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MALACCA

EREDIA'S MALACCA

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Translated, from the Portuguese, with Notes, by

J. V. Mills, B.A. (Oxon.).

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EREDIA'S
DESCRIPTION OF MALACA,
MERIDIONAL INDIA,
AND
CATHAY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE
WITH NOTES

BY

J. V. MILLS, B.A. (OXON.)

Malayan Civil Service.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Antonio Lourenco Caminha, writing in 1807, quotes from the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* of Diogo Barbosa Machado, "Manoel Godinho de Eredia was a distinguished mathematician: while residing at Goa, capital of the Asiatic Empire, he wrote the History of the Martyrdom of Luiz Monteiro Coutinho (which occurred in the year 1588 on the order of Raiamancor, King of Achem); the book was dedicated to the most illustrious D. Aleixo de Menezes, Archbishop of Braga; the dedication being dated at Goa the 11th November, 1615; it consists of manuscript folios with various illustrations".

Caminha adds, regarding Eredia's REPORT ON THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE, "The present work, of which we possess an old manuscript, we regard as one of the most valuable records in our literature; it was not known to Barbosa or his predecessors, whence the reader may realize its rarity."

At the present day, it is possible to enlarge considerably on this meagre account.

If the Irishism may be permitted, one is tempted to say that the most romantic episode in the life of Eredia lies in the first meeting of his parents-to-be.

Eredia himself recounts the story: how the gallant Juan de Eredia went to the Celebes in the suite of a missionary expedition; how he won the heart of Dona Elena Vessiva, the 15-year-old Bugis princess; how she stowed away on his junk; how the newly-baptized King of Supa, her father, made an armed demonstration on the shore; and how the Administrator in order to avoid a conflict which might have fatal results gave orders for the boats to sail—a proceeding which to-day would have resulted in the appearance of the reverend gentleman before a criminal court.

All ended happily, however: Juan de Eredia 'did the right thing,' he married the girl. This was in 1545: twelve years later the feud with her relations was healed, and friendly intercourse initiated between Malacca and 'Macassar'.

The princess became the mother of four children; a daughter, Anna Godinha de Heredia, and three sons, Father Domingos Godines de Heredia, Master of the episcopal school at Malacca, Father Francisco Godinho Aquaviva, Canon of Malacca, and Manuel Godinho de Heredia Aquaviva, the 'Discoverer' of Meridional India, that nebulous Austral Sphere which Eredia imagined to contain Marco Polo's 'Java Minor.'

The "Descobridor" was born at Malacca on the 16th July, 1563, and received his early education at the College of the Company of Jesus: at the age of 13 he went to Goa and completed his education there.

In 1579 he was received into the order of the Company of Jesus: but in the following year his Superiors bade him farewell in order that his inclination for exploration might be utilized in the service of the State.

After this, he tells us, " he devoted himself to the service of cosmography, with the title of " Cosmographer Major " of the State."

He also taught mathematics for many years; apparently during this period.

He found time, too, to marry a wife, Dona Vilante de Sampaio; and a daughter and a son were born to him in 1587 and 1588.

His most important achievement, however, lay in the preparation of new and up-to-date maps of the Asiatic countries: these maps he submitted to the King of Spain. It is obvious that His Majesty was greatly impressed; for on the 14th February, 1594, he issued an Instruction that Eredia was to effect the discovery of Meridional India: he was given the title of " Adelantado " (Governor General), was made a member of the Order of Christ, and was promised one-twentieth of the revenues which should accrue from the new-found lands, were he to obtain possession of them for the Crown of Portugal, which was held at this period by the King of Spain.

May be there are documents at Lisbon which throw further light on this subject.

But nothing happened for six years. Meanwhile Eredia had not been idle.

During the years 1597—1600 he wrote his REPORT ON THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE wherein, with a few words of tactful flattery, he urges the Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, to despatch him on the voyage of discovery.

He also presses his request in a letter written, it would seem, in 1599 to condole with the Viceroy on the death of his only son—importunity which strikes one as the reverse of tactful.

