In this period the Portuguese influence was still considerable and was manifested precisely in language use and the customs of several communities throughout the archipelago.

**Malay as a contact language**

When the Portuguese arrived in Southeast Asia in the early 16th century, the Malay language was a vehicle for contact between the various peoples of that region. Being a language used by prominent merchant groups in Malacca, its importance and scope had increased with the growth of this port. Examples of persons of distinct and distant origin being able to communicate with each other in Malay appear in some Portuguese travel reports. Malay was also known, to some extent, in the western Indian Ocean and several mercantile tongues (such as Arabic) of that area absorbed elements of Malay. In this way, Portuguese seafarers could pick up some Malay before actually sailing to Southeast Asia. In Malacca, Arabic was still of some use but in this hub the Portuguese had plenty of opportunity to learn Malay, as was the case with Tomé Pires, who explored the archipelago shortly after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca. Pires’ reasonable command of Malay is evident from his virtually exact transcriptions, although during his travels and in his interviews he would have undoubtedly also relied on assistants with more comprehensive linguistic competences.

In Temate and the surrounding islands, a region with great ethnolinguistic diversity, Malay was a contact language in the 1530s, the period in which António Galvão was the Portuguese captain there. As he wrote: “At present the Malay language has come into vogue; and most of them speak it and avail themselves of the whole region, where it is like Latin in Europe”.

Indeed, like Latin in medieval and Renaissance Europe, in maritime and coastal Southeast Asia during that age Malay was the language of religion, of diplomacy and of scholarship and evidence of its knowledge conferred prestige. A simplified version of Malay was used in daily interactions among merchants from different lands. The Dutchman Jan Huysen van Linschoten, who lived in Goa at the end of the 16th century, compared the position of Malay to French, the language which had been catching up with Latin as a contact language for the European elites:

“And this language, called Malay, has become famous and is considered the most

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1 I would like to thank Benjamin Teemsma and Arie Pas for their invaluable advice.


3 Couto, ibidem.


5 In the original: “Pretendo-agora do malayo e os mais ho flaio e servem-se dela por toda terra como latino na Espanh” in the source edition by Jacob A. Preester on the Moluccas c.1544 - Probably the Preliminary Version of A. Galvão’s lost História das Molucas. Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971, pp. 73-75.
gallant and appropriate of all the East. And anyone in India who does not have a command of the Malay language is not respected, as is the situation among us with French."

**Translation as a key process**

Elementary Malay, supplemented by gestures and a few words from other languages (including the speaker’s native tongue) may have been perfectly satisfactory in some situations of contact between Portuguese and Southeast Asians. When it came to official relations however, an imperfect mastery of simple “pasar-Malay” (literally: the Malay of the marketplace) with its numerous regional variations did not suffice. In such cases, interpretation and translation could not be at random and sophisticated Malay, the language of diplomacy, was called for.

In official documents and treaties, the wording could not allow for any ambiguity, even more so because of the high value attached to the written word in diplomacy in Southeast and East Asia. The utmost care was taken with editing and composing and the aesthetical aspects of diplomatic letters reflected their importance and degree of respect for the addressee. They were solemnly presented to the dignitary in silk envelopes, on a platter. Some letters were real works of art. An outstanding specimen is the large and richly ornamented Surat Emas (golden letter) sent by Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh to King James I of England in 1615. This may be contrasted with the torn paper used by the mandarin of Nouday in China for a reply to a group of Portuguese, a story related by Fernão Mendes Pinto. With such a “letter”, it was not even necessary to read the actual message to be aware of the mandarin’s animosity.

The starting point of a formal relationship was marked by the exchange of gifts and the delivery of the letter of introduction and therefore Portuguese delegations sought to always have translators on standby. Mendes Pinto described an embassy from the king of Batak to the captain of the Portuguese fortress in Malacca, Pero de Faria, on which occasion a letter, written on a palm leaf, was handed “which was immediately rendered into Portuguese from the Malay in which it had been written”. Thereupon the king of Batak “explained to Pero de Faria, through an interpreter, the reason for the conflict between the tyrant of Aceh and the king of Batak”. In his depiction of the usual course of the ceremony in Batavia during the period of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC), Blussé also refers to the role of translators:

> “After everybody was seated, the letter was handed over and the presents displayed on the table. Thereupon the letter was opened and read aloud by the master of ceremonies – if the text was written in Malay or Portuguese. Otherwise the missive had to be passed on to specialists to be deciphered”.

