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suffered less from tropical circumstances. Some series are only present in Indonesia. The Batavia Diaries is the most important of these series, for the most important period it has been published. Of some importance are the ordinary and secret minutes of a special committee charged with reading the reports of establishments and making drafts of letters to establishments, the Bespogjes, and indexes to the resolutions of the High Government (these resolutions are also available in The Hague, but without full indexes.)


a. States General

Information on Basra can be found in the reports of the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul in the archives of the States General (the nos. 6888-6996 contain a chronological series of this correspondence). The number 12595 contains papers concerning diplomatic relations with Iran of the early 17th century and original letters of Shah Abbas and Shah Safi. Some other documents are also referred to in the notes.

b. Dutch embassy in Turkey

Papers on Basra in the 18th century correspondence and even Ottoman documents can be found in several parts of this archive. There are also many references to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the diaries of the embassy of the 18th century. Correspondence and papers concerning the Dutch establishments can also be found in the correspondence between the Embassy and the Dutch Consulate in Aleppo.

c. Secretariat of the stadtholder

A small number of papers on Basra and Kharag in nos. 1155, 1180, 1230-1232.

5. Private papers of officials of the Dutch East India Company

a. Papers of Wollebrand Geleyussen de Jongh

The collection of Wollebrand Geleyussen de Jongh contains the papers collected by this director of the Dutch establishment in Bandar Abbas in the 1640's. In it there is documentation on many places on the Gulf in the nos. 97-300.

3 Dagregister van Batavia gehouden in 't Casteel. 31 vols. Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1896-1931. (covering the years 1624-1682).

SOURCES

b. Papers of the Rademaker-family.

The Radehmachers were important persons in the Zeeland-chamber of the Dutch East India Company. Papers on Basra and Kharag can be found in nos. 390, 529-531.

c. Papers of others.

Some other private collections which incidentally contain documents on the Gulf: Hope (no. 8500), Nederburgh (no. 107), Hudde (no. 41), Cnoll (no. 13), Sweers, Speck etc (vols. 5-7).

6. Private papers of Dutch diplomats.

The papers of the families Calkoon and De Hochedipied contain some papers on Basra and Kharag. Part of the embassy-diaries of Istanbul, referred to before in (2) are kept in the Calkoon-archives.

7. Collections of sundry manuscripts and documents

Collection of AANW(instn).

This collection contains some important documents of various origins like the Kniphausen-report and the oldest original Arab letter written from Muscat. The items concerning the Gulf are 1865 B XIV, 1866 A XII, 1894 23, 1889 23B, 1899 XIII 36, 1903 XIX, 1910 XVII 47, 1930 V 48 and 1935 III 2, 1969 7-12.


Extensive use has been made of the manuscript maps in the collections VEL, VELH and AANW, most of which originate from the East India Company, as well as of the old printed atlases, maps and charts (collections MCAL, AKF, VEL and TOPO) of this department.

B. PORTUGUESE ARCHIVES

A number of Portuguese sources has been consulted. The principal are the ‘Documentos Remetidos da India’ or ‘Libros dos Monçoes’ in the Portuguese National Archives, a series of which the structure can be compared with the ('Overgekomen Briefen en Papieren' of the Dutch East India Company) and some manuscripts in the Portuguese National Library.
C: BRITISH ARCHIVES

Extensive use has been made of the factory-records of the Gulf (G29) containing the Gombroen-diary in the India Office Library and Records in London.

D: ARCHIVES OF INSTITUTIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ROME.

The Archives of the Holy Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples (formerly called Propaganda Fide) contain letters and reports Roman Catholic priests in the Gulf, some of them of great importance. The General Archives of the Carmelite order contain papers concerning Carmelite monks, a.o. in Basra and Kharg. Abstracts of many of the documents in both archives have been published.[Chick, H.J., A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia. London 1939 2 vols. The full text of the chronicle of the Carmelites in Basra has been published in two publications 4]

E. OTHER.

Use has been made of French documents (papers of the consul Jean Otter in Basra in the Bibliothèque Nationale, correspondence of the Basra-consultate in the Archives Nationales, of the Basra and Muscat consultates in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères and of the papers of General Decaen in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Caen), and of German documents (papers of Artus Gijsele in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe).

4 Chronicle of events between the years 1623 and 1733 relating to the settlement of the order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia, ed H. Gollancz. London 1927, and ‘Continuatio domestica Bassorensis historiae ab anno 1773’ Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum. VIII (1933), pp. 47-68, 108-140, 204-224.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Banu Ma'in (pp. 18, 24, 26).

