

## ปีเตอร์ ฟลอริส กับประวัติศาสตร์ปัตตานี

Stuart Robson

D.Lit.(Leiden), รองศาสตราจารย์

ภาควิชาภาษาเอเชียและเอเชียศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยโมนาช เมลเบิร์น ออสเตรเลีย

### บทคัดย่อ

Peter Floris เป็นพ่อค้าที่ได้แล่นเรือชื่อ The Globe มาเยือนปัตตานี เมื่อ พ.ศ.2155-2156 บันทึกของ Floris กล่าวถึงประสบการณ์ของเขาที่ปัตตานี รวมทั้งการได้เข้าเฝ้า Raja Ijau บันทึกนี้ถือเป็นแหล่งข้อมูลภายนอกพื้นที่ที่อาจใช้ร่วมกับ 'Hikayat Patani' อันเป็นแหล่งข้อมูลภายในที่เขียนเป็นภาษามลายูเพื่อให้ได้ภาพของอาณาจักรที่รุ่งเรืองในช่วงเวลาดังกล่าว

ชื่อ 'Pieter Willemze van Elbinck' มีความเกี่ยวข้องกับต้นฉบับตัวเขียนภาษามลายูจำนวนหนึ่ง ซึ่งปัจจุบันเก็บรักษาไว้ที่หอสมุดมหาวิทยาลัยเคมบริดจ์ ต้นฉบับตัวเขียนเหล่านี้สันนิษฐานว่ามาจากเมือง Aceh ประเทศอินโดนีเซีย ประมาณปี พ.ศ.2147

เป็นที่แน่ชัดว่า 'Pieter Willemze van Elbinck' และ 'Peter Floris' เป็นชื่อของบุคคลคนเดียวกัน ซึ่งในตอนแรกทำงานให้ชาวดัชต์และต่อมาได้ทำงานให้ชาวอังกฤษ ตามข้อเท็จจริง บุคคลผู้นี้เป็นชาวดัชต์และบันทึกเรื่องราวต่าง ๆ เป็นภาษาดัชต์ หลักฐานจากต้นฉบับตัวเขียนภาษามลายูทำให้สรุปได้ว่าบุคคลดังกล่าวนี้ไม่เพียงแต่เป็นพ่อค้าเท่านั้น ยังเป็นคนแรก ๆ ที่ได้ศึกษาภาษามลายูอีกด้วย

คำสำคัญ : ปีเตอร์ ฟลอริส, ประวัติศาสตร์ปัตตานี, ภาษามลายู, ประเทศไทย

## Peter Floris (alias Pieter Willemsz), Merchant and... Student of Malay

Stuart Robson

D.Lit.(Leiden), Associate Professor,

Department of Asian Languages and Studies, Monash University, Melbourne

*Peter Floris was a merchant who sailed in a ship called 'The Globe' which visited Patani in 1612-13. Floris' Journal contains an account of his experiences there, including meetings with the Queen (Raja Ijau). This external source can be placed alongside an internal one, the Malay history 'Hikayat Patani', in order to gain a picture of this flourishing sultanate at this time.*

*The name 'Pieter Willemze van Elbinck' is associated with a small group of Malay manuscripts now kept in the Cambridge University Library. These appear to originate from Aceh around 1604.*

*Apparently these two names were borne by one and the same man, who first served the Dutch, and then the English. He was in fact Dutch, and wrote in Dutch. From the evidence of the Malay manuscripts, we can conclude that he was more than a mere merchant, but was also one of the earliest students of the Malay language.*

**Keywords :** Peter Floris, Patani, Malay language, Thailand

The Malay realm of Patani was at the height of its fame for about a century, a period dating from the latter part of the 16th century well into the 17th, when it was ruled by a series of queens. The evidence for Patani at this time takes three forms: indigenous texts, foreign reports, and archaeology.

The main indigenous source is the Malay history *Hikayat Patani*, which was edited, translated into English, and supplied with ample commentary by A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt in 1970. This narrative covers the foundation of Patani, its rise to power under the 'Inland Dynasty', and its decline under the 'Kelantan Dynasty', down to about A.D. 1729. It is written from the viewpoint of the Patani Malays, and the central concern is the vicissitudes of their legitimate ruling house.

