Rediscovered after more than three centuries: Pieter van den Broecke’s original Resolutieboeck concerning Dutch trade in North-West India, Persia and Southern Arabia, 1620-1625* by C. G. Brouwer

The time has passed that only a select group of Dutch historians were using the documents transmitted in the archive of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, i.e. ‘United East India Company’) for the sake of their research on the history of the remaining Dutch colonies in South-East Asia (present-day Indonesia). The great importance of these records for the socio-economic and, to a lesser degree, political historiography of the countries bordering on the Pacific and Indian Ocean during the 17th and 18th centuries is now recognized by Western and Asian scholars alike¹. As manifold as they are with respect to their form — letters, resolutions, contracts, logs, inventories, bills etc. —, so various their content proves to be: not only do they elucidate the Dutch commercial activities in Asian waters but also they contain a fund of valuable information about the Asian and European competitors — Chinese, Indians, Arabs, English and Portuguese —, about trade routes, products, markets, ports, shipping movements etc. That these records are remnants of the historical process itself and not merely historiographic writings; that they have come down to us in quantities — the biggest collection, the one kept in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA, i.e. ‘General State Archives’) in The Hague, takes up almost 1300 running metres of shelves’ length¹² —; that they have been preserved in their original organic cohesion instead of constituting only a heap of dissimilar papers originating from various instances, dealing with unrelated subjects and produced at different times and places; that they are for the most part in good material condition, administered by capable keepers in freely accessible public buildings: these are all circumstances that lend a peculiar value to the Dutch documentary sources. For most of the transmitted Asian sources can only partially fulfill these conditions, if at all.

The Company’s domain of trade also included, from the early 17th until far into the 18th century, north-western India (Gujarat), Persia and the Yemen. The man who was responsible for establishing the Dutch trade in these Westerkwartieren (i.e. ‘Western Districts’), is Pieter van den Broecke (Antwerp 1585-Malacca 1640). Trained in Amsterdam, he entered the service of the VOC as an opperkoopman (i.e. ‘upper-merchant’) in 1613. After having led three voyages to Southern Arabia and North-West India in the years 1614-1617 to explore the trading possibilities along those coasts, he was appointed the first director of the Company’s factory in Surat, in 1620. This position he occupied until 1628. Under his supervision were not only the head-office but also some branch-offices in the Indian hinterland, in Ahmadabad and Agra, as well as the factory at ‘Gamron’ or Bandar ‘Abbás, and the Arabian trading post in al-Mukhā³.

What has been said before about the Company’s records in general applies also to the documents originating from or dealing with these western factories: transmitted in huge masses, they offer a wealth of valuable data about Dutch commerce in the Arabian Sea as well as Indian, Persian and Arabian trade and navigation, production and consumption, political and military situation etc. Terpstra was the first historian who, in 1918, extensively made use of these sources for his analysis of the establishment of the Dutch commercial relations with the region as a whole⁴. In the field of Indian studies he was followed by researchers like Moreland, Radwan, Gokhale and Van Santen⁵, whilst historians like Dunlop, Meilink-Roelofsz, Steensgaard and Floor contributed to Persian historiography⁶. The Dutch records were introduced relatively late in the study of early 17th-century Yemenite history: in a series of publications since 1978 I drew attention to them and demonstrated their value⁷. Indeed, their value is hardly to be overestimated in view of the present situation which is characterized by the nearly total lack of available Ottoman and Arabic documents, as pointed out by Ozbaran, Blackburn, Sàlim and myself⁸.

Are these Dutch records a real gold mine, then, for the historian who is devoting himself to the study of the socio-economic past of Gujarat, Persia and the
III. 1. *Pieter van den Broecke*. Portrait by Frans Hals (Antwerp 1581/5 - Haarlem 1666), 1633. Oil on canvas, 71.2 x 61 cm. London, The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood. Cf. sub n. 3. — His right hand leaning upon his staff of command, and wearing the golden chain he was rewarded with by the Company’s Directors, the *opperkoopman* proudly poses as the Admiral of the Dutch homeward-bound fleet of seven East Indiamen which, loaded with a rich cargo, safely arrived in Holland, mid-1630. On board one of these ships was Eva Ment, the late Governor-General Coen’s widow.
Yemen? Yes, indeed, but as the digger's avarice exceeds the output of his gold vein, so the historian's desire reaches beyond the extant documents: thousands have been transmitted in the Company's archive, these are all 'natural' causes of their getting lost. Disasters, acts of war, fires, theft, gluttonous vermin: it is true, but thousands too have got lost! Shipping considered to be devoid of any actual importance were in a great number of financial documents then another mishap too: in the beginning of the 19th century a history of the Dutch documents is, therefore, the history of their getting lost... How painful and deplorable the losses in fact are, can be demonstrated in a concrete instance.

By order of Governor-General Gerard Reijnst and under the special instructions of Jan Pietersz. Coen, Van den Broecke made in 1615-1616 his second voyage to Southern Arabia and North-West India, as commander of the jacht Nassau. The ship left Bantam on 22 September 1615 and arrived at al-Mukhá on 25 January 1616. From 21 April to 24 May the captain undertook a journey to the court of Dja'far Báshá in San'á, a mission doomed to failure as the Ottoman beglerbegi was not entitled to permit the Dutch to establish a permanent factory in the port without having received a special firman from the Sultan in Istanbul. On 7 July the jacht weighed anchor, shaping its course to Surat that was reached on 2 August. By way of Malabar the ship finally returned in Bantam's roads on 18 November. Elsewhere I gave a detailed description of this important voyage of exploration, paying attention to its diplomatic, naval and commercial aspects, to which analysis I may refer the reader here. Regarding the sources on which I based my study and which were transmitted in Dutch archives and libraries, one can observe the following.

