, dat er genen Peper, oft weynig was want sy daer

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<sup>60</sup> Idem, 14.

<sup>61</sup> Idem, 16.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>64</sup> Idem, 26.

<sup>65</sup> Idem, 27.

<sup>66</sup> Idem, 27.

gene handel mede en doen".<sup>67</sup> So, Van Spilbergen refuses to grant the request, but consequently the king loses his faith in the operation and demands him to bring four of his men ("Portuguese" as the king still calls them) ashore in exchange for his own return to the ships. Pretending to show some of their products to the Ceylonese, Van Spilbergen in turn took eleven Ceylonese men with him to his ship, and kept eight of them hostage to compromise for the four Dutchmen ashore. This has the hoped-for effect, because his men are brought back to the ships as soon as the news of the hostage spreads. A couple of days later the Dutch find out that the king of Matecalo already has some kind of arrangement on trading with the Portuguese: "(..) vernamen door andere die Portugys spraken, dat den koninck van Matecalo onder tribuyt sat vande Portugesen".<sup>68</sup>

Whatever the deal with the Portuguese is, Van Spilbergen receives an invitation to visit the king of Candy, and is honourably received at his court.<sup>69</sup> The king appoints Van Spilbergen officially as an ambassador, and grants him the permission for the States General to build a castle in Candy. Besides these diplomatic gestures, he shows his friendship by expressing a particular interest in the Dutch language: "Den Koninck met zijnen Prins ende Princesse begosten de Nederlantsche Sprake te leeren, seggende Candy is nu Vlaenderen, also dat den Koninck hem in alles verblijft toonde".<sup>70</sup> Here, attempting to speak the language of a foreign visitor is obviously an act of interest in sustaining a relationship with this foreign nation. September 1602, the Dutch left the island of Ceylon and made a last statement by igniting a fire on a couple of Portuguese vessels that had landed on the coast of Ceylon, serving as a demonstration for the Ceylonese of the animosity between the Dutch and Portuguese nation.<sup>71</sup>

### 2.2 Gerrit Wuysthoff in Laos

Laos, or "Lauwen-landt" in Dutch, was one of the regions that were described by Van Linschoten, but not visited by him. He dedicated a single remark on the people of Laos, that are "seer veel ende machtigh"<sup>72</sup>, probably inspired by earlier European writers like De Barros, De Morga, Da Cruz, De Rhodes and De Marini.<sup>73</sup> This made merchant Van Wuysthoff the first Dutch visitor of Laos who described the region from his own perspective, which made the account a reliable and much republished source until the nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup> The relationship between the Dutch and the region of Laos has never become one

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<sup>67</sup> The following is based on: Ibidem.

<sup>68</sup> Idem, 28.

<sup>69</sup> Idem, 31.

<sup>70</sup> Idem, 33.

<sup>71</sup> Idem, 35.

<sup>72</sup> Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario : voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592 / uitg. door H. Kern* (Den Haag 1955) 84.

<sup>73</sup> H.P.N. Muller, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos : verzameling van bescheiden van 1636 tot 1670* (Den Haag 1917) xxix.

<sup>74</sup> Muller, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos*, xxx.

of intensive contact; there has never been a trading post in the area, in contrast to the neighbouring Cambodia.<sup>75</sup> Wuysthoff visited Laos in 1641, after a new trading post in Cambodia had been opened in 1636 as a result of the closure of the Japanese trade overseas and the new role of Dutch merchants taking over this trade.<sup>76</sup>

In the summer of 1641, Wuytshoff departed from the Dutch trading post Phnompingh in Cambodia, sailing the Mekong river to Laos. In a place called Sombabour the crew have some “discoursen” with a couple of skippers from Laos, who explain to them that they need to reach the ‘Tevinia’ and the ‘Nappraes’ of the region, who take care of the civil and juridical administration of the trade.<sup>77</sup> They urge the Dutch (in what language they do so is not explained by Wuytshoff) to declare their bulk and the number of people on board and bring some gifts, in order to receive help of the people of Laos with sailing the many shallow waters.<sup>78</sup> After thanking them for this advice, they meet the Rajah of Sombabour. With him they communicate via an interpreter who was called *Intsie Lannangh*, which is a corrupted Malay title.<sup>79</sup> Radjah Pourson seems interested in the welfare and profits of Batavia, rather than just being polite: “(..) vragende naer Battavias gelegentheijt ende sijn winsten daer bejaecht, dien hem als den tolck Intsie Lannangh op dienden”.<sup>80</sup>

The 25<sup>th</sup> of August Wuysthoff and his crew reach an island close to the highlands of Sacxenham, where they cannot continue over water because of the steep cliffs and heavy torrent. While walking they pass the border of Laos on the island, which seems rather unimpressive: “Staet aen een boom een planck vast gemaect, daerop gesneden is in Louws ende Cambodiasche tale het scheijsel ende deelinghe van beide rijcken.”<sup>81</sup> In September they reach Bassack and finally get in touch with the Tevinia of whom the skippers from Laos spoke of. The Dutch do as they were advised: “vereerende met een rood chiavenijs ende boeckspiegeltjen; hem de redenen onser comste deelachtig gemaect, waer over ons vriendelijck bewillecomden, seggende bij vertrouwen wij Zijne Majesteit zeer aengenaem te sullen wesen ende anders meer, naer aldaer omtrent 2. uren geseten hadden, ende met Montip van Battavia’s gelegentheijt gediscoureert, hebben ons afscheijt genomen.”<sup>82</sup> The Montip of which Wuysthoff speaks appears to be a Laotian merchant and their guide. The Dutch sail on and trade these mirrors for food on their way, like in the village of Samphan: “Waer on se en Nappra van d° vleck met fruijten ende hoenders dede begroeten, dien wederom met een boeckspiegeltjen vereerde.”<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Idem, lix.

<sup>76</sup> Idem, xliii.

<sup>77</sup> Idem, 155.

<sup>78</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>79</sup> Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe* 1156.

<sup>80</sup> Muller, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos*, 156.

<sup>81</sup> Idem, 160.

<sup>82</sup> Idem, 164.

<sup>83</sup> Idem, 165.

In November they have an interesting meeting with a Moorish merchant who comes to the Dutch ship to enquire for their bulk and descent: “vragende wij Portugesiesen of ‘t Hollanders waeren, alsmede off eenige cleeden hier te vercoopen brachten; seijde hem Montip, dat groote partije hadden, waerover sijn hoofd geschut ende geseijt, soo de Hollanders hiermede willen verschijnen, quam niet weder in ‘t Lauwen Landt.”<sup>84</sup> However, the authorities are enthusiastic about the visit of the Dutch, and on the third of November they are invited by the king’s uncle, Tevinia Comphan. As seen previously, this man was interested in Batavia as well, “zulcx nooit van diergelijcke gehoort noch verstaen hadden.”<sup>85</sup> He explains the merchants their tradition of requiring foreigners to send a letter before visiting the king’s city, which is opened and read and when in good order, the visitors are granted permission to enter the city.<sup>86</sup> The Dutch are not very fond of this system: “also van diergelijcke exemplen in Cambodia gesien hebben, dat door translateerders als andere quat gunners ende vise humeuren niet altijd subject te wesen, goet gedacht Zijne Maijt. Ofte Grooten des rijcx door Montip des Ed. Heer Generaels gebruik op Battavia te verstaen laten”. Apparently this alternative was approved of, because their letters are treated secretly and honourably: “derhalve alle brieven (..) met behoerlijcke eeren ontfangen, ende secretelijck door 2 a 3 persoonen getranslateert wierden”.<sup>87</sup>

After this lobby for a special treatment of their letters, another problem arises. Having donated a gift to express their respect for the king, they are told that the king was not satisfied with these presents. Skipper Montip presses for complementary gifts, but again the Dutch are unwilling to obey so easily: “was ons bij d’Ed. Heer Generael swaerlijck te verantwoorden, mede ten aensien alhier voor de eerste mael verscheenen, ende sijn Edt. Des Maij’ts. Conditien onbekent was. Oock soo men gemeenelijck zeijt, dat onkennis maeckt onminne, ‘t welck bij Zijne Maijt. behoorde geconsidereert te werden.”<sup>88</sup> This claim to ignorance of the wishes of the king does not bring the king to pity, so a complementary gift was offered to him after all. At least this renders the effect that was hoped for: they are invited to the king’s court. They are brought to him and try to accustom to the local habits: “Daernaer namen ijder 2. Keersen gelijk ons Tevinia Lanckan eergisteren geseijt hadde, t’slants manieren te wesen. Sijn also mette selve in gevouwen handen, oft Antwerpen met de passie omgegaen hadden, voor Sijne Maijt. verscheenen, dien in een groote kerck, daer geen kleenen affgodt sach, zich met alle sijn Groten vertoonden.”<sup>89</sup> Their gifts were apparently appreciated, because the king compliments them via the Tevinia on the binoculars they gave him.<sup>90</sup> The visit of the strangers is celebrated with some spectacular wrestling, the dancing of

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<sup>84</sup> Idem, 170.

<sup>85</sup> Idem, 171.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>88</sup> Idem, 174.

<sup>89</sup> Idem, 179.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem.



a woman with peacock feathers and fireworks.<sup>91</sup> Much of the contact between the Dutch and the authorities seems to be achieved via the interpreter Intsie Lannangh. He was sent for the king's uncle to explain the use of the binocular after the Dutch had visited the king, and he was called for by Tevinia Comphaan to pass the message of the king that Wuysthoff was granted permission to leave Laos on one of his praws.<sup>92</sup> Wuysthoff had become ill and was anxious to return to Cambodia. Once the permission to leave was granted, he left with the king's praw and at least one Malay interpreter, considering his remark on the slowness of their progress: "Blijven noch leggen, niet wetende de reedenen waerom; derhalven tot voortgaen geprest; dant niet vercregen, geven maer schoone woorden; dan zoo van een Maleyer als tolck mede affgaende verstaen, onder malcanderen vrij van swarigheyt spreecken, daer in 't minste niet van vernemen can."<sup>93</sup> He is obviously irritated by their attitude and his inability to understand them. On March 31 he reaches Sombabour again, and the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1642 he is back in Pnompingh, Cambodia.

### 2.3 Hendrik Hamel in Korea

The story of Hendrik Hamel is one of the most intriguing travel reports, since his accidental visit to Korea became a very important source of information on the mysterious and hermetically closed region. Hamel's report was the only written European account of Korea for over two centuries.<sup>94</sup> The yacht 'De Sperwer', on which Hamel was the accountant had planned to sail from Batavia to Formosa, and to Nagasaki afterwards. Unfortunately it left Formosa on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1653 but only reached Nagasaki in September 1666.<sup>95</sup> In the meanwhile the crew was kept in captivity in Korea, suffering from trials and sorrow, but also learning about Korean culture. Obviously his story became popular instantly, which is shown by its publication numbers: Hamel's book was already published thrice in 1668 in the Netherlands, and was translated in 1670 in French and in 1672 in German.<sup>96</sup> Previous Dutch experiences with the kingdom of Korea were limited to reaching its coast: In 1622 the vessel 'De Hond' met a very hostile Korean coast guard, and 'De Patientie' had a similar experience in 1648.<sup>97</sup>

'De Sperwer' left de Batavian harbour on June 18<sup>th</sup> 1653 and sailed towards Formosa, and from Formosa on to Nagasaki. On this particular route the crew suddenly suffered

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<sup>91</sup> Idem, 181.

<sup>92</sup> Idem, 181 and 188.

<sup>93</sup> Idem, 209.

<sup>94</sup> Hendrik Hamel, *Verhaal van het vergaan van het jacht de Sperwer En van het wedervaren der schipbreukelingen op het eiland Quelpaert en het vasteland van Korea (1653-1666) met eene beschrijving van dat rijk/ uitg. door B. Hoetink (Den Haag 1920) iii.*

<sup>95</sup> Hamel, *Verhaal van het vergaan van het jacht de Sperwer*, ix.

<sup>96</sup> Idem, xx-xiii.

<sup>97</sup> Idem, xxxviii.

extreme weather and –probably- a typhoon.<sup>98</sup> The Dutch vessel is no fair party for this Asian storm, and soon starts sinking. It eventually crashes on the coast of the Korean island “Quelpaert”, the current Jeju-island, and only 36 men make it to the shore alive.<sup>99</sup> Not knowing where they had stranded, the hope to be on a Japanese island was expressed, “om door haer weder bij onse natie te comen also daer anders geen uijtcomste was” because of their shattered ship.<sup>100</sup> The Dutch start putting up a tent, collecting food and useful material from the ship that was washed ashore. Their arrival does not remain unnoticed for long, because the on the first afternoon after the storm three men approach the group of castaways. Both parties seem anxious to meet the other, and despite the waving and gesturing of the castaways they too fear taking the first step. Finally, “ten laetsten een van ons volcq hem verstoutende, hij na haer toecomende presenteerde haer geweer, kreegh eijndelijck vuir van haer (waerom wij zeer verlegen waren)”.<sup>101</sup> This contact has not taken away the fear of the Dutch, it appears when reading Hamel’s remark on their appearance: “waren op sijn Chinees gecleet, maer hadden hoeden op van paartshair gemaect, daer over wij met malcanderen zeer bevreesst waren, niet anders denckende dan dat bij eenige zee roovers ofte gebannen Chineesen vervallen mochte zijn”.<sup>102</sup> The Korean people express a similar attitude of suspicion as they appear again that evening with a hundred armed men, counting the castaways and surrounding their tent for the night.<sup>103</sup>

The next day, this assembly is enforced with, according to Hamel, another 1.000 to 2.000 soldiers and cavalry. They take 4 men out of the tent, among which the steersman, boatswain and accountant (which must be Hamel himself) and bring them to the paramount, who puts an iron chain with a bell around their necks, “ghelijck de schapen in Hollant om haer hals hebben hangen<sup>104</sup>”, and throws them on the ground while the crowd is yelling loudly. This obviously scared the rest of the men, who after a while tried to explain that they wanted to reach Japan: “wesen en beduijden haer al, dat wij naer Nagasackij in Japan wilde, maer al te vergeefs, also malcanderen niet verstonden ende van Japan niet wisten, door dient bij haer Jeeanae ofte Jirpon genaemt wort”.<sup>105</sup> Despite this seemingly hostile reception, the Korean men do care about the well-being of the castaways, as they bring them cooked rice that afternoon and evening, which purposely was not a heavy meal, “omdat sij dochten dat wij verhongert waren, ende van alte veel eten ons yets mochte overcomen”.<sup>106</sup> The next days the Korean men remain on the beach, collecting useful pieces of the wreck of the ‘Sperwer’.

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<sup>98</sup> Idem, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Idem, 5-6.

<sup>100</sup> Idem, 7.

<sup>101</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>104</sup> Idem, 8.

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>106</sup> Idem, 9.

