

Chapter III

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF LUSO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

We have seen that Afonso de Albuquerque could establish a favourable atmosphere at Malabar for the Portuguese people for their trade as well as to settle themselves peacefully after marrying native women. He could sign treaties not only with the Raja of Cochin, with whom the Portuguese maintained friendly relations always, but with the rulers of Quilon, Kolothunadu and other local Chieftans and even with the Zamorin of Calicut. The Portuguese forts at Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and at Quilon and their settlements at these places become flourishing trade centres. At Cochin, the first headquarters of the Portuguese in India, their town of *Santa Cruz* and at Calicut the fort and the chapel of Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception¹ became centres of their religious operations also.

As shown earlier, Albuquerque sponsored the mixed marriages of Portuguese men with Indian women with an intention of creating a community of people faithful to the Portuguese to carry on the trade as well as to maintain the *Estado da India Portuguesa*. It was also to be noted that Albuquerque wanted to raise a Luso-Indian ethnic group with a view to relieve the heavy drain of men from his small country. It was in these circumstances, Albuquerque introduced his policy of *Politica dos Casamentos*, with the consent of the King of Portugal.

Portugal, a small country could not afford to send women to India for colonization in those days. First, the difficulty of the dangerous travel by sea which took 6 to 8 months to reach India in the most unfavourable situation in ships. Especially, when we consider the fact that in 1621 of the twelve sail which left Lisbon, only one ship reached its destination, the other being forced back by contrary winds and weather.² This being the situation in the seventeenth century,

1. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India I*, Lisboa, 1858-64, pp.329-30

2. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny, Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815*, , Duckworth, 1975, p.63

one can very well imagine the travel in the beginning of the 16th century through African coasts, facing the dangers of the new sea-route. The most daring and adventurous of Portuguese men were the first travelers to India and their admirable courage only made it possible to establish trade relations with Indians. The question of bringing women folk to India , to be more specific, to Kerala, where the Portuguese first landed and established themselves, was near to impossible in the early years of the sixteenth century.

Portuguese records throw light to the number of Portuguese women that emigrated to the East.³ According to Germano Correia that the Portuguese crown tended to discourage women from going out to the Asian and African `conquests` (*Conquistas*, as the colonies were most commonly termed for centuries). It never passed legislation ordering husbands to cohabit with their wives on one or the other side of the ocean.. It seems that the expenses and the dangers of the long six to eight months voyage from Lisbon to India had reasoned it . The average male emigrant to the East could not have afforded to take his wife or daughter to India without a monetary grant (*ajuda de custa*) from the crown. The impecunious Portuguese monarchs neither would nor could grant these on a lavish scale.. It has been a tradition in Portugal that the man usually emigrates alone, even to places as relatively close as Brazil.⁴

In any account, whatever the reasons the number of Portuguese women emigrating to the East was very low in comparison with that of the men, despite Dr.da Silva Correia`s claims to the contrary.

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3. Germano da Silva Correia, *História do Colonaização Portuguesa na Índia*, Vol II, Lisboa 1960, p.27.;C.R. Boxer , *op.cit* n 2, Boxer observes that Dr.da Silva Correia`s findings are erroneous regarding the number of Portuguese women actually landed in India , by quoting the number of ships actually reached India.

4. C.R. Boxer, *Ibid.*,p.65

It was beyond doubt and reasoning that during the first 10 years at least practically no Portuguese women could reach India. Especially, in the first phase of the Portuguese encounter with the Indian people and more specifically with the people of Malabar, Luso-Iberian damsels could not have accompanied their husbands or fathers.

Whatever be the ideas and aspirations of the Portuguese in their first steps of trading with the Malabar coasts, the development of their initial settlements came more as a national phenomena resulted out of necessity. When the procurement of pepper and other spices were from the area belonged to the Raja of Cochin, naturally the Portuguese found the port of Cochin the most convenient place to settle and no wonder Cochin became the first headquarters of the Portuguese State of India (*Estado da Índia Portuguesa*). The settlement , fort and trading posts at Cochin, the hexagonal fort at Palliport (Vypin), the St.Thomas fort at Kottapuram (near to Crangannore), the fort and settlement at Calicut, fort (St.Angelo) and settlement at Cannanore and down south at Quilon, the fort (St.Thomas) and settlement (Thankasserry) were the earlier enclaves of the Portuguese.

Each Portuguese enclave with the various ranks of officers to fight and protect the place, intermediaries to negotiate trade matters, persons of lower ranks to look after the maintenance of the fort , priests to look after the religious needs and for evangelization of the people etc. slowly began to develop into large settlements accommodating quite a number of people.

Soldiers and artisans married after reaching India were allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders, being them termed *Casados* or married settlers.

Very few Portuguese women came to India comparing to men. There would seldom be more than a dozen or so women in a ship which might carry hundreds of males. Moreover, if the evidences of several contemporary chroniclers are to be trusted, few of those whiter women who reached India proved fecund in childbearing.⁵

Approach of the Portuguese towards non-Europeans

The background of the people of Portugal towards racial purity was something strange or to some extent `liberal`. For historic reasons or perhaps the circumstances and past experiences the Portuguese people had gone through, shaped their liberal approach towards mixing with other ethnic groups. The Portuguese were under the domination of Spaniards and Moors for several centuries and conjugal blood admixture was common.

Of all the peoples of Europe the Portuguese were the least affected by ideas of `racial purity`. To some degree this may have been due to the fact that they had no hesitation for assimilating the various invaders who, over the early Christian centuries, swept through the Iberian peninsula-the Vandals and Visigoths before the beginning of the eighth century and the Muslim Arabs of the Hammayad dynasty thereafter. It was not till 1249, only, two hundred and fifty years before da Gama landed in India, that the most southerly province of Portugal, the Algarve, was cleared of Moors.⁶ As the Moorish conquerors were driven south, immigrants had to be brought in to populate the devastated areas, and, because of the Portuguese royal family's Burgundian origins, it is not surprising to find a steady influx of Flemings.

More pertinent to our present study was the ready acceptance by the Portuguese of the policy initiated by Prince Henry the Navigator of promoting marriages between the

5. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial empire, 1415 – 1825*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1963, p.58.

6.. C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825* Johansburg, 1961, p.3, According to Boxer `The long Moorish domination in the Peninsula had accustomed many of the Christian inhabitants to regard.....the brown Moorish women as enviable type of beauty and sexual attractiveness`

Negro captives brought home from west Africa and native Portuguese. As Whiteway remarks, 'The Portuguese have shown an alacrity not found in other European nations to mix their race with others differing entirely in status from themselves' ⁷

The Brazilian historian, Gilberto Freyre, ⁸ has developed a most interesting theory of what he calls a 'Luso-Tropical' culture – a synthesis of Portuguese with native Indian culture of Brazil. Although Freyre's main thesis is concerned with Brazil, many of his arguments are equally applicable to tropical countries in other parts of the world. He explains the approach of the Portuguese for warm climates in the following passage: "In the hot lands overseas the Portuguese found, exaggerated or intensified, colours, forms of womanhood and countryside, tastes, that they already knew, in a less intense manner, less vivid, less cruel in the Portuguese regions marked by the presence of the Moors". ⁹ He goes on to deduce from this certain conclusions which are worthy of consideration: "This is the explanation why the Portuguese, who at the end of the fifteenth century, had become a tropicalist, has never been a European perverted by false notions of 'albinsme' by the tendency to associate the idea of white people with a 'superior' culture and black, dark or brown people with the idea of an 'inferior' culture"¹⁰

Boxer is inclined to question the complete validity of the Portuguese claim to freedom from colour-consciousness, although he admits that it was the continuous policy of the Crown. He quotes Linschoten on the "filthy pride and presumptuousness" of the Portuguese in Goa¹¹, but himself elsewhere relates how Francisco Lopes Carrasco, a

7. R.S.whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497 -1550*, New York, 1969, reprint ,p.17 ; C.Nowell, *A History of Portugal*, New York, 1952, p.19, states that in 1550 negro slaves constituted ten per cent of the population of Lisbon.

8. G.Freyre, *Le Portugais et Les Tropiques*, Lisbon, 1961.

9. *Ibid.*, p.57

10. *Ibid.*

11 C.R..Boxer, 'The Portuguese in the East 1500-1800', *Portugal and Brazil: An Interaction*, ed.H.V. Livsmore, Oxford, p.203

Goanese of Eurasian origin, was appointed Captain and “ouvidor” (i.e. Chief Justice) of Macau in 1622.¹² Similarly, he refers particularly to the colour prejudice of the Church¹³, yet Fr. Domingo Godines de Eredia, brother of Dom Manuel Godinho de Eredia Aquaviva (whose account of Malacca is one of the most valuable contemporary accounts of life in the Portuguese colony at the beginning of the seventeenth century)¹⁴ was Master of the School attached to the See of Malacca. Their father Juan de Eredia, was a nobleman who incurred the grave displeasure of the King of Portugal for smuggling his Bugis bride aboard ship when it sailed for home. It is significant that the displeasure was not occasioned by the bride’s native origin, but by the wrath of her princely parent (whom the Portuguese did not want to offend) at her kidnapping.