Out of a number of 65 texts, 58 relate directly or indirectly to the Nassau's expedition in 1615-1616 and its aftermath, the obtaining of the Sultan's decree in 1618. Far more documents, however, must have been in existence at the time; several of them are explicitly mentioned in the records that have come down to us, but are not to be found in the archives and libraries. To these lost though mentioned documents belong such important ones as Coen's instruction to Van den Broecke, [after (?) 11 September 1615], his commission, [between 11 and 22 September 1615], as well as his order to the same, 1 December 1616, thus comprising the specification of the captain's duties, his appointment and discharge!

As few as eleven texts are extant originating from Dutch, Arab and Ottoman participators in the Arabian events, either during or after the voyage of the jacht: seven in the VOC collection, two in the archive of the States-General (kept in the ARA), one in the University Library at Leiden, and one, being a printed book, in several public libraries. The two last-mentioned texts cannot be considered real documents, whilst both reports kept in the States-General files constitute an intrinsic part thereof. One may come across explicit references, however, to at least twelve (or nine) other documents which until now could not be discovered in any files or library, viz.:

1) [Arabic] letters of recommendation from 'those of al-Shihir' [i.e. from 'Abd Alláh bin 'Umar bin Badr Abi Tuwayryik] in favour of the Dutch, al-Shihir. [before (?)] 14 January 1616
2) Spanish letter from Hasan Ağhá to Van den Broecke, al-Mukhá, 25 January 1616
3) [Spanish] letter of favour from Hasan Ağhá to Van den Broecke, al-Mukhá, 27 January 1616
4) letter from Jan Ewoutssen Prins to Van den Broecke, Hudyada. [before (?)] 2 February 1616
5) [Arabic or Turkish] 'Firman or letter of credence' [i.e. amán] from Dja'far Báshá to the Ottoman governors, in favour of Van den Broecke's company, San'á, [before 21 April 1616]
6) [Arabic or Turkish or Spanish] "contract " by Dja'far Báshá in favour of the Dutch, San'á, [16 May 1616]
7) [Gujaratí] letters of recommendation from the son of Surat's governor to his father, al-Mukhá, [before 7 July 1616]
8) various depositions by Van den Broecke et al. as to Prins's misbehaviour, al-Mukhá, [before 7 July 1616]
9) inventory of sold commodities by [Van den Broecke], [before 15 December 1616]
10) the wages-sheets of the deceased members of the crew, [before 15 December 1616]
11) their last wills, [before 15 December 1616]
12) 'the ship's books of the jacht Nassau', both the originals and the copies.

In addition to these mentioned but lost documents several others can safely be presumed to have existed at that time, viz.:
13) the official log kept by Van den Broecke
14) the same kept by Prins as commander of the seized Selon
15) the resolution-book of the Ship's Council
16) letters from Van den Broecke to Prins (in Hudyada).

One may conclude, therefore, that against seven documents produced by participators in the Arabian events and actually transmitted in the VOC archive, at least sixteen (or thirteen) mentioned or unmentioned documents that were to be found in these files, are now lost, that is to say over two-thirds of all records existing at the time!

It will be clear that this alarming state of sources considerably increases the importance both of the texts
Ill. 2. Van den Broecke. *Resolutieboeck* (ARA, 1st Afd., Aanw. 1984, No. 6), f. 1r.
311 x 196 mm.: title-page. Cf. p. 69.
that have come down to us outside the VOC archive and of the documents originating from non-participators who either were orally informed about Arabian affairs or had at their disposal records now lost. As regards the former, the MS in the keeping of the Leiden University Library proves to be Van den Broecke’s personal journal, covering the period 1605-1629.34. Collation of the official log kept during his first voyage to Arabia and India, 2 August - 30 December 1614, which forms part of the VOC files with the corresponding fragment in this Leiden MS, leads to the conclusion that the two texts are almost identical. If one is allowed to extend this conclusion to the MS as a whole, one may maintain that the historian, although he unfortunately does not have at his disposal the official logbook of the Arabian voyage in 1615-1616, has nevertheless found a reliable substitute. The account of events, moreover, that is contained in the captain’s journal, can easily be supplemented by data from his Korte Historiael published in 1634.35.

A final comment on the extant source texts for the Nassau’s expedition should be made here. Whereas the five documents that can be ascribed to non-Dutch participators originate from five distinct persons, both Ottomans and Arabs — viz. Dja far’s Secretary, Mimi bin Abd Allàh, Hasan Ághà, Ibráhim and Nür al-Din —, all other texts, numbering six, are in the name of one single Dutch witness, the commander Van den Broecke. The historian, therefore, should exercise the greatest caution in interpreting the captain’s information, which may be insufficiently counter-balanced by statements made by other Dutchmen.

The findings concerning the extant, or rather lost, source materials produced by the careful analysis of the Nassau’s voyage in 1615-1616, are affirmed by the study of the expedition of the ship ‘t Wapen van Zeelandt to the same coasts some years afterwards, in 1620: many valuable documents that certainly did once exist, are not to be found in the files.36 Sometimes even, the records were already missing at the time shortly after their being issued. This was the case with the above mentioned ‘ship’s books of the jacht Nassau’: in the middle of 1619 Van den Broecke informed Bewinthebbers (i.e. ‘Directors’) that these books had been recovered ‘here’, i.e. in Bantam, and that he was sending enclosed a copy, intending to carry the original with him as soon as he would return to Holland. It is a pity that, although he was repeating these remarks twice, in letters dating from the beginning and the end of 1620, neither the copies nor the original were ever found in the archive...39 In a letter addressed to Van den Broecke’s successor in Surat, Jan van Hasel, the head of the Dutch factory in al-Mukhà, Willem de Milde, complained that during the capture of Ta’izz by Hasan bin al-Kàsim, 4 June 1629, he was not only robbed of his clothes but also of ‘all [of his] books, letters, papers, bills, receipts, instructions, journals and what have you’.40 A terrible loss, indeed, not only for the poor upper-merchant and his Company, but also for anyone studying the history of the Yemen.