At last the Viceroy moved.

In 1600 Dom Francisco da Gama commissioned Eredia to undertake the task of exploration in the name of His Majesty.

The succeeding Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha, issued another Commission, which Eredia records in full: in addition to the privileges already mentioned, he is promised that an honourable marriage will be arranged for his daughter should he die after accomplishing the discovery.

So in 1600 Eredia went from Goa to Malacca and there completed his preparations for the southward voyage. He got no further, however: when he was on the point of departure, the General of the South, André Furtado de Mendoza, brought the information that the Dutch were holding the channels leading to the south between the islands on the east of Java.

Moreover, a succession of attacks by the Malays necessitated the retention at Malacca of the military force attached to the expedition.

So Eredia was perforce detained in Malaya: and during the succeeding four years or so performed a considerable amount of useful public service .

At Malacca he was occupied with the fortification and defence of the fortress, and assisted in the routine duties.

In addition, he explored the whole territory between the Muar and Linggi Rivers, and prepared plans showing the results of his discoveries. This work he performed in his capacity of "Descobridor," that is, officer commissioned to organize the work of exploration and discovery.

He also prospected for minerals and found deposits of various metallic ores.

But after 1602 his chief work was connected with naval activity, for which he had at his disposal the whole southern squadron of some 70 armed boats.

One suspects that after Heemskerck had captured the Portuguese ship from China off the Johore Coast in 1603, the Portuguese realized that their bases in the Straits required elaboration.

At any rate, in 1604, Eredia founded the fortress of Muar, and gave orders for the construction of other forts to defend the Straits of Singapore and 'Sabbaó' (now the island of Kundur, close to the Kerimuns).

At the same time he pursued a policy of aggression against the Malays; Johore was blockaded; relief ships were destroyed; Malay villages and orchards were fired; the boats were captured and their occupants killed.

Lastly, he joined General André Furtado de Mendonça in the capture of Kota Batu, the Malay capital of Johore.

There remains to be related the most interesting episode in Eredia's sojourn at Malacca.

Soon after his arrival, in 1601, he met an Alderman of Malacca, one Pedro de Carvalhaes, who told him of a voyage made by Chiaymasiouro, King of Demak in Java, to a southern land called 'Luca Antara'.

A brief description of this country is given in a letter written by Chiaymasiouro to the King of Pahang and in a certificate made by Pedro de Carvalhaes at Malacca on the 4th of October, 1601.

The incident confirmed Eredia's belief in the existence of the southern land, and he accordingly placed it with Marco Polo's Java Minor in his 'Meridional India', hoping to explore it when circumstances might permit.

But in 1605 or thereabouts his constitution broke down; he fell a victim, he tells us, to the malady known as "berebere"; and the General ordered him to return to Goa for the purpose of recruiting his health.

This he was the less disinclined to do because he was unable to acquire of any further information about 'Luca Antara', and the acquire any further information about 'Luca Antara', and the was no nearer fulfilment.

His intention was to return to Malacca with the new Viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro who arrived at Goa in 1604.

However, he was still too ill to travel when the Viceroy left Goa in May, 1606; but the Viceroy promised him a relief galliot for the following spring.

Unfortunately the death of the Viceroy at Malacca at the beginning of 1607 dealt a further blow to his hopes. At this stage Eredia wrote once more to the King of Spain, conveying the information about Chiaymasiouro's voyage to 'Luca Antara': and His Majesty in about 1609 instructed the Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora that arrangements for Eredia's expedition were to be made at once.

The success of Eredia's appeal to the King is the more remarkable because at this very time Quiros at Madrid was also seeking to be placed in charge of an expedition to discover the Austral land, and Quiros, in spite of an interview with His Majesty, was put off from day to day for some 7 years, from 1607 to 1614.

