

The first Dutch-Indonesian treaty

A rediscovered Arabic translation

by Franciscus Raphelengius

by Herman de Leeuw*

In this article a translation is given of the printed Arabic version of a Dutch open letter issued by Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567-1625). With this kind of document is meant 'a formal open letter issued under a seal in favour of a specified addressee but addressed generally, so as to make known the contents'¹. In older English usage, such letters were designated by the term 'letters patent'².

The present letter, together with a Portuguese version, was given in 1595 to Cornelis de Houtman, representative of the recently founded Dutch 'Company of Afar' (in Dutch: *Compagnie van Verre*), on the first Dutch expedition to the Indonesian archipelago³. The letter was discovered in the collections of the Antwerp printing museum Plantin-Moretus and first exhibited at the quatercentenary of the separation of the Low Countries 'Vier eeuwen scheiding van de Nederlanden' (April-December 1985) in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The letter measures 289 x 434 mm and contains 20 lines of Arabic text⁴. No other printed or manuscript copies are known to exist of this text. The Portuguese version has served as the basis for the first commercial treaty ever concluded between the Dutch and an Indonesian-Muslim government. As both the original treaty and the Dutch and Portuguese open letter have disappeared⁵, the Arabic version of the open letter is the only contemporary extant document related to the treaty. At the same time, this letter is the first known translation from Dutch into Arabic to have been preserved. It precedes by five years an Arabic version of another open letter, which until recently was considered the 'prototype of the later, so-called Turkish passes'⁶. The translation of this later Arabic version has clearly been influenced by the model of the letter of 1595. In the perspective of European Arabic printing, it is also the very first printed Arabic text of non-scientific and non-religious content⁷.

Below I will sketch in some detail the historical background of this letter, and follow it up with a translation of the Arabic text. In the second part of the article, I will elaborate on the ascription of the translation to Franciscus Raphelengius, recently put forward by Francine de Nave and Alastair Hamilton.

On 2 April 1595 Cornelis de Houtman departed as chief-representative (in Dutch: *hoofd-commies*) of the Dutch Company of Afar on the first Dutch commercial expedition to Java. The aim of the expedition was to find the overseas route to Java. De Houtman's principal goal was to get access to the Javanese spice market and, in addition, to try to conclude a treaty with a local ruler. The Dutch Republic was at that time engaged in a war with Spain, which lasted from 1568-1648, and Java formed part of the joint Spanish-Portuguese empire. The expedition was therefore placed under the authority of the admiral-general of the Republic, Prince Maurice of Orange. The open letters and other commissions that were to be presented to local dignitaries were thus all signed by him⁸. The choice of Portuguese and Arabic as languages of communication was evidently due to the absence of persons who could translate into Malay at the time. Portuguese was chosen since it was the language of the European nation that had enjoyed up to that time an unchallenged monopoly of trade in the archipelago. Arabic seemed to recommend itself as one of the languages of commerce in South-East Asia⁹. Furthermore, in view of later Dutch policy towards Sa'did Morocco and the Ottoman empire, it may perhaps be surmised that the States-General entertained hopes of arousing latent indigenous resentment towards the Spanish-Portuguese empire by exploiting Dutch-Spanish and Protestant-Catholic animosity¹⁰. Besides, knowingly or not, this choice of Arabic on the part of the States-General may also have furthered the initial success of the expedition for another reason, as the Islamisation of Western Java had from the start in the fifteenth century, been closely connected with (Malaccan) commercial enterprise¹¹.

On 23 June 1596 the expedition reached the bay of Banten, West Java. The next days were spent in establishing the first contacts. On June 29 a first visit was paid to the expedition by the *ki patih* (governor) of Banten, Djajanagara¹². During this visit the *ki patih* promised that he would cede the Dutch the right of preemption with respect to the new harvest of spices. This meant, of course, a promising start for subsequent negotiations. For the first time, the Dutch could buy their spices without the intermeditation of the

Portuguese¹³. On the heels of this success a council of the ship commanders and the representatives of the company was held. In the articles of instruction for the expedition it was stipulated that such a council was to be convened whenever a suitable occasion presented itself to discuss 'the ways and byways that might procure them the greatest degree of loyalty, favour and consent of the king or governor of the country'¹⁴. For this purpose, de Houtman made, the following day, a draft of the future treaty. From the available data it appears that this task was completely left to his own discretion. On the first of July 1596 this draft was presented to the governor, with the Portuguese and Arabic versions of the open letter and the commissions of the prince. Upon reception, the Portuguese and Arabic letters were promptly read out. Thereupon, de Houtman asked for a written confirmation of the treaty. This confirmation was granted on 3 July 1596, whereby the treaty was concluded¹⁵. In the collection of Dutch-Indonesian treaties compiled by J.E. Heeres, a Dutch extract, after the lost Portuguese original, is reproduced, here rendered in English:

'As it has pleased God Almighty, and these Eminent Gentlemen, to visit us with four ships, and further, that we have seen the open letter which the Most Honourable Prince Maurice of Nassau ordered them [de Houtman c.s.] to show us; by which letter we learn that His Excellency offers us a confederation and his friendship; further, that that selfsame treaty should be confirmed by you, Eminent Gentlemen, who have been mentioned in the open letter: [we declare that] We are disposed to contract a steady league of friendship and confederation with the aforementioned Most Honourable Prince and with you, Eminent Gentlemen. We hereby swear to maintain this treaty and we will instruct all persons to do likewise. Furthermore, we are glad to have you, Eminent Gentlemen, (or someone else on your behalf) come here in our harbour and city, for the purpose of trade, buying, barter¹⁶ or sale as much and often as you like, with the same liberties that are accorded to you in your own country; and we hereby safeguard that no one will maltreat you nor anyone of your following, nor will anyone injure you or any person of your following. This treaty shall be unconditionally observed by us and our subjects (...) if ever we break this treaty, we may be considered ignoble and disloyal people, which God forbid (...)'¹⁷.

Heeres has, erroneously as Rouffaer and IJzerman have pointed out, entered the conclusion of this treaty on the first of July, on the authority of J.I. Pontanus¹⁸. In an annotation, however, he also mentions the date of the third of July, after the *Contractboek*¹⁹; moreover, the abstract of the treaty as preserved there contains an explicit pledge of mutual assistance in the case of hostilities not found in the preceding text:

'On the third of July 1596, a treaty has been concluded between Cornelis de Houtman and the Bantamese [to the effect that] they will maintain [a bond of] mutual loyalty and that they will, in case of aggression directed to either of the two parties of this treaty, take common action against the enemy in order to drive him away'²⁰.

To these two abstracts of the original treaty may now be added the Arabic version of the open letter of Prince Maurice, which contains a few points not found in the abstracts. The following translation is made as literal as possible. Additions are given between square brackets. The beginning of each line in the original is indicated by Arabic numerals between slashes.

'/1/ [Maurice, Prince of] Orange, [Count of] Nassau, Katzenellenbogen, Vianden and Dietz, [Marquis of] Veere and Flushing, [Governor of] Guelderland, Holland, /2/ Zealand and West-Frisia, [and] of the [inhabitants of] Utrecht and Overijssel, [Admiral and Captain-General] of the Belgian sea: To all rulers, governors, /3/ and notables, and mayors, and governors of districts that read this letter: The peace of God Almighty be with you:²¹

/4/ As we are of the opinion that it is a good and profitable thing to bring distant peoples in friendly relationship with the inhabitants of our dominions, especially with merchants who /5/ make voyages to peoples and islands that are distant from our dominions in order to enter into commercial relations [with them] and to conclude a durable /6/ pact of friendship, we have acceded to the urgent requests of our honoured friends Cornelis de Houtman, Gerard de /7/ Beuningen, Reinard de Hell and Bernard Heynck, commanders of the ships that lie at anchor with you, so that their enterprise may be successful²². We hereby publicly declare that we have authorized them /8/ to set sail, over the ocean, to the kingdoms and archipelagoes of India, and the Orient in general, to visit the inhabitants of those parts /9/ and trade and barter with them²³, on condition that they show friendship and fraternity towards the inhabitants there, on behalf of all residents of our dominions. On behalf of them, we /10/ pledge ourselves answerable through this declaration. Therefore, we implore each of you not only to show the aforementioned men /11/, when anchored at your harbour²⁴ with their cargo, your manifest benevolence and sympathy, /12/ but also, to actually help them, and to exert yourselves for the realisation of their enterprise; and, furthermore, to assist them materially, when necessary, for the achievement of the praiseworthy goal /13/ they are striving after. Should it occur that some of your residents travel to our country, we will try to satisfy them. Moreover, we will proportionally take upon ourselves financial responsibility for them²⁵ /14/ whereby we will amply compensate the expenses

الأورنصون ناسويوه قطصنا لبوغن ويانندن وديبطص ويرا وفليسيناغا على غلدرية هولنديه
 زلنديه وبلاد فريصيه المغربيه الاولطرايكطينيين وطرنسيصولنيه على البحر البليغية لجميع اميري مقدسي
 وعظما في كل مكان ومديري المدن والصقع الذين يقرون الكتاب هذا معكم السلام من الله قادر على الكل.