The answer seems to be that there were individual Portuguese who were more colour-conscious than others, but this does not detract them to accept and absorb substantial portions of the culture of the lands in which they settled. The result was that the Portuguese abroad never tried to insulate himself from the society around him, as for example, the English, French, Dutch, and the Spaniard, did. There was no stigma of “letting the side down” if the dusky maidens of the new land were willing to share his couch. He sampled the cuisine of the country, and providing it pleased his palate, adopted it. Even in the matter of clothing, he was perfectly willing to hang his shirt outside his breeches if this could be proved more suitable climate. Although he was as proud as the French man of his country, he had no desire to “Lusitanise” the natives as the French felt obliged to Gallicise their colonies. The only part of the local culture which he was not prepared to sample or accept was religion, but, even here, although the Portuguese liked to look upon their overseas expansions as a crusade

12. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1570*, Hague, 1948, p.66

13. Boxer, *op.cit.* n.11, p.204

14. Manuel Godinho de Eredia, . . *Eredia’s Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay*, translated and edited by J.V. Mills, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malaya.*, Vol. XII. Part 2, April 1930., pp.1 -288.

against Islam, they were not forceful proselytizers; in Malacca, for example, missionary work was practically non-existent before the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1545, and even then it was only half-heartedly supported by the authorities, much to the disgust of the missionaries.¹⁵

On the subject of colour contemporary accounts provide some very interesting comments. Eredia, for example, in his *Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay*, says “In Meridional India we find the same variety of races, white, brown and black, as is found in Europe, Asia and Africa. The white people resemble the Sapaniards; they wear red tunics”¹⁶ Eredia was, of course, himself descended from a Bugis princess, so perhaps he may be credited with Catholic tasks as to colour. Tomé Pires, however, was pure Portuguese, and in his *Suma Oriental* we find this description of the Persians; “(They) are men of our colour form and feature. There is no doubt that those who wear the red cap (i.e. of Sheik Ismail) are more like the Portuguese than like people from anywhere else”.¹⁷ About the people of the Deccan he remarks; “This kingdom contains many white people”¹⁸ and later “The man who has the most white men in his kingdom is the most powerful”¹⁹

Tomé Pires was Portugal’s first Ambassador to China, and he reported; “The people of China are white, as white as we are....They are rather like Germans (The *Suma* would undoubtedly not have been Hitler’s favourite reading) ..They wear very well-made French shoes with square toes. The women look like Spanish women...they are so made up that Seville has no advantage over them...They are as white as we are, and some of them have small eyes and others large, and noses as they must be”.²⁰

15. C.R.Boxer, *op.cit.*, n.11, pp.200-201.

16. Eredia, *op.cit.*, p.65.

17. Tom Pires, *Suma Oriental of Tom Pires, An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, trans. & ed. Armando Corsetão, London, 1944, , Book II, p.23.

18. *Ibid.*, p.48.

19. *Ibid.*, p.52

Duarte Barbosa visited most of the Spice Islands. Of the Javanese he reported; “The ladies are white and very pretty in figure and of pleasing countenances though rather long; they sing well, are polished in manner, and are very industrious workwomen”²⁰. Barbosa describes the Chinese as “white men, tall, well-made and gentlemen; and so likewise are the women.....They are very smartly dressed.....They have a language of their own, and the tone of it is like that of the Germans. ”²¹

It would be unwise, however, to surmise that beauty varied in Portuguese eyes in proportion to the colour of the skin. Barbosa says of the Maluquese that “they are very wretched, and worth little. They are very beastly, and of a brutal mode of living; they do not differ from animals in their customs but only in possessing the human face. They are *whiter* than other races of these islands...”²²

As regards the Malays he has this to say; “They are well set-up men and go bare from the waist up but are clad in cotton garments below.....Their women are `tawny-coloured`, clad in very fine silk garments and short shirts (decorated with gold and jewels). They are very comely, always well-attired, and having very fine hair....” , and at a later stage he adds:”They are polished and well-bred, fond of music and given to love”²⁴.

The Portuguese could not be described as cold-blooded either, and Albuquerque was very much in favour of establishing a permanent colony, with ties that would bind the soldiers and the artisans to the newly-acquired possession. The garrisoning of this far flung

20. *Ibid.*,p.116.

21. BDB, p.198.

22. *Ibid.*, p.205.

23. *Ibid.*,p.227.

24. *Ibid* ,p.176

outpost was beyond Portugal's resources; the settlement of colonies of Portuguese families would not only have been impracticable, but perhaps unwise, for the exile who feels himself an expatriate seldom fits happily into a foreign environment. Albuquerque's dream was not merely of a chain of Portuguese forts, but of an infusion of Portuguese blood in each of the colonies, which would raise up a generation loyal to the Mother Country and proud of its glory, but bound by bonds of kinship and affection to their land of adoption. It was the plan he had implemented in Cochin and Goa against the opposition of some *fidalgos* and church men; it was the plan he was determined to encourage in Malacca.

The sexual interaction and Portuguese tolerance had created a uniquely harmonious situation, a Luso-Indian culture. This situation deriving from Muslim-Christian interaction and interbreeding in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and continued by Prince Henry. Certainly there was mixing during the centuries of Muslim rule, and indeed after the reconquest. We would expect to find this most in Algarve, the southern and most Muslim-influenced area of Portugal, and indeed it seems that many Portuguese who went to India were from here and so probably had some Muslim 'blood'²⁵. Bulk of the Portuguese who arrived in India, being urban poor or peasants, and thus much less firmly grounded in Portuguese high culture, would be more flexible, tolerant and open when confronted with fellow peasants, who happened to be Indian, and with whom a Portuguese peasant could feel some bonds of commonality on both social and class criteria²⁶.

Slave trade was one of the important factors of Portuguese trade with Asian countries. Besides, the Cape route made it necessary for the Portuguese to embark in Mosambique, collect food and water and also the man-power in the form of Negro slaves – both men and women. There was a diaspora of slaves all over the various Portuguese pockets in India, viz

25. M.N.Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge, 1987, p.104

26. *Ibid.*, p.104.

Bassein, Bengal, Cannanore, Cochin, Daman, Diu and Goa ²⁷. Even the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* bought slaves for the institution ²⁸. These slaves were engaged in the houses of the Portuguese chieftains and slave girls were freely used for the sexual exploitation even though the Church authorities were against this practice. Even the *fidalgos* were indulged in finding pleasure with slave girls ²⁹. In the background of passion for African women for the Portuguese, the approach of many Portuguese men towards African slave girls have to be evaluated. Nevertheless, the Portuguese stressed fairness of skin as an important part of female beauty.

Albuquerque encouraged his soldiers to marry 'fair' Muslim women of Goa. St. Francis Xavier while urging the *casados* to marry their local concubines, drew the firmest of colour lines ³⁰. When the concubine was dark in colour and ugly featured, he employed all his eloquence to separate his host from her. He was even ready, if necessary, to find for him a more suitable mate ³¹. Albuquerque was famous for his encouragement of marriage between his troops with local women, but we should remember that this did not include marriage to local Malabari women, whom he considered to be 'black', and neither chaste or comely. He meant marriage to Muslim women, who were 'white and virtuous' ³². But in practice his instructions were ignored after his short spell in power in the Portuguese India.

The Portuguese men who came to India, basically had the choice between celibacy and a relationship with a local women; they overwhelmingly chose the latter. The Viceroy, captains and some Portuguese merchants who prospered in Asia returned to Portugal. But the vast majority, the *casados*, married locally and either through choice or

27. Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India 1510-1842*, Bombay, 1994, p.33.

28. *Ibid.*, p.45

29. *Ibid.*, p.68

30. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.101

31. G Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, Vol II, 1541-45, Rome, 1977, p.228

32. Jeanette Pinto, *op.cit.* p.105

lack of means never returned to Portugal³³. They have settled first near to the Portuguese forts in coastal towns. In later periods these *casados* engaged in trade, many became prosperous merchants. Their progenies continued their tradition. With the establishment of churches near Portuguese settlements, the *casados* and their children became part of the parish attached to the settlement. Their descendants carried their trade and this community established well in the coastal towns. There is a clear contrast here with the later Dutch and British, who saw themselves only as sojourners in India or Asia³⁴.

In finding out the reasons for the persisting Portuguese influence even today in the erstwhile Portuguese colonies, C.R. Boxer finds the following answer: “The Portuguese, with all their faults, had struck deeper roots as colonists, and so they could not, as a rule, be removed from the scene simply by a naval or by a military defeat, or even by a series of such defeats”³⁵

Albuquerque`s Policy of Mixed Marriages

As mentioned earlier, Albuquerque could foresee the limitations of Portugal to maintain the trade centres and the chain of forts in Indian coasts, Malacca and other places. Portugal could not have afforded the heavy drain of people on his small country and it is in these background he introduced the policy of *Politica dos Casamentos*. It was described as the shrewd diplomacy Albuquerque shown through the marriage alliances of Portuguese men with native women. It is also to be noted that the Portuguese men at the coastal trade centres in India and elsewhere were having affairs with native women and Negro slave girls, out of wed-lock, which was a matter of concern for the Portuguese Governor in India. Albuquerque had informed the Portuguese king about the situation of Portuguese

33. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.105.

34. *Ibid.*, p.104.

35. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit. n. 6*, p.54.

soldiers in Cochin and Goa and the necessity of legitimate marriage bonds between the Portuguese men with native women.³⁶

Albuquerque's policy of colonization is unique in the history of the Europeans in India; it has been far reaching in its results and has profoundly influenced the present condition of their Indianized descendants. His notion of an Eastern Empire differed entirely from that taken in subsequent centuries by the English.

He had no horror of mixed marriages, no apathy towards half-castes. On the contrary, he was enthusiastic to create an ethnic group of *mestices*. When Goa was taken for the second time he tried to induce as many Portuguese as possible to marry native women, and especially the wives and daughters of the Mohammedans who were killed. He presided at these marriages himself, and gave dowries to couples married as he desired. The class he particularly encouraged were the soldiers and artisans, who had been sent out from Portugal as ship-builders, rope makers and workmen in the arsenals and dockyards. He was also keen in inducing his gunners to marry native women.

His aim in this policy was to form a population which should be at once loyal to Portugal and satisfied to remain in India for life. Officers indeed might expect to return to the fatherland, but the Portuguese of inferior ranks were too valuable to the *Estado* be allowed to escape. In all it is estimated that about 450 Portuguese were married to native women before Albuquerque left for Malacca.³⁷

36. *Cartas I*, p.26-29, Letter of Albuquerque dated 22nd December 1510, from Goa, 29; letter dated 3rd December 1513 (about Cochin and Cannanore) (published *Ibid, I*, 181-198); letter dated 4th December 1514 (from Goa) (published *Ibid, I*, 337-338).