The remark that the Banu Ma'in were not Huwala is incorrect. The Kniphausen report states that they were Huwala. It can be observed in chapters 9-10 that they were usually involved in the Huwala alliances.¹

The border between the Ottoman Empire and Persia and shipping route to Basra (p. 10 and note 23).

Jean Otter, French consul in Basra described in his book printed in 1748 exactly the same borderline along the Karun-i Amiye as Roobacker found in 1645. Otter also describes the route downriver from Basra along Abadan (at that time an Ottoman village). The real border between the Ottoman Empire and Persia was more to the East near the Ottoman fortress of 'Kabban' [Quban].²

The earliest mention of Kuwait (pp. 31-32).

U. Haarmann has in 1978 published a travel account by a pilgrim, Sayyid Murtadha, from Damascus of 1709 in which there is an interesting description of Kuwait, while also the nearby village Jahra is mentioned. It is described as a walled town, looking like Al Hasa (the desert capital of the Banu Khalid), but smaller. Apparently, Kuwait was at that time already a considerable place with connections by ship and caravan.³

At the same time it should be mentioned that the first map to show clearly the Gulf of Kuwait in its right shape is the one in the Atlas Maritime of Bellin which is also reproduced in Dalrymple, *Account*, sheet 11-- note that on this map Kazima is shown in a rather strange position in relation to the Gulf of Kuwait.

¹ Kniphausen-report fol. 12.
² Otter, *Voyage*, p. 48-52.
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Faylaka, Sirri and Abu Musa (pp. 31 and 45).

Until recently I had not rightly studied the maps published in Dalrymple's Account and his comments. It is clear that the chart of the Gulf published by Thornton in the editions of his English Pilot after 1716 are very much alike De Haan's manuscript of 1760. Closer study of De Haan's manuscript (copies of maps which were in Batavia in 1760) shows a Dutch flag on Bandar Kong (see plate 18), which indicates that its original might be from the time there was a Dutch flag there, i.e. c. 1692. This means that the oldest mentions of Faylaka and Abu Musa by that name must probably go back to that time, as they appear both on Thornton and on De Haan's versions.

The image of the coast of Najd on European maps (pp. 32-33).

The coast of Najd remained for a long time the least known coastal area of the Gulf. There are basically three traditions of putting names on this coast. The oldest is that of Gastaldi that continues down to Blaeu and the Sanson version of 1652, it is impossible to identify the names on it with existing names in the area. The slightly more realistic looking map of Ottens I mentioned is in reality based on the second edition of Sanson which dates of 1654. (The Tirion map on plate 28 belongs to the same tradition. There exists another old tradition, that of the Portuguese nautical maps (and Linschoten, see plate 2), which has only the name of 'Sar' between the island of Aguada/Faylaka and Tanura.

The coast between Qatar and Sharjah (pp. 36-38).

Except for the catalogue of names by Balbi this coast remained completely unknown to Europeans. Van Keulen's map of 1753 is the only old European map to show some islands in the area of Dalma (plate 30). The very first European ship recorded to have approached this coast near Abu Dhabi was H.M. Hesper in 1813.4

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The White Tower (p. 44).

The White Tower on the maps is almost certainly near Sha'am, see the British sailing directions of 1821 published by Andrew Cook.5 The only clear case of confusion with the monument on Ras Shaikh Ma'sud near Khasab is in Vogel's report of 1666 (see p. 177). A photograph of the Shaikh Ma'sud shrine has been printed in Costa's book on Musandam.6

The sea-battle of Hormuz, (p. 131).

An interesting contemporary Dutch account of the naval battle of Hormuz can be found in the Dutch yearbooks of Claes Wassenaar of the year 1625.7

Identification of an Omani Shaikh in Portuguese documents (p. 127).

The Shaikh 'Naoi', who was opposing the Portuguese in Suwar fortress, probably was the Shaikh of the Al Hinayyi: the similarity in names is obvious. This 'Naoi' is mentioned more often in Portuguese sources.8

A draft treaty between Oman and England of 1645.

While pressure from the Arabs on the Portuguese strongholds in Oman was building up, the Portuguese were seriously hindered by the Dutch blockade of Goa. This blockade made it difficult to pass reinforcements to Muscat. Suwar, the most important Portuguese

4 J. van Keulen, Zeegezigt vol. 6, map of the Gulf. The track of the Hesper is shown on the nautical chart of the Gulf printed by the Hydrographic Office in London in 1820.
7 Claes Wassenaar, Verslag van het Historisch Verhael, vol. 10 (Amsterdam 1626), fol. 120-121v.
8 Cordeiro, Deis Capitães, p. 60-62.
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place after Muscat, fell to the Ya’ariba in 1644.9 After this conquest, there were negotiations between the Omanis and the English about a treaty of commerce.10

Tavernier’s mention of the Amirs of Mascalat and Vodena (pp. 49, 147).