Finally, although the Dutch documents, which constitute extremely valuable source material for Asian historiography, may impress by their quantity, cohesion, completeness and wholeness, one nevertheless must concede that the VOC archive presents serious gaps. The historian, therefore, who is well aware of these short-comings, will greatly rejoice at the rediscovery of documents thought to be lost. Thus, both Coelhoaas’s discovery, about 1962, and my rediscovery in 1978 of the so-called ‘Portengen-MS’ were a lucky strike for all those concerned with research on economic and maritime conditions prevailing in the north-western part of the Indian Ocean during the first decades of the 17th century.

The MS in question was a transcription into ‘modern’ orthography by a certain Rapper, made in 1848, of an original book of resolutions dating from the early 17th century that then vanished without leaving a trace. This copy, which was in 1978 in the custody of Dr. A. J. Portengen (The Hague), proved to contain no less than 81 resolutions made on board various ships as well as in the Company’s factory at Surat, by Van den Broecke and his Councillors, during the years 1620-1625. Other text-versions of only ten of these resolutions had come down to us in the VOC files; careful collation of these versions with the corresponding ones in the newly discovered MS led to the conclusion that the 19th-century transcriber had produced a fairly reliable text, although it must be emphasized that only a well initiated historian can fruitfully consult it.

Miss Portengen, in female line belonging to the Van den Broecke family, allowed the archaeologist, Dr. J. Ch. W. Verstege (The Hague), to make a microfilm and a photocopy of the MS, which were afterwards deposited in the files under the mark ‘I” Afdeling, Aanwinsten”. Before long the MS itself passed into the hands of Mr. Verstege, after the decease of Miss Portengen in February 1979. Fearing that it might disappear from sight in an evil hour, I added a detailed material description of the MS to the story of its rediscovery, published in 1982, a description based on the manuscriptological examination I had executed in 1978.

The Portengen-MS now having become generally available for scientific research, proved to be of priceless value. I could already demonstrate its wealth of maritime and economic data as far as the Dutch-Yemenite trade relations are concerned. Also in a study by Kolff and Van Santen, devoted to the Dutch activities in the Indian region, the MS was used in a fruitful way.

Might it seem that Clio’s favours were by now exhausted, the following events proved the opposite to be true!
III. 3. Van den Broecke, Resolutieboeck (ARA, 1e Afd., Aanw. 1984, No. 6), f. 4r, 311 x 196 mm.; resolution made by Pieter van den Broecke et al., on board the ship 't Wapen van Zeeland in Aden's roads, 22 Aug. 1620 (fragm.). Contains the specification of the Dutch present to the sandjakbegi. Cf. Brouwer, 'Voyage', p. 22, and Bräwir & Kabláníyân, Yaman, No. 10°.
dated 16 October 1983, from Prof. Dr. G. Giesberger (Aerdenhout), former *bijzonder hoogleraar* (i.e. ‘private professor’) of Tropical Botany at the University of Amsterdam. The content of this letter, that caused me great excitement, can be summarized as follows:

The writer was the son-in-law of the late Mrs. J.C. van Beusekom-Van den Broeke, a lineal descendant of Pieter van den Broeke’s younger brother Gilliam [Hamburg 1596 - Amsterdam 1669]. The estate of Horssen (near Druten, in the Land van Maas en Waal, Holland) of which she had been the owner, was sold some time after the death of her husband, on which occasion the furniture was divided among their four children [1981]. On the eldest son, Mr. E. van Beusekom (Zeist), devolved, among other things, the family archive consisting of books and documents. This archive was moved to the writer at a later date [1983] with the request of drawing an inventory of the transmitted records and of advising an appropriate destination.

This request was directed to the right person, indeed! The writer had an intimate knowledge of the family archive from the time of his prolonged stay at the country-seat in 1966. He had become interested in the life of Pieter van den Broeke not only as his wife, Mrs. M. P. Giesberger-Van Beusekom, was a member in the *voc.* but also because the *opperkoopman* had been the first Dutchman to describe coffee as a stimulant and palm-oil as a food. This interest had gradually widened to the whole Van den Broecke family and had resulted, finally, in systematical genealogical investigations with a view to reconstructing the family’s pedigree over the entire period ranging from the end of the 16th until the 20th century. A short time ago [14 October 1983] he happened to meet, to his astonishment and delight, another investigator of the estate of Mrs. J.C. IIROUWER: RESOLUTIONS

On 21 October, at Mr. Giesberger’s, I could only affirm that the opinions advanced in my host’s letter were fully correct: I was holding in my hands, indeed, an entirely perfect copy of Pieter van den Broeke’s book of resolutions, dating from the early 17th century. Even more: not a transcription made at the time by some professional Company’s clerk, but the unique original, full of resolutions in a multiplicity of writing-hands and bearing the very signatures of President and Councillors! Not only the *opperkoopman’s* log, therefore, had come down to us outside the official Company’s files ...