The Dutch decide to go and meet the chief of the island and offer some gifts: “de officiers gingen bijden Overste ende den Admirael van ’t eijland (die daer mede gecomen was) brochten haer yder een kijcker, namen mede een kanne wijn hint, met ’s Compagnies silvere schael die wij tussen de klippen gevonden hadde, om in the schenken; sij de wijn proevende, smaecten haer wel, droncken soo veel dat sij heel verheught waren ende sonden de onse weder nae de tent, nadat sij haer alle vruntschap bewesen hadde, ende de schael haer mede gaven.”<sup>107</sup>

When the work on the beach had been done, the castaways were taken away from their tent to the city of ‘Moggan’ on horseback, the injured men being carried in hammocks. They are brought to the city hall and fear a public execution because of the weaponry and arms that are exposed on the square.<sup>108</sup> Again, the steersman, boatswain and accountant are called forward and brought to the governor of the island, who had a king-like status.<sup>109</sup> He receives the delegation and although their questioning is hindered by language barriers, some conversation is made: “vraeghden ende wees waer wij vandaen quamen ende waer nae toe wilde; gaven en beduiden soo veel wij conden ’t oude antwoord: na Nangasackij in Japan, waer op hij mettet hoeft knickte, ende soo ’t bleec wel yets daer uijt begrijpen conde. (...) wees ons dat hij na den Coninck soude schrijven ende ordre verwachten, wat hem te doen stont.”<sup>110</sup> Apparently the governor is even willing to try and learn a little of the Dutch language to improve their communication: “(..) liet ons dickmaels voor hem comen, om ’t een en ’t ander soo op onse als hare spraek te vragen en op te schrijven waardoor ten laetsten al crom eenige woorden met malcanderen conde spreken.”<sup>111</sup> In the meanwhile the Dutch are kept imprisoned, awaiting the answer of the king of Korea regarding their departure for Japan. They are treated reasonably well, being fed and permitted to walk outside with six men at a time, and to release their boredom even parties and shows are organised and performed for them.<sup>112</sup> This treatment provokes Hamel to suggest that the humanity of these people goes beyond the kindness of many a Christian: “liet mede de gequetste wederom genesen, soo dat ons van een heijdens mensch wiert gedaen dat mejnigh Christen beschamen soude.”<sup>113</sup>

After spending two months like this, distraction is offered when the governor brings the prisoners a big surprise: a fellow Dutchman! This man is described as a long-haired ginger and had already lived in Korea for 26 years, being the only survivor of a shipwrecking and war.<sup>114</sup> His name is Jan Janse Weltevree, and unfortunately for Hamel and

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<sup>107</sup> Idem, 10.

<sup>108</sup> Idem, 11.

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>110</sup> Idem, 12.

<sup>111</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>113</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>114</sup> Ibidem.

his men, he has forgotten most of the Dutch language: “(..) na veel praetens ende wijsens aan wedersijde, vraeghden desen man die tot nog toe stil geswegen hadde, seer crom op onse spraeck wat voor volck ende waer wij van daen waren; wij gaven hem tot antwoord: Hollanders van Amsterdam”.<sup>115</sup> The happiness about finding a potential interpreter is slightly diminished when they find out Weltevree had tried all he could to be released to Japan as well, but that the Korean king had given him the following poetic answer: “zeggende waert gij vogels soo mocht gij daer nae toe vlieden, wij senden geen vremd volcq uijt ons land, zullen ul. van cost en cleeden versorgen ende moet u soo leven in dit lant eijndigen (..)”.<sup>116</sup>

Weltevree does become the interpreter for the contact between the governor and the Dutch, and when in December this governor became replaced he said his goodbyes and apologies for not having been able to send them to Japan to them via Weltevree.<sup>117</sup> Life is less comfortable with this new governor: their share of food is diminished and in May six men climb over a wall and try to escape on a stolen boat. They are not fortunate; the authorities arrest them again and they are punished altogether for this act of resistance.<sup>118</sup> But in the end of May at last they receive an invitation from the king, and are brought to the city of Seoul by boat and on horseback. Again, Weltevree serves as their interpreter when they are brought to the king. The answer of the king on their request for permission to leave Korea is as Weltevree predicted: whoever came to Korea should end his days in this country.<sup>119</sup> They were asked to dance and sing in the ‘style of their home’ and were rewarded with Korean clothes: “op haer manier ons wel getracteert hebbende, schonck yder man twee stucx lijwaet om voor eerst ons daer naer de lants wijze inde cleeden te steeken ende wierden weder bij onse slaepbasen gebracht.”<sup>120</sup> Furthermore the Dutch are granted the status of ‘bodyguards’ and therefore receive education on the local warmethods.

In August 1654 an interesting incident takes place, as the ‘Tartar’ comes to visit the kingdom and receive his seemingly yearly tribute. Hamel describes how two of their men, the steersman and huntsman, hide in the forest and present themselves in their Dutch clothes as the Tartar rode by.<sup>121</sup> This was against the strict instructions they were given about the Tartar’s visit: they were to hide in their houses and not go out. The appearance of the foreigners provokes such a commotion “dattet alles in roere was<sup>122</sup>” but the Tartar seems interested in their message. “(..) Vraeghden haer wat sij voor volcq waren, dog conden malcanderen niet verstaen; belasten datmen den stuijerman mede soude nemen ter plaetse

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<sup>115</sup> Idem, 13.

<sup>116</sup> Idem, 14.

<sup>117</sup> Idem, 15.

<sup>118</sup> Idem, 16.

<sup>119</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>121</sup> Idem, 25.

<sup>122</sup> Ibidem.

daer hij dien nacht soude logieren, vraeghden aan den geene die hem uijt convoijeerde offer geen tolcq en was die den stuijrmán verstaen conde, waer op den meergem: Weltevree door last des Conincx terstont most volgen.”<sup>123</sup> Of course the king was informed about this incident, and the two men were imprisoned and died.<sup>124</sup> The Tartar was bribed so that he would not inform the ‘Great Khan’ about the two Dutchmen. In June the king was informed that another strange vessel had reached the coast of Quelpaert. Three Dutch men who spoke the Korean language best were sent there, to inform the king what they knew about its descent.<sup>125</sup> However they are imprisoned by the Tartar Khan on their way in the South of Korea, probably because he wanted to use them as interpreters as well.<sup>126</sup>

For some reason the authorities at the king’s court become tired of the presence of the group of strangers, and they are threatened to be executed. However the king has mercy on them and bans them to another region: Thiellado, where they are given the job of weeding and taking care of the market square.<sup>127</sup> During the winter they stay in a ‘monastery’, because they lack food and proper clothing to survive on their own. The so called ‘clergymen’ treat them well and are eager to learn about their nation: “voornamentlijck als wij haer den ommegang van onse en andere natie verhaelde, sijnde daer seer begeerig nae om te hooren hoe het in andere landen toe gaet. Indient ons niet verdrooten hadde, soude wel heele nachten daer nae geluijstert hebbben.”<sup>128</sup>

At this point the men must have learned enough of the Korean language to communicate with these men directly. Hamel tells us something about his findings on the Korean language: “Sooveel haer spraeck, schrijven en reekenen belanght, haer spraeck is alle andere spraaken different. Is seer moeijelijck om te leeren, doordien sij een dingh op verscheijde maniere noemen; spreekken seer prompt ende langhsaem, voornamenlijck onder d’grooten ende geleerde (..).”<sup>129</sup> Despite being released of their social isolement by speaking the language, the men still lived in relative poorness and (some of them) were clearly homesick considering Hamel’s remark: “willende liever onse cans eens wagen dan altijd met sorge, droeftheijt en in slavernije bij dese heijdense natie te leven, daer ons dagelijcx van een parthije wangunstige menscehn alle verdriet wiert aenghedaen.”<sup>130</sup> This chance of escape is offered when they manage to buy a boat from a neighbour. One night in 1666 eight men embark on this boat and sail towards Japan.<sup>131</sup> They reach an island and a Japanese boat sails towards them: “(..) siende naer dat wij wel gehoort hadden ‘t Japanders geleeken ende ons

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<sup>123</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>124</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>125</sup> Idem, 26.

<sup>126</sup> Such is the interpretation of B. Hoetink, page 26.

<sup>127</sup> Idem, 27.

<sup>128</sup> Idem, 30.

<sup>129</sup> Idem, 50.

<sup>130</sup> Idem, 59.

<sup>131</sup> Idem, 60.

wesen waer dat naer toe wilden, waer op wij een prince vlaggetje (..) opstaken en riepen Hollando Nangasakij (..)”.<sup>132</sup> The Japanese take the Dutch on their ship and bring them closer to Nagasaki, where none of the Dutch men had ever been before, but “sij wesen na Nangasakij ende woude beduijden dar daer onse schepen en lantsluijden waren”.<sup>133</sup> In the evening they are brought to a bigger ship that would sail to Nagasaki. The Japanese on this ship are obviously curious about where they had been: “sij wesen waer wij van daen quamen, waer op wij haer wesen en beduijden soo veel conden waer wij vandaen quamen, te weten van Coree (..) dog al met vrees, door dien de Coreeijers ons wijs gemaect hadden, dat alle vreemde natie die op d’Japanse eijlanden vervallen dootgeslagen worden.”.<sup>134</sup> This fear was in this case clearly ungrounded, because the Japanese men treat them friendly and they reach Nagasaki in the summer of 1666, having experienced a Korean adventure that had lasted 13 years.

### 2.4 Jacob van Neck in Thailand

The book about the journey of Van Neck and Wilkens is written by Jacob van Neck himself, who was the admiral of the ‘Mauritius’; one of the six vessels that sailed to the East in 1600. It is clear that during the journey Van Neck made use of Van Linschoten’s ‘Reisgeschrift’, as he sometimes refers to this source as a motive for his actions.<sup>135</sup> Like other Dutch pioneers in Indian waters Van Neck in general preferred written sailing instructions over the often incomplete and small-scaled maps, that lacked accurate information on depths and harbours.<sup>136</sup>

The 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1600, the ‘Mauritius’, ‘Hollandia’, ‘Vriesland’, ‘Overijssel’, ‘Leyden’ and ‘Haerlem’ leave the Netherlands. Apart from a storm nearby Cape of Good Hope in January 1601 their journey is prosperous.<sup>137</sup> The ships reach Java in March, and after their arrival Van Neck receives an invitation from the governor of Java. This man warns Van Neck for the Portuguese: “waerschoude hij mij dat ick wel op mijn hoede soude sijn want meest alle de Coningen van Iava waren mette Portugeesen eens geworden, om ons onder decksel van vruntschap de schepen te overvallen”.<sup>138</sup> After leaving Bantam Van Neck heads for Ternate with the ‘Mauritius’. Here he is told about a Portuguese attack on the Dutch ship Mahu at Tidore, and slander about Dutch trade. Van Neck instantly lets go of the promise to the governor of Bantam and plans an attack on the Portuguese vessels at Tidore.<sup>139</sup> This

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<sup>132</sup> Idem, 63.

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>134</sup> Idem, 63-64.

<sup>135</sup> Van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië* 53.

<sup>136</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>137</sup> Idem, 176.

<sup>138</sup> Idem, 181.

<sup>139</sup> Idem, 185.

results in a shooting between their ships in which Van Neck's vessel is heavily damaged, many men are injured and most of his own right hand is lost.<sup>140</sup>

In Ternate the ship is repaired and the men recover. Van Neck decides to sail to Pattani to try and purchase pepper, which saddens the king of Ternate.<sup>141</sup> He persuades the Dutch to stay for one last dinner, as a tribute to their relationship: "Alle die daer oock ter maeltijt waren totten minsten toe, warden met sulcken iver ende goedwillicheydt van de inwoonders des lants gedient, ia van de eedelen selve, soodat men daer volcomentlijck uyt bespeuren conde, die goede genegentheyt tot ons nacie".<sup>142</sup> Apparently the Dutch had made a pretty good impression on the king since their first visit to Ternate in 1599.

Before describing the rest of his journey, Van Neck spends some time on descriptions of his findings in the Moluccas, including the language of the region. He compares it to other 'Indian' languages but underlines its complete difference, writing: "De tale van deese Moluquesen heeft weynich oft geen gemeenschap met eenige spraken van Indien, maer is een sprake besonder, die sij oock schrijven, maer met Arabische letteren."<sup>143</sup>

Plans change as the 'Mauritius' suffers from a tropical storm and difficult winds. Van Neck heads towards Macao as an alternative trading port, but is again struggling with a tropical storm in the Philippines. The ship reaches one of the islands but the steerman learns from the inhabitants that these waters are too shallow to reach the shore: "hij bevant ondiepte en verstond deur eenige tekenen vant volck des lants dat wij de rechte passage niet getroffen hadden. Deese lieden thoonden hem vruntschap, en gaven hem een grooten hoop vis mede, sonder dat sij daer gelt voor begeerden, hoewel hijt hun dickwils presenteerde (..)".<sup>144</sup> After bearing another tropical storm the 'Mauritius' reaches an island close to Kanton, and ask two oncoming boats for the city of Macao but cannot speak their language: "Wij en conden oock uyt haer niet verstaen, deurdatt sij niet als des lants tale en spraken; alleen dat wij na de stat Macau vraechden, sij weesen naet geberchte ende nae de plaetse die wij voor een dorp aengesien hadden."<sup>145</sup> Two boats are sent to the shore after another, but the first never returns and the second is taken by the Chinese under false pretence, because a white flag was hoisted on the hostile Chinese vessel. Van Neck writes the authorities a letter demanding to free his men, but is unable to come around the problem of actually delivering the letter ashore safely.<sup>146</sup>

After five days of waiting they give up and sail away from the Macao coast, heading to Vietnam. In a hospitable manner some Vietnamese at the Bay of Cam-Ranh point out their water to the sailor men, but flee when the Dutch approach them: "Wij vonden hier water dat

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<sup>140</sup> Idem, 186.

<sup>141</sup> Idem, 187.

<sup>142</sup> Idem, 191.

<sup>143</sup> Idem, 196.

<sup>144</sup> Idem, 204.

<sup>145</sup> Idem, 205.

<sup>146</sup> Idem, 211.

het volck vant lant ons van verre thoonde, die voor ons vervaert waren, soodat wij haer niet omtrent mochten comen ofte sij vloten voor ons.”.<sup>147</sup> On October the 27<sup>st</sup> the ‘Mauritius’ reaches Sangora in South Thailand and again they are greeted friendly: “De luyden van deese plaetse thoonden ons groote vruntschap”.<sup>148</sup> The Sabander offers them food but the Dutch refuse to stay for long, as there is not much trade going on that has their interest. Pattani is reached on November the 7<sup>th</sup>. Their arrival is celebrated with a welcome visit from the port warden on their ship, bringing fruits and a report of the king’s happiness about their visit to Pattani.<sup>149</sup> Van Neck writes about the Thai reception: “Tis een costume in Patani, dat als daer vremdelingen comen uyt andere landen om haer saken te verrichten, ofte haeren handel te drijven, dat men huer comt vragen of sij geen vrouwen en begeeren; oock comen die ionge vrouwen ende meysens haerselven genoeg presenteren, daer densulcken dan uyt mach kiezen die hem aengenaemst is, midts accorderende wat hij voor seker maenden geven sal.”.<sup>150</sup> On the next day, Van Neck sends Rocus Pietersz, “die van de tael iets wist”<sup>151</sup> to the shore, to gather information on the city and to look for potential cargo.