The oldest surviving manuscripts in Malay, dating from 1521 and 1522, are letters sent to the king of Portugal by Abu Hayat, ruler of Ternate. These letters, written in Jawi, a script based on Arabic, describe the relationships between various realms in the Moluccas. The peculiarities of the Malay used in this letter led linguists to believe that the authors were native Ternatans at the court who were proficient in Malay.

**Interpreters and translators**

In such diplomatic contacts, in which the wording of each statement had to be given due consideration, the necessary subtleties could not be transmitted easily by people who were not well versed in the languages in question. The parties involved in such contacts thus had to resort to professionals, usually called lingua, later also jurubasa or juraba (derived from Malay jurubahasa). By means of some special studies, talent or life experience such individuals were able to transmit different languages and cultures, along with their respective subtleties.

Translators played a key role in the smooth running of ceremonial encounters and negotiations. Their position was also one of confidence, as the information they obtained from both sides was susceptible to abuse. Incompetence aside, they could also deliberately opt to mistranslate or manipulate messages. Their lords thus kept them under watch and ward, sometimes even virtually holding them prisoners, and there are indications that they were dismissed or arrested at the slightest suspicion. They were considered to be positive assets in negotiations, but conversely they might become the scapegoats in case of any

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6 In the original: “E este língua, chamada malaio, veio a ser famosa e considerada a mais galante e apropriada de todo o Oriente ... E quem na Índia não dominar a língua malaia, não é tido em conta, como entre nós se passa com o francês”. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Itinerário, viagem ou navigação para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguesas, Rui Loureiro and Arie Pan (translation and edition.), Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997, p. 115.


8 Fernão Mendes Pinto, Pelagreiras. Arse Pos (transl.). Baarn: De Prom, 1992, chapter 64, pp. 148-150.

9 Blussé, ibidem, chapter 13, p. 25.


12 See the examples by Couto, ibidem.
failure. However, if the course of events was satisfactory, their skills were highly respected and rewarded.

Translators had diverse origins. They included Asian individuals who had travelled aboard ships, after having been recruited with the promise of material and immaterial compensation. Or they were prisoners or slaves more or less forced to perform such a job—however, there would certainly have been some prize involved as an incentive: less harsh treatment and/or the prospect of release. This was the case with Henrique, the slave Fernão Magalhães had obtained during his stay in Malacca shortly after its conquest by the Portuguese. According to the chronicler Pigafetta, this young man hailed from Sumatra and subsequently accompanied his master to Portugal and to Morocco. Later he joined Magalhães’s great exploratory journey around the world, on behalf of the king of Spain. Upon reaching the archipelago of the Philippines, it was Henrique’s ability to communicate with the local population that confirmed Magalhães’s hope that he had indeed reached Southeast Asian waters. Henrique played an active mediating role during this memorable episode, the first time a European fleet had reached the eastern archipelago from the east, which had been the objective of this voyage. Magalhães died shortly thereafter in Cebu, but his testament, which ordered the manumission of Henrique, was not respected by Magalhães’s successor, who wanted to retain Henrique as an interpreter. Out of vengeance, Henrique took advantage of his monopoly on intercultural communication and mistranslated the messages the new commander conveyed to the ruler of Cebu, with unpleasant consequences for the Europeans.

Europeans among crews also served as interpreters. Some had explicitly studied a language (or languages), while others had mastered Asian languages thanks to longstanding contacts with Asians. There were men who had lived in Asia after having deserted from crews, there were free-riding traders, or former prisoners. The Dutchman Frederik de Houtman was held captive in Aceh from 1599 till 1601 and the Malay he learned during that period was sufficient to produce a Dutch-Malay phrasebook, published in Amsterdam in 1603.

This language guide, which followed the model of a popular French-Dutch predecessor, accounted for such subtleties as the various contexts of conversation and the nuances of politeness. In the parts that deal with situations of formal encounters with dignitaries, reference is made to the presence of interpreters and the respect shown for official letters.