"The minds of Spanish statesmen were beset by the feeling that Spain's day of exploration was done. . . . To whom would this great and golden continent belong? Certainly not to the Spaniards, who now sailed the Pacific in fear of the guns of English and Dutch pirates." This was the crux of the situation: the Portuguese had lost the command of the sea when their Far Eastern fleet was defeated by the Dutch in 1606.

The story of Spanish exploration ends with the voyages of Quiros and Torres in 1606.

Eredia's expedition never eventuated.

But for the present he continued to hope. Nor was the King of Spain the only person to lend him encouragement: the discovery of the Austral land involved the extension of the Christian faith, so Pope Paul the Fifth favoured the undertaking with his approval, and the Insignia of the Order of Jesus, with the rewards of the Order and other favours, were bestowed upon the "Descobridor." Meanwhile Eredia was instructed by the Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora (1609—1612) to explore the district of 'Guzerat': and he drew up plans embodying the results of his surveys.

His heart, however, was still in 'Meridional India': and though the Dutch had discovered the northern coast of Australia in 1606, the discovery was not generally known.

Eredia wished to confirm the account given by Chiaymasiouro in 1601, and being unable to go himself, he adopted the best alternative, he sent someone else. In 1610 he gave secret instructions to a servant of his to join the fishermen on the south coast of Java and go with them to 'Luca Antara'.

This was done; the servant reached 'Luca Antara,' confirmed Chiaymasiouro's description of the country, and wrote to Eredia from Mataram in Java on the 14th of August, 1610. The next Viceroy, Dom Hierome de Azevedo (1612—1617), employed Eredia in prospecting for minerals in the district of Goa.

Eredia now turned his attention to writing.

In 1613 he wrote his DESCRIPTION OF MALACA, in 1615 the History of the Martyrdom of Luiz Monteiro Coutinho, and in 1616 the TREATISE ON OPHIR.

He was now a man of 53, and his dream of exploring the Austral land remained unfulfilled.

Nothing more is known about him.

Only one topic of universal interest presents itself in Eredia's writings; it concerns the identity of his 'Luca Antara' with Australia, and the 'discovery' of this country by Eredia in 1601, that is, 5 years before the Dutch first saw its shores.

Some writers, such as Ruelens, have accepted this identity; others, such as Major, have rejected it. The question, however lies outside the scope of this paper.

The local interest of Eredia's writings is considerable; as the reader will estimate it for himself, one can refrain from further comment, merely remarking that no less than six of Eredia's maps and illustrations have been thought worthy of reproduction in a recent book of more than ordinary merit, Collet's *Terres et Peuples de Sumatra*.

It may be found that Eredia states something not only of interest but of importance: this, however, is a matter for the savant.

The present paper is concerned primarily with the DESCRIPTION OF MALACA. The original document entitled DECLARACAM DE MALACA E INDIA MERIDIONAL COM O CATHAY is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels (No. 7264); it consists of 81 folios, including 56 maps and illustrations. The present English translation is based on the Portuguese transcript in Janssen's *Malaca, l'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay*: his French translation has been of very great help.

It were unbecoming in a mere tyro to criticize Janssen's devoted labours, particularly as they constitute the *fons et origo* of this essay: suffice it to say, then, that the French translation cannot be relied upon as accurate: nor can accuracy be guaranteed for the present careful but undistinguished rendering, since a condition precedent to accuracy is a correct transcription, and it is clear that Janssen was at a loss owing to his ignorance of such words as 'bude' (Malay, 'budi', 'the peepul-tree') and 'curacura' (Malay, 'kura-kura' 'a tortoise'). The present rendering constitutes the first attempt, it is thought, to place Eredia's writings before English readers at any length: and the translator is bound to admit that he is favoured with two advantages; first, there is no other translation (excepting two chapters) with which the rendering would invite unfavourable comparison; secondly, Eredia's reports are written (except for one passage) in much the same revolting jargon as modern English official reports, and the translator has therefore been exempted from the necessity to make an attempt at elegant writing: this is fortunate, for a public servant has little leisure to ponder purple passages.