An interesting interpretation of Tavernier’s story on Mascalat and Vodena is given by J.C. Wilkinson. He supposes that Nasir bin Murshid was the person negotiating with Geleynsen de Jongh on Larak about the overland route from Qatif.11 He supposes that Vodena stands for Batina i.e. the Suhar area. The English proposed treaty (which was unknown to Wilkinson) would fit very well in such a policy of Nasir bin Murshid, although it seems to me unsuitable for an Imam of Oman to travel to an island in the Gulf to negotiate with a Dutch infidel. It also seems highly improbable that Tavernier would be unable to identify the imam of Oman correctly. Wilkinson’s interpretation also does not help with the Mascalat amir. The identification of Vodena with Batina looks attractive, although not sure and certainly not supported by the mention by Tavernier that it is a place between two rivers. If Vodana should mean Batina, than this amir could as well be an Al-Qasimi, who seem very prominent in the area at that time, see the following item.

The earliest mentions of the Al-Qasimi in Portuguese sources (p. 160).

Before the armistice agreement in which Sefo el Casmi [Sayf bin Ali Al-Qasimi] is a signatory in 1648, there are a few more mentions in Portuguese sources which seem to indicate this person. These are a number of mentions of a ‘shaikh of Sia’ [=Sir?] in Portuguese

documents who may be identical with the el-Casmi mentioned on p. 160.12 When the Portuguese recaptured the coastal fortresses between Khasab and Suhar in 1623 there is a mention that Gasparo Leite conquered the fortress of Kalba on a certain Lazmi. Here the common copyist and editor’s error of L for C in old Portuguese handwriting makes Cazmi [Qasimi] to Lazmi 13.

Conspiracies against the Ya’ariba in Oman shortly after the conquest of Muscat (p. 168).

Immediately after the fall of Muscat the Portuguese were plotting again with some Shaikhs opposing the Ya’ariba. A Portuguese-sponsored plan to assassinate the Imam and to put the qadi of Rustaq in his place failed, although there seems to have been quite a widespread conspiracy.14 Several tribal leaders (the most important was an unnamed ‘Shaikh of the tribes, while the best identifiable other was Mamede Bensalito [Muhammad bin Salt Al-Riyami]. It is rather interesting to see this conspirator shortly earlier in the Omani chronicle as a loyal commander of Omani troops against Nasir bin Qatan under the supreme command of I Ali bin Ahmad, Shaikh in Oman Ali bin Ahmad. Maybe this Ali bin Ahmad was the ‘Shaikh of the tribes’ mentioned in a Portuguese source.15

The structure of the Portuguese fortress of Khasab (p. 129 and 168).

The main fortress of Khasab still shows the triangular bastions that are typical for European fortresses.16 It is not clear whether these

10 LOI H/628 pp. 521-524 copy of a proposal by Philip Wyke to the people of Suhar. This would have been an exclusive agreement with the British, closing Suhar to all other Christian nations.
11 Wilkinson, The Imamate tradition of Oman, p. 335 n. 15.
12 An example is in Pissurlenrcr, Assentos, vol. 3, p. 491 sq.
13 Relação p. 14, error in reading the original manuscript of the Livro do Estado. The error I spotted in this and other editions has recently been corrected in a new edition: Isabel Cid, Livro das Plantas (Lisbon 1992, 3 vols.), vol. 2, p. 58.
15 Ross, Chronicle, p. 53
16 Photograph in P.M. Costa, Musandam, architecture and material culture of a little known region in Oman (London 1991), p. 61.
remains are of the fortifications built by Ruy Freire (see p. 129) or of the later fortifications of 1650-1651 (see p. 168). The fortress was deserted for some time between these two dates: no garrison is recorded in the Livro do Estado of 1638. It was possibly given up after the fall of Julfar in 1632.

More on Kniphausen's life and character (p. 354).