37. H. Morse Stephens, *The Rulers of India, Albuquerque*, Oxford, 1897, reprint, New Delhi, 2000, pp.152-154.

A quaint account of Albuquerque's colonizing policy is given in the *Commentaries*:-

‘Those who desired to marry were so numerous that Afonso de Albuquerque could hardly grant their requests, for he did not give permission except for men of proved character, to marry. But in order to favour this work, as it was entirely of his own idea, and also because they were men of good character and had deserved by their good services that this privilege should be granted to them, he extended the permission to marry far beyond the powers which had been assigned by King Emmanuel, for the women with whom they married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. And he granted this favour, among other reasons, in order that when the Hindus observed what he did for their daughters and nieces and sisters they might with better willingness turn Christians; and for this reason he would not suffer any of the women to be enslaved, but ordered that they should be all taken away from the masters who had possession of them; and he divided among the married ones the lands, houses and cattle and everything else that there was, to give them a start in life; and if the women whom he thus gave in marriage asked for the house which had been in possession of their fathers on their husbands, he ordered that these should be so given, and therein they found many jewels and gold pieces which had been hidden underground and abandoned when the city was captured’.³⁸

“ The marriages of Portuguese men to native women had already been sanctioned by Don Manuel but this privilege was only to be conceded to men of proved character who had rendered good services. Albuquerque, however, extended the permission to many far beyond what he was authorized to do, and he took care that the women so married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. This he did in the hope of inducing them to become Christians. To those who were married Albuquerque allotted lands, houses and cattle so as to give them a start in life.”³⁹

38.. *Ibid.*, pp.41-42

39. Edger Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol II – C to J, AES New Delhi, 1987, p.234.

It has been claimed that the Raja of Cochin arranged the marriage of a Portuguese officer with a Namboothiri lady.⁴⁰ Even in Crangannore, there were living, a hundred *casados*⁴¹ towards the close of sixteenth century.

It has also been pointed out that when Afonso de Albuquerque returned victorious after capturing Malacca, he brought from there 400 women converts whom he had destined to be spouses of his soldiers and that he founded Public Schools for educating and sheltering those Malaccan women. Those Mongolian features among the descendants of the Portuguese have to be presumed to have been born out of such inter-marriages.⁴² Incidentally, still in the interior villages of Kerala, and also in the suburban islands of Cochin where the Portuguese descendants were forced to flee and settle down soon after the Dutch invasion in 1663, we can see Luso-Indian women in *Kebaya* (a Malaccan dress for women) even today. . Many of them still are with lots of Mongolian features.

There are evidences regarding the marriage of Portuguese men to Indian women at Cochin, Cannanore, Goa etc. The documents also show the number of children born out of these marriages, the number of these children studied in the Portuguese *escola* at Cochin etc. Document No.107 ((dated 27th November 1514, Cochin) shows the names of the children with the names of their Portuguese fathers.⁴³, Document No.110 (dated 20th December 1514, Cochin) gives the names of women and their Portuguese husbands.⁴⁴

40. Stephen Padua, A Peep Into History, *Anglo-Indian Association Souvenir*, Cochin, 1975, p.66; Also his article 'Anglo-Indians', in *Kerala Charithram*, ed. P.S. Velayudhan, (Mal.) Vol. I, Chapter 31, Cochin, 1973, pp.1170-1192

41. *Ibid.*, p.66; also BNL, FG, 536, ff 1-29, *Noticias do Rayno do Malabar*, India Office Library, Mss, *Noticias da India*, Vol.I, p.225.

42. *Ibid.*, p.66; STVIDA, 23, Centro De Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos Portugal, Abril 1968, Lisboa, pp.80-85.

43. António da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação para História das Missões do Padroado do Oriete, India*, Lisboa, 1947-58, Vol.1, p.222. (hereafter SRD)

44. *Ibid.*, p.232.

Document No.111 (20th December 1514 (1) , Cannanore) mentions about the Portuguese *Casados* at Cannanore , their Indian wives and children .⁴⁵ , Document No.113 (27th December 1514, Cannanore) shows the report of the Portuguese *Casados*, their wives and children residing at the settlement of Cannanore. ⁴⁶, Document No.133 (25th September 1516, Quilon) throw light to the Portuguese settlement and Church of St.Thomas at Quilon. ⁴⁷, Document No.5 (Vol 2) 10th October 1523, Cannanore) contains mention of the Portuguese settled at Cannanore fort and their children. ⁴⁸ Document No.6 (Vol. 2) 10th October 1523, Cannanore) gives information about the Portuguese *Casados* at Cannanore and of their native wives and children. ⁴⁹, Document No.7 (Vol.2) 28th December 1523, Cochin) also contains mention of the Portuguese *Casados* and their native wives stayed at Cochin. ⁵⁰, Document No.5 (Vol. IV-2) 20th January 1548, Cochin) St.Francis Xavier mentions about the Portuguese, their wives and children. ⁵¹

From the above , it is clear that , by the first quarter of sixteenth century, the formation and existence of a community emerged out of the mixed marriages of the Portuguese men with Indian women. They are otherwise called Luso-Indians by other European colonists.

***Santa Casa da Misericordia* and the Orphan Girls from Lisbon**

Afonso de Albuquerque had founded an institution named “Sodality of Our Lady, Mother of God, Virgin Mary of Mercy” (*Irmandade de Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus*,

45. *Ibid, op. cit.*, p.240.

46. *Ibid.*, p.254

47. *Ibid.*,p.284

48. *Ibid*, Vol .2., pp.11-13

49. *Ibid.*, p.14-17

50. *Ibid.*, p.18-24

51. *Ibid.*pp.16-22

Virgem Maria de Misericordia) This institution was founded on the line of the Holy House of Mercy of Lisbon established in 1498. It was aimed at helping the poor, aged and disabled soldiers including the widows and daughters of the dead soldiers. The statute of the sodality was drawn on the lines of that of Lisbon.⁵² The *Misericordia* played an important role in the social and religious life of the Christians in Cochin especially of Luso-Indians. This sodality was later named *Santa Casa da Misericordia de Cochin*. The functions of the *Misericordia* at Cochin is well-defined in Document No.52 dated 14th December 1527, Cochin⁵³ Its membership was open only to Portuguese men. Its functions included (a) Giving food to the hungry (b) Giving drink to the thirsty (c) Clothing the naked (d) Visiting the sick and the prisoners (e) Giving shelter to the weary (f) Ransoming the captives and (g) Burying the dead. These services were meant essentially to the members of the Christian community, including the converts.⁵⁴ The *Misericordia* had its own fund to carry out these pious works.

Married Portuguese men were the members of this institution. It had a governing board consisting of elected officials for a term of one year. The president was expected to be a man of repute, virtue, prudence and authority. Bishops, judges and other state officials become its presidents. The membership went on increasing from time to time.⁵⁵

52. A. Lourdinho Rodrigues, “*The Mercy House of Goa*”, , *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança* ,No.96, 1971,pp.3-4.

53. SRD, Vol.2, pp.111– 115.

54. G. Havers . trans. *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, II, London, Haklüt Society, 1892, pp.382-3.

55. B.S. Shastry , *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History*, Bangalore, , 1981, pp.69-70.

The Holy House of Mercy began to play a vital role in the social life of Cochin. King João III brought the House of Mercy under the royal patronage and ordered it to take up the burden of the orphan girls (*Orfãs del Rei*) sent from time to time from the orphanages of Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. They were provided with dowries in the form of minor government posts or small grants of lands for the men who would marry them in the Portuguese colonies.⁵⁶ The first batch of these orphan girls came to India by 1545 and the subsequent batches continued to come more or less regularly upto 1560 after which the dispatch of orphans was irregular and in some years no orphan girl was sent.⁵⁷ The responsibility of maintaining, sheltering and looking after the orphans fell upon the *Santa Casa da Misericordia*. They arranged the stay of the orphans with some honourable families in the city, giving them grant for maintenance till they were married.⁵⁸ At Goa also this was the arrangement made. In 1560 we find that the *Misericordia* distributed dowries among fifteen orphan girls whose fathers were in the service of the King in India and had died in war.⁵⁹ By a letter of 25th February 1583 the King of Portugal confirmed some captaincies of forts and clerical jobs in the conquered territories as dowries. And by another order dated 20th March 1559, he had ordered the use of 1% of the revenue deposited in the treasury for pious works which included distribution of maintenance money to widows and orphans of those who died in his service.⁶⁰

56. Historical Archives Goa (hereafter HAG), *Monções de Reino*, Mss in the DAAM, Codex No.28, fl.359, C.R.Boxer., *op.cit.* n 2, p.66

57. Alberto Carlos Germano Da Silva Correia, *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia*, IV, Lisboa, Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1951,p.42; Boxer, *op.cit.* n 2., p.66.

58. Propercia Correia Afonso da Figureido, *A Mulher na Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, Tipografia Bragança, 1933,p.50,

59. *Ibid.*,50- 51

60. *Ibid.*,4.

The Archbishop of Goa, D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes, wished to create an independent establishment for the widows and orphans. In a letter of 15th March 1597 the King asked the Viceroy to consider the request of the Archbishop for a House of Recluse (*Recolhimento*) for the damsels and married women who were abandoned by their husbands as well as for widows and old women. The King also opined in his letter that the Recluse Houses were better than the convents for women.⁶¹ In fact there were requests from Archbishop and the religious to open convents for women in Portuguese settlements.