Regarding the two 19th-century transcriptions preserved in the family archive I could observe the following. The one, in folio, identically bound as the original MS, unfoliated and undated, bears at the end of the last resolution-text the initials of its transcriber: *GvdB.* undoubtedly to be identified as Guillam van den Broeke (Jutphaas 1829 - Utrecht 1898). The other, in quarto, in a limp paper cover with cloth spine, unfoliated too, has on its front fly-leaf the name: P. H. C. van den Broeke, with the infrascriptum: *April 1873.* One may reasonably suppose that Pieter Hendrik Cornelis van den Broeke (Voorthuizen 1826 - Oudenrijn 1881)52. Guillam’s elder brother, made this copy in April 1873. Both MSS bear an identical inside title, although distributed over the lines in a slightly different way, viz.: *Het Dagboek van P. van den Broeke inhoudende de besluiten genomen gedurende de jaren 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625.* (i.e. ‘The diary [sic]’ of P. van den Broeke containing the resolutions made during the years 1620, (...) 1625’). Leaving aside some minor slips of the pen, the text-versions offered by these two copies are absolutely identical and, even more important, they correspond word for word with the Rapper-redaction. Although now devoid of any value as a result of the discovery of the original 17th-century text, the three ‘modern’ transcriptions nevertheless provide us with some relevant clues to the provenance of the former, its material appearance and even its content.

Rather excited, I must confess, I took some provisional manuscriptological notes of the original book. I asked Mr. Giesberger to try to induce his brother-in-law to present this valuable MS to the *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, there it would be kept competently and safely, brought back into its original setting, and put at the disposal of interested historians. He then allowed me to offer the Archives a prospect of official donation, be it on acceptable terms for the family. The same evening I informed Dr. M.E. van Opstall, *charter-meester* (i.e. ‘keeper of records’) of the ‘First Department’ of the *ARA* of this kind offer, who was, of
III. 4. Van den Broecke, Resolutieboeck (ARA, 1e Afd., Aanw. 1984, No. 6), f. 17r, 311 x 196 mm.: resolution made by Pieter van den Broecke et al., on board the ship Sampson in Souhali’s roads, 21 Oct. 1621. Deals with the release of about 70 Indians taken captives by captain Jan van der Burch off the South-Arabian coast, Aug.-Sept., as well as with the way in which the prize-money that had disappeared in the sailors’ pockets could be regained. Cf. Brouwer, ‘De Milde’, pp. 715-717 (doc. No. 8).
course, very pleased and promised to give all necessary co-operation.

Before long, on 22 December, I had the opportunity of examining for the second time the original MS and of making a transcription of a resolution I intended to incorporate in the Arabic source publication I was preparing then concerning the 17th-century economic history of the Yemen. Annotating this resolution, I gave the discovery of the MS to the world, providing the reader at the same time with a material description in outline.

Finally, on 11 April 1984, the official transfer of the original book of resolutions took place in the new buildings of the ARA. The owner, Mr. Van Beusekom, accompanied by Mr. Giesberger, handed the MS solemnly over to the acting Director of the Archives, Dr. B.J. Slot, who was seconded by Miss Van Opstall; I myself was present as an invited person. Mr. Van Beusekom was given an official document testifying to the act of transfer; he was promised within a short time to give the discovery of the MS to the world, providing the reader at the same time with a material description in outline.

The original book of resolutions, now being deposited in the ARA under the record-mark '18' Afdeling, Aanwinsten 1984, nr.6, can be described with regard to material form and content as follows.

The book is a paper MS, being in excellent condition, in spite of numerous damp stains and some small inkblots; there are almost no tears or marginal damages to be discerned. Only ff.1r (twice as thick) and 43v show considerably more blots and stains, being also rather smudged; the latter's under-edge has been pasted, with the caption in ink in a 19th-century hand: Resolutie Boek. / van den Jaere 1620-1624. / (i.e. 'Book of resolutions from the year [sic] 1620-1624'). A small and mutilated piece of red-speckled paper, undoubtedly dating from before the 19th century but presumably not forming part of the original MS, has separately been preserved in the family archive too: it has been added to the MS after having been subjected to 'cast leaving' in the ARA; its superscriptum in ornamental letters runs: Resolutie Boeck / Vanden Jaere 1620 tot 1624.

As to the content of the book:

Ruling is lacking, on each page there are two marginal lines either in ink or in pencil, with the exception of ff.1r, 1v, 43v, 50r and 50v. The outer margins measure 25 to 30 mm., the inner ones ±10 mm.; whilst the head margin takes up 10 to 25 mm., the tail margin varies considerably: sometimes the text reaches the edge of the paper, in other cases there is much blank space left under a resolution's text. The number of lines on each page varies accordingly; if the text runs uninterruptedly, one finds 33, 39, 41, 42 or even 47 lines a page. Seldom has the series of signatures being left blank. The title runs as follows: Resolutie / boeck van den Commandeur I P. vanden Broecke / Vorulert Jaere 1620 tot 1624.

The sorts of ink that were used vary from deep black to light brown. Many distinct hands can be discerned, most of them neat, all of them clearly legible. Occasionally one comes across marginal corrections (e.g. f.15r), interlinear ones (e.g. f.37r), deletions (e.g. f.15r) sometimes combined with superscript or marginal corrections (e.g. ff. 30v and 24v resp.).

The text has been distributed over the folios in this way: ff.1r (title), 2r-43r, 44r-50v, the ff.1v and 43v being left blank. The title runs as follows: Resolutie boeck vanden Commandeur / P. vanden Broecke / Anno 1620. / The MS contains 88 resolutions, made by President Pieter van den Broecke and an ever changing number of his Councillors (among them famous personalities as Francisco Pelsaert, Wolebrant Geleinsen de Jongh et al., on board various Company's ships as well as in the Dutch factory at Surat, during the...
Ill. 5 and 6. Van den Broecke, Resolutieboeck (ARA, 1st Afd., Aanw. 1984, No. 6), ff. 45v-46r, 311 x 196 mm.: resolution made by Pieter van den Broecke et al., in the Dutch factory at Surat, 28 Oct. 1624. Cf. pp. 72-73.
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1. Dat diert geen nimmer eindigt noch begint, noch onder wordt afgekondigd, en dat dus is, dat de procedures volstaan.