لاجل اننا ظننا شيئا موافقا ونافعا ان نصطنع لنا اصدقاء الشعوب العربية وساكني بلادنا وخاصة المواطنين على عناية
 التجارة يسدروا الي الامم والجزاير البعيدة عن حدودنا ويخالطوا ويشاركوا بعضهم بعضا باهر التجارة وينبتوا عهدا وعقدة
 المحبة الوثيقة معا فحن مريدين ان تنفق لطلبات شديدة الرجال المكرمين واحباينا قرنليس دي هوطنن جرد دي
 بونينغن رينبار دي هيل وبرنرد هينف رودس المراكب الحاضرة ليتتجج مرامهم نيين لكل احد ان كنا قد اعطيناهم
 ومنحناهم حرمة تامة ومقدرة على ان يلقوا ويحوا بسفنههم في اليم الي ممالكك وجزاير الهند ونواحي المشرق ومع السكان
 هناك يترددوا ويتقبلوا باهر التجارة بموعد كل همة خلة ومحبة اليهم من جهة جميع ساكني بلادنا كما ان نحن
 واعددين بشهادة هذه كل ذلك لجميعهم فلهذا السبب نحن نسال ونطلب الي كلكم وواحد فواحد الذين يصلون
 ويرسون الي مرقى ارضكم هولاني المقدم ذكرهم ويأتون بمراكلهم وتجارتهم بان لا تقبلوهم وتظفروا لديهم رحمة ونعمة
 فقط بل وانتم تعينوهم حسنا واجتهادا باتمال سعيهم رازقين لهم كلما يستدعيه الاحتياج الي كمال المرام المحمود
 الذي هم مستغليين به ولوان يعتبرى ان بعضكم يسرون هاهنا نحن نمنع لهم ونوعد لمقدار معادل ومساكل احوالهم
 مكافاة جزيلة وتساعدوا باستعداد وحرص الاحسان لهم بكل حين وبعد ذلك ونحن امرنا جهرا للرجال المذكورين
 احباينا كيلا يقفوا على ادني تاجر ان انسان اخر من اي شعب يكون بكربنا وبعدة ولا يقابلونهم الا معصوبين
 ومظلومين اولا فان عسى ان بايدي العداة يسقطوا حتى يحتاج عليهم الي ابعاد واجتناب من العطب العارض فيقدرون
 ان يفعلوه تشجعا وبغير المخافة واياهم الدين ياخذونهم ياتون هم بين ايدينا ان امكنهم ان قضاوا عليهم حسبما
 توجب الضرورة وذلك فانه يدع العدل عند جميع الامم ونحن نظن شيئا جائلا ومادونا لواحد واحد بان يدفع ويبعد
 عن نفسه ظلما وقهرة بظلم وفسر مكتوب ومحتوم في هعا من بلد هولنديه بسادسة وعشر يوم الشهر المسمى بانوار يوس
 في عام خمسة وتسعين على تاريخ ديننا

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now made by you. In addition, we are always prepared to lend effective reciprocal assistance²⁶. Moreover, we have explicitly instructed the abovementioned men, our friends, /15/ not to treat even the most inconsequential merchant, leave alone citizen, regardless of his dependence, highhandedly or with enmity, and to make no attempts on anyone's life, unless /16/ they have been angered and wronged by others first. However, if they fall into the hands of enemies, so that they have to fight for their lives, they are authorized /17/ to defend themselves vigorously and fearlessly. Those that are captured by them will if possible be led before us, or will already have been executed /18/, pending the situation. This is legally permitted among all nations, and also applicable among us. Those that defend themselves against injustice and exceeding numbers /19/ with similar weapons have never been prosecuted by us²⁷.

Written and sealed²⁸ at The Hague, Holland, on the 16th of the so-called month of January /20/ in the year [15]95 according to the time-reckoning of our religion.'

Both de Nave and Hamilton have recently ascribed the translation of this Arabic letter to Franciscus Raphelengius²⁹. For this ascription they base themselves on two arguments: No name of any other person qualified for this kind of work has been preserved for this early period; and the absolute identity of the Arabic type used in the open letter with the type used in the *Specimen characterum Arabicorum Officinae Plantiniana Franc. Raphelengii* of 1595.

Specimens were customarily issued by printing houses to announce the availability of (new) type. Raphelengius was head of the *Officina Plantiniana*, the Leiden branch of Christophe Plantin's Antwerp printing house³⁰. The Arabic type displayed in the specimen of the Leiden *Officina Plantiniana* was here used for the first time³¹. It had been initially cut for the Leiden re-edition of Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum* of 1598³². There is no indication that this Arabic type has ever been used by other printers.

For the last quarter of the sixteenth century four persons with knowledge of Arabic are known to have lived in the Dutch Republic. These are J.J. Scaliger, Jan Theunisz., Philippus Ferdinandus and Franciscus Raphelengius³³. Scaliger recorded that he made occasional translations of Arabic letters at the request of the States-General. However, his complaints about the difficulties he met in these translations make it improbable that he would ever have ventured translating into Arabic³⁴. Jan Theunisz matriculated at Leiden University in 1591, as a classicist. The first acquaintance he made with Arabic dates from 1595, when he was employed as compositor at the *Officina Plantiniana*³⁵. Philippus Ferdinandus only reached Leiden in 1599 when he assumed the post of lecturer of

Arabic at Leiden University³⁶. The only one left evidently was Franciscus Raphelengius (Louvain 1539 — Leiden 1597).

Raphelengius was appointed professor extraordinary of Hebrew at Leiden University in 1585³⁷. At that time he held an already firmly established reputation in the field of Semitic philology. Testifying to his learning are his contributions to the pentaglot Antwerp 'Biblia regia', published between 1569 and 1572³⁸. This work was printed by the printing house of Christophe Plantin, in whose firm Raphelengius had been working as corrector from 1562 onwards. Raphelengius had begun studying Arabic at least upon completion of his work on the pentaglot Bible, as appears from both his own letters and those from his relatives. For the study of this language he expressed an ever increasing predilection³⁹.

Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, posthumously published in 1613, forms the culmination of his Arabic studies and is incidentally the first printed bilingual dictionary of classical Arabic⁴⁰.