The importance that Dutch VOC merchants attributed to proper communication with Asian rulers is evident from the inclusion of so-called taalmennen among their most senior officials. These “language men”, who had comprehensively studied other languages and cultures, played a key role in many of the embassies to supreme rulers such as in Peking, Delhi and Isfahan. The VOC also had special translation departments. During the 18th and 19th centuries, in their contacts with the realms of Central Java, the Dutch could rely on the services of translators, entrusted with the task of translating speeches on official occasions in which Dutch and Javanese took part. These Dutch or Eurasian individuals were usually confident at the courts and some of them actively contributed towards the development of Javanese philology in Dutch academia.

In certain circumstances, interpreters had to be hired on an ad hoc basis from among the local residents. The harbour masters or syahbandar were the most obvious choice for this job — their activities and contacts equipped them with a wide range of knowledge, including linguistic skills. Many of these officials were ethnic outsiders, especially Chinese or Arabs.

There were also experts in Asian languages among the Roman Catholic missionaries. Owing to their familiarity with local customs and language(s), missionaries often acted as interpreters and as intermediaries in the broadest sense between Asians and Europeans. Shortly after the arrival of the first missionaries in the archipelago, in the 16th century, their religious congregations decided that Malay would be the main vehicle for their activities. Francis Xavier, who was active in the Maluku Islands in 1546-1547, translated basic religious texts into Malay, such as the Creed, the Declaration of the Articles, the General Confession, the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Hail Holy Queen, and the Commandments.

In addition, and as a further testimony to his linguistic skills and enthusiasm, the Basque missionary “composed long explanations of the Creed in rhymed Portuguese for the children of the casados”. Subsequent missionaries in the Maluku Islands, in particular the Jesuits, also seem to have been quite productive. Although original documents are missing, there

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13 It seems that some of these were even brought to Lisbon for some time in order to improve their knowledge of the Portuguese language and culture.

14 “Uno schiavo del capitano generale, che era de Zamatra”, the same as “L’interprete nostro, che si chiamava Enrique” (Pigafetta, Antonio, Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo, 1522, chapters XVIII and XXVIII).

15 Pigafetta, chapter XXVIII.


are indications that they wrote down a considerable number of religious texts in Malay, such as a catechism composed by an Italian.22

Alongside Malay, knowledge of indigenous languages and cultures remained fundamental for missionaries. In their eagerness to master the language, they had to overcome unexpected obstacles of all kinds. With regard to the Spanish Franciscans who arrived in the region of Manado, North Sulawesi (Celebes), in 1619, the story was told that during their crash course in the local language they had to hand over small presents for every single word or phrase which the natives taught them. Later missionaries in the same region also zealously devoted themselves to language studies.23

Similarly important was the category of "natural interpreters", i.e. people of mixed blood, whose biological origins spanned Asia as well as Europe, suggesting that they were familiar with the cultural codes of two worlds. These mestizos often lived in or near European settlements in the archipelago, in communities characterized as "intermediary societies", with their own cultures in which Asian and European elements had given birth to a new and distinct environment.

A case in point is the community which developed in and around the Portuguese fortress in Tarimbang, consisting of 123 people in 1536, eighteen of whom were married men (the so-called casados), the rest being women, slaves, servants and children, of mixed or fully Asian origin. In the 1570s, a large part of this "Portuguese" Christian community was executed in Ambon, where they joined the group of Portuguese families and their followers already living there. Their descendants were a sizable part of the group which in the VOC period would be designated as "Mardijkers", a term most probably derived from the Malay orang merdeka, literally "free men", because most of them were (descendants of) manumitted slaves hailing from elsewhere in Asia or even Africa. They were proficient in contact languages, such as Malay in the Maluku Islands.

The term "Topasses", which was sometimes used for mestizos, especially in Timor and southern India, might actually refer to an activity as interpreters. The etymological roots of this term may be the same as those of the Anglo-Indian term dubash, interpreter (in Hindi dobashi, literally "man of two languages", in Tamil tupashi, with the same meaning).24. More plausible however is an origin with the Hindustani word topi, hat, "topasses"

thus meaning "hat-wearers", referring to their distinctive dress code.25

The Portuguese linguistic legacy

Not long after the arrival of the Portuguese in the coastal zones of Asia, their language became a new lingua franca in the area of the Indian Ocean and in particular along the shores of Southeast Asia. Portuguese even became a language of prestige and several powerful rulers and princes spoke and read it, such as Sultan Hainun of Ternate (r. 1535-1570) and the Kataang (chief minister) Pattingalloang (r. 1600-1654) and Karunung (r. 1654-1664) of Gowa in South Sulawesi.26. Of course, this did not mean that they could do without linguistic assistants. A Dutchman explains the eagerness of the elite to learn Portuguese in a way that seems to be inspired by envy rather than linguistic or historical analysis:

"Just like the English, the Portuguese seem to lack an aptitude for learning foreign languages. Therefore they urged their trade partners to master a sort of Portuguese, which gradually became commonly used along the coasts they frequented."27

When the Dutch began their Asia-bound voyages, they were aware of the importance of the Portuguese language in coastal areas. The treaty signed at their first expedition in 1596 with the administrator of Banten was composed in Portuguese. Interpreters of Portuguese could usually be found aboard Dutch ships and Admiral Jacob van Neck encountered Portuguese-speaking seamen in the Indian Ocean in 1598.28. On this voyage he carried a credential from the Dutch Prince Maurice of Nassau, written in Portuguese and, as stated in the document, intended for "all the emperors, kings, dukes, princes and governors of provinces and republics to whom these [credentials] are presented."29

Some years after van Neck's expedition, the Dutch had become the predominant European power in the archipelago and Batavia became the headquarters of the VOC in Asia. But Portugal would continue to exert its influence and remained present at least

24 Idem, ibidem, pp. 550-554.
29 Sjú, ibidem, p. 124.
in cultural and linguistic aspects. In Batavia, it was Portuguese, or rather a "creolized Portuguese", which was the main language in the 17th and 18th centuries. It was not just a lingua franca, but even the mother tongue of a large part of the population, probably even two thirds in 1674.

Portuguese was also the language of the sizeable Mardijkers population, consisting of Christian manumitted slaves and people of heterogeneous origin. It was also used by the slaves imported to Java from Portuguese-dominated places in South Asia and hence became the language of communication between (Dutch) masters and slaves. Portuguese was the means of communication even in VOC offices, particularly when — as was often the case — non-Dutch functionaries were involved. Dutch children became fluent in Portuguese through their daily interactions with slaves. All this interfered with the initial intention of the Dutch to reduce the vestiges of Portuguese, a policy sometimes reiterated by orders such as the one promulgated by Governor-General Anthony van Diemen in 1641, the year when the town received a considerable influx of Lusophone refugees from Malacca.

It has been suggested that the preference among Asians for the Portuguese rather than the Dutch language, apart from historical backgrounds, was related to linguistic features: it was said that Portuguese was easier to understand and had, in the words of Benjamin Teensma, a greater "capacity for creolization" (creoliseringscapaciteit)32. In Ambon in 1645 the governor considered that Dutch was too difficult to understand for the natives, if compared with Portuguese or even English, and therefore he advised against its use as a language of the church.

The VOC aimed to establish a Dutch culture in Batavia, but it was also committed to ensuring the spiritual well-being of the population, including that of the Portuguese-speaking Mardijkers and slaves, who had adopted the Protestant religion of their masters. Therefore, Portuguese was soon allowed as a language to be used in church services and schools in Batavia and churches were built for the Portuguese-speaking inhabitants33.

Preaching and education had to be supported by written texts. In the 17th and 18th centuries, several Christian (Protestant) religious and moralistic works were translated into Portuguese for Batavia's population, or composed for this target group in particular4. Kloosterboer lists twelve such Portuguese texts, of which the last was published in Colombo in 177835. Most notable is the translation of the Bible by João Ferreira de Almeida, the first Portuguese Bible translation worldwide in a period when the climate of the Counter-Reformation would have made such a venture impossible in Portugal itself.

Almeida (c. 1628-1691), probably born in the district of Mangualde, converted to Protestantism in the 1640s in Malacca and went on to study theology, passing his final exams for becoming a minister in Batavia in 1656. He lived for some years in Ceylon and Southern India, but he spent the greater part of his adult life in Batavia. Of the numerous texts he wrote or translated, several were a harsh criticism of Roman Catholicism, while he also produced edifying works such as a translation from Spanish of Aesop's fables, printed in Batavia in 1672. As a basis for his Bible translation he relied on versions in Latin, Spanish, French and Italian. Later he learned Greek and probably Hebrew, but it is uncertain to which point he translated from the original texts. It took ages before his New Testament was printed and the Old Testament (a translation which he left unfinished) was only published in Batavia in two volumes in 1748 and 1753.