2. Dat het geen enkel gegeven oorsprong vindt, waarbij onder wordt afgekondigd, en dat dus is, dat de procedures volstaan.

3. Dat het geen enkel gegeven oorsprong vindt, waarbij onder wordt afgekondigd, en dat dus is, dat de procedures volstaan.
period 19 June 1620 - 23 April 1625. The incipit (f.2r) says: Vrijdaech naer middach den 19de Junis anno 1620 ( ... ); the explicit (f.50v): ( ... ) Ingaeande van p't homme Jannewarij lestleden als wanneer / i'voorschreven ampt heeft bedient / [here follow nine signatures, the last of which is.] Jacob Mahieuws. One should observe that the last resolution-text (ff.49v-50v) dates from 19 April 1625. F.43, with on its recto-side the resolution 23 April 1624 and with its strongly smudged blank verso-side, being pasted on to f.44r, has to be considered, however, the original last leaf of the last section; the year 1624 should therefore be read '1625'. This removal undoubtedly took place after Rapper finished his transcription in 1848, as both his copy and the two dependent 19th-century transcriptions end with this resolution dating from the 23rd of April. The false date induced the binder(?) to insert the presumably already loose leaf between ff.42v and 44r, containing the resolutions from 21 March 1624 and 22 May 1624 resp.

Regarding the provenance of the Resolutieboek I consider the following reconstruction to be the most probable: the book came, in some way or another (by purchase or inheritance?), into the hands of Pieter van den Broecke (Amsterdam 1797 - Jutphaas 1869); it was inherited by his eldest son Pieter Hendrik Cornelis (Voorthuizen 1826 - Oudenrijn 1881), who left it to his second son Pieter Hendrik (Herwen-en-Aerdt 1854 - Oudenrijn 1922), who left it to his daughter Johanna Christina (Oudenrijn 1887 - Amsterdam 1951)62, who finally left it to her eldest son, E. van Beusekom (Zeist). Until 15 April 1981 the MS was kept at the estate of Horsen (that was sold shortly afterwards), until some time in January 1983 at Van Beusekom's in Zeist, then alternately at the house of Mr. Giesberger in Aerdenhout and in the strong-room of the Algemeene Bank Nederland in Heemstede64, and since 11 April 1984 in the ARA, The Hague. This reconstruction is based, as far as the first-mentioned owner is concerned, on the anonymous note on the cover of Rapper's transcription which runs as follows: dit Boek is een Copy van het originele / toe behorende aan de Heer Pieter / van den Broeke geschoren [sic] in oud schrift / en in tegenswoordig schrift voor myne rekening / overgebracht door DEede Rapper A° 1848. / (i.e. this book is a copy of the original one belonging to Mr. Pieter van den Broeke, written in old orthography by the honourable Rapper anno 1848)65. A final remark is due here on the above-mentioned descendants of the Van den Broeke family, who were successively the owners of original and copies alike: most of them were wealthy, being merchants, insurers, silk-manufacturers, brickyard-owners or landed proprietors; some of them took a passionate interest in old books, prints, maps and documents, often combined with genealogical curiosity. This curiosity no doubt was resulting from family-pride aroused by such publications as Weeda's hagiography of the upper-merchant Pieter van den Broecke (1845)66.

The importance of the three 19th-century transcriptions has, as I observed above, been minimalized by the discovery of the original Resolutieboek. It makes sense notwithstanding to test the conclusion I earlier arrived at as to the reliability of the Portengen-MS by comparing it now with the original, while this copy has been used as a source in some recent publications67. Well now, irrespective of its 19th-century orthography, manifest slips of the pen, misreadings resulted from insufficient familiarity with script, language and subject-matter of the exemplar, the Rapper-transcription proves to be, indeed, a fairly reliable reflection of the original text68. The following observations are due here.

The transcriber often leveled down the closing clauses of the resolutions, reducing e.g. Aldus gedaen / op de Reede van Southli actum Alsvooren / to the mere Als boven. It is he, as I supposed, who inserted the official formula (W.get.), for the exemplar contains the original signatures69. All observed chronological divergences turn out to be present also in the exemplar70. The one resolution included by Rapper which proved to be lacking in the series of resolutions transmitted in the ARA, is met with in the Resolutieboek too71, whilst the two extant ARA-resolutions missing in the Rapper-copy do not occur in the exemplar either72. Some serious errors in chronology, however, were made by the transcriber: the resolution dating from the 1st of December 1620 was actually made on the 7th, the one from the 6th of July on the same day in June. The resolution dated by Rapper on 35 December 1622 was written down, as was to be expected, on 25 December73. Finally one has to point to some really grave imperfections: no less than seven resolutions contained in the Resolutieboek were omitted by the transcriber, viz. those dated 16 and 18 November 1620, 15 December 1621, 30 January, 12 March and 27 August 1622, and 28 October 1624. So the discovery of the Resolutieboek does not only give us back the original versions of resolutions we had at our disposal already in a 19th-century transcription, but offers also seven entirely unknown texts!

I have indicated elsewhere in detail how much value should be attached to the Dutch resolutions for the study of the early 17th-century economic and maritime history of the countries bordering on the Arabian Sea74. Nevertheless I would like to conclude by illustrating that value once more using one of those seven newly discovered texts, viz. the resolution made at the Dutch factory in Surat on 28 October 1624 by Pieter van den Broecke and thirteen of his Councillors, among whom was Albert Becker, well acquainted with South-Arabian affairs75.