Raphelengius did not limit his activities to the printing business and Semitic philology, however. In the introduction to his *Lexicon* he lists twenty sources used by him in the compilation. As penultimate source, translations of Arabic commercial letters, safe-conducts etc., are mentioned, made at the request of merchants⁴¹. The Dutch original of one of his translations into Arabic has been preserved in the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. It is the translation of a letter from the States-General to the 'great emperor of Morocco', the Sa'did Mawlā Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (reigned 986-1012/1578-1603) dated October 15, 1596⁴². It is probable that more translations were made by Raphelengius, e.g., the Arabic translation of the open letter that accompanied the Dutch 'Expedition Round the North' of 1594⁴³. Unfortunately, no comparison could be made of the present letter with any of these translations, as none of these have been preserved. Finally, such rare or idiosyncratic forms in the Arabic text as *yatanağğah*, *yataraddadū*, *marqā*, and *nū'id* (lines 7, 9, 11 and 13 respectively), which were already signalled in the notes to the translation of the letter, can only be properly understood after consultation of Raphelengius' *Lexicon*. All these *hapax legomena*, so to speak, therefore point, once more, invariably to the same source.

A not insignificant detail may be added here. In 1592 the Raphelengiuses had published L.J. Waghenar's *Thresoor der zeevaart*. The *Thresoor* contains descriptions of the coasts and harbours of most countries of Western Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, the Mediterranean and the Far East, accompanied by maps⁴⁴. The part on Eastern-Asia, prominently mentioned in the subtitle before the more common waters of septentrional and southern Europe, but actually put at the end of the work, was based on data furnished by Dirck Gerritsz 'China' Pomp, from his East-Asian

من صور صلبوس

رايبس علي اورنج اركون اسناو قاضي البوغو زيار صولا علي ويرا وفليسبنغيس امير علي
 وانه غلوريه هولنديه رائديه روظا وفيزيه المغربه والظلم والاوراسيلر الي جميع سلطاني ملوك اشراق اميري
 ومديرت البرقه والبلاد سلام ونعمه من الله .
 كحل لنا ظمنا انه ليس حسن حفظ بل ناهج لتدينا ان لا تحفظ محبته وسلام مع جيرانا فقد بل نصنع
 اصدها واتفاق بقدر ما امكيت لنا مع الامر العربيه زمانيل احمده ويات اهل بلانا بحكة طبعهه رئيسي ات
 يتخوفه ويرون بللا سبلوه راينا اذ كنا مقبوعه من امهم وقتهم اشتدوا ان نعلي لهم فمده التي بها تصدع ونبت
 عهدنا واتفاق بعض لبعض مع السكبان هناك ولهذا السبب نحن مع حبه المستحقه مخترقون لجميع السلطاني
 والملوك العظما والاشراق والروسا واميري ومديرت البرقه ان نحن نكسب على هذا السبب وعلى طيله الكبرير وحبيبا
 بعقوبه نطق الحامل الصنادق هذا الاشرع علي سادس بل كما اعطينا له قدره ثابه لكي يتفاج ونسب مع جميع المراهق
 الي جزائر ونواحي هذه المشرق واسنجره الاركان بتروا وينتف باصر البحار مع السكبان هناك حتى يتباع طفول وفرسل
 لورنر وطبع عدهم ويجور له اذ بوسه تجاره في سونه ، يتفاجها من جميع الجهات بل بلانا والظلمه اخ ويستعها
 ويخرج بها تجاره فله . ثم نحن مرديين انه يظهر بهلكه من جهتنا لجميع السلطاني والملوك العظما والاشراق
 والروسا واميري ومديرت البرقه وانا وصيته ورحمه ونعمه ويوعز لهم ان من جهتنا يجور ايضا امير ان برسوت ويملون الي
 جميع بلانا مراسيما وعلينا مني يرتضي لهم ان برسوت في هاهنا كبطل نحن ايضا واخرين مقيدين وتامين بالكتاب ذلك
 واهرا نطلب ونسال من سائرهم من كل واحد الذين اميرا برسوت في مراسيهم وبللاهم ان لا يقبلونه مع كل حبهه ونعمه
 فقد بل يعينونه ويشاغلونه حسنا حتى يتمطيح صدور سرمد المجدد والمحمود الذي هو سبيغله بل ولو عجزت عنه
 بعض من اهل بللاهم برسوت هاهنا ومرادهم برسوت مراسيما نحن واخرين ان تقبلهم حسنا فليس لهم انكسر
 ونجارب جازيه كامله كل نعمه التي هم يستعملوا مع اميرا . ثم نحن على كل امر نسرنا وامرا باجتهد كما اميرا الجيدت عملنا
 بلغ ولا يفهم بصيرا وبعده لما اذ في او انسان اخر من اي شعب يكون ولا تجاره اليهم الا لو يكونت مرعوم او مستلوم من
 جهتهم وهم بلوا وفوق في سونه بؤهه ومخسونه كذ حبيبا بل اذنا له فقد بل امرا حتى يتصل عليه بؤهه يعاند لهم
 ويقاتلهم بسكل اسلح لكي يعيث ويلدغ الفهوه والشكليه من نفسه وعن سونه ولا يتسبح بعراض خلاف نون اناس
 الذين يجتهدوا على خلافه ولا يقبلونه بحسن الشكل كذ بل العذر عند جميع الامم الفهوه فقلت من جهة الفهوه .
 محتوم ومصنوع في ههنا بل هو بل اول منهم بوقوس في عام الوبستاهه علي تريننا وهو
 بسعه وخسرون من شمس والقدحه سنه 1008 علي ترين الاسلام