Pietersz returns with the message that the citizens will only get into contact if the admiral is present as well.<sup>152</sup> An invitation from the king is already on its way, and two elephants take Pietersz and Van neck to the court. Van Neck brings with him a certain patent on trade, which is read out loud in Arabic at the king’s court “ende door hunlieden bisschop promptelijc vertaelt, die heur altesamen wel geviel”.<sup>153</sup> The gift they offer the king is appreciated as well, and the king grants them the permission to trade as much as they like in Pattani. They are offered a bulk of pepper, but are asked to wait at least five months for the delivery, which is a period that they were to spend in Thailand anyway because of the monsoon season. In the meanwhile we learn from Van Neck that the ‘king’ he spoke of before is actually a queen: “Men sal verstaen dat een vrouwe in Patani regeert, die sij als of het een man waer coninck nomen, deur d’imperfectie van haerlieder tael.”.<sup>154</sup> Whether this linguistic claim is true is questioned by De Booy<sup>155</sup>, but this note shows that Van Neck did claim to be an authority on the Thai language. This is confirmed by a later comment he makes on the three languages (Malay, Siamese and Chinese) that according to him are spoken in Thailand among many other languages: “Deese drie talen sijn soo different, dat d’een van d’ander niet gemeens en heeft, ende principael int schrijven, als de Hebrewen, ofte Arabiers; van de rechtersijde beginnende ende endigen daer wij beginnen; die van Siam als

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<sup>147</sup> Idem, 215.

<sup>148</sup> Idem, 217.

<sup>149</sup> Idem, 218.

<sup>150</sup> Idem, 225.

<sup>151</sup> Idem, 218.

<sup>152</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>153</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>155</sup> See footnote on page 218.



die van Europa: de letter bijna Romains; die van China beginnen aen de rechtersijde, ende de regels loopen na onderen toe. Deese differentie is om te verwonderen, aengesien de landen soo na bij malcanderen gelegen sijn.”<sup>156</sup>

About the queen, Van Neck describes their meeting with her, when she was said to be accompanied by four- to five thousand armed men and a 150 elephants. She rode a big elephant that was dressed royally and called for the Dutch: “deed sij ons tot haer roepen, ende wat verre van haer, (gelijck de maniere is) neder sitten, ende spijs en dronck voorstellen. Nadat wij daer nu een tijt lang hadden geseten, versochten wij oorlof ende maecten ons thuyswaert.”<sup>157</sup> This was not their only encounter with her, as Van Neck writes about another meeting on the water where the Dutch were invited to join her as she was sailing the river upstream. It was an interesting meeting, as they spoke with the queen (whether they spoke through an interpreter or not is not mentioned) about future visits to Pattani “deed sij ons tot haer, dicht aen haer galeyde comen, die cierlijck en fray gemaect was, ende sprack vriendelijc met ons, vragende wanneer wij vertrecken wilden, ende seyde als wij op andere tijden weder in Indiën quamen, Patani niet verbij wilden seylen, want men ons daer altijt (gelijck men gedaen hadde) beleefdlijck ontfangen en tracteren soude.”<sup>158</sup>

Furthermore she expresses the fear of not having entertained them sufficiently: “Ende dat sij ons niet dagelijcks te hove ontboden hadde, om ons daer te vermaecken, was omdat haer (die een vrouwe was) sulcks niet betaemde. Nadat wij haer van haer goede genegentheyt t’onswaert gedanckt hadden, heeft sij ons schuyt met overvloet van alderley spijsen ende banquet laeten versien, ende wij versochten oorlof om weder na de stad te mogen varen, om ons reyse te vervorderen, dwelck in ons believen gestelt wert.”<sup>159</sup> When the pepper was finally loaded on the Mauritius, the queen came to speak to the strangers for the last time to say goodbye. She had a special request regarding the nine Dutch men they planned to leave behind in Pattani: “versoeckende dat men daer geen dronckaerts maer goede luyden soude laten, hetwelck wij also beloofden”<sup>160</sup> Finally she asks the men to be helpful to any ships of Pattani that they would encounter and that were in trouble at sea.<sup>161</sup>

The nine men that were left in Pattani were supposed to sell the remaining merchandise with profit and could be helpful to other Dutch merchants.<sup>162</sup> Obviously, these were men that could communicate with the merchants of Pattani, as Van Neck writes that they left “enen Daniel van der Leck van Rotterdam, (..) Nevens hem Pieter Walichsz, de broeder van Rocus Pietersz (sijn beyde tamelijck in slands tale ervaren) met noch ses vrome

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<sup>156</sup> Idem, 223.

<sup>157</sup> Idem, 226-227.

<sup>158</sup> Idem, 227.

<sup>159</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem, 220.

<sup>161</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>162</sup> Idem, 221.

gesellen en een iongen.”.<sup>163</sup> When Van Neck is about to leave Pattani the ship of Van Heemskerck arrives at the harbour, so these men could be very helpful to this admiral: “Wij hebben henlieden bevolen den Admirael Jacob Heemskerck in alles behulpelijc te weesen, dwelck voor hem vorderlijck sal sijn, aengesien sij de maniere des lants weeten.”.<sup>164</sup> Van Heemskerck brings with him sad news for Van Neck as he found out that the men Van Neck lost in Macao were killed by the Chinese, because of Portuguese slander.<sup>165</sup> Van Neck expresses his anger and fear of this treatment: “(..) verwondert mij dat wij op alle plaetsen van Indien niet aen stucken worden gehouwen of met viere tot polver toe verbrant, als Godlose menschen, die niet waerdich sijn dat se de sonne sal beschijnen.”.<sup>166</sup> Having stayed in its harbour for nine months, The ‘Mauritius’ leaves Pattani and heads back to the Netherlands, experiencing on this journey an outbreak of beriberi that costs the life of many men in the final phase of this adventure.

### 2.5 Van Foreest in Cambodia and Vietnam

This report was written by Cornelis Claesz, skipper of the ‘Haerlem’. This ship was one of the six ships that sailed to the East with Cornelis van Neck in 1600. Van Neck had divided this fleet into two squadrons when they reached Annabon, and Cornelis van Foreest was appointed as admiral of the second squadron of the ‘Haerlem’ and ‘Leyden’ who made their way to Java separately.<sup>167</sup> Unfortunately the handwriting of Claesz is lost, but it was printed in three different versions: Artus von Dantzic had translated the manuscript in German in 1606, it became one of the reports in the ‘Comptoir-Almanach’ of 1607 and it also became part of a book called ‘Begin ende Voortganch’ which was published in 1644.<sup>168</sup> The version that was used for the Van Linschoten version I used is based on the ‘Comptoir-Almanach’.

The squadron of Van Foreest reached Sumatra after the division from Van Neck in June 1601, and Java on the 31<sup>th</sup> of July.<sup>169</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August they leave Bantam to sail towards China. The ‘Leyden’ and ‘Haerlem’ pass Cambodia on their way and on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September they land on the coast, but meet nobody.<sup>170</sup> Van Foreest makes another attempt to land six days later and sees 4 men this time, but “sij en wilden niet bij ons comen.”.<sup>171</sup> The next day the Dutch see three junks and the Chinese interpreter that enters the story of Claesz here informs the men that these belong to pirates: “(..)hetwelcke vrijbuters waren, dewelcke

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<sup>163</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>164</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>165</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>166</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>167</sup> Idem, 115.

<sup>168</sup> Idem, 265.

<sup>169</sup> Idem, 267.

<sup>170</sup> Idem, 269.

<sup>171</sup> Ibidem.

op de kuste van China rooven. De visschers en wat sij connen krijghen, vercoopen sij tot slaven, so onse Chinesee tolck seyde.”<sup>172</sup> This did not scare Van Foreest, because: “Wij hebben onse schuyten ende boots daer nae toe ghestiert, maer sij hebben ons vijantschap bewesen.”<sup>173</sup>

On the 27th of September they reach a Vietnamese river and find people ashore that are not eager to contact the Dutch either, but when the interpreter starts writing in the sand, they are suddenly very interested: “dan tvolck van [dit] lant wilden ons niet verwachten, maer doen sij onse tolck int sant sagen schrijven, quamen sij onse volck om den hals grijpen van blijchap, want het Chinees schrift een meenigh maeckt, maer geen gelijcke spraeck.”<sup>174</sup> After this encounter they are visited by some delegates of the governor who come to their boat, and when they leave again the merchant Jeronimus Wonderaer leaves with them, taking the two interpreters with him.<sup>175</sup> Apparently there were two interpreters on board: Gerrit Jansz Klomp en Lonkay, the first being Dutch and the second from Asian descent. Wonderaer and the interpreters were received with honour: Daer comende, hebben haer tryumphantelijck inghehaelt.”<sup>176</sup> After two days Wonderaer returns, bringing a man with him that was sentenced to death but cleared by the Dutch: “om oorsake dat hij een bierglas ghebrosen hadde, dat hieromtrent twee stuyvers weerdich soude wesen, ende soude daerom hebben moeten sterven.”<sup>177</sup>

The admiral decides to follow Wonderaer on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, and goes to land taking his trunk and bedding with him, which surprises his crew.<sup>178</sup> Consequently, the governor visits the ships a couple of times, about which Claesz does not write much, except that he was received “tryumphantelijck”.<sup>179</sup> But suddenly in January 1602 there is an act of hostility practiced by the Vietnamese, who attack a group of Dutch ashore and on board. The men were lured to the land as the Vietnamese had showed them buffalos and women, and were murdered when arriving there.<sup>180</sup> The Vietnamese had also stationed twelve men on the ship ‘Haerlem’, so the attack on this ship came from inside out and was completely unexpected.<sup>181</sup> The total amount of deaths on the Dutch side is 23. Three days later Wonderaer was sailed to the ships again by a Chinese, carrying a white flag. He was apparently still optimistic about their relation with the Vietnamese, unlike the crew: “(..) wilde hij ons wijs maken dat het goed pays was”.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>173</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>174</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>175</sup> Idem, 270.

<sup>176</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>177</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>178</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>179</sup> Idem, 271.

<sup>180</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>181</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>182</sup> Idem, 272.

In spite of Wonderaer's return, Van Foreest was still on land. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January Wonderaer brought a letter to the ships from which they understood that Van Foreest was taken as a hostage: "se wilden uyt elck schip hebben twee metale stucken met hun toebehoorte, ende dan souden wij onsen Admiraal met zijn gheselschap weder leveren."<sup>183</sup> Although Van Foreest being hijacked came as a surprise, the Dutch quickly realised that they too had three local men on board and were in no hurry to bring these men back ashore. On the 19<sup>th</sup> they received another letter from Van Foreest in which he pressed for the deliverance of the artillery and the return of the three local men. However, the Dutch decided to row the men to the shore, let them shout from the water to their own men and tell them that if Van Foreest would get hurt, so they would. Also, the Dutch threw a letter for Van Foreest on the shore.<sup>184</sup> The next day a response from Van Foreest is delivered by the interpreter Lonkay, telling his men that he was treated well, so the artillery and Vietnamese men should be brought ashore quickly. Consequently the cannons of the ship 'Leyden' are transported in praws and that evening Wonderaer and the admiral are returned to their ships.<sup>185</sup>

After this adventure the ships continue sailing the Vietnamese coast and reach Kayhan (the current Da Nang) in November.<sup>186</sup> The Dutch are warned at their arrival, it is unclear by whom, that the king was contemplating an attack on their ships. As they have already paid an advance on pepper, they come to claim the bulk, but the inhabitants of Kayhan are not so willing to bring up the pepper: "maer sij sochten uutwegen, ende meenden onsen Schipper ende Coopman te vatten, dan wij werden gewaerschout. Oock saghen wij wel dat se niet van meeningh waren ons peper te leveren, soodat wij wederom nae boort voeren."<sup>187</sup> However, on the seventeenth of November the Dutch run out of patience after asking for the pepper again and show their wrath: "ende sijn daer opghetreden met een deel volcx, plonderende de principaelste huysen, ende staken eenighe aen brandt; voeren doen weder na boort toe."<sup>188</sup> After this revenge both ships sail away to Patane on the 21st of November.

### 2.6 Dirck Gerritsz Pomp in China en Japan

The experiences of Pomp in China and Japan are not expressed in a travel report, nor in a book written by himself, like Van Linschoten did. Pomp was probably more of a merchant than a brilliant writer. However, his findings were printed in 1592, by Franciscus Raphelengius in Leiden, not as a single story but as an important part of the "Thresoor der Zeevaert" that was written by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer. Waghenaer was a steersman and chartmaker of Enkhuizen, who had already written the very popular "De Spieghel der

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<sup>183</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>184</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>185</sup> Idem, 273.

<sup>186</sup> Idem, 274.

<sup>187</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>188</sup> Idem, 275.

Zeevaerdt" that was published in 1584 and 1585. This book had "introduced a new form of hydrographic publication, combining within its covers an atlas of nautical charts (paskaarten) and a 'rutter' or set of sailing directions (leeskaarten) with instructions for navigation on the west and north-west coasts of Europe.<sup>189</sup>". According to R.A. Skelton, its success may have been more represented among collectors and bibliophiles than among seamen (as Waghenaer wrote in the foreword of his third book, the "Spiegel" and his second book 'were too costly for common seafaring men, and above their means'), but the high demand for it is evident by the numbers of reprints and translations: it was available in five languages in 1592. However, Waghenaer must have known that the knowledge displayed in the "Spiegel", however worthy, was still limited, and started working on the "Thresoor der Zeevaert", that was based on new information provided by Dutch skippers.<sup>190</sup> This resulted in the inclusion of charts and sailing directions for northern Scotland, southern Ireland, the Baltic, the coasts of Barbary and Andalusia and a description of the navigation to the East Indies and China.<sup>191</sup> This last section is of course most interesting for this thesis.