The narrative of the *Hikayat Patani* gives no hint of the presence of certain other witnesses to its events, visitors from outside the region who called there, namely the Europeans. These foreigners came precisely because of Patani's fame and prominence in the region: they were interested in making profits from the trade. Indeed at this time it seems that Patani was on a par with Aceh in northern Sumatra and Banten in western Java as leading ports on the routes through maritime Southeast Asia, with links to many a port to the west, as well as to the east, as far as Japan (Teeuw & Wyatt, 1970, 13). Some of the foreigners wrote of what they saw, and one of these was Peter Floris; his account is well known for its lively and detailed descriptions of what he saw with his own eyes in Patani.

Peter Floris lived in Patani for a time in 1612-13, in other words, during the reign of Raja Ijau (ruled 1584-1616). This man arrived as a merchant in an English ship, the *Globe*, under Captain Anthony Hippon, who sailed from London in 1611 for Masulipatam on the east coast of India, to collect the kinds of cloth made there (termed 'painted lawns') for sail further east. The ship then sailed to Banten [Bantam], arriving there on 26 April 1612, and from there went on direct to Patani, entering the roads on 22 June. All this is related in Floris's journal, which is available in W.H. Moorland's edition, *Peter Floris; His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe 1611-1615* (1934). The language of the story is English, 17th century English. However, this is an early translation from the original Dutch: Floris wrote in Dutch, because he was not an Englishman at all.

Some excerpts from Floris's story follow, accompanied by a few comments, in order to show just how realistic and informative it is.

On 19 June 1612, approaching Patani from the south,

"Wee were by a great oute-poynting corner, having but little speede during these 3 days. When the corner is paste, those of Patanie beginne to see the shippes over the low land called Sabrangh, being as then yett att the least 6 (miles) leagues from the roade; for one must passe a lowe poynte, being sandye, with few trees, and then go on S. by W. and S.S.W. towards the roade..." (Moorland, 1934, 32).

A location called Seberang seems to be mentioned in the Hikayat Patani, in the context of the story of Syaikh Gombak and his pupil Abdulmu'min, who had sold copper for export in contravention of the royal command and were executed for this at the Pintu Gajah. Their bodies were hurled into the river, but by God's will would not float away. Orders were then given for them to be taken across the water (*bawa ke seberang*). The bodies miraculously lengthened themselves, and they were buried there, and so the grave has been called *kubur Tuk Panjang* ['grave of the long man'] up to this day.

A visit to the site, on the Tanjung over the bay from Patani, is sufficient to confirm that the grave does exist. So Sabrang was clearly across the bay. It will be mentioned again below. The place is marked on the map of the 'Location of 17th Century Patani' by Wayne Bougas as part of his excellent article 'Patani in the Beginning of the XVIIe Century' (Bougas, 1990, 116).

On arrival the English found a Dutch ship at Patani, and anchored nearby. They were eager to build a store on dry land, and had difficulty getting permission from the authorities, but eventually, "wee gott leave to builde a packhowse, they ordaying us a place hard by the Dutch howse, 30 faddem in lengthe and 20 in breadth. The howse shoulde bee 8 faddem in lengthe, 4 faddem broad and 10 hastas highe, with the which wee were not well contented, because the Dutch howse was a great deale longer and higher..." (Moorland, 1934, 36).

Bougas's description locates the Europeans' houses within the Kampong Bandar [Harbour Quarter], and adds, "The field survey conducted in June found strong evidence that the Dutch and English warehouses may have been built alongside a small canal that ran through the *bandar* and emptied into the bay. Villagers interviewed pointed to a now 'dead' canal planted with rice called 'Kelang Belanda' or the Dutch canal and explained its name by saying Europeans once lived along its banks" (Bougas, 1990, 129).

But before long disaster struck:

"Meane while wee had hired two howses, the one for us, the other for the sicke men, which were in great number, seeming as iff the plague had bene in the shippe; and among all the rest Captayn Hippon, who had complayned of the flix [dysentery] ever since his comming from Bantam, having bene some 9 or 10 days on shoare, dyed the 9th of July in the night about 11 of the clocke, by which wee had toto [too] greate a loss, as well in the gouvernment of the shippe as in matters touching the seas; butt wee muste take patience and committ it to God, who is able to helpe and comforte us. Wee gave him a stately buriall according as the tyme would suffer. God Almightye

graunte him a joyfull resurrection, and the lyke to us all. Amen" (Moorland, 1934, 30).

This is a moving and very human account of the loss of their esteemed captain. Captain Hippon was by no means the only one to die so far from home and be buried in Patani. Bougas reports: "The June survey discovered that a cemetery for merchants know as 'Kubo Dagang' was once located south of the *padang*, just west of modern Kampong Kersik. It was also known as 'Kubo Cerang'. *Cerang* means high ground and describes the type of terrain the cemetery occupies. According to villagers, merchants from other parts who passed away in Patani while trading there were buried at Kubo Dagang. There are no tombstones of any sort in the cemetery. In fact one would not know the area was a graveyard if local villagers did not offer the information" (Bougas, 1990, 127).