The 'open letter' of Jacob van Neck dated 29 Dū 'l-qa'da 1008/1600, written by J.J. Scaliger (Leiden University Library, Or. 1365 (3)).

voyage⁴⁵. Raphelengius' printed translation can thus be seen in the context of a decidedly more than ephemeral interest in Dutch maritime expansion. In fact, the basis for the interest of the Officina Plantiniana in maritime trade had already been laid right from the start of its printing activities, for in 1584 Christophe Plantin published at Leiden the *Spiegel der zeevaart*, also written by Waghenaar.

Now, when examining the open letter once more, one is struck by the blank spaces left in the introduction, apparently intended to be filled in by hand. Such printed forms had already been used by the States-General for the more common European languages⁴⁶. Considering the inevitably high costs Raphelengius had had to make for his Arabic type, which was, in fact, seldom used, he may well have thought of opportunities to expand its application. In that case it was worthwhile trying to win the States-General over to this novelty. His hopes were not fulfilled, however. The Arabic and Portuguese open letters which were presented to the governor of Banten were *written* ones, according to Pontanus⁴⁷. If the writers of the diaries used by Pontanus were unaware of the dif-

ference between written and printed Arabic, they still would have been able to tell a written Portuguese letter from a printed one. I presume the States-General considered a written letter more suitable for representation. The difference between such a letter and Raphelengius' form becomes apparent when the latter is compared with the handwritten open letter carried by Jacob van Neck to Java, in 1600 which is kept in Leiden University Library (see illustration)⁴⁸.

Whereas the Raphelengius open letter, on paper, measures only 289 x 434 mm, the text of the van Neck letter is laid out on a vellum scroll of 400 x 660 mm in 25 lines of neat calligraphy. The name and titles of Prince Maurice, and the dating The Hague, Dū 'l-Qa'da 1008 are here written in gold, in the same hand, which lends it a far more elegant aspect than the rather stiff impression one gets from the printed letter. In view of this, it is my opinion that Raphelengius' printed letter did not travel any further than the distance between Leiden and The Hague.

When assessing Raphelengius' skills as a translator, it must be borne in mind that the essential tools for such an undertaking were absolutely lacking at the

time. Before 1613, when the first edition of Erpenius' *Grammatica Arabica* was published, no reliable grammars were available. Until 1828, when the first installment of Boethor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe* was published, arabists and dragomans were left to their own devices when searching for apposite terms. M.Th. Houtsma justly stressed this circumstance in his edition of the Arabic correspondence of Erpenius, Golius, and Warner, and consequently refrained from commenting on their errors⁴⁹.

Still, I would like to mention a few points in connection with Raphelengius' Arabic: The *hamz* is nowhere used (cf. line 3, *yaqra'ūn*); Hebrew syntax seems responsible for the incorrect *al-kitāb hādā* (line 3); the same line reads *min Allāh qādir 'ala 'l-kull*, where the adjective ought to be defined; line 6 reads *li-ṭalabāt šadīda 'r-rigāl*, where the *iḏāfa* requires a defined adjective after the construction; finally, in line 8 instead of *al-baḥr*, or, better, *al-muḥīṭ*, we find *al-yam*, which looks like interference from Hebrew once more. In spite of these remarks, and notwithstanding the decidedly non-Arabic syntax, Raphelengius succeeded in producing a translation that offers despite its gibberish appearance a reasonably understandable Arabic text.

NOTES

* This is the somewhat expanded version of my article 'Franciscus Raphelengius en het eerste contact der Hollanders met een islamitisch vorst', in: Alexander H. de Groot (ed.), *Het Midden-Oosten en Nederland in historisch perspectief*. Muiderberg (Dick Coutinho) 1989, 18-31.

¹ P. Walne (ed.), *Dictionary of Archival Terminology/ Dictionnaire de terminologie archivistique*. English and French with equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish. München — New York — London — Paris, K.G. Saur, 1984 (ICA Handbooks, series III) 100 (no. 264).

² *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Prepared by W. Little, H.W. Fowler and J. Coulson. Revised and edited by C.T. Onions. Third edition (reprinted with corrections) 1947 (II) 1446, 'patent'.

³ One of the so-called 'pre-companies' (in Dutch: *voorcompagnieën*), united in 1602 in the V.O.C., the United Company of the East Indies. On the origins of the V.O.C. and the pre-companies, see J.A. van der Chijs, *De stichting der Vereenigde O.I. Compagnie en de maatregelen der Nederlandsche regering betreffende de vaart op Oost Indië, welke haar voorafgingen*. Leiden (P. Engels) 1856; *id.*, second edition (hereafter cited as van der Chijs²). Leiden (P. Engels) 1857; H. Terpstra, 'De Nederlandsche voorcompagnieën', in: *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië*. vol. II: Amsterdam (Joost van den Vondel) 1938; on the expedition by de Houtman, commonly known as 'the first expedition, by Cornelis de Houtman', see: H.C. Rogge, 'De eerste Nederlandsche handelsonderneming op Oost-Indië en Cornelis de Houtman', in: *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Aandr. Genootschap*, second series XII 1885 (offprint, Leiden (E.J.