The President puts the following question to his Council: Would it be advisable to send the jacht Weesp alone to al-Mukhā, after its planned participation in the Dutch fleet's operations against the Portuguese near Muscat and voyage to Persia ..., or would it be
preferable to let return it, together with the ship Dordrecht, to Holland, both loaded with the return-cargo? Not referred to in the resolution though forming its real background is the very serious conflict that ever since 1621 had been confusing Dutch-Ottoman relations in the wilāya of Yemen, as an outcome of the treacherous seizure by the Dutch of five Indian merchants off the South-Arabian coast. The most recent tidings in Surat from the imprisoned head of the Dutch trading post in al-Mukhā, Willem de Milde, were very bad both concerning the Dutch-Ottoman entanglements and the general trade situation in the sea port...76.

After ample deliberations the Board finally decides to send the Weesp back to patria, on the following grounds: a small ship like the Weesp cannot sail to the Red Sea without incurring serious risks. The Gujarati merchants, moreover, whose ships will call at al-Mukhā’s port this trading season, will certainly be able to carefully observe the prevailing commercial conditions as well as business prospects: on the basis of their information, that the Dutch hope will be more positive than the ill tidings already received, one may undertake an expedition to the Yemen in the next monsoon. Besides, the homeward cargo should be collected now, whilst its transport by two ships instead of one is to be considered more safe in these troubled times of war — the Twelve Years’ Truce between the Dutch Republic and Spain had only recently, in 1621, expired! ...

Thus it was no accident, indeed, that during the commercial season of 1625, from the beginning of February until mid-August, no Dutch ship whatsoever put into the harbour of al-Mukhā. This would cause the beglerbegi Haydar Bàshá to write a letter to the Dutch Captain in Surat, in July 1625, urging him to send his ships again to the hospitable Yemenite shipping port...77.

The archive of the voc, who would dare deny it, is rich in documents elucidating the socio-economic, maritime and political history of 17th- and 18th-century Asia. It is peculiarly rich too in materials concerning trade and navigation of Arabs, Persians and Indians alike in the north-western corner of the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately its richness is equalled by its poverty: whereas quantities of records have come down to us, masses were also lost, having perished or having been purposefully annihilated. In some cases, even important ones, over two-thirds of the documents existing at the time, as can be demonstrated without any difficulty, have vanished...

Not all records that seem to be lost, however, have in reality disappeared from the earth. Sometimes, in unsuspected places and as a result of quirks of fate, or let us rather say: manoeuvres of Clio, documents are rediscovered, to the great joy of the historian. Such paper children, thought to be lost for ever, are returning then into their paternal family, the hospitable voc files, cherished as never before, favoured above their brothers and sisters, the homebirds. In this way the Portengen-MS was welcomed into the General State Archives, some years ago. In this way too, with more pomp and festivity even, Pieter van den Broecke’s Resolutieboeck, containing almost a hundred valuable source texts, was recently received, after it had tramped for over three centuries along mostly unknown roads. Which documents will follow? Those of which Willem de Milde was robbed at the capture of Ta’izz in 1629, after having slumbered under the dust, utterly forgotten, in a Yemenite home-library for more than four centuries?

POSTSCRIPT

In the spring of 1986 a fourth supplement was added to Giesberger, Concept-genealogie (cf. sub n. 45): d. Correcties en aanvullingen i z genealogie Van den Broeke: 3de lijst. On the ground of this supplement, Oudenrijn, mentioned as the place of Pieter Hendrik’s death in 1922 (cf. p. 67), should be changed into Utrecht. Finally, according to Mr. Giesberger’s letter dated 21 March 1986, the Concept-genealogie will be published in Nederland’s Patriciataat, in 1987/1988.

NOTES

Remark. ‘Modern’ foliation/pagination in pencil, the foliation in the Resolutieboeck excepted, is indicated by an asterisk; e.g. f. 13v*.

*I am particularly grateful to Professor G. Giesberger (Aardenhout) who did not only put me on the track of Van den Broecke’s Resolutieboeck, but also extended me hospitality and overwhelmed me, orally and in writing, with valuable data on the MS and the Van den Broecke family alike. I should like to express once more my gratitude to Mr. E. van Beusekom (Zeist) for his willingness to present the MS, in the interest of historical research, to the Algemeen Rijksarchief. I am indebted to my friend Sheila M. Van Gelder-Ottway (Haren) who polished the English text.

1 Cf. by way of introduction M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, ‘Sources in the General State Archives in The Hague relating to the history of East Asia between c. 1600 and c. 1800’, repr. from Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies, presented to Prince Dha-dinivat Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridyakorn, vol.I (Bangkok 1965); the contributions by Dhiravat Na Pombejra, Knaap, Souza and Ross, in Itinerario, vo1.4 (1980), no.2 (‘The new Algemeen Rijksarchief’), on the value of the voc documents for the study of the history of Thailand, Maluku Tenga (‘the Ambonese Moluccas’), Portuguese Asian and inter-Asian maritime trade, and the Cape of Good Hope resp. One may consult the relevant sections in M. P. H. Roessingh, Sources of the history of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands, part I: Sources up to 1796 (Munich 1982).


3. On the archival history of the VOC, cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'The ear-

liest relations between Persia and the Netherlands', in Per-

4. C. G. Brouwer, 'Holländische Archivquellen zur ökono-


See the list of 'Dutch sources', numbered in italics 1-72, in Brouwer, 'Watchful eye'.