Skelton has analysed the five documents that entail the section on the navigation to the East and has recognised their origin. The first document, "Hoemen rondomme het aerdtrijck/ teghen de meninghe van veel menschen/ mach seylen/ met een oostelijcke ende westelijcke coers", tells of the circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish, abstracted from the accounts in Hakluyt's "Principall Navigations" (1589).<sup>192</sup> The second is a report on the commerce of the Indian Ocean, which is written "wt den mont van Dirck Gerritz" and is a record of a conversation with Pomp after his return in 1590.<sup>193</sup> The third and fourth are descriptions of eastern trade and the sea-route to India, based on a letter Van Linschoten wrote to his parents from Goa in December 1584. Finally there is an account of the Portuguese navigation to India, China and Japan which is compiled from unidentified sources, although Skelton presumes these might be Van Linschoten's notes which were handed to Waghenaer by Van Linschoten's mother.<sup>194</sup>

Here I will analyse the second document of Waghenaer's section on the East India trade, which is the text that was 'dictated' by Dirck Gerritz Pomp. Pomp was the first Dutch visitor of China and Japan, and although it is unclear when precisely he has stayed in these regions, it was certain that he was in Macao and Nagasaki from 1585-1586.<sup>195</sup> He was born in 1544 and left to stay with family in Lisbon when he was only eleven. Pomp stayed in Lisbon

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<sup>189</sup> Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer, *Thresoor der zeevaert: Leiden 1592/ introduced by R.A. Skelto* (Amsterdam 1965) V.

<sup>190</sup> Waghenaer, *Thresoor der zeevaert*, VI.

<sup>191</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>192</sup> Idem, X.

<sup>193</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>194</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>195</sup> Jan Willem IJzerman, *Dirck Gerritsz Pomp alias Dirck Gerritsz China : de eerste Nederlander die China en Japan bezocht (1544-1604) : zijn reis naar en verblijf in Zuid-Amerika / grootendeels naar Spaansche bescheiden bewerkt door J.W. IJzerman* (Den Haag 1915) 1.

for twelve years, during which he was prepared for merchandise and shipping. In 1568, when he was 23, he travelled to Goa and stayed there for 15 years, married and was appointed constable.<sup>196</sup> He returned to Holland in 1590.<sup>197</sup> Sharing his findings about China and Japan with Waghenaer in the 'Thresoor' made him the first Dutch man that spoke of these regions from his own experiences, in the Dutch language.

Pomp speaks first about Goa and Calicut, and tells of the wonders of the people and their clothing, the crops and the phenomenon of widow burnings.<sup>198</sup> Then he describes the common features of Ceylon; the elephants, cinnamon and oysters. He mentions Bengal as well, remarking that "De Coninck van Portugal en heeft hier geen steden, als hij heeft inde voorsejde ende navolgende plaetsen.<sup>199</sup>", and Malaca, "daer alle costelijckheden sijn<sup>200</sup>".

From Malaca he leads us via the Strait of Singapore to "Sina". Pomp does not mention the languages that are practised here at all. He starts by saying that the inhabitants of China are "seere goet volck<sup>201</sup>" and continues by describing its riches: "ende is een landt seer rijk van Gout, Edel ghesteente, alderhande syde, perlen, perlemoer, camfer, quicsilver, rhabarbar, goutdraet, muscus ende van al datmen mach bedincken, ia al wildemen daer mede laden een schip van dryhondert last.<sup>202</sup>". In case this had not been made clear enough by the previous enumeration he follows by saying: "Het is dat rijkste lant datmen onder de sonne mach vinden<sup>203</sup>". About the features of the inhabitants Pomp mentions the clothing and hairdressing: "D'inwoonders gaen op sijn Turcs, met lanc hayr tot de middle, ended at om 't hooft ghewonden met lynen.<sup>204</sup>" and their long fingernails. Pomp then explains the fact that there are no beggars in this country, for the king helps those who have no friends to help them in poverty, and those who are blind can do the job of a glass blower.<sup>205</sup> Finally he remarks on the appetite of the Chinese, writing that they are "brassers, sij eten alderhande spyse, maer liever van een hont dan van eenich ander wiltbraet oft gedierte.<sup>206</sup>" and that although they like to get drunk on wine of rice, "nochtans sijn sy cloecksinnighe lieden, die alle dinghen connen seer subtylijck ende scherpsinnich maecken.<sup>207</sup>".

After explaining how the Portuguese buy merchandise that they can bring to Japan and trade them for silver, which can be traded for gold and silk back in China, and then

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<sup>196</sup> IJzerman, *Dirck Gerritsz Pomp alias Dirck Gerritsz China* 7.

<sup>197</sup> *Idem*, 17.

<sup>198</sup> Waghenaer, *Thresoor der zeevaart*, 197.

<sup>199</sup> *Idem*, 198.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*.

taken to Goa again, he describes Japan.<sup>208</sup> The Japanese language or trading languages are not mentioned in this part either. Pomp starts again by stating that the inhabitants are “goet aerdich<sup>209</sup>”, but adds that they do practice idolatry, like in China. Then he mentions the Jesuits, that are banned: “de welcke sy ouer seker iaren wechgedreven hebben, om dat sy alle wilden coopliden wesen.<sup>210</sup>”. He concludes that the inhabitants of China and Japan have the same features: “D’ingeseten van Sina ende Japan, zijn vet volck, breet van aensicht, ende meest witte lieden. Daer zijnder oock van henliedder eyghen natie die swart zijn, maer alle van eender ghedaente van lichaem.<sup>211</sup>”.

## 2.7 Jolinck in Sumatra and the Moluccas

The journey of Heyndrik Jolinck was part of the second Dutch shipping to East India, and Jolinck’s journal is considered the most complete and most important source of this trip to Sumatra and the spice islands.<sup>212</sup> However, it was only published in 1947 by the Van Linschoten Vereniging.

Heyndrik Dirrecksen Jolinck was born in Zutphen in 1563 and left his patria at the age of 17 or 18 to go to Portugal “om wat te versoecken ende die sprake te leeren<sup>213</sup>” as he writes in the introduction of his travelogue. He stayed in Lisbon with his uncle Willem van Coenen for four years, after which he could join a fleet from Lisbon to Portuguese India in 1585 to buy pepper on the coast of Malabar. Consequently, Jolinck has a share in being among the first Dutch men in India. He knew Van Linschoten and refers to his Itinerario when he describes their experiences on the island of San Lorenzo: “waer die andere bleven ende wat hare ervaeren is mach men int breede wel verclaert vinden int boeck van Jan Huigen.<sup>214</sup>”. At the end of his description of his previous travels he is conscious of the danger of getting lost in the details as well as he writes: “Hier mede sal dit genoech sijn, wandt soude ick die heele reise beschreven gelick ander historischrijvers doen, so soude ick wel eenen grooten boeck behoeven vol te schrijven.<sup>215</sup>”. Nevertheless, his report of their trip to Sumatra and the Moluccas is the lengthiest of all studied travelogues...

On the first of May 1598 the fleet under command of Van Neck and Warwijck left Texel and made their way South via the Canary Islands. Jolinck is steersman, and eager to share all about his findings and the equipments he uses: “Die leser moet wete, dat ick een los pappieren catholicum ghebruickt hebbe ongepapt, off daer eenige differentie doer

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<sup>208</sup> Idem, 199.

<sup>209</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>210</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>211</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>212</sup> H.D. Jolinck, *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacib Cornelisz van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck 1598-1600 V 1<sup>e</sup> stuk* (Den Haag 1947) 3.

<sup>213</sup> Jolinck, *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders* 4.

<sup>214</sup> Idem, 7.

<sup>215</sup> Idem, 8.

quam.<sup>216</sup>”. He even writes explicit advices such as: “Gij moet den cruiseer bij N. die middelinie geven (..)”.<sup>217</sup> On their way to Madagascar Jolinck observes many birds, describes them in a detailed way and uses their presence as an indication of nearby land. On the 30th of July he observes another creature, which he calls a “wonderlicke monster”.<sup>218</sup> His description of the rhinoceros-like fish is truly fantastical, and unique in its delusion in this, and the other studied travelogues.

They arrive at Madagascar on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, and Jolinck remarks happily that they still haven’t lost a single man to illness of disease. Mauritius is reached on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, and now there are some cases of scurvy on board so the fresh water of the island is very welcome. Jolinck observes dodo’s, big bats and birds “die krissen gelick mensen”.<sup>219</sup> The island is altogether much appreciated for its provision of refreshments and Jolinck recommends landing here to future skippers: “soude een seer bequame plaetse sijn om te verversen, so wanneer die Ostindise vaert in eeren blijft ende seer wel gelegen om geen tijt te verletten, want ghij meucht u schepen hier rasser version van water, ballast, hout, kallevaten, schoenmaecken ende kielhalen, als ofte ghij tot Amsterdam op Ulenburg lage.”<sup>220</sup> The ships stay here until the second of October.

Sumatra is approached on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December and the fleet makes its way to Java. They anchor at the island of Pulo Pandjang in front of the bay of Bantam and to their surprise they find Van Neck is already there.<sup>221</sup> This means that the first contact with the inhabitants is already made, and apparently a good deal was made because their ships were already “vol specerien”.<sup>222</sup> In total, 900 bags of pepper are loaded and on the 8th of January 1599 the captains of their fleet are switched out between the ships, and four fully loaded ships stay in Bantam to sail home again. Jolinck is transferred to the ‘Amsterdam’ that is part of the fleet that moves on to Jakarta.<sup>223</sup> At this point Jolinck really adapts the tone of a guide: “ende daer moget ghij tusschen beijde inloopen bij die eilantgies in, daer ist diepst (..)”.<sup>224</sup> On the fourteenth of January Jakarta was reached, and despite of the drizzling weather their men go ashore and try to trade “om te copen, datter van doen was”.<sup>225</sup> The governor of Java visits their ship with a lament about the war they were fighting against the king of Mataram, which had led to the loss of some villages and a lack of rice in Jakarta. The Dutch had indeed trouble to lay their hands on some food: “daer quam seer weinich te beduiden.”<sup>226</sup>.

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<sup>216</sup> Idem, 24.

<sup>217</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>218</sup> Idem, 39.

<sup>219</sup> Idem, 62.

<sup>220</sup> Idem, 63.

<sup>221</sup> Idem, 92.

<sup>222</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>223</sup> Idem, 93.

<sup>224</sup> Idem, 94.

<sup>225</sup> Idem, 95.

<sup>226</sup> Ibidem.



Consequently, their departure was announced to the governor and they sail towards the archipel of Karimundja. Here they land on the island of Tuban on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January and are informed by some inhabitants on a junk “datter van rijs, beesten, vruitten genoch te krigen ware<sup>227</sup>”. The first sloop that was sent to land brought back a Portuguese man, called Rasoella, and they were informed that the Portuguese ruled on Tuban “naest den koninck”.<sup>228</sup> The king receives the strangers friendly as well, since Jolinck writes they went to the village: “ende vonden hier alle vrientschap met desen koninck”. Indeed the king invites Jolinck, two excisemen and the vice-admiral to his palace, where he impresses them with his many wives: “ende liet ons oock sijn wijve ende concubinen sijen, die daer sijn, naer wij onderricht worden, meer als 300 ware<sup>229</sup>”. Jolinck is especially charmed by one of his daughters: “ende die eene dochter was so schone, als ick daer eene int lant gesien hebbe<sup>230</sup>”. After showing them his elephants, roosters, dogs, ducks, horses, doves and parrots, the king wants to rest: “daer hadde die koninck een leeger plaets met veel sijen oorkussen, daer hij ginck liggen ende hoorden, wat wij segge woude<sup>231</sup>”. They receive some animals and rice, and depart in friendship some days later.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of January they reached Arosbaya and sent some sloops to the coast with a present for the king. These men reported that they had first encountered fear, but had turned it into friendship and that there was plenty of rice.<sup>232</sup> They have some trouble finding a proper place to anchor, and they meet another Portuguese that had lost his junk and “die ons veel vrientschap bewees<sup>233</sup>”. Finally on the 29<sup>th</sup> another sloop and boat were sent to land, with three trumpeters “om den koninck te festeren”.<sup>234</sup> Jolinck and Frank Verdoes meet the king and buy some rice after negotiating about the price. The sloop was loaded with the rice, but because of a stormy weather they dared not sail to the ship. On the next day they are asked by the king to wait a little longer with the departure, for he said he wanted to bring them some animals. Then he keeps asking for their armament to study these weapons, until they have no weapons left and are captured.<sup>235</sup> Their clothes were taken off them, and they were forced to spend the night in the sloop guarded by many men. When they ask for the reason of this sudden animosity, they are told by some that their gift was not appreciated by the king, and others said it was because of the bad behaviour of the previous Dutch visitors. In the meanwhile letters are received from their ship, asking what the king wants from them. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 8 men are permitted to sail back to the ship, as long as three men will

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<sup>227</sup> Idem, 98.

<sup>228</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>229</sup> Idem, 99.

<sup>230</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>231</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>232</sup> Idem, 100.

<sup>233</sup> Idem, 101

<sup>234</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>235</sup> Ibidem.

return in their place. Unfortunately, only two men return, “waer doer onse credit nu weer heel wt was”, as Jolinck remarks.<sup>236</sup> The Dutch try to free their men by attacking with a boat full of men and arms, but this resulted in a fight in which 24 Dutchmen were killed and the rest of them were captured.<sup>237</sup> Now the king sends the message that they can be freed for two thousand pieces of eight, which is agreed on by the Dutch after some days, sending ten men a time back to the ship who send the next sum to the sloop to let another ten men free.<sup>238</sup> Two men who wanted to stay themselves are left ashore, along with two sloops. The rest of the men sail away to the Moluccas on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February.

On the second of March their ships reach the island of ‘Hitu’ (Ambon) where two big proas with the son of the king of Ternate on board came to meet the ships.<sup>239</sup> The enthusiasm of the Dutch must have been tempered by their captivity on Arosbaya, because Jolinck nuances the signs of friendship by the Ambonese by adding “tot noch toe”.<sup>240</sup> However, the message that they could find a lot of cloves in Ternate, and that there were water, chickens, goats, oranges and lemons to find on Ambon makes their temper rise. Attempts are made to trade with the inhabitants, and on the fifth of March the king’s son comes by their ships and has had some conversation with the Dutch, after which they shot their cannons three times as a sign of honour.<sup>241</sup> Again there are also Portuguese around, as one Portuguese man visits them the next day, claiming to have fled from the Portuguese after killing a man on the Portuguese fortress. However, the Dutch are not very impressed: “maer wij gave hem niet veele geloofs<sup>242</sup>”. The king’s brother comes to visit the ships next, also being honoured with canon shots. After him the son of the island’s governor visits the admiral and offers him a bird of paradise and a parrot.<sup>243</sup> Despite all these demonstrations of goodwill the Dutch are impatient for the cargo and decide to send the ships of Jan Bruin and Jan Cornelissen onwards to Banda.