Brill) 1885), pp. 399-440; G.P. Rouffaer & J.W. IJzerman (eds), *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597. Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*. 3 volumes. Den Haag (M. Nijhoff) 1915-29 (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschotenvereniging, volumes VII, XXV, XXXII); J.C. Mollema, *De eerste schipvaart der Hollanders naar Oost-Indië 1595-1597. Naar de oude journalen, uitgegeven door de Linschoten Vereeniging, opnieuw geschreven en voorzien van een inleiding, waarin behandeld de voorgeschiedenis, het doel, de uitreiding, en de lotgevallen der deelnemers, ook na hun thuiskomst*. Den Haag (M. Nijhoff) 1935.

⁴ See *Uitgevers en boekdrukkers in het Noorden (ca. 1580-17de eeuw). De betekenis van de Antwerpse emigratie* (introduction by Francine de Nave). Antwerpen, 1985, 19 (no. 82). The letter is preserved in the Plantin-Moretus museum under signature R 63. 8 (4). 72. See also Francine de Nave (ed.), *Philologia Arabica. Arabische studien en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*. Antwerpen (Museum Plantin-Moretus) 1986 (publikaties MPM/PK III), pp. 130-132 (no. 66). The letter already formed part of the collection Plantin-Moretus in 1876, when it was sold by E. Moretus, the last heir of the Plantin-Moretus house, to the city of Antwerp. (Written communication by the present conservator of the museum, F. de Nave, 6-10-1987.)

⁵ Written communication by Mrs. N.M. Brandt, reference room General State Archives (ARA) at The Hague, 27-3-1987.

⁶ J. van Oordt, *De privaatrechterlijke toestand van den Nederlandschen koopman in de landen van den Islam*. Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1899, 265; Arabic version is reproduced on pp. 321-322.

⁷ Schnurrer lists at the end of his *Bibliotheca Arabica* twenty Arabic texts from the beginning of Arabic printing in Europe to 1595: D.C.F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica. Auctam nunc atque integram (...)*. Amsterdam (Oriental Press) 1968 (= reprint of the second edition of 1811).

⁸ J.I. Pontanus, *Historische beschryvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coopstadt Amsterdam ...* [translated by] P. Montanus. Amsterdam (J. Hondius) 1614, 193 (after Rouffaer — IJzerman III, 18-19). Other references to the two versions of the open letter: van der Chijs, 34; van der Chijs², 40; J.K.J. de Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*. vol. I. Amsterdam — Den Haag 1862, 213; Rogge 423; E.C. Godee Molsbergen, *Tijdens de O.-I. Compagnie*. vol. I. Amsterdam — Bandoeng (Swets & Zeitlinger/A.C. Nix) 1932, 94; Mollema, 236; Gaastra, 247; *Uitgevers en drukkers*, 19 (no. 82); de Nave, 130-132; A. Hamilton, 'Arabic Studies in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries', in: F. de Nave (ed.), *Philologia Arabica*. Antwerpen, 1986, xcvi.

⁹ R.R. Di Meglio, 'Arab Trade with Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula from the 8th to the 16th Century', in: D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia. A Colloquium*. Oxford (B. Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press) 1970 (Papers on Islamic History II), 105-135.

¹⁰ J.B. Weiner, *Fitna, Corsairs, and Diplomacy. Morocco and the Maritime States of Western Europe, 1603-1672*. Columbia University, 1976 (Doctoral dissertation Columbia University), 247 ff.; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630*. Leiden (NINO) 1978

(Uitg. Ned. hist. inst. Istanbul XLIII), 58, 62, 81, 92 ff.; B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. New York/London (W.W. Norton & Co.) 1982, 177.

¹¹ M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, 'Trade and Islam in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago Prior to the Arrival of the Europeans', in: D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia. A Colloquium*. Oxford (B. Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press) 1970 (Papers on Islamic History II), 137-157.

¹² Djajanagara, father-in-law of the recently deceased Mawlāy Muḥammad, acted as regent for the latter's five-months old son 'Abd al-Qādir. On 'Abd al-Qādir and Mawlāy Muḥammad, see Terpstra, 336. 'Abd al-Qādir was to become the first sultan of Banten: H.J. de Graaf, *Geschiedenis van Indonesië*. Den Haag/Bandoeng (W. van Hoeve) 1949, 482; *idem*, 'De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java. Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw', *Verhandelingen van het Kon. Inst. voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 69 (1975), 124.