1. The Nos. 1-59, 59a-62, 65/66. Here and hereafter 65 and 66 are taken for one text.

2. The Nos. 4-59, 64 and 65/66.

18. Resolution of Coen et al., 11 September 1615 (H. T. Colenbrander & W. Ph. Coolhaas (eds.), Jan Pietersz. Coen: Bescheiden omtreten zijn bedrijf in Indië, 7 vols. (in 8) ('s-Gravenhage 1919-1953) (cited hereafter as Besch.), vol. III, p. 350); Coen to Heren XVII (i.e. 'Gentlemen Seventeen'), 22 October 1615 (Besch., vol. I, p. 130; 'orde'); Hist., ff. G3r (p. 53), 13r (p. 69); Van den Broecke to Be-
windthebbers (i.e. 'Directors'), 10 July 1616 (voc. 1063, f. 83r).


22. The Nos. 38 and 40.

23. No. 65/66.

24. No. 64.

25. In some cases plurals are used: 'letters', 'books', 'depositions' etc.; these I have taken for one document each time. It is uncertain, on the other hand, whether members of the crew died in Arabian waters (cf. 10 and 11), whilst 'the ship's books' possibly do not relate to the Nassau's voyage in 1615-1616 (cf. 12).

27 Hist., f. H3v (p. 62).
29 voc 1063, f. 85v: see also voc 1063, f. 85r.
30 Sentence of Conen on Prins, 5 December 1616 (Besch., vol. IV, p. 140).
31 Van den Broecke to Bewinthebbers, 15 December 1616 (voc 1063, f. 85v; see also f. 85r).
32 Van den Broecke to Bewinthebbers, 15 December 1616 (voc 1063, f. 85v). In his log the captain only once mentions the decease of a member of the crew: the gunner Harman (voc 1063, f. 85v). Cf. supra, n. 21.
34 Van den Broecke to Bewinthebbers, 5 August 1619 (voc 1069, f. 444v); the same to [Bewinthebbers], 29 January 1620 (voc 1070, f. 443r); the same to Maajoors [i.e., ‘Directors’], 10 November 1620 (voc 1073, f. 160v*). See also below, p. 65. By de scheepsboeken van ’t jacht Nassau are most probably the books containing the salary accounts of those on board the Nassau and kept by its official bookkeeper(s). As the jacht, after its arrival at Bantam on 30 December 1614, had made several voyages in Asian waters before it ran aground in the Inderigiri-river (Sumatra) in the end of 1619, and in view of the fact that at the beginning of every new expedition launched from Java a new ‘ship’s book’ was started, it is uncertain whether the book of accounts which had been kept during the Arabian voyage in 1615-1616 was among the ‘ship’s books’ rediscovered in 1619. Be that as it may, the books were found shortly after Van den Broecke had been appointed, once again, captain of the Nassau, 19 July 1619... Cf. F. Lequin, Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azíë in de eerste eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen, 2 vols. (Leiden 1982), vol. I, p. 20; Coen to Heren XII, 15 December 1616, p. 65. Bi de sheepsboecken vcttr ’t lat’ht Nassttu are most probably the books containing the salary accounts of those on board the Nassau and kept by its official bookkeeper(s). As the jacht, after its arrival at Bantam on 30 December 1614, had made several voyages in Asian waters before it ran aground in the Inderigiri-river (Sumatra) in the end of 1619, and in view of the fact that at the beginning of every new expedition launched from Java a new ‘ship’s book’ was started, it is uncertain whether the book of accounts which had been kept during the Arabian voyage in 1615-1616 was among the ‘ship’s books’ rediscovered in 1619. Be that as it may, the books were found shortly after Van den Broecke had been appointed, once again, captain of the Nassau, 19 July 1619... Cf. F. Lequin, Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azíë in de eerste eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen, 2 vols. (Leiden 1982), vol. I, p. 20; Coen to Heren XII, 15 December 1616.
35 VOC 1058, ff. 85r-96v.
36 Nevertheless one may occasionally come across important differences in content between the Leiden MS and the VOC document; cf. the variant readings recorded in the critical apparatus in Bráwir & Kablániyán, Yaman, Nos. 13, 17 and 18 (see also Al-Muláhazát al-wathá’íkiyya, No. 1).
37 Short-title sub n. 3. See the variants and additions registered in the critical apparatus in Bráwir & Kablániyán, Yaman, Nos. 15b, 3e and 3c (cf. Al-Muláhazát al-wathá’íkiyya, No. 1).
38 Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 5.
39 Cf. supra, p. 63 (with n. 33).
40 De Milde to Van Hasel, 8 August 1629 (voc 1100, f.148v). See also Bráwir & Kablániyán, Yaman, no. 24.
41 Azíë, vol. II, p. 241 (n. 8).
42 On the discovery of the Portengen-MS, its provenance, material appearance and content, as well as for textual criticism, cf. Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, pp. 5-9 (with the ills. 1-3). Cf. infra, p. 72, and sub n. 65.
43 Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 9-10; see also id., ‘De Milde’, pp. 716 (with n. 15), 717 (with n. 18).
44 Koff & Van Santen, Geschifften, Inleiding, passim (‘copybook’).
46 Giesberger, Concept-genealogie, no. 211.
49 For the full text of this cover-note see below, p. 72.
50 Already Mr. Giesberger, in his letter dated 16 October 1983, gave a detailed description of both MSS: I agree with his opinion that they should be attributed to Pieter Hendrik Cornelis and Guillam van den Broeke.
51 Giesberger, Concept-genealogie, No. 903.
52 Giesberger, Concept-genealogie, No. 901.
53 The verbatim conformity of the Rapper-version and both the other 19th-century versions has been established by Mr. Giesberger, according to his letter dated 16 October 1983.
54 Miss Van Opstall had already contributed in a substantial way to the ara’s acquisition of the Portengen-MS (cf. Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 5).
55 The resolution in question, dated 22 August 1620 (ff. 3v-4r), in Bráwir & Kablániyán, Yaman, Nos. 10 and 10'; the manuscriptscriptological description in Al-Muláhazát al-wathá’íkiyya, sub No. 10. See also ill. 3. A tentative description of the MS was given by Mr. Giesberger in his letter dated 16 October 1983.
56 On the 21st of May 1984 Mr. Van Beusekom received the photocopy of the MS, on the 15th of October a photocopy of the heavily damaged piece of paper that had been subjected to ‘cast leaving’ in the ara (see below, p. 69).
This ‘definitive’ foliation in pencil entirely corresponds with the provisional one I made use of in ‘De Milde’ (cf. supra, n. 43). ‘Voyage’ (passim), and Yantan (cf. supra, n. 55).