The question of spelling is tiresome: Asiatic names (except in a few cases) have been reproduced as they appear in the transcript: on the other hand, the translator hesitates to infuriate the gentle reader by writing "Aegipto" or "Phtholemo", and has therefore adopted the conventional English spelling in many instances where there seems no point in adhering to the original: some obvious mislections, too, have been amended: in case, however, the reader should wish to know the exact form which Eredia wrote, the translator adds at the end of this paper a list of the words in which he has deviated from Eredia's spelling.

Following the DESCRIPTION OF MALACA will be found some Notes on points of interest arising in the text. Though a few matters unfortunately remain unexplained, it is hoped that in most cases the Notes contain such information as is essential for understanding of the text, and such references to the most important of recent books and papers as will enable the reader to pursue his subject further. The gentle reader is urged to deal more than gently with these Notes: they have been written under considerable difficulties, and through lack of access to specialist libraries the translator has perforce committed the unpardonable sin of quoting from second-hand authorities. In any case, this first commentary cannot hope to be any less rudimentary than the earliest commentaries on Marco Polo.

But there are two good reasons, in addition to the incompetence of the commentator, why the commentary lacks completeness: first, because particular points have already been discussed at length in previous issues of this Journal, and secondly, because particular subjects lie outside this Branch's territorial sphere of interest.

It is clear, for instance, that Eredia was much interested in the Chinese and their civilization; yet his interest related to many matters which are for us taboo.

A similar sentiment is happily expressed by Hopkins (*The Guide to Kuan Hua*) in phrases too picturesque to blush unseen on Chinese students' dusty shelves, "Whether the Chinese of antiquity said "hwei 7 guk" or "v'an 5 dam"; whence they came—these ancient but objurgatory speakers—from Babylon, from Accad, or Assyria, and who they were, Chaldees or Hittites, Proto-Medians or Ugro-Altaics, the lost Ten Tribes or natives of some old-world Parish of Stepney; whether the *I King* is a phallic gospel or a pocket-dictionary: where in the world Ta Ts' in and T' iao-chih could have been; and precisely how much remains of Lao Tzu after being translated by Balfour and analyzed by Giles—on these and kindred topics the *Kuan Hua Chih Nan* will throw no gleam of light".

J. V. M.

Singapore, 31st December, 1929.

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Acknowledgement of indebtedness to individual gentlemen is made in the body of the paper.

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9. Mr. [Name], [Title], for his kind assistance in the collection of data.

10. Mr. [Name], [Title], for his kind assistance in the collection of data.

1613.

DECLARACAM:

DE: MALACA: E:
INDIA: MERIDIONAL:
COM: O: CATHAY:
EM: iii: TRACT:

ORDENADA:

POR: EMANVEL: GODIN:

HO: DE: EREDIA:

DIRIGIDO: A: S: C: R: M:

DE: D: PHIL: Rey de España. N. S.



1613.

DESCRIPTION

OF

MALACA

AND

MERIDIONAL INDIA

AND

CATHAY

IN THREE TREATISES

COMPOSED BY

EMANUEL GODINHO

DE EREDIA

ADDRESSED TO

HIS CATHOLIC ROYAL MAJESTY

DOM PHELIPPE

King of Spain. Our Sovereign.



TO THE KING OUR SOVEREIGN.

LIB. 1. REG. CAP. 8.

In the first book of Kings we find a statement of the duty which devolves upon a Prince's subjects to render loyal service in order to aid and assist him.

It gives me great pleasure, therefore, to lay at your disposal my treatise on Malaca and its district, and Meridional India, together with accounts of Cathay, and the cause of the fixation and variation of the navigator's needle, and other curious things.

This I now submit to Your Majesty.

As it deals with matters of extra-ordinary importance, may Your Majesty accept this small offering, tendered as it is because of my love for the prosperity and advancement of His States, and because of my affection for His people.

By accepting it, Your Majesty will fire me with resolution to render yet greater services.

May God guard Your Royal person through many happy years to govern His States and to be my protection.

At Goa, the 24th November, 1613.