The orphan girls were given religious education. Besides, some useful crafts such as weaving, stitching, embroidery, tailoring etc. were taught. At the time of their marriage each girl was given as dowry of a maximum of 40,000 *reis* in cash or government posts for their would be husbands.⁶² It was imperative that the orphans were married to *reinos* (pure Portuguese man). In a letter dated 21st March 1617 the king wrote to Viceroy Conde do Redondo not to take orphan girls and women from disreputable families into the Recluse House and the convent. The moratorium on low – bred girls was again repeated in 1634. He expressed his displeasure at boarding the women who were not from good families. He had expressed that the privilege to be entertained at these institutions were for the daughters of *fidalgos* or the daughters of *Cavaleiros* (knights) who died in war. And the dowry of offices were meant for them.⁶³

The flow of orphan girls from Portugal began to decline after the 1st quarter of the 17th century due to the Dutch-Portuguese and Anglo-Portuguese rivalry. In 1617 only three orphan girls, namely Dona Maria Cabreira, Dona Cherubina Sampaio and Dona Antonio de Castro came to India. In 1623 the Dutch attacked a fleet of the Portuguese and carried .

61. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex No.2B, fl.365.

62. A Lourdinho Rodrigues, *op.cit.*,pp.6-8.

63. HAG, *Menções do Reino*, in the DAAM Codex No. 19 B, fls.422-3.

away three orphan girls to Surat where one of them named Dona Lucia was married to a wealthy Dutch merchant.⁶⁴ A wealthy widowed lady of Cochin, Dona Luisa da Silva, with an enormous slave-household, was famous for the charity with which she relieved the passengers and crews of outward-bound Indiamen when they arrived at that port suffering from scurvy and malnutrition.⁶⁵

Hospitals

It was in 1542 that the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* took the responsibility of running the hospital which till then depended on the Portuguese factory (*feitoria*) as well as the church. The Portuguese had opened hospitals and introduced colonial medicine in almost all their settlements. There were hospitals in Cochin, Cannanore, Chaul, Moçambique and so on.⁶⁶ Most of these early hospitals were run under the Franciscans. No women or slave or servant was admitted to these hospitals. The King through a letter of 1595 appreciated the work of the Franciscans and the Jesuits at the hospitals and advised the Viceroy to render necessary help to them and to take special care of the soldiers who were admitted there.⁶⁷

64. G. Havers, *op.cit.*, p.25.

65. Fernão de Queiroz, S.J., *Conquista Esperitual e Temporal de Ilha de Ceilão*, 1687 Colombo, 1916, p.433; Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Coreia, *op.cit.*, vol.IV,p.433.

66. HAG, *Manções de Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex 2B, fls.432, 432 V, Codex 3^a, fl.258, Codex 3B, fl.464V.

67. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex 46A, fl.85; Also see G.,M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India,I*, Bombay, , 1964, p.252

The Port of Cochin and the City of Santa Cruz

The Cochin Port was formed only as late as 1341, when as a result of the heavy flood in the Periyar river, the mouth of the Cranganore port got silted and the pressure of the flood pushed the narrow strip of land to the sea and the new port of Cochin was emerged. When Pedro Alvares Cabral reached Cochin in 1500, and had his alliance with the Raja of Cochin, the Portuguese received, the area adjacent to the sea for the establishment of the Portuguese factory from the ruler of Cochin. The Raja granted the permission and also undertook the work at his own expense.⁶⁸ Many natives and the Portuguese, including Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque participated in the construction work.⁶⁹ In Cochin, there was no facilities to get stone, so a stronghold was constructed of large palisades and palm-trees, filled in with earth in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, each mounted with ordnance pointing towards the sea to protect the fleet.⁷⁰ The fort was inaugurated on 1st November 1503 and named Manuel Fort, in honour of King Manuel of Portugal.⁷¹ The first Portuguese Viceroy Francisco de Almeida who arrived in India in 1505 strengthened the fort with masonry walls and also equipped with powerful cannons.⁷² This part of Cochin was made the seat of the Portuguese Viceroy by Francisco de Almeida.

Portuguese Cochin or the city of Santha Cruz of Cochin which evolved around the Manuel Fort continued to be the political capital of the *Estado da India* until it was transferred in 1530 to Goa.⁷³ Even after the transfer of the political establishments,

68. Antonio Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, Porto, 1972,p.98

69. *Ibid.*, pp.97-9.

70. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, 1858 -64 tom.I.Cap.IV,pp.393-5.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*, Cap.XV,pp.625-33; cap .XVI, pp.633-7.

73. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economica Mundial*, Vol.III, Lisboa, 1982,p.34.

Cochin continued to be the commercial headquarters of the Portuguese in India. With the addition of many political and ecclesiastical institutions, it became an important urban centre in the East. Eventually, a significant portion of the newly developed urban parts of Portuguese Cochin was also fortified.⁷⁴

The port of Cochin was outside the Portuguese city and was located in the territory of the king of Cochin by virtue of which he levied customs duties from the Portuguese traders.⁷⁵ The port was situated in the area between the present Mattancherry and Calvathy. The mouth of Calvathy river was a busy trade centre, and it was quite navigable for ships and *Patemares* (big wooden boats).⁷⁶ There was a very extensive and diverse network of water routes, which linked the port of Cochin with the socio-economic and human environment of the hinterland and with the exchange systems of other Malabar ports, as well as of the overseas ports. Eventhough it was mentioned a river, Calvathy was actually not a river but only a canal. The wide river which opens to the sea brings a large volume of water of the river Periyar, divided Cochin and Vaipein and connected the deep sea and the inland backwaters, served the purpose of a good harbour. This water passage gave good anchorage and safe shelter to the ships and vessels that came thither.⁷⁷

The Portuguese and the Luso-Indians settled at Cochin were engaged in flourishing trade of spices after the establishment of the Manuel Fort. A mini port was existed at Portuguese Cochin and a jetty was constructed in 1590 for facilitating movements

74. R.A. de Bulhão Pato, *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livro das Monções*, Vol V, Lisboa, 1935, doc. 1072, pp.115-17ç doc.1169,pp.308-9.

75. K.S Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *Emergence of Cochin*,Pondicherry, 1990 doc.53,pp.73'82

76. K..L. Bernard, *History of Cochin*, Cochin, 1991, pp.-5-9.

77. Francois Pyrard Laval, *The voyages of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Molucas and Brazil*, trans. Albert Gray, London, 1887,p.435.

in the port for the use of the Portuguese.⁷⁸ Many parts of the water front which were not fortified utilized by the *Casados* to dispatch their vessels for their private trade. As reported by Conde de Vidigueira in 1599, the *Casados* were strongly against the fortification of waterfront of Portuguese Cochin.⁷⁹

Cochin de Cima and the City of Santa Cruz or Cochin de Baixo

The areas occupied by the King of Cochin as his seat together with the Pazhayannor temple, the settlement of the local people as well the *paradesi* merchants with a market of their own, was known as *Cochin de Cima*.⁸⁰ (Upper Cochin). It formed the present day Mattanchery area. In *Cochin de Cima*, a fort was constructed to commemorate the victories of Duarte Pacheco over the Zamorin, and it came to be known as *Castelo de Cima de Cochin*⁸¹. Next to this fort was the church of *Reis Magos*, where the people who went for military service were given opportunities for worship and confession.⁸² Many Jews and *Cristãos novos* or new Christians lived in *Cochin de Cima*.⁸³ As a unit reinforcing the city of Cochin, the fort of native Cochin was always under able leadership. Because of the strategic importance of the fort, located near the royal residence of the native king, nobles and bale

78. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc.56,p.87.

79. Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa, (Hereafter BNL) *Fundo Geral*, Cod.1976, Letter of the Conde de Vidigueira sent to Philip II in 1599, fols.158-9.

80. A.M. Mundadan, 'Town of Cochin and the Portuguee', in II *Seminario Intenacional da Historia Indo portuguesa, Actas*, Lisboa, 1988,p.705.

81. Antonio Bocarro, *Fortalezas, Cidades, povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1992, p.203.

82. Gasper Correia, *op.cit*, tom.IV, cap.XVII,p.705.

83. ANTT, *Inquisition de Lisboa*, Proc.no.1292 de Luis Rodrigues de 1557, fols.80-5 and Proc.no.6369 de Maria Nunes de 1557, fols.55-6 and 62-5.

men like Tristão de Sousa,⁸⁴ Manuel Pereira Camelo,⁸⁵ and Antonio Rebelo⁸⁶ were appointed captains of the Castelo of the native Cochin.

The Portuguese city of Santa Cruz of Cochin lay on a triangular tongue of land that extended from the mouth of the Calvathy canal westward up to the seashore southwards along the coast for about a mile and a half in length and one mile in breadth.⁸⁷ It formed the present day Fort Cochin. *Livro das Cidades* written in 1582 mentions that this city with the fortress was situated along the banks of the river and was called *Cochin de Baixo*.⁸⁸ (Lower Cochin). The maps and plans of the city of Cochin of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that a small narrow river called *rio de estreito* (which could be Calvathy canal) flowed outside the city wall in a south-east direction to the outlet of the lagoons, separating the Portuguese Cochin from the native Cochin.

On the eastern side of the city of Santa Cruz or *Cochin de Baixo* was located the weighing place of pepper, probably because of its proximity to the port. Adjacent to it, stood the monastery of St. Augustine.⁸⁹ From east to north-west, along the water side up to the seashore were located the important establishments in the city such as the church of St. Sebastian, the fortress, the cathedral, the bishop's house, the hospital the

84. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, liv.42, fol.56. `Capitania de Castelo de Cima de Cochin; Carta á Tristão de Sousa` Lisboa, 5 de Março de 1530

85. ANTT, *Chancelaria de João III*, liv.9., fol.25, `Carta á Manuel Pereira Camelo, Palmela: 7 de Março de 1531.

86. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, liv. 17, fol.49 `Capitania do Castelo de Cima de Cochin: Carta á Antonio Rebelo` , Lisboa, 5 de Março de 1566.

87. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1982, p.167.

88. Francisco Mendes da Luz, *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que nelas há e da Importancia delles`*, in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universiade de Coimbra*, Vol.XXI, Coimbra, 1953, pp.70-1.