59 See below, p. 72, and sub n. 65.

60 See the ill. 3, 4 and 5-6.

61 See ill. 2.

62 As to both these servants of the Company, suffice it to refer to Kolff & Van Santen, Geschriften, and W. Ca-supra, n.43). ‘Voyage’ (passim), and Yantan (cf . supra, n. 55).

63 Cf. Giesberger, Concept-genealogie, nos. 804, 901, 1002 and 1103 resp. My reconstruction is in conformity with the opinion advanced by Mr. Giesberger in his letter dated 16 October 1983. Within the Van den Broeke family there is not any tradition as to the way in which the MS has been acquired (cf. Giesberger’s letters dated 24 April 1984 and 11 December 1985).

64 Data taken from Mr. Giesberger’s letter dated 11 December 1985.

65 This note on the cover of Rapper’s MS I partly misunderstood in “Voyage”. p. 8: _originele_ points to the original book of resolutions, certainly, but by _de Heer Pieter van den Broeke_ is meant the 19th-century owner of it instead of the 17th-century commander; the clause _toe behorende aan_ is not strained in this way. — As to the provenance of the Portengen-MS, the transcription of which was ordered shortly after the publication of Weeda’s book (cf. infra, n. 66), one may observe the following: The possessive pronoun mine (1st person) in the cover’s note, as opposed to _de Heer Pieter van den Broeke_ (3rd person), indicates that the principal must have been someone else than this Pieter. One may think, in my opinion, of Pieter’s nephew Henrik van den Broeke (Amsterdam 1802 - Amsterdam 1850). The MS might have passed down if this be true, to his eldest son Henrik (Amsterdam 1828 - Amsterdam 1867), then to the latter’s son Pieter (Amsterdam 1858 - on board m v Arjoe- no off Perim, 1904), then to Pieter’s sister Anna (Amsterd am 1865 - The Hague 1945) (cf. Giesberger, Concept-genealogie, nos. 806, 915, 1041 and 1044 resp.) and finally to her daughter A.J. Portengen (Amsterdam 1890 - The Hague 1979). A closing remark on Rapper is due here: my supposition thrown out in ‘Voyage’, p. 177 (n. 43), that there might possibly exist some relation between the transcriber’s name and the word RAPPE figuring on a 19th-century tobacconist’s signboard preserved in the Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar, turned out to be wrong: _rappe_ is the name formerly used for a peculiar kind of...snuff! (cf. Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal, ...vols. (‘s-Gravenhage 1882- ), vol. 12/3, col. 319-320, s.v. Rapé: Bráwir & Kablániyán. Yaman. Al-Muláhazát, sub no. 10).

66 P. Weeda, _Pieter van den Broek in Azië_, of Geschiedenis der togen en verrichtingen van dezen Nederlandschen Regulus (Amsterdam 1845). In addition to the already earlier mentioned laudatory MSS concerning Pieter van den Broecke that were circulating in the family (cf. Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p.177, n. 42), one may point here to two 19th-century MSS preserved in the family files, viz. an unfinished biography of the upper-merchant, entitled _Pieter Van Den Broecke_, numbering 22 folios, by Lauts (on him see Meilink-Roelofs, Geheim, p. 14), as well as a panegyric, entitled _Op het heldenfeit van P. Van den Broeke voor het fort van Jacatura_ (‘On the heroic deed by P. v.d. B. in front of the fortress of J.’); 4 folios, by A. H. van der Hoeve, clergyman in Gendringen. — Regarding the trades and professions prosecuted by the members of the Van den Broeke family mentioned above, see Giesberger, Concept-genealogie. The interest in genealogy, old documents and the like is touched on in Mr. Giesberger’s letters dated 16 October 1983 and 11 December 1985, and in Mr. Verstege’s letter dated 7 January 1981.

67 Cf. supra, p. 65 (with n. 43 and 44).

68 See the ills. 3, 4 and 5-6.

69 Cf. supra, p. 65.


71 Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 7 (with n. 51).

72 Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 7 (with n. 54). This fact, of course, disposes of the explanation put forward there, of Rapper’s omission of the two resolution-texts.

73 Brouwer, ‘Voyage’, p. 177 (sub n. 51).

74 Cf. supra, p. 65.

75 _Resolutieboeck_. ff. 45v-46r; see ill. 5. On the upper-koopman Albert Becker see Terpstra, _Opkomst_, pp. 122-123, Brouwer, ‘De Milde’, pp. 719-721, and Bráwir & Kablániyán, _Yaman_. Al-Mukaddima, sub § 5. Shortly before, at the 1st of July 1624, the upper-merchant completed, on behalf of Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier, a _remon- strante_ (i.e. ‘detailed report’) on Gujarat, Persia and Arabia (voc 1084, ff. 107r-113r), in which the Yemen is circumstantially dealt with!

De Milde to [Van den Broecke] (voc 1085. ff. 1897-190v); Bráwir & Kablániyán. _Yaman_. nos. 17a and 17b.

C. G. BROUWER: RESOLUTIEBOECK