Your Majesty's faithful servant,

EMANUEL GODINHO DE EREDIA.

TO THE READER.

PLATO. LIB. 31.
DIALOG. 7.

Plato says that in every art the first essential consists in the imitation of former masterpieces.

So I follow in the footsteps of the writers who described the many things which were of pre-eminent interest in their own times.

But present-day knowledge discloses errors in statements which were insistently asserted to be true; not that the authors lacked erudition or ability, but they were much too far away, in Europe and Egypt, to obtain accurate information about the Indias.

So I have been at particular pains to record the necessary facts, and to complete this work in the interests of general utility; not as being more learned or having greater authority to record curious matters, but as having more experience of conditions in the Indias.

I have divided this dissertation according to its subject-matter into 3 parts or treatises; the first deals with Malaca, and its district, and its foundation in the year 1411; the second deals with Meridional India, and the ancient intercourse therewith, and its aromatics which were known in the year 1295; the third deals with Cathay or Attay, and the Chinas, and the empire of Preste Juan, a Christian, who ruled all this portion of the Orient; it also deals with the accounts of Ophir and Tharsis, following the views of Josephus and St. Jerome, and it deals with the reason for the fixation of the navigator's needle, and for its variation from the North.

However grave may be its defects, I pray the reader will be tolerant when he observes them, not condemning my efforts, but accepting my work as designed to stimulate interest and enthusiasm in shedding light on certain things in the world about which our knowledge is all too scanty. Farewell.

PART I.

CONCERNING MALACA

AND ITS DISTRICT.

Table of Chapters in the First Part.

- CHAPTER 1. Concerning the Town of Malaca.
- CHAPTER 2. Concerning the District of Malaca.
- CHAPTER 3. Concerning Tanjon Tuan.
- CHAPTER 4. Concerning the antiquities.
- CHAPTER 5. Concerning the flora.
- CHAPTER 6. Concerning the fauna.
- CHAPTER 7. Concerning the foodstuffs.
- CHAPTER 8. Concerning the wines.
- CHAPTER 9. Concerning the name "Malaio".
- CHAPTER 10. Concerning the armed forces.
- CHAPTER 11. Concerning the fortresses.
- CHAPTER 12. Concerning the commerce.
- CHAPTER 13. Concerning the boats.
- CHAPTER 14. Concerning their occupations.
- CHAPTER 15. Concerning Ganoledan.
- CHAPTER 16. Concerning the Malaio Sea.
- CHAPTER 17. Concerning the nature of the land.
- CHAPTER 18. Concerning the temperate climate.
- CHAPTER 19. Concerning the medicines.
- CHAPTER 20. Concerning the sorceresses.
- CHAPTER 21. Concerning the Maumeth faith.
- CHAPTER 22. Concerning the mines.
- CHAPTER 23. Concerning the waterspout.
- CHAPTER 24. Concerning the bore.
- CHAPTER 25. Concerning Christianity.
- CHAPTER 26. Concerning the Malaio Kings.

(1)

Chapter 1.

(2) CONCERNING THE TOWN OF MALACA.

- (3) (5) "Malaca" means Myrobalans, the fruit of a tree growing along
 (6) the banks of a river called the Aerlele, which flows down from its
 (7) source on the hill of Buquet China to the sea, on the coast of the
 (8) mainland of Ujontana. It was on the south-east side of this stream
 (9) (11) that the Permicuri, first king of the Malayos, founded the town
 (12) called Malaca, so famous throughout the world.

(13) It lies in 2 degrees 12 minutes of north latitude, at the inter-
 (14) section of the meridian and the vertical: it is in the torrid zone, in
 front of the first climate: the longest day is 12 hours 6 minutes.

PTOLEMY. Ptolemy does not mention the name "Malaca":
Cosmographia. it is a modern name given by the abovementioned
 (15) king who founded the town in the year 1411, during the ponti-
 ficate of Juan XXIV, when Dom Juan II was

GARIBAY.
History of the King of Castile and Dom Juan I King of
Popes. Portugal.