89. see the plans of Cochin given in Luis da Silveira ed. , *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades*, Vol.III, pp.413-16.

church of St. Berthelomew (used by the German mercenaries), *Misericordia* and the Municipal Council Hall.⁹⁰

Plans of the city show that there was on the eastern side over the *rio de estreito* (Calvathy Canal) a bridge connecting the fortified city of *Cochin de Baixo* with upper Cochin. Many Portuguese settlers, establishments, including churches of *Nossa Senhora de Graça*, St. Thomas and the leprosy centre St. Lazaros etc, grew up in the area outside the city walls. Meanwhile, on the northern side across the river, Portuguese settlers began to occupy⁹¹ the southern tip of Vaipin island. It was soon incorporated into the intermediate zone of the urban Portuguese culture and had a good number of Portuguese settlers, a church and Bishop's residence⁹². As a result, the fortified city of Santa Cruz of Cochin together with the southern tip of Vypin and the north-western tip of land across *Rio de Estreito* developed as a unit of urban environment which was entirely different and distinct from the native Cochin.

Royal Charter on the Santa Cruz City of Cochin

The Portuguese enclave as well as of Luso-Indian settlement of Cochin, was raised to the juridical status of a city by the King of Portugal John III, by a royal charter issued on 12 March 1527. It being the abode of many Portuguese citizens and their families, was brought on par with the Portuguese city of Evora and was given privileges and rights attached to a city.⁹³ When it was raised to the status of a city, Portuguese Cochin was given a new and unique status in the structure of the *Estado da India* and was to be administered not only by a captain, but by a council of aldermen elected from among the citizens.⁹⁴ Seeing that the city of Cochin was an effective means of linking the exchange

90. *Ibid.*, pp.414-16.

91. *Ibid.*, The Bishop's house situated on the beach side of Vypeen was taken away by the sea at a later period.

92. *Ibid.*, Francois Pyrard de Leval, *op.cit.*, p.427.

93. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc.1, pp.1-3.

94. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce*, Cambridge, 1990, , p.142.

system of Lisbon with that of Cochin port, all the rights and privileges granted to it were confirmed and re-confirmed successively by the later kings and viceroys. Even though the political establishments of the *Estado da India* were shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530, the original rights and privileges enjoyed by the city were retained and confirmed by Dom Sebastian, Dom Philip and by all the later viceroys as well.⁹⁵ The Portuguese authorities saw to it that the various privileges and rights of the city were sufficiently safeguarded and protected on the outbreak of any disturbance due to administrative deadlock. In 1551, the viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha asked the captains and other officials to respect the autonomy of the city of Cochin and not to encroach upon its privileges.⁹⁶

Portuguese and the *Casados* at Cochin

Lazarus Nurenburger who visited Cochin in 1517 wrote that in Cochin there were about 300 Portuguese houses.⁹⁷ Padre Sebastião Pires, the vicar of the church at Cochin had mentioned that there were about 10,000 to 15,000 Christians in Cochin in 1518.⁹⁸ The presence of non-Christian elements was also considerable. As early as 1510, there were about 3000 Nairs in the city, employed as daily wage workers in the service of the Portuguese. In 1525, there were 2,220 men in Cochin in the military service.⁹⁹ On 12 July 1527, Luis Martins from Portugal wrote that there were only 1000 men in Cochin and the number of married people were only 160.¹⁰⁰ Later, when the number of people arrived

95. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.* doc.6, p.18 : doc.24,p.38;doc.43,p.60; doc.70p.104; doc.81,p.120; doc.82,p.122.

96. *Ibid.*,doc.9,p.22.

97. Miloslav Krasa, Joseph Polisenesky and Peter Ratos ed. *European Expansion 1494-1519: The Voyages of Discovery in the Bratislava Manuscript*, Lyc.515/8, Prague, 1986,p.106.

98. SRD., Vol.I, P.340.

99. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, ed., `Lambranças de Cousas da India` (Lambranças d`algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaqua e assy outras partes da Imdea`), in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, , Lisboa, 1868, pp.10-11.

100. ANTT, Gavetas, 15, Maço 17, doc.19.

from Portugal were increased, the number of married people living in Cochin increased considerably. By 1542, there were all together 15,000 Christians in the Cochin area of whom more than 300 were *Casados*, married and settled down in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin.¹⁰¹ By 1546, there were about 570 Portuguese residents in Cochin, out of whom 343 were married settlers.¹⁰² The number of married Portuguese settlers rose to 500 by 1551.¹⁰³ The large increase in the number of orphans and church institutions indirectly hints that Cochin experienced a very high demographic growth during middle of the sixteenth century. Thus, we find that in 1584, the Christians in Cochin numbered about 15,000, of whom 10,000 were natives and the remaining 5000 Portuguese.¹⁰⁴ But the population of the *Casados* began to decrease considerably after 1611, when a good number of them shifted their base of activities from Cochin to the Coromandel ports and elsewhere, because of the tensions in the hinterland which caused a decrease in the flow of commodities from the hinterland to the port of Cochin. However, the *mestices* or mixed population emerged as a result of Luso-Indian marriages in and around Cochin in large numbers.

The population of the city was reduced to one –third by the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ By the 1630s, the number of *Casados* in Cochin was about five hundred: three hundred whites and the rest natives.¹⁰⁶ At the time of

101. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.I, Bangalore, 1984, p.359.

102. Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, volIII,p.321.

103. The letter of the viceroy written to the king dated 16 January 1551, in ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II, Maço 242, doc.44.

104. M.N.Pearson, *Coastal Western India Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981,p.56.

105. Arquivo Historico Ultramarina Lisboa (hereafter AHU), *Caixas da India*, Caixa 2, doc.107. The letter of the city council of cochin sent to Philip II of Portugal giving an account of the economic condition of Cochin dated 21 December 1613, HAG, *Livro das Monções*, no.12 (1613-17), fols. 254-80, dated March 1617.

106. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*,p.199.

Dutch conquest it was estimated that there were 900 old houses in the Portuguese quarter, though only 173 were actually inhabited.¹⁰⁷ After the defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the Portuguese people were sent out of Cochin, the population in the city was about 8000 including 4000 *topasses*.¹⁰⁸ (the Dutch called the descendants of the Portuguese as *Topasses*). There were many other European traders and trade agents in this city such as the Italians and Germans. The German presence in Cochin, who came to this city as soldiers and traders, was good enough to form a separate church for them.¹⁰⁹ The city administration at Cochin was entrusted to a popular body called the *Senado da Camara* or the Municipal Council.¹¹⁰ The married Portuguese male citizens and *Casados* could vote for and sit in the Municipal Council.¹¹¹

Cochin being the first settlement of the Portuguese in India, commercial operations of the Portuguese, formation of municipal administration, with its various objects could be traced at this place. The role of the Raja of Cochin was very significant in the growth of Luso-Indians. The social set-up of the community emerged out of the mixed marriages, were quite evident in the colourful life of Cochin city. From 1500 to 1663, the 163 years long 'presence', rather than 'occupation' of the Portuguese and their descendants at Cochin and its suburban areas, left its indelible marks. And even today, the presence of the Luso-Indian community in and around Cochin is very significant.

The Social Strata of the Portuguese Settlement

Afonso de Albuquerque wished the marriage of the Portuguese to be limited to women of high breed. He stressed that he did not want his men to marry the dark-skinned

107. H.K. Jacob ed. *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701*. Hague, 1976, pp.iii, liii.

108. Sanjay Subrahmaniam, 'Cochin in Decline' 1600-1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India', in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, ed., Roderich Ptak, Stuttgart, 1987, p.84.

109. SRD, doc.105,p.217.

110. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.* n 104, p.52.

111. *Ibid.*,52-3.

women of Malabar.¹¹² But it is interesting to note that the Portuguese had no hesitation to cohabit and marry Negro slaves brought to Cochin from Mozambique and other African coasts in spite of the preferences stipulated by Albuquerque. The progenies of *Casado* settlers married converts from various Hindu castes. It is suggested that in the city of Cochin, the majority of women whom the Portuguese married seem to have been converts from Islam.¹¹³ This suggestion may be accepted during the short span of Albuquerque's governorship. It is also a fact that most of the Muslim population deserted Cochin to the territories of Zamorin as early as 1521. Apart from this, there is no evidence for large scale Muslim settlements in Cochin. Conversion to Christianity was presented as a condition for the native women to get married to Portuguese men. Many women, as a result, sought baptism with a view to marrying Portuguese soldiers. In 1514, in the city of Cochin, about one hundred women including those of Muslim, Nair, Ezhava, Canarese, Gujarati and Brhamin origin, were converted to Christianity¹¹⁴ and married to the Portuguese adding to the Luso-Indian population.

It is interesting to note here that Padre Alexander Valignano, the celebrated reorganizer of the Jesuit Mission in Asia, classified the population of the Portuguese-India (in the narrowest sense of term) as divisible into the following categories:- firstly, the European born Portuguese **Reinos**, (The white Portuguese nobility); these blue blooded Portuguese nationals occupied high positions such as Governors and Viceroys, Archbishop, Bishops, Captains, Judges and so on, they returned to Portugal after their term of office.¹¹⁴ Secondly, the **Portuguese born in India**, of pure European parentage who were very few and far between; thirdly those born of a European father and native mother who were termed as **Castices**, fourthly, the progenies of Luso-Indian and native woman or **Mestices**, fifth and last, the native **pure breed Indian** and those with hardly a drop of European blood in their veins.¹¹⁵ There

112. SRD. Vol I, *op.cit.*, doc.106,pp.22-221.

113. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and Maritime Trade of India*, New Delhi, 2003, p.84.

114. SRD,Vol I, doc.110,pp. 232-9.

115. Garcia Jose Ignacia Abranches de, *Archiva da Relacao de Goa*, Part I, Nova Goa, 1872, Decree 589, dated 8th March 1634, p.448, Decree 602, dated 24th Feb, 1635.

were also the *Mulatos* , of Portuguese and African parentage. The *Mesticos* (from the Portuguese word `Mestice` means mixed) or Luso-Indians were the majority inhabitants in a Portuguese settlement during the sixteenth century. The Luso-Indians became integral part of the Portuguese India as planned by Afonso de Albuquerque and they played a very prominent role in trade and in all other walks of life.