One may remark that local oral traditions of this kind often turn out to be very valuable, and should be taken into account alongside other sorts of evidence, such as documents and archaeology, as a worthwhile contribution to our picture of the past in such places as Patani.

The most interesting passage in which Floris tells of his contacts with Malay royalty is dated 31 December 1612, describing the Queen's outing to Sabrang and the dancing the next day. It is worth quoting in full:

"The Queene, being accompanied with a great traine of prauwes, above 600 in number, went to sporte herself, going at the fyrste to lye att Sabraugh [read Sabrang], where they assembled theymeselves; where wee went to salute hir, having both sight and speech of hir in company of the Hollanders, being a comely olde woman, nowe aboute the age of [blank, read threescore] yeares; shee was tall of person and full of majestie, having in all the Indies not seene the lyke unto hir. Shee was accompanied by her sister, being the nexte heyre, and hir sisters little daughter, which hath bene married to Raja Siack, brother to the King of Joor. This hir sister, being commonly called the Young Queene, was yett an unmarried mayden aboute 46 yeares of age. After wee had

had some conference with hir, shee lette fall the curtaine, which signified as much as that wee muste departe. Afterwards shee lette us knowe that wee shoulde come agayne the next daye, for not being ready as yett; which wee were fayne to promise unto hir.

In the morning wee came thether agayne, where they intertayned us reasonably well. There were 12 women and children to daunce, which did effecte it so well that I have not seene better in all the Indies. That being done, all the gentilitie were commanded to daunce, from the greatest to the smalleste, or att least make a shew or demonstration thereof, which caused no small laughter; which both wee and the Hollanders muste do lykewyse, wherewith the olde Queene was much rejoyced. And so wee departed agayne and came home att night..." (Moorland, 1934, 62-3).

It appears that on the occasion of the visit of the King of Pahang to Patani a reception was held with a performance described as occurring on 2 August 1613, as follows:

"The Queene sente for us to the courte, whereas was a greate feaste in honor of the King of Pahan[g]; and there was playde a commedye all by women, to the manner of Java, which were apparlled very antickly [i.e. grotesquely], very pleasante to beholde, so as I doute not to have seene the lyke in any place" (Moorland, 1934, 87).

Firstly, it is interesting to note that the European merchants were included in the invitation to attend the celebrations at court, on both these occasions, and were not ignored or considered outsiders. Secondly, the above passage is reminiscent of one from the *Hikayat Patani*, as noted by Teeuw and Wyatt (1970, 186), as follows:

"At the time when Marhum Pahang [= Raja Ungu, r. 1624-35] was on the throne she kept an opera troupe [*asyik ikat-ikatan*], consisting of four men, one being Tun Mas, the second Tun Perak, the third Tun Mas Din(a)i and the fourth Tun Madu Sari. And the female singers [*bidwan*] were Dang Saja and Dang Meriam, Dang Bidah, Dang Sirat, Dang Puspasari, Dang Alit, Dang Cendera, Dang Enam, Dang Sadah, Dang Surai,

Dang Semara and Dang Alas. These twelve singers had a large repertoire of melodies, and their songs were also of many kinds. The name of one composition was 'Seri Rama dams the sea, with the intention of going to Langkapuri', while there was another composition, 'The Prime Minister Paduka Raja of Malacca at the time of the war with the Portuguese', and still another 'Datuk Paduka Seri Maharaja Johor at the time of his attack on Jambi'. Apart from this all these singers had their own specialities, though it was Dang Sirat who had the most beautiful voice of all".

On 4 October 1613 the Javanese slaves in Patani revolted and burned the fort or palace, but in the end were driven off into the countryside. Floris comments: "This is the thirde tyme that Patania hath bene burned; twyce by the Japanese and once by the Javanes. A strange thing to see and incredible to bee tolde" (Moorland, 1934, 95).

On 21 October they took leave of the Queen, who gave Floris and Mr Essington a golden kris, and the Globe set sail the next day for Masulipatam and thence back to London.

Now a certain Pieter Willemsz had probably arrived in the East "on one of the various fleets which sailed from different ports in Holland before the establishment of the United Dutch Company in 1602", and was sent from Aceh to the Coromandel Coast where he arrived toward the end of 1603. According to a second source, Pieter Willemsz was in Aceh again on 1 June 1604. He made another voyage to the Coast in the autumn of 1604, remaining there till the arrival of the *Delft* early in 1605 (Moorland, 1934, 41-42). Who was this man?