¹³ Until that time the Dutch had bought their spices at Lisbon. The Portuguese crown held the sole rights for the marketing of spices, but left the costs of buying and transportation to private enterprise. After the personal union of 1580, these rights were assumed by the Spanish crown. See on this matter M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago Between 1500 and About 1630*. Den Haag (M. Nijhoff) 1962 (reprint 1969), 176-181, and F.S. Gaastra, 'De vaart buiten Europa/Het Aziatisch gebied', in: L.M. Akveld e.a. (ed.), *Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden*. Vol. II: Zeventiende eeuw, van 1585 tot ca. 1680. Bussum (De Boer Maritiem) n.d., pp. 246-268.

¹⁴ Letter of instruction for the expedition, articles 7 and 8, reproduced in de Jonge, I, pp. 214-15.

¹⁵ W. Lodewycksz, *D'eerste boeck*. Amsterdam (C. Claesz) 1598, fol. 30r (after Rouffaer — IJzerman, I, 80); Rouffaer — IJzerman, III, 18-19.

¹⁶ In the original *verpangelen*, to barter: E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek*. VIII. Den Haag (M. Nijhoff) 1916, 2244.

¹⁷ J.E. Heeres, 'Corpus diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten, van Privilegebrieven, aan hen verleend, enz., uitgegeven en toegelicht. Eerste deel (1596-1650)', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, zevende volgrees, derde deel (vol. 57 of the series). Den Haag, (M. Nijhoff) 1907, 34; de Jonge, II, 372-73; Rouffaer — IJzerman, I, 80; *id.*, II, 293; *id.*, III, 18-19.

¹⁸ J.I. Pontanus, *Op. cit.*, no pagination given by Heeres.

¹⁹ With the *Contractboeken* Heeres meant the manuscript registers of the V.O.C. Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland (Heeres, xv), now kept in the General State Archives (ARA) at the Hague; his reference here is to the 'Contract Boeck van de E. Compagnie', or the 'Tractaten met verschillende Indische vorsten, Firmans, Caulls, door dezelve verleent sedert 1596-1662', vol. I (registers of the chamber of Amsterdam) (Heeres, xxii). I have been unable to check this reference; a detailed guide to the documents pertaining to the various Dutch companies for the East-Indies, including these registers, is embodied in P.H. Roesing (comp.), *Sources of the History of Asia and Oceania in*

the Netherlands. Part I. Sources up to 1796. München — New York — London — Paris (K.G. Saur) 1982 (Guides to the Sources for the History of the Nations IV/1), 72 ff.

²⁰ Heeres, 45; on the dating, see Rouffaer — IJzerman, II, 293.

²¹ Additions in brackets supplied after the open letter of Jacob van Neck from July 1600, as translated in van Oordt, 265; also thus found in Godee — Molsbergen, I, 2. The Arabic original of the open letter of van Neck, which was edited in van Oordt, 321-322, is preserved in the Library of Leiden University (Cod. Or. 1365 (3)); M.J. de Goeje and M.Th. Houtsma, *Catalogus codicum Arabicorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*. Ed. 2a. Vol. I. Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1888, 203 (Ms CCCLXVIII, fasc. A., cod. 1365/3) (= P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*. Leiden (Leiden University Press) 1980 (reprint of the 1957 edition) (Codices manuscripti bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis VII), 284, s.v. *rasā'il*).

²² The Arabic text reads *yatanağğah*, for which I propose *yanğah*. F. Raphelengius, *Lexicon Arabicum* (hereafter: *Lexicon*). Leiden (ex officina auctoris) 1613, col. 439a-b, lists only *nağğa* and *anğğa*: 'procedere, promovere, prosperare, secundare'.

²³ In Arabic: *wa ma'a 's-sukkān hunāka yataraddadū wayaqaqallabū bi-amr at-tiğāra*; for these two verbs cf. *Lexicon*, col. 174a, *taraddada*: 'retractare, versari, converti' and col. 356b, *taqallaba*: 'conversari'. In the Dutch abstract of the treaty: *verpangelen*, 'to barter', is used; see note 16.

²⁴ *Marqā*, *Lexicon*, col. 181b: 'portus ad quem naves appelluntur'; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I. Leide/Paris 1927, 550-551: 'échelle, port, mouillage'.

²⁵ *Lexicon*, col. 361b, *qani'a*: 'sufficere, iuvare'; *aqna'a*: 'persuadere, confidere fecit'; *Lexicon*, col. 515a, *aw'ada*: 'polliceri, promittere'.

²⁶ Compare with this passage the letter of instruction for Olivier van Noord of 1598, reproduced in van der Chijs, 191.

²⁷ *Lexicon*, col. 167b, *dawwana*: 'scribere'. In this context I propose 'to prosecute'. For this passage, the reader is referred to the letter of instruction for de Houtman, article 3, reproduced in de Jonge, I, 213.

²⁸ *Lexicon*, col. 77b, *ḥatama*: 'signavit, sigillavit, clausit, finivit'.

²⁹ De Nave, 130-132; Hamilton, xcviij.

³⁰ On the Officina Plantiniana, see E. van Gulik, 'Drukkers en geleerden. De Leidse officina Plantiniana (1583-1619)', in: Th.M. Lunsingh Scheurleer & G.H.M. Posthumus Meyes (eds), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning*. Leiden (Universitaire Pers Leiden/E.J. Brill) 1975, 367 ff.