The eminent philologist Teófilo Braga, in his quest for the roots and development of the Portuguese language and culture, considered Almeida's Bible "the greatest and most interesting document to study the Portuguese language of the 17th century"36 and presumed that due to Ferreira de Almeida's long stay abroad and his humble origins, the language he used was very close to that of the povo, the ordinary people37. Swelengrebel, on the other hand, thinks it was the written language of the 17th century, so not really a rendering of "popular" or "spoken" Portuguese38.

Either way, it is certain that the povo, the ordinary people in Batavia, used a quite different sort of Portuguese, and Almeida's Bible was hardly understood by the Asian community in Batavia. The use of Portuguese as contained in Almeida's Bible by the ministers in their church services in all likelihood constituted a serious obstacle in religious communication between the clergy and churchgoers. The local preacher Manuel Morgapa, who used creolized Portuguese in his church services, was far more popular than his colleagues who stuck to the language of Almeida's bible39.

The Portuguese language of Batavia went through a process of further creolization, as is obvious from the 1780 published and commented upon by Benjamin Teensma40. This fragment was taken from a Dutch — Malay — Portuguese dictionary, aimed at newcomers and published in Batavia under the title Nieuwe Woordenboek uyt het Nederduitsch en het gemeene Maleisch en Portugalieesch. A mastery of Batavia-style Portuguese was thus

34 Collins, Ibidem, pp. 262-263.
39 J. L. Swelengrebel, João Ferreira de Almeida. Um tradutor português da Bíblia em Java, translated from the original into English: A Portuguese Bible translator in Java (1972) by Elizabeth Tammerick. JUERP, 1972, p. 11.
40 Teensma, op.cit.
still considered to be a useful asset for Dutch people living in this city in the second half of the 18th century. But this language had already begun to decline. In 1706, Valentiijn counted 36 native schoolmasters in the city, 35 of whom used Portuguese as the language of instruction; in 1779, of the 20 schoolmasters 14 taught in Portuguese.41

Shortly thereafter, the Portuguese language vanished quite abruptly from the stage. The last Portuguese-speaking minister was appointed in 1807 and within a couple of years there were no other functionaries who were versed in Portuguese.42 The relegation of this language in favour of Malay was related to changes in the composition of the population in the Napoleonic era. After 1796 no new slaves arrived from South Asian regions where Portuguese was spoken; slaves now came from Malay-speaking zones in insular Southeast Asia. There were also new arrivals of French and English citizens, for whom Portuguese was a new language. Furthermore, links with important Portuguese-influenced zones in Asia such as Ceylon and Malacca were severed.

Another factor may have been the demographic and social decline of the Mardijkers. This term was now rarely used, just as "mestizos" had become obsolete at the end of the 18th century, and was replaced by "inlandsche christenen" (native Christians) or "Portugeeses", although they seldom had Portuguese ancestors and had retained little or no familiarity with the language. A stigma deriving from their ancestors' status as slaves remained attached to the "Portugeese" group.43

A different situation, although equally paradoxical, occurred in Eastern Indonesia, where Portuguese surnames were (and are) common among members of Eurasian communities. Some members of these "Portuguese" or "serani" (Christians, from "Nazarenos") communities played a role as cultural and linguistic mediators. For centuries after the departure of the Portuguese as traders, parts of the population continued to display habits reminiscent of the Portuguese, as noted, for example, by the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace in the 1850s and more recently by Ambassador Pinto de Franca and contemporary travellers.44

CASES

1. Batavia women and the Portuguese language in the VOC period
Portuguese being the lingua franca of Batavia in the 17th and 18th centuries,

a minimal command of that language was indispensable for Dutch merchants and administrators. They learnt it by various means, but without doubt, women were instrumental in the process. The women in Batavia had quite diverse origins, but only a few of them were of fully European stock. This was a regret of the VOC, which, especially in the first decades of Batavia's existence, attempted to intensify the European demographic and cultural presence and understood that the role of women, as mothers and educators, was indispensable in this. The population policy implemented (which included shipments of female orphans from Holland to Batavia, at the request of Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen) was doomed to fail. Most VOC functionaries married women who were born in Asia, belonging to Portuguese-speaking communities of (descendants of) slaves.