The king’s brother informs the remaining Dutch that they are at war with the Portuguese, and that junks with people to help fight the Portuguese are expected. Meanwhile, something is stolen from one of their ships, but the thief is caught and the stolen piece returned. Like in Korea, the Dutch are involved in the punishment and receive a fine from the thief.<sup>244</sup> Other than this happening the men are quite bored, but at least there are “seer geode verversingen als bannanas, hoenders, appelen en diergelicke.”.<sup>245</sup> However, they begin to run out of patience and send the admiral to speak with the governor about the

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<sup>236</sup> Idem, 102.

<sup>237</sup> Idem, 103.

<sup>238</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>239</sup> Idem, 114.

<sup>240</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>241</sup> Idem, 115.

<sup>242</sup> Idem, 116.

<sup>243</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>244</sup> Idem, 117.

<sup>245</sup> Idem, 119.

promised cloves, but they were told to be patient again: “ende was al toue deuntge, so dattet wij vermoeden, datter niet veele nagelen en waren.”<sup>246</sup> This assumption proves to be correct, as several days later there is still no sign of any cloves, and the Dutch take their own merchandise back to their ships again, “want daer geen nagelen en bleecken te koemen.”<sup>247</sup> This statement may have urged the Ambonese to make a move, because some time later the price of the cloves was suddenly agreed upon, and the next day the Dutch receive “een wenich nagelen”<sup>248</sup>. On the following days the cloves are indeed delivered. Jolinck makes some final remarks on the inhabitants of Ambon, writing that they possess canons which they can handle ‘reasonably well’, and mentions the language-issue for the first time when he writes: “ende hier is veele volck, die Portugees spreken, so mannen als vrouwe.”<sup>249</sup>

The ships depart for Ternate on the eighth of May. They reach the island on the 22th of May and find a place to anchor, when they are immediately visited by a sloop of men that inform the strangers that the king is presently at war on the island of Motier.<sup>250</sup> On the following day they have a meeting with some Portuguese in two proa’s, asking the Dutch where they come from and what they want. Jolinck is the one who speaks up, and even quotes the Portuguese answer for us in the passage he wrote: “So seijde sij, wat wij quamen soecken. Ick seide, dat wij komenschap brochten om nagelen te kopen. So vraechde se, of wij dan oock varder wouden, of waer wij dan al meer heen wouden, waerop ick antworde: daert Godt belieft, waer op eenen Portugees sprack: sta minto boim.”<sup>251</sup>

Their patience is tested once more, as they have to await the return of the king before any trade can be fulfilled, but again the present fruit and meat heightens their spirits. The costs of these are considered high though: “maer seer dier om geldt ende waren hier seer geldtgierich ende kondent oock seer wel, dan sij wildent al goetkoop hebben ende hier is een seer doertrapt ende subtil volck.”<sup>252</sup> Finally the return of the king is announced by a Chinese man, and the royal visit takes place on the 28th of May accompanied by 32 rowing yachts with a hundred men on each.<sup>253</sup> To their disappointment, the king refuses to set foot on the Dutch ship because of an injury on his ankle, “ende met meerder reede hij hem excuseerden”<sup>254</sup> So, the admiral enters the king’s boat and so they have sit with each other, “ende wat met malcander gediviseert ende also weder van malcander gescheiden.”<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>247</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>248</sup> Idem, 120.

<sup>249</sup> Idem, 121.

<sup>250</sup> Idem, 128.

<sup>251</sup> Idem, 129.

<sup>252</sup> Idem, 130.

<sup>253</sup> Idem, 131.

<sup>254</sup> Idem, 132.

<sup>255</sup> Ibidem.

The king is quite interested in the visitors and comes back to their ship after some days, asking for Jolinck “om hem die lande te wisen” on his maps.<sup>256</sup> Jolinck remarks that their knowledge of the Malay is comparable: “ende wij spracken goelickens even veel Maleis”.<sup>257</sup> Even more interesting is the fact that the king had learned about Jolinck possessing the book of Van Linschoten, and his desire to see it: “ende so die coninck onderricht was, dat ick een boeck hadde, daer figuren in stonden van alderhande natie, so heeft hij oock begeert den boeck te siene ende hebbe hem Jan Huygens boeck also laeten doorsien, welc hij oock heel doorsien heeft ende hem seer wel aenstont.”<sup>258</sup> As we have seen before, the nationality of Jolinck is questioned by the king: “ende hij vraech mij, of ick een Portugees was; ick seyde hem neen, dan dat ick met Portugesen verkeert hadde ende also die spracke geleert.”<sup>259</sup> Apparently they conversed in Portuguese as well. However, a Chinese interpreter is involved as well when the king is once again invited to set foot on the Dutch ship: “so vraechde wij hem, ofte hem beliefdn over te komen, waerop hij dede antwoorden door eenen van Tsinese afkoemste, die Portugees sprack, dat hij eens most aen landt gaen gazer sens feitos of sijn dingen doen”<sup>260</sup>. Again, Jolinck has cited the Portuguese answer (partly) literally.

Despite this shared interest with the king, the harbourmaster informs the admiral that day that he has to be sure that the Dutch are planning to open a trading post, because their trading relations with the Portuguese would be at odds if they made a deal with the Dutch, “ende dat sij den handel niet geer(n)e brecken soudn om een passage, die wij quamen doen”<sup>261</sup>. The Dutch prove their dedication to the trade by bringing the king a gift on the next day. This must have been effective, because on the third of June the harbourmaster and two or three Chinese men come visit their ships and look at their merchandise. However, they are not impressed by their veil, scarlet and velvet because of its costliness and inform them that “indisch doek”<sup>262</sup>, rice and porcelain are more popular merchandise in the area.<sup>263</sup> But the king is in fact more interested in the armament of the Dutch. On the evening of June 7 he comes with a proa and several of his wives (“met sommighe van sijn wiven uut speelen”<sup>264</sup>) to their ship again, asking to see some muskets and morions and promising to buy some of these.<sup>265</sup> Some days later he seals this future trade by sending a gift of 14 goats and coconuts to the Dutch ships.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Idem, 133.

<sup>257</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>258</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>259</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>260</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>261</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>262</sup> Idem, 134.

<sup>263</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>264</sup> Idem, 135.

<sup>265</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>266</sup> Ibidem.

Consequently, two men go and visit the king in the city of Gamalama. A day later they return with the king on a boat, and the king desires a musket that is given to him as a present.<sup>267</sup> On the fifteenth of June they receive a message from their men in the city, confirming that there were cloves available, that could be delivered in 14 days after the price was established. On the seventeenth the first cloves are delivered and the following days these were taken to the ships by sloops. Meanwhile the king tries to lay his hands upon some more armament: he shows interest in a crossbow and an armor, and also in their ship: “ende besach het schip onder en boven ende hij vraechde mij om een boortge daer een Veneetse vrou opgeschildert stont, welck ick hem oock terstond schonck<sup>268</sup>”. The day after, the king invites Jolinck and the Dutch preacher to speak about their writing. But to Jolinck’s surprise when they arrive there, the king said nothing about writing, but asked to see Van Linschoten’s book again: “dan hij sach Jan Huigens boeck heel doer ende wij saten daer bij hem tot savonts<sup>269</sup>”. Jolinck expresses his marvel by writing “noit sach ick sulcken koninck.<sup>270</sup>”. His curiosity is also demonstrated by his wish for Jolinck to demonstrate the power of gunpowder by making a tree explode, “want hij seer nieusgirich was.<sup>271</sup>”.

A deal is made on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, with the king buying many muskets and morions and the Dutch receiving the remaining cloves.<sup>272</sup> Some of it is only available after the monsoon, so 6 men would stay in Ternate to await the cloves and new Dutch ships.<sup>273</sup> Finally they depart on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, sailing on through the many Moluccan islands. In September they meet a proa with men that ask them “oft wij Spaingaers of Portugeese waren<sup>274</sup>”. When they see an inhabited coastline in the end of September one of the Dutch, “wel malaise konende”, asks for the name of the land and offers them a coral mirror, hoping for permission to go anchor, but apparently the sea bottom was unsuitable for their anchor.<sup>275</sup> After sailing by Celebes, they reach Jakarta on the thirteenth of November. Jolinck offers the king a present and was welcomed warmly by the king, who said “dat wij tot alle uren wellecome waren”.<sup>276</sup> They buy rice and oranges and leave again on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November. On the 19<sup>th</sup> Bantam is reached again, and the negotiations on the pepper price begin again. Like in Ternate, the people from Bantam are portrayed as greedy because of the high price they ask for their pepper: “ende onsvolck konde noch geen koep maken, want die

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<sup>267</sup> Idem, 136.

<sup>268</sup> Idem, 142.

<sup>269</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>270</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>271</sup> Idem, 144.

<sup>272</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>273</sup> Idem, 145.

<sup>274</sup> Idem, 152.

<sup>275</sup> Idem, 158.

<sup>276</sup> Idem, 174.

Iavanen seer erch ende subtil sijn.<sup>277</sup> On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December the first pepper is finally loaded.<sup>278</sup>

Next to the practicing of trade, the Dutch are also expected to practice justice when four of their men are arrested in Bantam for “droncken drincken ende ander baldadicheit”. Jolinck and Claes Jansen go ashore to sentence their punishment: they have to ‘walk the plank’.<sup>279</sup> On January 15, 1600 the admiral says his goodbyes to the governor of Bantam, and the ships leave the harbour on the Januari the 21<sup>st</sup>. They are tormented by some heavy storms in March and April, but safely reach the Cape on April 27<sup>th</sup>.<sup>280</sup> After a last adventure on the island of San Helena which was already visited by four hostile Portuguese ships when they arrived, they make it back to Holland, were they arrive in August 1600.<sup>281</sup>

## 2.8 Van Linschoten in India

Born at Haarlem, around 1563, Van Linschoten would grow to become one of the most influential Dutchmen of the sixteenth century. Leaving the Netherlands on a very young age, like Pomp, Van Linschoten spent four years in Seville at his brothers’ place, preparing to join a voyage to India.<sup>282</sup> This voyage finally took place in 1583, when he joined a Portuguese fleet that took him via Mozambique to Goa. Here Van Linschoten and Pomp met each other, and Van Linschoten wrote in a letter to his parents about this meeting that he regretted not being able to join Pomp on a trip to China or Japan. Pomp did hand Van Linschoten his notes on the regions, so that he could incorporate them in his ‘Itinerario’.<sup>283</sup>

Other information from the ‘Itinerario’ that can be detected back to other Lowlanders are his remarks on Melaka, which he acquired from Gerrit van Afhuijsen, a traveller from Antwerp that had lived there for 14 months.<sup>284</sup> Apart from these informants, Van Linschoten made use of the ‘Coloquios’ of Garcia da Orta, from whom he copied entire chapters, especially about the flora and fauna of India.<sup>285</sup> Mendoza’s ‘Historia’ was used to write about China and its surroundings, and the history of India was written while using the work of the Italian cardinal Maffei.<sup>286</sup> Surprisingly, Van Linschoten seems to not have taken the works of Castanheda, de notes of Albuquerque or the works of ‘Asia’ by De Barros into account, as the incompleteness of his book shows.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Idem, 176.

<sup>278</sup> Idem, 178.

<sup>279</sup> Idem, 177.

<sup>280</sup> Idem, 208.

<sup>281</sup> Idem, 235.

<sup>282</sup> H. Kern, J.C.M. Warnsinck (eds.) *Itinerario voyage ofte schipvoert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592* I (Den Haag 1910) xviii.

<sup>283</sup> H. Kern, J.C.M. Warnsinck (eds.) *Itinerario* idem.

<sup>284</sup> Idem, xx.

<sup>285</sup> Idem, xv.

<sup>286</sup> Idem, xxxix.

<sup>287</sup> Ibidem.

After travelling the coast of Malabar Van Linschoten returned to Holland via Terceira and Lisbon in 1592. His *Itinerario* was first published in 1595, but his notes and findings on the searoutes were already published one year earlier.<sup>288</sup> It is certain that these notes were used on the first Dutch voyage to East India by De Houtman. As we have seen, his advices to travel via the Cape of Good Hope and to trade with Java have been followed. Since Van Linschoten himself had only visited Mozambique, Goa and the Malabar coast I will analyse only his notes on India. However, since Pomp informed him on China and Japan, and since these are possibly his own findings, I will also look at his writings about these regions.

In the introduction of the '*Itinerario*' Van Linschoten makes clear for whom he has written the book by claiming that it is "seer nut, oorbaar, ende oock vermakelijcken voor alle curieuse ende Liefhebbers van vremdigheden."<sup>289</sup> He is eager to present himself as a natural traveller and therefore justifies his 'delay' in Seville before travelling to India by explaining the importance of speaking the right language: "ende hoewel ick sonderlinghe lust hadde terstont voorder te trecken, dan door ghebreck van de Spaensche tale (sonder welcke men qualick can over wegh geraken) was ghedwongen aldaer eenen tyt te blyven, om die ervarentheyt vande sprake wat te cryghen."<sup>290</sup> However, as he joins a Portuguese fleet, any knowledge of the Portuguese language would have been practical as well, but his Spanish must have been sufficient as apparently this did not complicate matters.

The fleet left Lisbon on the eighth of April 1583. Goa was reached in September, and Van Linschoten describes the festive welcoming party for the archbishop on board: "Den 30. September is den Aerts-bisschop, mynen Heere, met grooter triumphe ende feeste inde Stadt van Goa ghehaelt, ende van die Edelen ende Regeerders des Landts, in de groote Kercke ghebracht, met een Te Deum Laudamus &c. ende near ander veel ceremonien ende ouder usancien, hebben hem in zijn Palleys gebracht, twelc state dicht by deselfde Kercke."<sup>291</sup> The ships moved from Goa to the coast of Malabar and Cochin in November 1583. In January and February 1584 the ships left Cochin again and made their way back to Portugal, but Van Linschoten stayed in India with 'his lord', the archbishop.<sup>292</sup>

After describing the information he gathered on the Arabian world, Van Linschoten leads us from Ormus to Diu. About this city, he writes: "Die stadt van Diu is bewoont vande Portugesen, met die Ingheboren ende naturalen onder een, gelijk als Ormus ende alle die steden ende plaetsen vande Portugesen in gheheel Indien zijn"<sup>293</sup>. And about the indigenous people he remarks: "Dese Indianen, gelijk oock die van Cambaja, diemen heet Banianen ende Gusarattes, en van 't landt binnewaerts van Decam, die boven op die berghen woonen (...) zijn altemael van geel verwe, sommige wat witter, ende sommige wat bruijnder: maer

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<sup>288</sup> Idem, xxv.

<sup>289</sup> Idem, 1.

<sup>290</sup> Idem, 2.

<sup>291</sup> Idem, 28.

<sup>292</sup> Idem, 29.