The source alluded to is a group of manuscripts held in the Cambridge University Library, where it is stated that they were "written by Pieter Willemsz van Elbinck on 1 June 1604 in Achin [Aceh]". More about these manuscripts anon. Information about this man comes via his brother, Hans, who was born in 1580 at Elbing, East Prussia, and moved to Amsterdam in 1593, where he married in 1608 and lived till 1654, regularly

using the surname 'Van Elbing'. His father, Willem, had married a widow of Elbing named Floris, who had a son, Jacques Florissen. This explains why the name Willemsz [son of Willem] was used, and it provides the origin of the name Floris (Moorland, 1934, 44). They could have been a Dutch family active in the Baltic trade, and Floris wrote in Dutch. There is no record of him being married, so that his estate went to his brother, Hans (Moorland, 1934, 45).

The manuscripts alluded to are Malay, and have been described by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977, 111-2). The relevant items are:

#### Dd.5.37

*Hikayat Yusuf*. The tale of Joseph according to the Muslim tradition. Copied by Pieter Willemsz van Elbinck on 1 Oct. 1604. Erpenius collection, 1632.

#### Gg.6.40

A: ff.1-4 *Surat al-mujadala*, the 58th Sura of the Kuran, in Arabic.

B: ff.8-44. A cosmogony in Malay, compiled from various Arabic works.

C: ff.46-101. Malay translation from the Persian *Nasihah al-muluk* by Husain Wa'iz-i-Kashifi.

D: ff.103-7. Dutch-Malay vocabulary by Pieter Willemsz van Elbinck. Dated 1 June 1604, at Aceh.

E: ff. 109-11. A Telegu alphabet, apparently also copied by Floris.

A and B apparently also copied by Pieter Willemsz van Elbinck (the same hand as in Dd.5.37). Erpenius collection, 1632.

#### Ii.6.45

Arabic and Malay text. *Tafsir surat al-Kahfi*, a commentary on the 18th Sura of the Kuran. Erpenius collection, 1632.

#### Ll.6.5

*Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*. Incomplete. Erpenius collection, 1632.

**LI.6.25**

Arabic and Malay texts:

A: ff.2-30. *Al-Burda* by al-Busiri. Arabic text with interlinear Malay translation. 12 lines.

B: ff.30-5. A fragment of the Arabic poem *Amali* by al-Ushi, with interlinear Malay translation. 12 lines.

C: ff.41-8. Prayers in Arabic with directions in Javanese (*pegon*). 9 lines.

D: ff.50-60. A Malay tale on fidelity to the king.

Erpenius collection, 1632.

These items are part of a group of six manuscripts which were in the possession of the Leiden Orientalist Thomas Erpenius. When he died in 1624, his widow auctioned his whole collection in Antwerp, and it was bought by the Duke of Buckingham, and his widow in turn bestowed it on the University of Cambridge in 1632. What is unclear is how these particular items were acquired by Erpenius in the first place.

G.W.J. Drewes finds it likely that Floris collected these manuscripts on behalf of Erpenius when he was in Aceh in 1604 (Drewes, 1955, 9), although we have no evidence of contact between them. Drewes himself was interested in the text contained in the MS No. LI.6.25, namely the *Al-Burda* of al-Busiri, an Arabic text with Malay interlinear translation (12 lines), and a fragment of the Arabic poem *Amali* by al-Ushi, also with Malay interlinear translation (12 lines).

Drewes points out that all the works represented in the six Malay manuscripts from the Erpenius collection are ones likely to have been studied by Muslim scholars in Aceh under the powerful sultans of Aceh in the second half of the 16th century (Drewes, 1955, 11). He was especially interested in the *Burda* (*Kasidatu'l Burda*, 'Poem of the Mantle') in praise of Muhammad written in the 13th century in Egypt, and the way it is rendered into Malay. Since all the materials must have existed prior to 1624, they give evidence of Malay studies at a comparatively early stage.