³¹ Reproduced and described in de Nave 128-131 (no. 65).

³² Described in de Nave 119-121 (no. 60). On the Arabic type see E. Braches, 'Raphelengius' Naschi and Maghribi. Some Reflections on the Origin of Arabic Typography in the Low Countries', *Quaerendo* V/3, Leiden, 1975, 241-242, who cites a letter from de Thou to Scaliger, after: H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*. Amsterdam, 1968-69, 315, note 2.

³³ Cf. J. Brugman, 'Arabic Scholarship', in: Th.M. Lunsingh Scheurleer & G.H.M. Posthumus Meyes (eds), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of*

Learning. Leiden (Universitaire Pers Leiden/E.J. Brill) 1975.

³⁴ J.J. Scaliger, *Epistolae omnes*. Leiden, 1627, pp. 692-696; after Hamilton, xcvi, note 22.

³⁵ H.F. Wijnman, 'De Hebraicus Jan Theunisz. Barbarossius alias Johannes Antonides als lector in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit (1612-1613). Een hoofdstuk Amsterdamse geleerdengeschiedenis', *Studia Rosenthaliana* II/1 (January 1968), 1-29; II/2 (July 1968), 149-177.

³⁶ H.F. Wijnman, 'Philippus Ferdinandus. Professor in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit, de eerste Oost-Europese Jood in Nederland (1599)', *Jaarbericht van het Voorazatisch-Egyptisch genootschap Ex oriente lux*, VI/19 (1965-1966), Leiden (Ex oriente lux) 1967, pp. 558-580.

³⁷ In 1586 he was appointed ordinarius. See J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuid-nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek. Met in bijlage bio- en bibliografische aantekeningen betr. Zuid- en Noord-nederlandse boekdrukkers, uitgevers, boekverkopers, lettergieters etc., en andere documenten*. Met een voorrede van H. de la Fontaine Verwey. Nieuwkoop (B. de Graaf) 1974 (Bibl. Bibliogr. Neerl. VI), 406; after H.J. Witkam, *De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse Universiteit van 1581 tot 1596* (in 7 vols). Leiden 1969-1973 (stencilled); Brugman, 204.

³⁸ See on the Antwerp Polyglot T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule (comp.), *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. II.: Polyglots and Languages Other than English. London 1903 (New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), no. 1422; B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598)*. London (The Warburg Institute) Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1972 (Studies of the Warburg Institute XXXIII), chapter III, 'The Polyglot Bible'.

³⁹ L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, (in 2 volumes), vol. I: Christophe Plantin and the Moretus: Their Lives & Their Works. Amsterdam — London — New York, 1969, 148; Braches, 235.

⁴⁰ For a description, see de Nave 133-134 (no. 67) and R. Smitskamp, *Philologia orientalis. A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in*

Europe, vol. II: Seventeenth Century. Leiden (E.J. Brill) 1983, 97-100 (no. 90). On the printed sources used by Raphelengius for the compilation of the *Lexicon*, see A. Hamilton, '«Nam tirones sumus» — Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)', in: *De Gulden Passer* 66-67 (1988-1989), 557-89; De Nave, 133-135 (no. 67).

⁴¹ *Lexicon*, v.

⁴² H. de Castries & P. de Cenival (eds), *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530-1845*. I^{re} série: Dynastie saadienne, archives et bibliothèques des Pays-Bas, vol. I. Paris 1906, 27-30; old signature ARA (General State Archives, The Hague); SG 7106. Lias Barbarije 1596-1644, new signature l. 04. 01. S.G. 6888. The reference to Raphelengius as translator of this letter is found in N. Japikse (ed.), *Res. Staten-Generaal 1567-1609*. IX. Den Haag, 1926, 147, note 3.

⁴³ Van der Chijs, 26; translated into 'Slavoonsch, Latijn en Arabisch'; refers to *Res. van Holland*, May 1594.

⁴⁴ L.J. Waghenaer, *Thresoor der zeevaart. Inhoudende de geheele navigatie ende schipvaart van de Oostersche, Noordtsche, Westersche ende Middellantsche zee, met alle de zeecaerten daar toe dienende (...)*. Ghedruckt tot Leyden by François van Rapheliengen, voor Lucas Iansz Waghenaer, anno MDXCII. Ed. [in facsimile] with introduction by R.A. Skelton. Amsterdam (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum) 1965 (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 2nd series, vol. III).

⁴⁵ See J.W. IJzerman (comp.), *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 verwerkt*. Den Haag (M. Nijhoff) 1915 (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, IX), 17-18.

⁴⁶ Oral communication by Dr. B.N. Slot, General State Archives (ARA), The Hague.

⁴⁷ J.I. Pontanus, *Op. cit.*, 193 (cited in Rouffaer - IJzerman, III, 18-19).

⁴⁸ Leiden University Library Or. 1365 (3).

⁴⁹ M.T. Houtsma, 'Uit de oostersche correspondentie van Th. Erpenius, Jac. Golius en Lev. Warner. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de beoefening der Oostersche letteren in Nederland', *Letterkundige verhandelingen der Kon. akad. wetensch.* XVII 2. Amsterdam, 1887.