<sup>293</sup> Idem, 40.

die op de Zee-cant woonen, zijn vaelder, ende trecken meer op die swerte verwe; in haer gestaltenisse ende phisiomie van aensicht, lijf ende leden zijn altemael als van dese landen van Europa.<sup>294</sup> Van Linschoten compares the region of Cochin to the Netherlands: "Alle dese landen ende contreyen, zijn leegh ende vlac, ghelijck Hollandt, maer en hebben gheen Dijcken noch Duynen, dan alleenelick aen die Zee strand die platten Oever<sup>295</sup>". He describes the heterogenous inhabitants of the region: "Buyten Cochin vande Malabaren woonen oock veel Mooen van Machomets gheloof ende menichte van Joden, die seer rijck zijn, end eleven daer in haer gheloof vry, als oock die Machometisten met haer Kerck, die zij Mesquiten noemen. Oock hebben die Bramanes, dat zijn de Geestelickheyte vande Malabaren ende Indianen hare Afgoden ende Duyvels huysen, die zij Pagodes noemen.<sup>296</sup>". Van Linschoten is quite negative about the inhabitants of Bengal, describing them as follows: "'t is een archlistigh ende boos volck, ende worden voor de quatste Slaven ende Captiven ghehouden van gheheel Indien: want zy in 't ghemeen dieftichtigh, ende die Vrouwen daer by hoerachtigh.<sup>297</sup>".

Van Linschoten mentions the issue of spoken or written languages only once in these descriptions of India: when he tells of the Sephardim. He writes: "Daer zijnder veel onder die daer gecomen zijn uyt het landt van Palestina ende Jerusalem, en spreken duer de banck goet Spaensch.<sup>298</sup>". He does mention it more extensively when he writes of Melaka, telling a curious history of the Malay language, which was invented by its inhabitants: "ende verordineerde een tale op haer selven, om die ander omliggende plaetsen niet te ghelijcken, ende in alle dinghen op haer selven, en different van haer omliggende ghebeuren te wesen ende namen die beste woorden van alle d'ander talen, waer van zy een spraeck op haer selven cregen, noemende de stadt Malacca (...) ende dese tael ghenamt Malayo wert vermaert ende ghehouden voor die couroyste ende gheschickste van gheheel Orienten.<sup>299</sup>". Before turning to China and Japan, he gives some advices towards trading in Java and the Moluccas, which would prove to be quite influential. He writes Java is an island "op welcke plaetse men wel soude traffiqueren mogen, sonder yemandts belet: want die Portugesen daer niet en comen, om dat het die Jauwen selfs tot Malacca comen veylen en vercoopen.<sup>300</sup>". And about Banda: "Op dit Eylandt hebben de Portugesen haren handel, want in dit Eylandt wassen die meesten ende beste Note-muscaten ende Bloemen.<sup>301</sup>". He adds a warning regarding the trade in this area: "Die handelighen van hier geschiet meest met manghelingen, ghelijck in Sunda ende Iava, dan zijn qualick te betrouwen; men moet

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<sup>294</sup> Idem, 45.

<sup>295</sup> Idem, 50.

<sup>296</sup> Idem, 50-51.

<sup>297</sup> Idem, 65.

<sup>298</sup> Idem, 187.

<sup>299</sup> Idem, 73.

<sup>300</sup> Idem, 77.

<sup>301</sup> Idem, 79.



scherpe wacht houden en niet aen landt gaen, dan blyven in 't Schip, alwaer die van 't Eyland haer coopmanschappen brenghen, ende doen haer handelinghen als gheseyt is: want het geschiet dickwils dates die Portugesen bedrieghen, die haer te veel vertrouwen.<sup>302</sup>”. What follows is an anecdote to illustrate the previous, about an acquaintance who lost his ship in this area and was taken prisoner with the entire crew.<sup>303</sup>

Then Van Linschoten turns to the mysterious empire of China. The trading port of Macao is mentioned as the sole trading place of the Portuguese: “Maçau, welcke is die hoofstadt van dese Provintie, is een grote coopstadt, alwaer die Portugesen hae coopmanschappen van daen krijghen, ende is die eenighe plaets daer zij alleenelick hare communicatie met die van geheel Chinen hebben.<sup>304</sup>”. About the Chinese language Van Linschoten remarks: “Die chinen hebben veel spraecken ende sonderlinge talen: maer in 't schrijven verstaen malkanderen altemael: want schrijven alle dingen met Figuren ofte Characteren (...)”<sup>305</sup>. He compares the Japanese language to this when he turns to Japan: “Haer tale is different vande Chinische, soo dates malkanderen in 't spreken niet en verstaen, maer in 't schryven wel, want ghebruycken oock die selfde Characteren ende Figuren, useren onder haer veel manieren van vocabulen, ende schryven op veel manieren van courtosien, want spreken een jegelijck person near zijnen state ende qualiteyt, met besondere tytelen ende woorden, waerom her sprake qualick van een vreemdelingh te leeren is.”<sup>306</sup>.

## 2.9 Lodewycks on Java with De Houtman

Willem Lodewycks was junior merchant on Cornelis de Houtman's fleet and kept a journal of this first Dutch voyage to Java. This resulted in a travel report that was first published by Cornelis Claesz at Amsterdam in 1598. It tells the tale of a perilous journey to the East, shown for instance by the number of survivors of the trip: 89 out of the 249 men that left Holland also returned.<sup>307</sup> The fleet consisted of 4 vessels: the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia*, *Amsterdam* and the *Duyfken*. In the introduction written by Lodewycksz he explains the goal of the journey: to establish trading relations with the Indians, on the places “daer de Portugesen geen gebiet hadden”.<sup>308</sup> Lodewycksz must have been an adventurous man, writing that he had long wished for experiencing such a journey: “begeirich zijnde van mijn jonghe Iaren af, om vreemde landen te duerwandelen”.<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Idem, 80.

<sup>303</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>304</sup> Idem, 86.

<sup>305</sup> Idem, 96.

<sup>306</sup> Idem, 109.

<sup>307</sup> Den Heijer and Van Romburgh, *Reizen door de eeuwen heen* 89.

<sup>308</sup> W. Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1995-1997 I / uitg. en toegelicht door G.P. Rouffaer en J.W. IJzerman* (Den Haag 1915) xxxii.

<sup>309</sup> Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders* xxxiv.

On March 21<sup>st</sup> 1595 the ships leave Texel and sail towards the Canary Islands, meeting two Portuguese vessels there on the fourth of May. It appears to be a fleet of five ships, including the arch bishop of Goa, that were on their way to Goa. The Dutch ask them whether they know what their current position is, and the Portuguese inquire to their destination: “Alzo zy vraeghden waer wy henen wilden, seyden dat wy vreemde landen ginghen soecken, daer den Coninck gheen ghebiet en hadde, vereerden ons eenighe Marmeladen ende Confituren, in vergeldinghe sonden haer eenighe Keesen ende Hammen.”<sup>310</sup> Lodewycksz must have learned the Portuguese language somewhere, because later he remarks upon the weather that they suffered rain “ghemenght met groote stilten, slach-reghenen, die de Portugesen *Trubuadas* noemen”.<sup>311</sup> On August 2, they see the Cape of Good Hope.

When they reach the island of Madagascar, many men already suffer from scurvy, so they are in a hurry to find a place to rest and find refreshments. What follows is a detailed story of how the Dutch tried to trade with the locals, keen on showing their good intentions by offering them mirrors and corals. Communication was of course not so easy: “wy gaven haer te verstaen, soo ons best moghelijck was, dat zy ons Vee souden brenghen, wy souden haer Yser (dwelck zij Cori noemen) geven, dwelck zy oock seyden te doen.”<sup>312</sup> In the afternoon twenty men are sent to go and find whether there was a village with refreshments, but they were followed closely by the inhabitants, and not taken anywhere: “was te vergheefs: want de Inwoonderen gingen met de onse, houdende gheenen wech, ende ginghen ons volck, so ginghen zy mede, ende stille staende, saten zy neder achter op haer hielen huckende”.<sup>313</sup> Lodewycksz remarks on their language: “ende hebbe anders van haer condition niet connen vernemen, dan dat zy seer belemmert spreken, gelijk de luyden in duytslandt ontrent Kempten ende de Alpes, diemen Iuliae noemt”.<sup>314</sup>

Finding fresh water is hard, and too many men are already very ill. In October they bury many men on an island that they call “tHollandts Kerckhof”.<sup>315</sup> Their relationship with the locals is deteriorated when the ill men that are brought to land are robbed of their clothes by the inhabitants.<sup>316</sup> Still, the Dutch sail around the coast of Madagascar in search of villages and fresh food. Finally, on the twelfth of February 1596 the ships leave the island, and sail on to the Strait of Sunda.<sup>317</sup> On the fourth of May they encounter a fierce storm for a couple of days, and the water is getting scarce again: the ration is diminished to half of the

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<sup>310</sup> Idem, 3.

<sup>311</sup> Idem, 4.

<sup>312</sup> Idem, 7.

<sup>313</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>314</sup> Idem, 9.

<sup>315</sup> Idem, 16.

<sup>316</sup> Idem, 19.

<sup>317</sup> Idem, 51.

water. Consequently the men suffer from thirst. Luckily, land was seen on the fifth of June.<sup>318</sup> However, no contact can be made with the inhabitants, as they rowed away from them and had many bows, and “begeirden ons niet te spraeck te staen<sup>319</sup>”. They approach Sumatra on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, and meet a proa with sixteen men: “wy en conden haer niet verstaen, dan wisten wel van *Bantam* ende *Iapara*, maer *Sunda Calapa* was haer onbekent<sup>320</sup>”.

Once they arrive at Sumatra, they are approached by a proa with important looking residents: “fraey gevleet met hemels blauwe fine accoutrements van Lijnwaet, ende Tolcken van tselve.<sup>321</sup>”. Apparently the Sumatran had interpreters ready for these occasions. They were received with a lot of precious merchandise: pepper, cloves, nuts, pumpkins and cucumber. Lodewycks is in the meanwhile busy trying to find water, which was not so easy to purchase. With the sloop they sail towards some proa’s in the harbour, but unfortunately they accidentally fire a gun when they reach them.<sup>322</sup> Consequently, the men on the boats present their canon and threaten the Dutch when they try to go ashore, so they return to the ships. On the next day they have more luck, as a men on a proa shows them where to get water and offers to bring them to Bantam, for the price of five Reals per ship. On their way to Bantam, many proa’s come to their ships and offer them “cocos, wat peper, Naghelen, Muscaten, Vannanas, ende wat Hoenderen, Oraengien, vraghende oft wy van *Goa* oft *Cochin* quamen, ende nae *Bantam* voeren<sup>323</sup>”.

They arrive at the harbour of Bantam on the 22<sup>st</sup> of June. A canoe approaches them, but “costen haer niet verstaen<sup>324</sup>”. They come back with a man that speaks Portuguese: “ende brachten eenen die Portugees sprack, vragende van waer wy quamen.<sup>325</sup>”. The news of their arrival spreads fast, because in the evening a prao came from the city of Bantam with 6 Portuguese and their slaves, sent by the governor of Bantam: “vragende van waer wy quamen, waer op wy seyden: van Hollandt, om met haer te comen handelen in vrientschap, haer speceryen tegen onse coopmanschappen, waer op zy ons antwoorden, dat wy wel ter rechter plaetsen gheraecht waren, maer ter onbequeamer tijt<sup>326</sup>”. As the Portuguese explained, they had just loaded five ships to sail to China. The Dutch asked the Portuguese to pass on their friendship to the governor, and they sailed back to the city. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June an official came to their ships and spoke to them via “eenen taelman<sup>327</sup>”, welcoming them in the name of the governor. After him the port warden, or *Sabander* came to them with some Portuguese, offering chickens, goats and fruits and his friendship.

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<sup>318</sup> Idem, 56.

<sup>319</sup> Idem, 57.

<sup>320</sup> Idem, 62.

<sup>321</sup> Idem, 64.

<sup>322</sup> Idem, 65.

<sup>323</sup> Idem, 67.

<sup>324</sup> Idem, 71.

<sup>325</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>326</sup> Idem, 72.

<sup>327</sup> Idem, 73.

The afternoon is particularly crowded: they are visited by Javanese, Turks, Chinese, Bengalese, Arabs, Persians, Gujarats, “die allen vanden Spaenschen wijn verheught ghemaect worden.<sup>328</sup>”. The other day they are visited by the official and the Sabander again, and these men warn them about the Portuguese: “want zy ons sochten te vermaken, ende soo dobbel waren, datmen nummermeer haer herte en const kennen, ende dat wy niet Dorsten vreesen: want de Havene vry was voor alle Coopluy<sup>329</sup>”. The stream of visitors does not come to an end, because after the Sabander, they are visited by an Indian man, asking them in the name of the entire kingdom to shoot the residents of Palinban in Sumatra, with whom they are at war. The Dutch refuse to do so, answering they have come to trade and not to fare wars.<sup>330</sup> Lodewycksz writes about the habits and culture of the Javanese, including their language: “Zy hebben ,maer 20. Characteren, waer mede zy alle haer sprake formeren. Oock ghebruijcken zy de Mallaesche tale ende characteren, dwelck een seer bequame sprake is, ende licht om te leeren, en ooc diese spreken van, mach niet alleen heel Jndien: maer oock alle de Eylanden door verstaen worden.<sup>331</sup>”.

The next couple of days the Dutch trade with the Javanese, and are warned many times that the Portuguese are not to be trusted. When a Javanese official comes to the *Mauritius* to have a look on their maps, they find out later that this had been a Portuguese spy. Hereafter they are pressed by the Sabander to go and greet the governor, presenting him with a gift.<sup>332</sup> A Dutch delegation follows this advice and presents itself in front of the governor. They invite the king to visit them on their ships, to talk about a trading alliance, and his interpreter answers: “waer op door zynen Tolck geantwoordt is, dat hyder hem op soude beraden<sup>333</sup>”. The governor decided positively, as he sent the message that he would visit them one of these days.

This meeting took place on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June. The interpreter of the king announced to Lodewycksz, who had come to the city, that the governor expected the Admiral in the harbour. Admiral De Houtman came to the proa of the governor, and spoke about business: “diviserende vande ghelegentheyte van onse nederlanden, hoe veel schepen datmen ‘sjaers wel soude connen uytrusten, hoe veel volcks, hoe veel maenden wy wel souden moeten onder wegghen zijn om de reijs te volbrengghen teghen de naeste reyse, ende principalijck, oft wy oock meer reysen derwaerts van meyninghe waren te doen.<sup>334</sup>”. The governor inspected their ships, and their merchandise, asking for some scarlet and velvet that was given to him. On the first of July De Houtman was received honourably on land, and was told that an

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<sup>328</sup> *Idem*, 74.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>330</sup> *Idem*, 75.

<sup>331</sup> *Idem*, 120.

<sup>332</sup> *Idem*, 76.

<sup>333</sup> *Idem*, 77.