It was through these women that the men learned some of the customs of the "Asian" culture. It was not the regional culture of the hinterland of Batavia (Javanese and Sundanese) because the VOC, owing to fears of a revolt, did not allow the people of those zones to live in the town, but the specific way of life of Batavia and other VOC-dominated cities, such as Malacca and Colombo. It was a result of the encounter of people of diverse Asian, but also European and African origins in extraordinary circumstances.

The women marrying Dutch functionaries obtained the status of Europeans and their households were considered to be Dutch. The Dutch lifestyle in the 17th century is often assumed to have been frugal, thrifty and ascetic, but this was certainly not the case in the VOC households of Batavia. In line with what was usual in the Asian environment, Dutch households lived a life of luxury and especially the ladies of leisure in Batavia contrasted with the industrious housewives in Holland and the other Dutch provinces of the time.45 Stories about the ladies of Batavia have come to us, in particular, through the reports of the traveller Nicolaus de Graaff: "These women, in general Dutch but also Kastise and Mistise, in particular in Batavia, for the greater part are so glittering, so haughty, so frisky and vain... they let themselves be served, like princesses, and some have many male and female slaves in their service [...] and they are even so lazy that they would not lift a hand for anything or they call immediately one of their male or female slaves, and if these do not react fast enough they call them poete rastade, poete de negre, or fili de poete, or fili de katsoor...".46 These last expressions are examples of the creolized Portuguese those ladies used, in this case abuse towards their underlings. When in European company, also according to De Graaff, they often used the apparently Portuguese expression of nokke save ("I don't know"). De Graaff deals in extenso, and in a denigrating and derisory way, with

41 Groeneboer, ibidem, p. 56.
42 Idem, ibidem, p. 92.
43 Bosma and Raben, ibidem, pp. 56-57.
46 De Graaff, 1930 (1793); pp. 13-14.
their language use and with their lifestyle and morals. Such scathing or condescending
discourses about women who in a colonial setting pertained to the dominant side was
typical for many European authors through the centuries, as has been analysed for example by Ann Stoler47.

Notwithstanding their limitations, these women should be considered interpreters
on behalf of their husbands, as they rendered the local Asian world intelligible to them,
including that major vehicle of communication, the Portuguese language.

2. Interpreters as intermediaries: Manado

The history of the region of Manado, in North Sulawesi, provides some cases of
interpreters who, due to their function, devoted themselves to activities beyond linguistics.

The Portuguese presence in Manado was flimsy, but in an indirect way the
Portuguese of the early modern period have been important for this region until today.
In the 16th century, Portuguese ships passed the coast of northern Sulawesi on some of
their journeys to and from the Maluku Islands and in the period 1563-1569 Portuguese
missionaries converted several thousand Manadonese to Christianity. No more Portuguese
visits of any importance to the zone are recorded. However, in the collective memory of
the population nowadays, the Portuguese occupy a place of prominence and prestige.
Many of the inhabitants, along the coast but also inland, boast about their presumed
Portuguese ancestors, and several old ruins and objects are identified as being Portuguese,
while in reality they were constructed by the Spanish and the Dutch.

The Spanish, with their main base in Manila, had a particular interest at that time
in obtaining regular rice supplies from the Manado region, and for assistance in their
contacts they relied mostly on people from the Maluku Islands and the Philippines (the
so-called Papangans) with some real or perceived European ascendancy. Probably this was
also the background of the interpreter, referred to as a “Portuguese”, who accompanied
the Franciscan missionary Blas Palomino to Manado in 1622 – on a visit in which both
were stabbed to death by the local population48.

Around 1650, the VOC became the dominant European power in this region.
Coastal places, such as Manado and Amurang, expanded with new arrivals of groups of
mestizos and Mandjikers who had a special legal status under the Dutch regime. Whereas
in Batavia and elsewhere in the western archipelago the language of these “intermediary
societies” in the 17th and 18th century was a creolized Portuguese, the Manado burgers
(literally “citizens”), like those in other parts of eastern Indonesia such as the Maluku

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