(16) Before the foundation of the town, the place was inhabited by
 a fisher-folk, the "Saletes," who gathered in the shade of the
 myrobalan trees.

(17) These fishermen employed pointed darts called "*soligues*,"
 with which they transfix the fish swimming at the bottom of the
 sea: they used no other devices for catching fish. They were a
 wild, cannibal race, who inhabited the coast of Ujontana in the
 southern sea.

- (18) In ancient times the narrow isthmus of dry-land which ran
 (19) from the promontory of Tanjontuan (now called Caborachado) and
 (20) (21) joined the other promontory of Tanjonbalvala in Samâtta (corruptly
 Samâttra), extended between two seas, one on the north and the
 other on the south.

(22) It was by this corridor that the natives from the mainland of
 Ujontana crossed over to Samâtta (which means 'Peninsula' or
 'Chersonese'), called by Ptolemy "Golden Chersonese": we shall
 discuss this later.

- (23) (24) Permicuri selected this spot in the interests of his own safety,
 for he stood in fear of the ruler of Pam, overlord of the countries
 of Ujontana, who was making warlike preparations to capture him,
 in consequence of the treachery which Permicuri had perpetrated
 (25) (26) in Sincapura, when he assassinated the "*Xabandar*," who was related
 to the lord of Pam, despite the kindness which the "*Xabandar*"
 had shown at his house in Sincapura, when Permicuri took refuge
 (27) (28) there in his flight from his father-in-law the Emperor of Java Major.

[Translator's Note.—The figures in the margin refer to the Notes which
 appear on p. 85 *et sqq.*]

So Permicuri fortified himself on the crest of the hill, where he was safe and free from the fear of being taken and killed. Moreover, he employed the greatest industry and energy in extending the town on both sides of the river: and he developed his new state by establishing commerce and traffic with the surrounding peoples who all came to the port for the shad-fishery, since the roes or "*turubos*" pickled in brine formed a highly-esteemed dish. (29)

Then, when the port was open and frequented, merchants from Choromandel had recourse to it, especially the Chelis with their cloths. (30) (31)
(32)

These people assisted in attracting the strangers from the surrounding islands, who peopled the port and popularized it, bringing their merchandise and exchanging their gold and spices for cloths.

This trade made Malaca one of the richest and most opulent States in the world.

For at this time the natives owned many "*bâres*" of gold: and this prosperity continued throughout the reigns of Permicuri's successors and descendants. (33)
(34)

Permicuri was succeeded in order by Xaquemdarxâ, Soltan Medafarxâ, Soltan Marsuse, Soltan Alaudim, and lastly Soltan Mahameth who was overcome by Affonço de Albuquerque.

The latter conquered the state of Malaca a little more than 100 years after its foundation, on the 15th of August, 1511. (35)

After conquering the town of Malaca, the invincible captain built a stone and mortar fort at the bottom of the hill, almost along the edge of the sea-shore, on the south-east of the river mouth, on the same spot where Soltan Mahameth had his palaces and kept the treasures with which he retired up the river into the Hinterland.

He passed over to Pam on the other side of the peninsula, and thence to Bintam where he gathered strength to undertake expeditions against the fortress of Malaca. (36)
(37)

After the fortress had been finished and stood complete with its artillery and garrison of soldiers, it created among the Malayos a feeling of intense dread and astonishment which lasted permanently to the great credit and honour of the Crown of Portugal.

For though the fortress was attacked time and again by the Malayo Kings and by other neighbouring peoples, it always proved victorious. (38)
(39)

The fortress was in shape a quadrilateral, of which each side measured 10 fathoms: its height was 40 fathoms: on the east there was a circle formed by walls of stone and mortar: there was a well in the middle: so that in times of disturbance or war, the people with their supplies could take refuge inside the circle of the protecting walls. The castle or tower was as high as the hill. (40)
(41)

It was not built on the top of the hill because it was preferable to place it at the foot, right on the sea, where it could easily be reinforced in time of war.