<sup>334</sup> *Idem*, 79.

alliance on their trade could be made, if all merchants would sign an assurance for this trade.<sup>335</sup>

This contract was signed some days later, and was celebrated with the invitation of the Portuguese to come and dine at their residence, which was a festive meal.<sup>336</sup> On July fifth, the interpreter of the governor comes to the Dutch ships, and warns them again: “dat wy op ons hoede soude wesen<sup>337</sup>”, as the Rajah would be planning an attack on their ships, bribed by the Portuguese, while he would pretend to visit them. The men take this warning seriously and prepare themselves and their weaponry. On the seventh of July two men are sent ashore to meet the governor and Rajah, who try to prove their innocence and confirm that the Portuguese had slandered them, but that they would not believe them.<sup>338</sup> On the 8<sup>th</sup> of July a messenger was sent to the Dutch ships, but was so shocked and scared by the armament he found on board, that he returned to land spreading this news. The Rajah left for Jakarta upon this news, since he lost “alle hope van de schepen te comen overvallen<sup>339</sup>”. On the following days they meet many Arab and Turkish merchants, (one of them speaking “tamelijck goet Jtaliaansch<sup>340</sup>”) learning from them about the Rajah of Ache and his animosity towards merchants.

The contract between the governor and De Houtman is renewed on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, with the inclusion of the governor’s promise to stand on their side when the Rajah would attack them.<sup>341</sup> A factory is allocated to them where they bring some of their merchandise, and ten men stay on land to sell their wares. The governor buys some of their merchandise, promising to pay for these with the deliverance of their pepper. They are offered pepper by the Arab, Chinese and Malay merchants, but refuse to buy until a pepper price is established with the governor. Meanwhile they have established a good relationship with a Portuguese merchant, born in Melaka, who was an experienced pilot and showed them his maps, “waer deur wy verhoopten noch veel van hem te verstaen.<sup>342</sup>”. This friendship would have dramatic consequences, as the man was murdered by the Portuguese on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, because the Portuguese were afraid he would provide the Dutch with valuable information about the region and the Javanese.<sup>343</sup>

At the same time the friendship of the governor is being tested as they cannot agree on the pepper price, and the Portuguese take advantage of the hesitation on the Dutch side, reasoning that this proved they were spies instead of merchants. This tension culminates in

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<sup>335</sup> Idem, 80.

<sup>336</sup> Idem, 81.

<sup>337</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>338</sup> Idem, 82.

<sup>339</sup> Idem, 83.

<sup>340</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>341</sup> Idem, 84.

<sup>342</sup> Idem, 86.

<sup>343</sup> Idem, 87.

the Dutch threatening to leave Bantam, shoot the city and take the junks that laid in the harbour if the governor would not pay for their merchandise.<sup>344</sup> The governor does not take these threats lightly and summoned captain De Houtman and some of his men to come to land. Meanwhile the interpreter and 9 slaves were sent to the Dutch ships, explaining that the Dutch were kept ashore until the junks in the harbour would have taken off for Melaka, as they were afraid these would be taken.<sup>345</sup> But the Dutch, in their anger, took the interpreter and some of the slaves prisoner, and sent two slaves to the shore to inform them that if they would not let the Dutch free, they would take the interpreter with them. In return, the governor threatens to kill all the Dutch men on land if the interpreter had not returned by the evening.<sup>346</sup> So, the interpreter is sent back and five Dutch men are set free to the ships in return. Still there are four men imprisoned on land, including Lodewycksz.<sup>347</sup> The situation is perilous, since the ships have a lack of drinking water. On September the fifth the prisoners are informed by the interpreter that the Dutch ships had attacked the junks and shot the city.<sup>348</sup> The four men are immediately locked in a prison and asked by the governor to write a letter in which the Dutch would be summoned to stop shooting. However, the shooting continues and the prisoners are sentenced to death, but the execution never comes as they are still used to blackmail the ships.<sup>349</sup>

The ships however, having now completely run out of water, leave the harbour on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September to look for fresh water.<sup>350</sup> The prisoners were pressed to converse to Islam, as to replace the slaves that were killed by the Dutch.<sup>351</sup> As they refuse, they are set free. The ships return, having found water, and the Dutch on land try by all means to make a deal with the governor for their return. On the 11<sup>th</sup> October it was decided that they would pay the sum of 2000 Reals for their return to the ship and a new alliance would be made.<sup>352</sup> Thus the prisoners are sent back to the ships and the trade is resumed with the delivery of pepper to the Dutch ships. Unfortunately their affairs are again disturbed when an ambassador of Melaka visits Bantam on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, demanding the governor to prohibit the Dutch from trading in this harbour.<sup>353</sup> The governor agrees to his wishes and interrupts all trading, and the Dutch quickly send their men to the ships, fearing another hijacking. They are determined to load some cargo anyway, so they try to attack a Portuguese vessel in the harbour, but finally take over a junk that came sailing in.<sup>354</sup> Having

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<sup>344</sup> Idem, 88.

<sup>345</sup> Idem, 89.

<sup>346</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>347</sup> Idem, 90.

<sup>348</sup> Idem, 91.

<sup>349</sup> Idem, 92.

<sup>350</sup> Idem, 91.

<sup>351</sup> Idem 94.

<sup>352</sup> Idem, 95.

<sup>353</sup> Idem, 96.

<sup>354</sup> Idem, 98.

distanced themselves a little from the harbour they are informed by Chinese merchants that the governor is preparing an “Armade van Paraos ende Fusten teghen ons met grooter haesten<sup>355</sup>”.

As they fear that their trading opportunities on Bantam have definitely come to an end, the ships decide to sail on towards the river and search fresh water. Once they have found water, the decision is made to sail on to Jakarta, because they were told by Chinese merchants that there were two junks full of cloves.<sup>356</sup> They arrive on November fourteenth, and are welcomed by many proa’s with refreshments and the Sabander, “welck een seer beleeft persoon was, sprekende goet Portugies<sup>357</sup>”. But they move on to the east of Java, as no merchandise can be loaded in Jakarta. They arrive at Tuban in December, and are told that there were 3 junks with cloves that could be sold to them.<sup>358</sup> They meet the king on December 4<sup>th</sup> of December, and he tries to win their faith by offering Javanese hostages: “ons presenterende sodanighe gyselaers daer wy wel mede te vreden mochten wesen ende vrymoedigh op landt mochten comen.<sup>359</sup>”. The king was invited to come to their ships, but as they put out their flags to honour the king’s visit, the locals became suspicious: “vraghende waerom wy onse vlagghen lieten wayen, dewyle wy met haer in vrientschap handelden, ended at zy vyanden waren van die van Bantam, aldaer wy onse vlagghen lieten wayen als men de stadt ginck beschieten oft eenighe tocht dede, waerop gheantwoordt worde dattet gheschiede tot des Conincks eere<sup>360</sup>”. However, that afternoon six big proa’s have approached the ships, and as three of them sailed to the *Amsterdam* under the pretence of bringing food, they entered the ship and killed many Dutch men.<sup>361</sup> As the other ships see this and send sloops to attack the Javanese, more proa’s sail towards them, but they are shot by the Dutch ships and return.<sup>362</sup> The Dutch imprison the surviving Javanese and learn from them that they had followed the Dutch from since they left Bantam, so the attack had been an act of vengeance. After this attack the initial optimism about the journey has all but disappeared, and many men press to return to Holland. After some quarrelling, as some pilots desire to sail on to the Moluccas, it is decided that they would sail to Bali for refreshments and then return home.<sup>363</sup> The experiences has made them suspicious towards the people of these lands, which becomes evident when they are approached by a proa: “ende om meerder versekeringe daer van te weten (want wy dickmael bedrogen waren geweest) hebben wy des anderen daeghs de Pinas met een boor daer near toe ghesonden<sup>364</sup>”.

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<sup>355</sup> Idem, 159.

<sup>356</sup> Idem, 160.

<sup>357</sup> Idem, 163.

<sup>358</sup> Idem, 167.

<sup>359</sup> Idem, 169.

<sup>360</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>361</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>362</sup> Idem, 170.

<sup>363</sup> Idem, 188.

<sup>364</sup> Idem, 189.

But they are still received with interest, as the king desires a written message of where they came from: “dat de Coninck begeirde te weten van waer wy van daen waren, ende tselve begeerde hy schriftelijck te hebben<sup>365</sup>”. At Bali, they are received in friendship and gather enough refreshments for their return to Holland. Bali was left on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1597, and after a perilous journey Texel was reached the 11<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> Idem, 190.

<sup>366</sup> Idem, 211.



### 3 Reporting on 'The East'

In this part I would like to examine the travel reports from a different kind of angle, namely not the manner in which they speak of communicating with the native people, but the way in which these exotic places are perceived. As we have seen in the first part of this thesis, most merchants had been able to study a certain literary tradition or use the collective European knowledge that was gathered during previous decades. This resulted in the fact that our Dutch pioneers could be a bit prepared, but still they would be the first to describe what they encountered in the Dutch language, and for a Dutch audience. I would like to find out what colored their perception, and whether or not this perception was based on a generalized, and maybe even "Orientalized" prejudice.

The work of Edward Said on "Orientalism" has made way for an influential and controversial theory on the European perception of 'the East' or "the Orient". Although Said considered the roots of "Orientalism" to be established in the nineteenth century, I would like to look at the way these Asian coasts were described by Dutch merchants in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and see if a trace of an "Orientalist" view, as defined by Said, can be seen. To do so I have looked for signs of (copied) knowledge, comparisons and generalizations in each travelogue and compared them to Said's work. But first I will go into the theory.

In the introduction of Said's book, he explains his idea of "Orientalism", writing that "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident."".<sup>367</sup> This contrast, whether or not it is an artificial one, is the basis of a range of ideas about "the other", which is in this case the Asian in the eyes of the European. However, according to Said "Orientalism" is not merely a point of view, but in fact "a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment.".<sup>368</sup> When we follow this, it might be so that the created body of Dutch information on the Orient might be already 'Orientalized'. Thirdly, Said has made it clear that power structures are fundamental for an "Oriental" point of view: "Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.".<sup>369</sup> This power balance is created and maintained through another important factor: knowledge.<sup>370</sup>

After all, only after more and more information was collected on the Asian world, a certain stereotype could be created and maintained. Here, our travel literature could play an important role as the first sources of knowledge. Said writes on the importance of travelogues:

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<sup>367</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1978) 2.

<sup>368</sup> Said, *Orientalism* 6.

<sup>369</sup> Idem, 7.

<sup>370</sup> Idem, 32.

"The increasing influence of travel literature, imaginary utopias, moral voyages, and scientific reporting brought the Orient into sharper and more extended focus. If Orientalism is indebted principally to the fruitful Eastern discoveries of Anquetil and Jones during the latter third of the century, these must be seen in the wider context created by Cook and Bougainville, the voyages of Tournefort and Adanson, by the *Président de Brosse's Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*, by French traders in the Pacific, by Jesuit missionaries in China and the Americas, by William Dampier's explorations and reports, by innumerable speculations on giants, Patagonians, savages, natives, and monsters supposedly residing to the far east, west, south, and north of Europe."<sup>371</sup>

With this body of theory, the 'Orient' was created, but also maintained and justified, as Said argues: "(...) it not only creates but also maintains; it *is*; rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world."<sup>372</sup> In other words, the texts that created an Orientalist point of view created at the same time the desire to prove this view with new information. These representations of the east changed during the eighteenth century, Said argues, as the range of representation expanded enormously in the last third of the eighteenth century.<sup>373</sup> This marked the start of the period of "Modern Orientalism". Apart from this periodization, Said chose to concentrate mainly on the British, French and American experience of the Orient taken as a unit.<sup>374</sup> This had the consequence of the elimination of the 'Far Orient': Japan and China.<sup>375</sup>

Despite of these demarcations I will try and see to what extend an early type of 'Orientalism' can be found in the studied travelogues, and thus to look also at Pomp and Van Linschoten's texts on the 'far east'. I have distilled from the reports four categories of subjects that may have come from, or contributed to an Orientalist point of view. These are the comments on: the role and position of women, religious practices, references to other literature or information on the region and finally comparisons to other peoples or regions. In the following I will describe the encountered comments and their value for this study.

I have found two interesting comments on women in the travel reports that I will discuss here. Of course, the reports are full of comments on the way women dress and what they look like, but these comments are quite factual observations, although colored by the experiences of what women looked like in the Netherlands. However, I searched for more

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<sup>371</sup> Idem, 117.

<sup>372</sup> Idem, 12.

<sup>373</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>374</sup> Idem, 16.

<sup>375</sup> Idem, 17.

explicit comments on their position. The first is a comment by Hendrik Hamel, on women in Korea. He writes: "Dese natie achten haer vrouwen niet meer als slavinnen ende om een cleijne misdaet verstooten deselve; soo d'man d'kinderen niet wil houden, moet d'vrouw se altemael nae haer nemen, waerover dit lant soo vol menschen is."<sup>376</sup> The first part of the comment is interesting for its indignation; comparing the position of women to slavery is a fierce statement. Secondly, the statement is actually about the contrast between impregnating women and leaving them, and the Christian values of marriage and faithfulness. The added consequence of the crowded region shows Hamel's aversion of these practices.

The second comment on women is written by Lodewycks, on women and prostitution in Java. He writes about the practice of taking women along on a journey, and the prostitute that is offered them in the harbour: "Over vrouwen en prostitutie aan boord: "Als zy oock ter Zee varen, so nemen zy oock vrouwen mede, seer verwondert zijnde dat wy op soo langhe een voyagie geen mede gebracht en hadden, derhalven ons eene aen boort brachten, die wy oock metten eersten weder aen landt sonden, haer van hare vuyle bruijdt seer bedanckende."<sup>377</sup> Lodewycksz wrote this with a certain indignation as well, especially the sending away of the prostitute expresses a clear revulsion of the woman. The comment is interesting for the cultural difference that is shown. The expressed openness of the Javanese towards the sexual needs of sailors, contrasted with Lodewycksz exaggerated and hypocrite reaction regarding the woman creates the 'otherness' of the sexualized Javanese observed by the chaste Christian.

Interestingly, the actual religious practices of the encountered Asian peoples are often compared to Christianity, instead of described as an exotic heresy. Pomp's sole comment on religion in Japan for example states a resemblance: "Sij hebben oock beelden in henlieder kercken."<sup>378</sup> Or consider Van Wuysthoff's observation in Bachong, Laos: "Daer vernachten bij een oude vervallen steenen kerck, waerin de Lauwen voor 2. beelden seremoniën met offeren van brandende keersen gingen doen".<sup>379</sup> Van Spilbergen in Ceylon goes as far as stating that Christian monks must have learned their religious practices from the worshippers in this region: "Die dese dingen vande Monicken Cloosteren ende professien wel aensiet, soude moeten oordeelen, dat onse Monicken haer meeste Ceremonie van deses Heydenen geleert hebben. Oock hebben sy de maniere haer Afgoden met bloemen te vercierren, die alom aen de wegen staen, sommige aen Boomen, ende andere in gemetste mosirgaters, ghelijck de Jesuiten het Marien-beelt alom doen stellen."<sup>380</sup> However, when Muslim practices are described, no comparisons are made. As Van Neck in Patani wrote:

<sup>376</sup> Hamel, *Verhaal van het vergaan van het jacht de Sperwer* 43.