Economic Progress of Luso-Indians

The Luso-Indian community of Cochin enjoyed special freedom to carry on their private trade. Because of the Portuguese origin and the connections through their Kerala wives , they had the facility and access to the locality and convenience for maintaining trade at Cochin and the near and far areas. The community of *Casados* consequently extended their influence both politically and commercially for setting up a trade syndicate for their own interests.¹¹⁶ They exercised freedom in conducting trade with all Asian regions and on all commodities except the items reserved for royal monopoly. But they were also engaged in the trade of pepper, cloves and other spices all over Asia, which they conducted on most cases , with due permission and licenses. The maritime space between coastal India and South East Asia was the active area of their operation. They even had minor trade operations with Red Sea ports.

Even from 1510 onwards , Afonso de Albuquerque, who introduced the policy of mixed-marriage , encouraged the married men (*Casados*) to take up local trade as a means of livelihood.¹¹⁷ The profit earned from this trade attracted the *Casados* to widen their sphere of activities and they organized themselves to protect their interest in the form of a syndicate known as `the Cochin Group` , for the purpose of opposing state intervention.¹¹⁸ The king of

116. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, `The Tail Wags the Dog or some Aspects of the External Relations of the Estado da India, 1570-1600`, in *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien*, XVIe-XIXe. S.,no. 5, Paris, 1988.

117. R.S. Whiteway, *op.cit.*, pp.176-7.

118. Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, `O Grupo de Cochim e a Oposição á Afonso de Albuquerque, *Stvdia*, 51, Lisboa, 1992, pp.119''44.

Cochin as well as Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the successor to Afonso de Albuquerque allowed the *Casados* to continue their private trade. This new Governor demarcated a space east of Cape Comorin which was relatively free from state interference, for the trade of *Casados*.

The voyage of Fernão Peres de Andrade in 1515 to explore the possibilities of discovering Bay of Bengal and China¹¹⁹ and other eastern part of Indian ocean along with Malacca, further favoured the *Casados* for widening their trade of Pepper and other commodities. The goods for trade were taken from Cochin to Bengal and other ports of the Gangetic delta in exchange of sugar, rice and textiles.¹²⁰ In 1518, D.João de Silveira sailed from Cochin to Bengal to explore commercial prospects in the Gangetic delta.¹²¹ In 1522-3, Diogo Pereira, who was greatly associated with the private trade of Cochin, was moving about in Bengal and Pegu trying to open doors for the commerce of pepper from Cochin and procuring wares in exchange.¹²² Diogo Pereira, once took from Cochin pepper along with copper and silk to Cambay and Chaul and he was paid 16000 *pardaos* in gold after sale.¹²³ In return diverse types of cloth, indigo, sealing wax and gold were taken to Cochin.¹²⁴ The white cloth of Cambay was in high demand for exchange for pepper, timber, areca and

119. Luciano Ribeiro, Document dated 26 March 1515 summarised in, *Registo da Casa da India*, vol.I, p.3.

120. Sanjay Subramnyam, 'Notes on the Sixteenth Century Bengal Trade', in IESHR, 24/3, 1987, pp.266-89.

121. Genevieve Bouchon and Luis Filipe Thomaz eds., *Voyage dans les Deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy*, Paris, 1988, pp.56-60.

122. Luis Filipe Thomaz, 'Diogo Pereira, o Malabar' in *Mare Liberum*, 1993, pp.50-64.

123. *Cartas I*, p.197; Luis Filipe Thomaz, *A Viagem de Antonio Correia a Pegu em 1519*, Lisboa, 1975, p.36.

124. Adelino de Almeida Calado, *Livro que trata das Cousas da India e do Japão*, Coimbra, 1957, p.59.

other spices.¹²⁵ Some of this rice was again taken to the Maldives in exchange for coir and cowries.¹²⁶

Horses were imported from Ormuz to Cochin by *the Casados*, though Goa was the main port of import for the horses from Arabia (2000 horses per year).¹²⁷ In 1533, D. João da Cruz with the due permission imported horses to Cochin to be taken to the fishery coast, Travancore and to the kingdoms of Chymbechenaque (Tumbhichi Nayak) and Betepermal (Vettam Perumal).¹²⁸ In 1546, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro says that the horses taken to Cape Comorin from Ormuz via Cochin did not yield much profit. So he asked permission to take suger, rice and lac from Satgão (*Porto Pequeno* of Bengal) to Cochin.¹²⁹ In 1547, it was noted that the *Ouvidor* of Cochin remarking that many *Casados* of the city were taking horses to Cape Comorin from Cochin for trade.¹³⁰ By 1568 the number of horses imported to Cochin from Ormuz for distribution in the kingdoms of south India created alarming situations in Goa, as it adversely affected the revenue of the latter.¹³¹ In the circumstances the private trade was increased, the need for timber to build more ships increased in proportion. Luso-Indians of Cochin had begun to make use of large amount timber for the construction of their ships. In 1523, it was reported that wood for shipbuilding was scarce in Cochin as it was being purchased by the Portuguese who had planned to settle in India, live by their own trade and die here.¹³² By the 1540s we find a lot of ships being

125. Sanjay Subrhamanyam, *op.cit.*, n 108, p.63.

126. Gasper Correia, *Lendas*, tom.II,pp. 129-30.

127. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico, I*, Maço 87, doc.2.

128. *Ibid.*,Maço 52, doc.25. *Chymbechenaque* and *Betepermal* were identified as the rulers of southern territories of the present Tamilandu.

129. Elaine Sanceau, *Coleção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1973-83 pp.347, 380, 391.

130. *Ibid.*,p.391.

131. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo 3, New Delhi, 1992,p.14.

built in Cochin in the shipbuilding centres. The demand for more ships necessitated for the wars to rescue of Diu. Mostly, the *Fidalgos* participated in the wars while the construction of ships were entrusted with the Luso-Indians.¹³³ They wanted permission to build ships which was restricted because of the shortage of timber experienced in the royal shipbuilding centre.¹³⁴ About more than twenty different *Casados* were allowed in 1546-47 to construct ships in Malabar as a reward for their services to defend Diu.¹³⁵ With the possession of a large number of private ships at their disposal, the *Casados* extended their commercial operations to diverse fields.

Various reasons are identified for the emergence of the Luso-Indians in intra-Asian trade. The frequent attacks of Muslim vessels and the confiscation of their cargo by the Portuguese in the name of the *cartazes* (licence from the Portuguese after remitting the required fee) forced the Muslim traders considerably withdrawing from trade through the Indian ocean. This created a vacuum and the Luso-Indians traders could enter the place from where the Muslim traders withdrew.¹³⁶ It is to be noted that, during the early days of Portuguese establishment the Muslim merchants of Cochin especially Marakkars were their greatest allies and suppliers; this continued till the death of Afonso de Albuquerque.¹³⁷ The shifting of commercial operations of the Kutti Ali and Kunjali Marakkars to Calicut in 1524 and their subsequent fight against the Portuguese are part of the history.¹³⁸

132. M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujrat*, London, 1976, pp.37-9.

133. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista (inedita) do segundo cerco de Dio, Coimbra*, 1927, pp.296-333.

134. M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, n. 132, pp.37-9.

135. Antonio Baião, *op.cit.*, pp.296-333.

136. R.A. de Bulhão Pato, *op.cit.*, tom. I. P.306.

137. K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India*, New Delhi, 1983, pp.100-6.

138. Shayak Zaynuddin, *op.cit.*, p.66; see also Faria y Sousa, *op.cit.*, Vol.I.p.284.

Also see, K.J. John "The Portuguese and Kunjali Marakkars; Myth and Reality", in *Winds of Spices*, eds., K.S.Mathew, Joy Varkey, Tellicherry, 2006, pp.103-116

The royal monopoly over the spice trade in Malacca and the Moluccas ceased to exist in 1533 and 1537.¹³⁹ This facilitated the Luso-Indians to earn huge profits by actively involving themselves in the Bengal-Malacca, Coromandal-Malacca and Cochin-Malacca routes.¹⁴⁰ Though one part of the commodities traded went to China and Japan, from Malacca a strong stream moved through the Luso-Indians to Cochin, from where some were taken to Portugal and the rest to Cambay and Ormuz for distribution in west Asia.¹⁴¹ After the establishment of Macao in 1557, merchandise from China, especially finished goods such as porcelain, silk, lac, jewellery and minted brass began to be taken to Cochin and other Malabar ports with the help of the Luso-Indians.¹⁴²

Indian textiles were taken in large volume for exchange in the Malay Archipelago, as the spices from South-East Asia were to be paid in textiles rather than in money.¹⁴³ The Luso-Indians took from Cochin pepper, ginger, coir, coconuts and various kinds of wares from China and Malacca to Diu, Surat and Chaul in exchange for raw cotton and textiles. The *Casados* who used to take pepper from Cochin to Bengal played a crucial role in the textile trade. Though some commodities were taken to Malacca, Cochin was the major outlet for the textiles of Bengal that came through the ports of Pipli, Chittagong, Satagon and Dianga.¹⁴⁴ By the 1540s, Bengal turned out to be the chief destination of the Luso-Indians who conducted licenced trade in pepper from Cochin.¹⁴⁵

139. Luis Filipe Thomaz, 'The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago in the 16th century' in *Archipe1*, 18, 1984, p.76.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-83; Sanjay Subramnyam, *op.cit.*, n 108, p.63.

141. *Ibid.*, pp.82-3.