So it is at least clear that Floris, besides being a merchant, was also making a serious study of Malay in 1604, probably in Aceh. However, it appears that he had also mastered the phonology of Telegu (the language spoken at Masulipatam), from the Telegu alphabet copied out by him, which is remarkable for its logical system (Van Ronkel, 1896, 18). As Moorland remarks, "His knowledge of Malay and Telegu again fits in with the absence of any reference to interpreters in these languages... apparently Pieter Willemsz was able to deal personally with the Telegu-speaking merchants of the Coromandel Coast, as well as with the Malay speakers at Patani, obviously a valuable qualification for his task" (Moorland, 1934, 43). However, it is also true that the letter which was brought from the King to the Queen of Patani was translated into Malay by 'Chattis', not by the English themselves (Moorland, 1934, 33), although conversation with the Queen does seem to have been possible directly, as we have seen above. Regarding his own knowledge of Malay, Floris says nothing.

The Malay manuscripts attributed to Floris were described in some detail by Ph.S. van Ronkel in 1896. He reproduces the whole of the Dutch-Malay wordlist, and one can see that it is incomplete, perhaps only the start of what was to be a bigger project; the other works are also fragmentary. One recalls that Frederick de Houtman's *Spraek ende Woordboek* was compiled only one year earlier, in 1603, also in Aceh, while he was imprisoned in Pidir. The majority of Floris' vocabulary is comprised of body-parts; Van Ronkel remarks that his spelling of the word *mischey* for moustache is also found in De Houtman (Van Ronkel, 1896, 14,17); this is probably simply Malay *misai* (moustache), however.

Two short months after his arrival back in London, Floris died, and was buried on 28 September 1615. His Journal survived. Its information was considered important for the English merchants, it seems, as it was immediately translated from Dutch into English. It is already quoted in 1617 by Purchas in his huge *Relations of*

*the World etc. etc.* published in London. In his Book Five, Chapter 3 (p. 558) he tells us: "*Peter Williamson Floris* a Dutchman who lived long in the East Indies, employed first by his countrymen, afterwards by the English, hath given us the latest intelligence of these parts..." (Purchas, 1617, 558), and goes on to give an account of Siam and the arrival of the English there on 4 August 1612.

A little further Purchas provides some details on Patani, "a City Southwards from Siam; chiefs of that Kingdome, whereto it giveth name, in the height of seven degrees" (pp. 561-3). He relates the arrival of the English at Patani on 22 June 1612, taking his information from "Peter Williamson Floris", who is acknowledged as source in the margin, and including the feast with dancing at which the English were invited guests (p. 563).

It remains to add one point relating to the change of name from Pieter Willemsz van Elbinck to Peter Floris. As mentioned above, Floris left the service of the Dutch for that of the English. Although the reason for this is not entirely clear, it may have had something to do with restrictions on his freedom to trade, imposed by the Dutch (Van Ronkel, 1896, 4).

However, he was not the only one to join the competition. His colleague Lucas Janssen was also well-known on the Coromandel Coast, arriving there in the *Groote Sonne* in January 1607. He must have known Floris well. They left on the same ship, and disappeared from Dutch records. Lucas Janssen then reappeared in London as Lucas Antheunis (Moorland, 1934, 46-47), and the two became the backers of the voyage in the *Globe*, as recorded in a document from 27 March 1610 (Moorland, 1934, 15).

The significance of the figure of Peter Floris lies in the fact that his journal represents a rich source of information on both the activities of European traders in Asia in the early 17th century and the places where they did trade, with the unexpected bonus that he also turns out to have

been an early student of the Malay language while in Aceh, suggesting a recognition of the importance of this language for commerce and communication in the leading ports of the Archipelago at this time.

Finally, the significance of Islam and of translations from Arabic is highlighted by the kinds of Malay works to be found in the little collection that, by Floris' hand and an accident of history, found its way to Cambridge, to be preserved there in the University Library.

#### References

- Bougas, Wayne A. (1990). Patani in the beginning of the XVIIe century. *Archipel*, 39, 113-138.
- Drewes, G.W.J. (1955). *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van Al-Busiri (Arabisch lofdicht op Mohammad)*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, deel 18. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Moorland, W.H. (Ed.). (1934). *Peter Floris; His voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615: The contemporary translation of his journal*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society.
- Purchas, Samuel. (1617). *Purchas his pilgrimage or relations of the world and the religions observed in al ages and places discovered, from the creation unto this present*. London: s.n.
- Ricklefs, M.C., & Voorhoeve, P. (1977). *Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain: A catalogue of manuscripts in Indonesian languages in British public collections: London Oriental Bibliographies*, (Vol. 5). Oxford, England: OUP.
- Van Ronkel, Ph.S. (1896). Account of six Malay manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, 46, 1-53.
- Teeuw, A., & Wyatt, D.K. (1970). *Hikayat Patani, The story of Patani*. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliotheca Indonesica 5, The Hague: Nijhoff.