Interesting biographical data about Tiddo Frederik van Kniphausen can be found in a family history published in Germany in 1955. He was the eldest son of the Prussian cabinet minister Friedrich Erst zu In- und Knyphausen. Kniphausen's intellectual propensities may have been wakened in his youth when he made his grand tour under the guidance of a man who would later become the royal librarian of Prussia. He first went into Prussian military service, but soon went over to the more cultured French army. He quarreled then as well with his mother as with the King of Prussia. He was even for a short time imprisoned, but he managed to escape. His father helped him to obtain a position with the Dutch East India Company. In 1761 he returned to Amsterdam with a fortune of 70,000 pound sterling which he had built up on Kharg. He had a meeting with his relatives on the Eastern border of the Netherlands and then went to Paris. Alvensleben ends his short account of Tiddo Frederik van Kniphausen with the remark 'In the evil hands of an immoral woman and bad friends he finally lived in Paris and he died there lonely and impoverished'. Considering the mentions of his love life in other sources it seems a kind of poetical justice that he ended up in the arms of an evil woman.

More details on Mir Muhanna's conquest of Kharg in 1765-1766 (pp. 368-369).

What finally happened in the last days of 1765 with the Dutch on Kharg can best be illustrated from a plan of Kharg fortress in

Niebuhr's travel. This shows a small central fortification (marked A) with an outlying large triangular bastion controlling the main entrance on the right hand side. According to the Dutch reports of the conquest of Kharg by Mir Muhanna, Dutch defences were hampered by the fact that houses of Armenian merchants were built close to the bastion (these houses do not appear on this plan). The Arab invaders found cover against artillery fire from the bastion in these houses and could so come so close that they could storm the bastion and enter the outer perimeter. At that time the two big Dutch ships (each 50 meters long) which were at that moment away because in the instable weather they could not stay on the unprotected anchorage near Kharg. Once the outer fortifications had fallen, the returning ships could not communicate any more with the fortress and they left after seeing the white flag on the fortress.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Mir Muhanna’s character (p. 376-377).

Mir Muhanna gained a legendary reputation, although the stories that circulate about him are quite inaccurate. Perry quotes two. The first is that Karim Khan wanting to counter a huge British invasion (in punishment for the capture of a European ship. Karim Khan asked Mir Muhanna to do something about it. The Zaab leader (also in historic reality a genius in ambushes) dressed up a few hundreds of his choice followers in lady’s dresses with arms hidden underneath and sent them to the headquarters of the Europeans in Bandar Abbas. The Europeans joyfully opened their gates for this unexpected entertainment and were massacred. Perry’s second quotation is a local legend from Kharg recounted by the Indian traveler Abdul Qadir. Twenty years after the Dutch had left the Kharg people started to raise pigs. This immoral innovation angered the Muslim Saint whose grave still can be seen on Kharg. He ordered Mir Muhanna (who is wrongly mentioned in Abdul Qadir’s book as a Ka‘b) to drive out these infidels.

The Dutch and Shaikh Abdallah of the Banu Ma’in (p. 382).

Shaikh Abdullah (bin Muhammad) of the Banu Ma’in wrote in 1764 a letter to the Dutch of which a translation has survived between the Kharg papers in ARA VOC 3156. In this letter he offers to the Dutch the fortress of Hormuz which he had just captured. It is not clear what deeper motives could have existed for this offer.

19 Perry, Karim Khan, 270
Plate 2: Page from Balbi's travel of 1580, printed in Holland in 1706. The Dutch text is in the normal Dutch printing of that time but Latin letters are used for the exotic names like Sirbeniyast (Sir Banu Yas), Dibei [Dubai] and Agiman [Ajman].

Plate 3: Linschoten's map of the Gulf of 1596, a printed version of a Portuguese nautical chart with some additions. It is a mixture of a nautical chart and a geographical map, showing both fantastic names in the interior (like Mascalat), while most of the names of the coastal region (like Aguada for the island of Faylaka and Julfar) are of real places.

Plate 4: The town and the fortress of Hormuz. A French version of an old Portuguese bird's eye view of the island of Hormuz. The fortress is well separated from the town to insure that attackers will not find cover to protect them from the artillery of the fortress (from Prévost, Bibliothèque des Voyages).
Plate 5. Photograph of Hormuz fortress made by a German traveller, c. 1900.
The present shape of the fortress is still basically the Portuguese design, although it is probable that some modernisation had place after the Omani siege of 1718 (Oosters Instituut, Leiden).

Plate 6. Part of the so-called Portuguese fortress in Bahrain. This fortress originally served the Kingdom of Hormuz, there probably was no permanent Portuguese garrison, but it was usually manned by Hormuzian soldiers, who lost it in 1602. The Dutch planned to occupy it in 1754 when it still was in a good state. The picture shows indeed an angular sloping bastion adapted to artillery warfare of the early modern times.