<sup>377</sup> Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders* 133.

<sup>378</sup> Waghenaer, *Thresoor der zeevaart* 199.

<sup>379</sup> Muller, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos* 159.

<sup>380</sup> Van Spilbergen, *Historis journael van de voyage* 30.

“Wat nu belangt het volck van Patani, die hebben de Mahumetse leeren ende veel vrouwen, soo bijwijven als getroude, gelijk dat der Machometanen maniere is.”<sup>381</sup>

To see if there was indeed already in the late sixteenth century a “created body of texts” to which Said refers, with a view upon Asian features that was copied by each writer, I have sought for explicit references to other literature. There are many references to van Linschoten’s text, such as Van Spilbergen’s comment: “Oock bidden sy aen alsulcke Gedierte, als sy ’s morgens eerst sien, als men by Ian Huygen lesen mag<sup>382</sup>”. Lodewycksz refers to Francis Drake when he approaches Bali: “ende bevonden dat wy alhier weder in een strate ofte enghte quamen daer Fransiscus Dracus eertijts ghepasseert was, al shy den geheelen aertbodem om seijlde.<sup>383</sup>”, and Van Spilbergen copies De Barros’ comment on the elephants in Ceylon being the best-trained of the Indies.<sup>384</sup> References to ancient literature are made as well, such as Lodewycksz comment on a statement by Marco Polo: “Ende wy bevinden om tselve te verstercken, dat *Marcus Paulus Venetus* (in dienste wesende van den Tartar) seyt dattet Eylandt van groot *Iava* den Tartar tribuijt gaf<sup>385</sup>”.

But not all made references serve to copy or confirm what is already known; sometimes myths are revealed as well. Take for example Van Neck objecting the myth about the bird of paradise having no feet: “Men heeft in de landen van Europa altijt voor seker gehouden, dat deese vogels stadich in de lucht sweefden, ende geen voeten hadden, dewijl men die daer niet aen sien noch bespeuren en can, maer dit is niet, sij hebben voeten als ander vogelen (..) <sup>386</sup>” or his protest against a prejudice about the people of Patani: “Eer wij hier quamen waren wij op diverse plaetsen gewaerschout, dat wij ons wachten souden voor dbedroch van die van Patany, ende ick achte dat de Hollantse nacie in Oost Indien, noyt plaetse bevaren heeft, daer sy beleefder en oprechter getracteert is geweest als wij indeese stat. <sup>387</sup>”.

The final category of comparisons that are made to other nations or regions is the most extensive, since all travellers tend to compare what they see to what they have seen elsewhere. My intention is to see if these comparisons serve to present generalizations, or rather paint a diverse picture of Asia. As I analysed the comparisons I was surprised about the amount of comparisons to similar Dutch features that are made. Obviously the voyagers compared new impressions to what they are used to, but if we follow Said it could be argued that the strange and exotic coasts would lead to the noting of contradictions rather than similarities. An example of such a comparison is Van Wuysthoff’s comment on the crowded royal square in Laos: “Alhier rontomme hadden alle de Grooten mede haer hutten ende

<sup>381</sup> Van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië*, 223-224.

<sup>382</sup> Van Spilbergen, *Historis journael van de voyage*, 39.

<sup>383</sup> Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders* 192.

<sup>384</sup> Van Spilbergen, *Historis journael van de voyage*, 26, compared to Lach & Van Kley *Asia* 343.

<sup>385</sup> Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders* 99.

<sup>386</sup> Van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië* 200.

<sup>387</sup> Idem 217.

legerplaetsen, als vol soldaeten, olijphanten en peerden, soodat van 't gecrijt derselver en gedruijs van menschen ons lieten voorstaen, in de Prins van Orangies leger te zijn.<sup>388</sup> Jolinck compares the landscape of Mauritius to that of Holland: "ende vonden al fraij vlack lant ende sommighe fraije vlacke valen, daer kleij gront was ende fraeij begraest ende in dese gront waren oock pijren gelick in onse lant ende hier verhilden haer ganse, kranen ende reijgers.<sup>389</sup>" and after experiencing the stormy wheather in the Molucca Sea he writes: "maer was stille, zodat die storme hier so lange niet en duren, als sij in ons lant wel doen.<sup>390</sup> Finally Van Linschoten compares the aversion of the Japanese regarding some food to the aversion of the Dutch: "en schuwent gelijck by ons peerden vleesch, hebben oock eenen grouwel vande melck, gelijck wy van 't rau bloet (...)"<sup>391</sup>

Most comparisons however are made between the encountered Asian nations. Some writers do explicitly speak of the 'Oriental' or 'Indian' people and try and place one nation within the scope of 'oriental' features, such as Van Neck on the Moluccan nation: "Het volck van deese eylanden sijn middelbaer van stature ten aansien van de Orientaelse volckeren, die de lanckte niet hebben alst volck naet noorden gelegen.<sup>392</sup>", or on Moluccan women: "De vrouwen van deese landen sijn van middelbaere schoonheyt ten aansien van d'Indische vrouwen<sup>393</sup>". In other reports the comparisons are made between two Asian nations, such as the Chinese and Japanese (both being furthest in Asia and thus most exotic), as Van Linschoten writes: "die Iapanen en zijn zoo net noch soo curieus op alle hae dingen nie als die Chinen, maer laten haer met weynigh genoeg, doch gaen al meest wel ghetracteert, ende gecleedt met zyde, bynaest ghelijck die Chinen.<sup>394</sup>". Lodewycksz claims that the Javanese descend from the Chinese, since their features are similar: "om dat zy seer der Chineser phisionimie ghelijck zijn, als breede voorhoofden, groote kaken, cleyne ooghen.<sup>395</sup>".

The third type of comparisons is that of an Asian nation and a European nation, such as the comparison Van Linschoten makes between the Chinese and the Spanish or Dutch people: "Die aende Zee-kant woonen, als daer die Portugesen handelen, te weten, Machau ende Canton, is het volck van coluer bruijnachtigh, ghelijck die witte Mooren in Africa ende Barbaria, ende eensdeels die Spaengiaerden, maer die van binnen in 't landt, zijn ghelijck die Neerlanders ende Hooghduytschen, te weten van coluer.<sup>396</sup>". And finally I have found a comparison between the people of the Maldives and the Americas: "waren gheel van couleur als de Bresilianen met lanck hayr tot op de schouderen hanghende.<sup>397</sup>".

<sup>388</sup> Muller, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos*, 178.

<sup>389</sup> Jolinck, *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders* 65.

<sup>390</sup> Idem, 198.

<sup>391</sup> H. Kern, J.C.M. Warnsinck (eds.) *Itinerario* 104.

<sup>392</sup> Van Neck, *De vierde schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië* 194.

<sup>393</sup> Idem, 197.

<sup>394</sup> H. Kern, J.C.M. Warnsinck (eds.) *Itinerario* 104.

<sup>395</sup> Lodewycksz, *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders* 99.

<sup>396</sup> H. Kern, J.C.M. Warnsinck (eds.) *Itinerario* 92.

<sup>397</sup> Jolinck, *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders* 57.

Concluding we can say that the artificial unit of the Orient is sometimes employed in the travel reports for reasons of placing one nation in the scope of Oriental nations, but more often the different nations are compared to each other and as such considered various and differing, and sometimes even similar to Europeans. These similarities are also noted when religious practices are mentioned. The examples of comments on the position of women on the other hand, show a distancing tone when sexual morality and prostitution are mentioned. In these cases, the described practices are examples of the 'otherness' of these nations. The references to existing literature show once more that these travellers were as prepared as they could be, and eager to collect supplementary knowledge to add to the corpus. A lot of knowledge was copied, but as the revealing of some myths by Van Neck shows certainly not all information was taken for granted.

## Conclusion

Having studied the first Dutch travelogues of the first voyages to South- and East-Asia that are written in the late sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries in the past three parts, what can we conclude about the expectations and knowledge the Dutch merchants had collected, the manner in which they communicated with (and wrote about the meetings with) the indigenous peoples they met, and their perception of travelling to the 'Orient' or 'Asia'?

In the first part we have seen that the amount of information that had been collected at the end of the sixteenth century on sea routes to, peoples of and trading opportunities in Asia was considerable. This corpus of texts on these experiences went back to the ancient Romans and Greek, followed by the missionary friars in the twelfth century, and expanded massively during the sixteenth century as more and more European travellers were able to reach Asia by sea. During the fourteenth century Marco Polo had introduced the lay-observer's travel account, and the attention his work received would show the existing interest in Europe for information about this exotic and strange Orient world. Quickly followed by Mandeville's encyclopaedia, a genre was born. The translation and spread through Europe made them available for all literate and interested Europeans who could afford these works.

Secular travellers in the sixteenth century like Varthema, Pires, Barbosa and Ramusio standardized the information they collected, and wrote comprehensive accounts that were partly eye-witnessed and partly gathered from second-hand. The policy of secrecy that started officially in 1504 by a decree of King Manuel, in effort to maintain the monopoly of trade in the maritime Asia, resulted in a stagnation of published accounts on India abroad. For some decades the available sources were thus limited to the ancient writers, medieval travellers, the official announcements from the king and the written and oral reports of merchants, sailors and spies. When the Jesuit letterbooks became systematically published and the control of information became unsustainable because of the rise of Europeans that became involved in the Portuguese spice trade, the ban came to an end and made way for the publication and spread of the works by Castanheda, De Barros and Albuquerque.

During the last decade of the sixteenth century a new genre of travel literature that dealt with Asian religions and idolatry was introduced, and at the same time Dutch and English merchants became interested in exploring Asia themselves. They contributed to the gathering of information on interior routes, marts, products and military activities. Most well-known was the collection of works published by Samuel Purchas and the *Initerario* written by Jan Huygen Van Linschoten. Extensive information on Asia thus became widespread since the second half of the sixteenth century, with the involvement of other Europeans, Jesuits and the ban on the Portuguese secrecy. This information was heavily focused on economic opportunities and Portuguese activities, so a coherent image or stereotype of the Orient was not yet available. However, a negative tone towards the lack of political unity in India and the practiced idolatry can be detected, just as a positive tone

about the habits of the Chinese and their 'whiteness' dominates the Portuguese accounts of the sixteenth century.

Here we move from theory to practice. How did these encounters between Europeans and Asian peoples actually take place? How did the Dutch travellers communicate with these locals and how is this practice described? As we have seen, the first contact was almost never easy, and misunderstandings and suspicion were important themes. Additionally, the Portuguese presence was not limited to the lingua franca they had provided in the region, but proved also a physical threat. Treachery, aggression on the seas and slander were endured by these first Dutch voyages, which often influenced their communication with the locals negatively. I will try and summarize the most important communication strategies and struggles here chronologically.

Almost all studied voyages start in Europe, except for van Wuysthoff and Hamel's journey. This meant they had to pass the Cape of Good Hope and Madagascar and sometimes Mozambique before arriving into Asian waters. This rendered communication problems as well, although Van Spilbergen showed that a little Portuguese was spoken on the coast of Mozambique. Lodewycksz however described the problematic communication with the people from Madagascar that spoke no Portuguese and whose speech he compared to that of the German in the Alps. Generally, at the Cape and on Madagascar gesturing, showing merchandise and presenting gifts was the most practised and successful strategy.

After this challenge, the real thing began. Upon the arrival of Dutch ships in Asian harbours sloops were sent, sometimes with Portuguese-speaking Europeans, to meet the port warden or *Sanbandar* and ask for permission to anchor. In most cases an interpreter was provided by the visited port, and in Thailand and Java the seamen were offered women. In some regions an administrative act is required, which is the case in Thailand, where Van Neck presents the king a certain document with the permission to trade, and in Cambodia and Laos Van Wuysthoff needs to declare his cargo and the number of people on board, as well as sending a letter to the king's court to ask for an invitation. In most cases this leads to a meeting with the king or governor of the region.

Here a great difference between these encounters exists: some kings are eager to please and pamper their visitors, like in Kandy, where the king attempts to learn the Dutch language, in Patani, where elephants take Van Neck to the queen's court, and Jolinck who is showed around on the court on Sumatra. Hamel is entertained at the king's court, although imprisoned. But other rulers are not so enthusiastic about the arrival of the Dutch: in Laos the king is not satisfied with the gift he received, and when the Dutch are invited they have to accustom to local habits when worshipping the king, in Vietnam Van Foreest is taken hostage in exchange for their weaponry, as is Lodewycksz on Java. As to the reception of Pomp and Van Linschoten in China and Japan; we do not know the attitude of the locals towards the (Portuguese) fleets with which they sailed, but we do know that Van Neck was received with hostility at Macao, the sent sloop being murdered. In Japan we have seen that Hamel was received friendly by sailors, but in that period trading relations with Japan were already established.



The language that is used to communicate with the locals is in most cases Portuguese, and it is clear by the reports that there were always some men on board who spoke Portuguese. Some of them spoke Malay as well, as Wuysthoff communicated with a Malay interpreter and Jolinck commented that he spoke Malay with the king. In Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam interpreters were taken along on the trip, being Malay or Chinese. On Java and Sumatra the Dutch were provided a Chinese or local interpreter that acted as a middleman in their communication, and in Korea the importance and value of an interpreter was demonstrated by the appearance of the Dutch shipwrecked *Weltevree*. As to the question whether misunderstandings are reported in the reports; it shows that this was reported honestly. The phrase: "but we could not understand them" is used frequently.

In part three the reports were studied differently, as the descriptions and comments on the encountered peoples and lands were searched for an early "Orientalist" tone. Categorized in four types of comments, it became clear that in two categories roots of this tone could be read. These concerned the comments on women and prostitution, where the writers distanced themselves explicitly from the described practices of 'otherness', and the comparisons made between Asian nations, where they describe the 'Indian' or 'Oriental' type of person. However, it is at the same time remarkable how many comparisons to similar Dutch features were found, and Asian nations were compared to Europeans or South Americans as well.

As the references to other literature show, the task of collecting information was taken seriously and incorrect information was rectified by Dutch travellers. Although the existing body of texts must have influenced and coloured the view of these new travellers, in this period there was clearly still room for adjustment, and presumably the judgements of foreign travellers were taken with a pinch of salt anyway. It is clear however, that the first Dutch connection with the Asian coast influenced later Dutch voyages and their trade, just as the sixteenth-century travelogues and books on Asia had influenced these first contacts.

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