142. Luis Filipe Thomaz, *op.cit.* n. 139, p.83.

143. Basilio de Sá, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do padroado Português do Oriente'Insulindia*, vol. I, Lisboa, 1954, doc,20,p.132. See the letter of the captain of Ternate, Antonio de Brito, to the king dated 11 February 1523,

144. ANTT, *Nucleo Antigo*, no.808, fols.5-6.

145. ANTT, *Corpoo Cronologico*,II, Maço 240, doc.60.

The low customs duty collected by the native king from the Luso-Indians of Cochin also influenced in the increasing role of these people in trade. The dispute between the Portuguese officials at Cochin and the Cochin Raja regarding the collection of duty, was finally ended up by the decision of King John III on 24 February 1530 in favour of the Raja, after considering the fact that the Raja of Cochin was the owner of the port of Cochin.¹⁴⁶ Raja of Cochin, favoured the Luso-Indians by reducing the duty to 3% instead of 6%, to attract more trade. Besides, while all other merchants had to go first to Goa and pay 6% duty there and come to Cochin, the Luso-Indians were allowed to bring commodities directly to Cochin. The other merchants trickily evaded Goa by entering into side-deals with the *casados*, who used to bring their goods through the customs house, claiming ownership.¹⁴⁷ Making use of the economic freedom given to the Luso-Indians, some of them like Jácome de Olivares and his brother –in-law Diogo Vaz used to conduct trade in south East Asian commodities in Malacca, in exchange for cloth taken from Cochin.¹⁴⁸ Luis Rodrigues, another merchant from this group, had Malacca, Bengal, Coromandel and Ceylon as the major destinations of his commercial transactions.¹⁴⁹

Eventhough, the Luso-Indians were always been a source of support and defense both economically and politically to the Portuguese administration in Malabar, there arose a conflict between the Luso-Indians and the *fidalgos*, whom the crown preferred, while distributing concessions and public offices.¹⁵⁰ The Luso-Indians and ecclesiastical dignitaries like Dom Jorge Temudo, the first bishop of Cochin, strongly opposed the mass

146. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad eds. *op.cit.*, doc.53,pp.73-6.

147. M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, n. 104, p.55 ;

148. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.4516, fol.110çProc.4656, fol.110çProc.5265, fols.45, 55, 77.

149. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.4, 17-22,33,36-8, 42-3, 72, 77-9,82.

150. Luis Filipe Thomaz, “A Crise de 1565-1575 na Historia do Estado da India”, in *Mare Liberum*, Lisboa, 9 July, 1995, pp.503-8.9

reservation given to the *fidalgos*. The bishop wrote that India needed only two dozens of good *fidalgos* to be appointed as the governors and the captains. The rest, the Luso-Indians could manage themselves.¹⁵¹ (This comment was made when he was the Archbishop of Goa in 1569) The crown felt it necessary to appease the Luso-Indians and made attempts to protect their trade from competition as well as to reserve some lines for their regional trade.

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By 1570 the Luso-Indians of Cochin had already become a powerful mercantile group with considerable capital resources and vast commercial network. The crisis which the *Estado* experienced during the years between 1565 and 1570 as well as the liberal policy which the crown followed during the contract-trade period (1570 – 97) had prepared a favourable atmosphere for the Luso-Indians. During the period between 1570 – 1600, they virtually turned Cochin into one of the biggest entrepôts of Asia. The important commodities taken from Cochin to the trade centres, situated on the eastern areas of Indian Ocean were, pepper, textiles, wild-cinnamon, flour, wine, olive oil, gun powder, almonds and dried grapes.¹⁵³ From Bengal the Luso-Indians of Cochin brought to this port large quantities of sugar, rice, textiles, long pepper, wheat, saltpeter etc.¹⁵⁴ Rice and other food materials during this period were in high demand not only in Cochin but in all other places in Kerala. On 17th May the *casados* brought to the city of Santa Cruz 900 *candis* of rice from Bengal and 500 *candis* from Pegu.¹⁵⁵ This transaction in rice was

151. Joseph Wicki, “Duas Relações sobre a situação da Índia Portuguesa nos anos de 1568 e 1569” in *Stvdia*, no.8, Lisboa, 1961, pp.200-1.

152. Luis Filipe Thomaz, “Portuguese Control on the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal – A Comparative Study”, A paper presented in the Conference on Bay of Bengal, New Delhi, December 1994, p.27.

153. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.207; Also see, *Relação das Plantas & Descrições de todos as Fortalezas, Cidade e Povoações que os Portuguezes tem no Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, CMXXXVI, p.39.

154. *Ibid.*, pp.38-9.

155. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, 1980, ‘Livro das Despesas de hum Porcento’, fol.25.

conducted in exchange for the pepper taken from Cochin. This barter proved to be more profitable and rice was frequently brought to Cochin from these distant ports of Bengal and Pegu, as testified by the trade records of 1592 and 1597.¹⁵⁶

The frequency of cargo ships that plied between Cochin and Bengal became considerably diminished in the seventeenth century due to the short supply of pepper from the hinterlands of Kerala. This was caused because of the tensions and troubles between the Portuguese and the cultivators and the threat from the Dutch that obstructed the routine trade. However, we find that customs revenue from ships of Bengal trade was relatively significant.¹⁵⁷

The Luso-Indians continued their trade with the ports of the Coromandel coast during the last three decades of the sixteenth century especially to collect textiles and food materials. The shifting of the base of operation by them from Cochin to Coromandel coasts had a disastrous impact on the commercial activities and the urban life of Cochin, causing the fall of its population drastically. However, it seems that the Luso-Indians continued to maintain their trade with less frequency even during this period with the ports on Coromandel coasts. In 1644 they handled large quantity of cotton cloth, both white and coloured, to the various parts of the *Estado* including Cochin.¹⁵⁸

With the liberalization of the spice trade in 1570, Malacca was proclaimed a free port and it was decreed that spice bought there should not pay duties or fees on being taken to Goa and Cochin.¹⁵⁹ The Luso-Indians of Cochin took advantage of this situation and the import of copper from Europe stopped by the end of the sixteenth century, the

156. *Ibid.*, fols.12;40.

157. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 3^a, doc.162, dated 23 Dec.1615.

158. *Ibid.*, Caixa 16, doc.34, fol.21, dated 12.2.1644.

159. Francisco P. Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da India*, Lisboa, 1952, pp.73-4

casados entered in this trade, brought copper from China, which was used not only for the minting of coins and the manufacturing of weaponries, but also for the manufacturing of household utensils for the aristocratic families in south India, particularly in Kerala.¹⁶⁰

As they conducted frequent commercial trips to Malacca and in 1588 for example, through their trade tactics, they controlled the price of the market to their advantage.¹⁶¹ The role played by Malacca in the commercial life of the Luso-Indians of Cochin was so significant, that the city of Santa Cruz sent every possible help to defend the former, which was under threat. In 1589, the food supplies sent to Malacca by the city of Cochin with a view to defending its fortress was worth 16,700 *pardoa*s. The Luso-Indians paid this amount, entirely, though not directly from their own pockets, but from the one percent which the city levied on the commodities that reached Cochin.¹⁶² Malacca was so dear to the settlers of Cochin that besides food supplies, a lot of money was collected from its traders to be sent to the rescue of the former. About 1356 *xerafins* were collected in cash from the Luso-Indians traders of Cochin, by way of one percent taxation, to help Malacca during the period between 1587 and 1598.¹⁶³

China, into which penetration was made possible after 1560, via Macao and Malacca¹⁶⁴ was always a prospective market for the *casados*. A large volume of silk and porcelain was brought to Cochin from Chinese production centers by the *casados*.¹⁶⁵

160. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*p,210

161. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, *op.cit.*, n.131, p.123.

162. *Ibid.*, pp.220, 250.

163. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, cod.no.1980, Livro das Despezas (Taboada), fol.17.

164. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Ensaio*, Vol.II, Sobre Historia Univeral, Lisboa, 1968, p.233.

165. Pius Malekandathil,*op.cit.*p.210 ; Also see Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiquwes and Discoveries of the English Nations*, ,Vol.V, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905-7, P.393

One of the important and interesting features of this period (1570 - 1663) was that the *armada* of the south, instituted initially to prevent the diversion of the spices, began to be used increasingly for protecting the private trade of the Luso-Indians whose commercial empire stretched into the eastern space of Indian Ocean. It was because of the constant threat from the corsairs that the ships of the Luso-Indians were given fleet protection from Cape Comorin to Cochin. The duty of conducting the coastal patrolling up to Comorin fell upon the shoulders of the city of Cochin and to maintain this *armada*, the city extracted one percent duty from every trader of this port. Substantial amounts were spent by the city of Cochin, during the period from 1587 to 1598, to render protection to the *casado* traders coming from eastern part of Indian Ocean.¹⁶⁶

The Luso-Indians brought to Cochin, coir which was in high demand for the various purposes of the private ships as well as those of the *carreira*, and cowries, which were again taken from Cochin as a monetary medium for buying slaves from western African ports, indigo and textiles from Gujrat, food materials and clothes from Bengal, Pegu and Coromandel.¹⁶⁷ The king of Maldives, who had fled to Cochin in 1552 and had become a Christian, was residing in the city of Santa Cruz, during this period, under the name of Dom Manuel. The Portuguese forces conquered the Maldive islands in 1554, and defeating the new king Hassan, they built a fortress in Male and compelled the islands to pay annual tribute to their old sovereign, then a resident of Cochin.¹⁶⁸

166. Pius Malekandathil, *Ibid*, pp.211.

167. *Ibid*. p.212., Also see, João Manuel de Almeida Teles e Cunha, *Economia de um Império: Economia Política do Westado da Índia em Torno do Mar Arábico e Golfo Pérsico Elementos Conjuntuaris: 1595 -1635*, Mestrado Dissertation submitted to the Universidade of Nova de Lisboa, 1995, pp.397-400

168. João Manuel de Almeida Teles e Cunha, *Ibid*.,p.398

The *casados* continued their trade with Ceylon in cinnamon and precious stones, both for European trade as well as for intra-Asian commerce used to be brought to Cochin by the settlers of Cochin.¹⁶⁹ The trade with Goa by the *casados* was comparatively small when

compared with other commercial routes. However, in 1615, Dom Diogo Coutinho observed that the commodities which the settlers of the city of Santa Cruz were taking from Cochin to Goa, were valued at 30,000 to 40,000 *xerafins*.¹⁷⁰