Plate 7. Portrait of Pieter van den Broecke, the Dutch director in Surat who sent the first Dutch ships into the Gulf in 1623. Van den Broecke had already been to Yemen. His famous portrait by Frans Hals is now in London and this old engraving in his travel book is made after this portrait.
Plate 8: Part of a letter of instructions written in 1633 by the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies to the Director of the establishment of the Dutch East India Company in Bandar Abbas, ordering the director to establish contacts with the Arabs who had captured Julfar and were besieging Bandar Abbas.

Plate 9: Part of a Dutch report on the fortress of Qishm built by Ruy Faire in 1622 with a view from the north east. The Portuguese could not maintain themselves in the unfinished fortress. The Persians finished the work. This drawing and description were made by the Dutch at the occasion of their first attack on this fortress in 1645.
Plate 11: The eastern part of the same map. It shows the route of a Dutch ship passing the island of Delfshaven [Sirri, hidden on the picture under the windrose], and then an island called ‘Kappershoogen’ of which the profile is drawn which shows it clearly to be Abu Musa, and finally the ship drifted to a point near the Arabian coast. Given the accuracy of the chart, this point must have been near Jebel Ali.

Plate 12: Contemporary copy of a letter of Ali Pasha of Basra to Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jongh, 1645, with translation into Dutch. Geleynssen de Jongh kept a multilingual register of his correspondence of which this plate shows two pages (ARA, Geleynssen de Jongh nr. 100).
Plate 13: Page of the journal of the Dutch ship Zwaardwijk of 1665 relating to its visit to Doha with a small island of Doha Bay (ara, Gezeylde Karte 280).

Plate 14: View of Muscat, copy in the Dutch nautical atlas of De Haan of 1760. The view shows Arab flags on the fortresses and an English flag in the lower town. Apparently, this drawing was made at the occasion of Rainsford's presence in Muscat in 1659-1660 (ARA, VELH 156 vol. 2)
Plate 15: A copy of the Dutch nautical chart of the area between Quads and Muscat, a copy of the Dutch chart during the expedition of the Heemskerck in 1690. It shows the accuracy with which the Dutch explored the coast (ARA VEL.220).

Plate 16: A nautical chart of the type that was issued to Dutch ships sailing to the Gulf, probably from c. 1660. This is the oldest specimen of this type that has survived and it is also one of the most accurate, although it is a step back from the accurate explorer's charts shown on plates 11 and 12. These maps are probably based on Portuguese examples on which data from later Dutch expeditions between 1644 and 1651 are entered. The lines of depth soundings are typically Dutch and not to be found on the older Portuguese charts (ARA VEL.220).
Plate 17: View of the entry of the creek that runs from the Shatt al-Arab to Basra, with a townplan of Basra and a ruined fortress near Basra, made by an Dutch expedition in 1672 (ARA VEL 865)

Plate 18: The eastern part of a large nautical chart of the Gulf of the Atlas of Dr. Hahn of 1706 (ARA VEL 1557). This atlas contains copies of manuscript charts kept in the Nijmegen's office in Basra (plankdorp). The original plankdorp charts and the land plans from the 1690s by the Windhagen company are the only plans in the atlas kept by the Nijmegen's office in Basra (plankdorp). The original plankdorp charts and the land plans from the 1690s by the Windhagen company are the only plans in the atlas kept by the Nijmegen's office in Basra (plankdorp).
Plate 19: Engraving in a book of the German officer von der Rot showing the Dutch attack on Qom in 1667.

Plate 20: The nautical chart of the Gulf in the first edition of Thornton's English Pilot of 1703. It looks very much like a Dutch map. Typical is the appearance of Sarejeh (Sharjah).
Plate 21: Left hand side of a view of Bandar Abbas by Cornelis de Bruyn, a painter and engraver of international reputation. Painters of renown only very rarely visited the Gulf. This is the only original drawing that survives of his visit to the region of Bandar Abbas (his second travel book contains some engravings). It shows the building of the English East India Company and the old building of the Dutch next to each other.

Plate 22: Right hand side of the same, with the new building of the Dutch East India Company.
Plate 23: View of Bandar Abbas, German photograph, end of 19th century. The two-story building with the blind seawall to the left was the customs office, the former Dutch establishment. It was demolished and replaced by a new building in 1933 (Oosters Instituut, Leiden).

Plate 24: Letter in Arabic addressed by the Dutch authorities to the local authorities and several of these have survived, like this letter of the commander of the Arab force besieging Hormuz in 1787 to Jan Bruma Kooijmans, Governor of the Island. One of the men who fought in the battle was Kazim bin Majid al Husain (see plates 26 and 27). One of the most important personalities in the history of the Gulf between 1718 and 1780, Akbar, Ruler of Jaffa, one of the most important personalities in the