The ports of Gujrat, from where commodities were taken to Persia, Arabia, East Africa and Europe via West Asia, were the leading and long-standing commercial targets of the Luso-Indians of Cochin. Though the old Sultanate of Gujarat was incorporated into the Mughal territory in 1573, the settlers of Cochin procured the wares through Portuguese bases in Chaul, Bacaim, Daman and Diu. They used to take Gujarat spices from Cochin, wares from China and Malacca, coir and cowries from Maldives, in exchange for textiles, indigo as well as opium. Coconuts also turned out to be a major commodity sent to the ports of Cambary from Cochin and other Malabar ports as observed by Thomas Best in 1613.¹⁷¹

Commodities were brought to Cochin by the partners of *casados* from various parts of the country and with a view to avoid the Portuguese customs duty at Goa (where the customs duty rate was 6%) and at the same time *casados* were required to pay only 3.5%. The other merchants were required to pay 6% at Cochin plus the 1% tax on the city. As mentioned earlier, the native partners of the Luso-Indians were bringing commodities into Cochin and by paying a concessional rate to the native king under the label of the settlers of the city of Santa Cruz, thus evading the Portuguese customs rate.¹⁷² To check this illegal partnership of the merchants and to increase the revenue, as early as 1583, the Portuguese

169. AHU, *Caixas da India*, 3 A, doc.179 fols. 1, 7, dated 30 Dec. 1615.

170. *Ibid.*, Caixa 3, doc.29, dated 25 Jan. 1615.

171. William Foster, *The Voyages of Thomas Bes to the East Indies*, London, 1934, pp.148-9, 188.

172. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.214

authorities had made secret negotiations with the king of Cochin to equalize the customs rate of Cochin with that of Goa, by raising the rate of Luso-Indian settlers to six percent which was to be paid to the native king and by imposing on all, the compulsory exit tax to the

Portuguese treasury.¹⁷³ This must have also been a strategy to centralize trade in Goa and to minimize the commercial importance of Cochin. However, this action provoked the Luso-Indians and other settlers at Cochin and a crowd of around 15,000 men (it is said that 10,000 of them were local Christians and 5000 Portuguese and *casados*) marched into the church of St. John in Cochin to defend their privileges. The crowd even attacked the Captain of the fort, who took refuge in the palace of the King.¹⁷⁴ The authorities were compelled to reconsider this legislation. According to the agreement, made by the newly arrived Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes on 12th December 1584, (a) the Luso-Indians were required to pay only 3.5 percent to the king of Cochin and no export duties, (b) the unmarried Portuguese citizens of the city had to pay 6 percent to the Portuguese treasury at Cochin, (c) all non-Portuguese including the Muslims, Jews, Venetians, Armenians, local Christians and those Christians residing south of Cochin, were to pay the usual 6 percent duties to the king, and (d) all Luso-Indians not resident in Cochin had to pay 6 percent on the entry and exit to the Portuguese customs officials.¹⁷⁵

The socio-economic position of all the Luso-Indians were not always the same. The period between 1570 and 1600, which showed flourishing trade enabled many Luso-Indians to accumulate wealth from trade. There were few very rich ones, the upper-middle class who were engaged in trade as well as associated with administrative responsibilities, there were also middle class and lower middle class. Of course, like in any other society there were poor, aged and sick people at Santa Cruz among the Luso-Indian community. As a vital link in the world economy, Cochin emerged as the most important trade emporium on the Malabar coast in the 16th century relegating Calicut to the

173. Diogo De Couto, *Da Asia, Decada X*, part I, liv.IV, cap.XIII, Lisboa, 1778-88. pp.472-80.; Also see K.J. John, "International Trade in Cochin in the 16th Century", *A Carreira Da India e as Totas dos Estreitos*, eds. Artur Teodoro de Matos e Luis Filipe Reis Thomaz., Angro do Heroismo, 1998, pp.295-308.

174. *Ibid.*,

175. K.S. Mathew, and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 53, pp.77-83.

background. It became an inevitable link of East West trade axis round the Cape route in

Connection with the flow of goods and men with the increase of trade activities in the Port of Cochin¹⁷⁶

The chain of forts from Cannanore to Quilon - *Fort St. Angelo* at Cannanore, Forts at Calicut, *Fort Emmanuel* at Cochin, Fort St.Thomas at (Kottapuram) Crangannore, Fort at Palliport (*Vatta Kotta*) and *Fort St.Thomas* at Quilon and the settlements of the Portuguese and the *casado* settlers, formed the centers of Luso-Indians- the mixed-race of the Portuguese with Indians. How far they supported the *Estado da India portuguesa*, is well-defined in the above mentioned incidents. The role of the *casados* in the *carreira da India*, as mentioned above was very prominent. The *caravelas* of the Portuguese, with the spices from Indies sailed in the sub-continent and west-Asia with the active support of the *casados*. Commodities from silks to diamonds, cloths and food-grains were exchanged throughout the Indian sub-continent and even to Europe.

The origin of the Luso-Indian community through the mixed marriages, their settlement in the Port cities where the Portuguese had their presence and the prosperity of the Luso-Indian community through the extensive commercial operations, also called, give us the picture of these daring and adventurous people, who could assimilate the talents of their Lusitanian fathers with their Indian mothers who possessed fine qualities with a rich heritage.

The Luso-Indian settlements at **Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon** and **Calicut** were slowly got urbanized and developed into townships. Churches¹⁷⁷, hospitals¹⁷⁸, schools¹⁷⁹ and

176. K.J. John, , *op.cit*, n. 173. p.301.

177. H. Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1973, p.56.

178. G.M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, p.252.

179. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, Livro 180 A, fls.168-169 V; Silva Rego, *Historia*, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.149., letter of Albuquerque dated, Cochin, 1st April 1512.

*Santa Casa de Misericordia*¹⁸⁰ have been catering to the various needs of the Luso-Indians. At the city of *Santa Cruz* at Cochin, the Municipal administration or **camara** Municipal on the European lines was developed for the first time as a forerunner of local administration.

The Italians and Germans

Right from the pioneering voyages of the Portuguese to India in the sixteenth century, the Italians and Germans were associated with the trade of the Portuguese as financiers as well as the part of the fighting force. In the initial stage itself to constitute an efficient fighting force the Portuguese found it necessary to incorporate many Germans and Italians as soldiers and *bombardeiros*. The Portuguese crown had also felt it necessary to involve the wealthy entrepreneurs of Portugal, Italy and Germany in the Indian trade. As the demand for copper was very high in Malabar, for using this metal in making household utensils, the German and Italian merchants also came into the scene as copper dealers.¹⁸¹ Even in 1501, out of the four ships sent to India, two were dispatched by the `Italian Consortium` and these ships were put under the captaincy of the Florentine, Messer Fernam Vineti.¹⁸²

The German *bombardieros* who established the Brotherhood of St. Bertholomew in Lisbon, were associated with the sending of men to Portuguese ships. We see that the first Germans who have come to India were soldiers from this Brotherhood of Bartholomew. They seemed to have formed an important part of the artillery men who accompanied every Portuguese ship to Cochin. The largest number of German soldiers seems to have reached Cochin in 1502, along with Vasco da Gama.¹⁸³ The Germans and Italians settled in Kerala also married Luso-Indian women and sometimes native women.

180. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tomo II, p.830 ; See also C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, Hague, 1948, p.217.

181. Pious Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.161,162.

182. E.G Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vaso da Gama*, London, 1898, p.119.

183. Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Munster, 1999, pp.31-3.

The decline of trade after 1600, the arrival of Dutch and the English in the trade scenario, the threats of these powers and finally the defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch on 7 January 1663 at Cochin¹⁸⁴, resulted far reaching changes in the Luso-Indian community. The attack on the city of Cochin by the Dutch had failed in 1661. The Dutch

again attacked Cochin in 1663 with the help of the Zamorin of Calicut and were successful, thus bringing the rule of the Portuguese in Cochin to an end. In the terms of surrender in 1663, special provisions were included for the protection of the Luso-Indians at Cochin.¹⁸⁵

Terms of Surrender Imposed on the Portuguese at Cochin by the Dutch in 1663

1. The town of cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or Worship's representatives.
- 2.. All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves and whatever else may be , shall be handed over, as above.
- 3.. All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against Netherlands in India for two years.
5. All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march past with flying colours, drum beating, fuses light, bullets in their mouths and two guns, to a convenient place outside the town, and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.
6. All true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

184. T.I. Poonen, *The Dutch Hegemony in Malabar*, Trivandrum, 1978, p.29

185. D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, Bangalore, 1959, pp.20-21

7. All married Portuguese and *Mestices* shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.
8. All free *Topasses* (semi-assimilated half-castes) and Canarins shall remain at the disposal of the General.

9. The clergy may take with them the images and the Church ornaments except those of gold and silver.
10. All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country, if they be subjects to the King of Portugal , be comprehended in this treaty. ¹⁸⁶

With the defeat of the Portuguese, the Luso-Indians were forced to flee to the interior villages in different parts of Kerala and to be protected themselves from the Dutch. The terms of surrender stipulated that the Portuguese settlers had to leave Cochin either to Goa or any other Portuguese settlement. The Dutch who were Protestants destroyed and burnt the churches, library, Portuguese establishments, the houses of the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians. The enmity, vengeance and religious fanaticism of the Dutch could be seen in the narrations of Ferrolli about the incident :

“...the Blessed Sacrament was removed from the churches; they were robbed of all ornaments. On the square in front of each they lit a big fire, and burnt the ornaments therein—statues, crucifixes, holy pictures, missals and everything pertaining to the sacred worship. The sight of it caused that poor, miserable people to moan and cry. The next day the keys of the city were delivered. Rickloff took possession of it... He gave leave to the

186. For details see *Batavia Day Register for 1663*, ed., J.A. Van der Chijs, Batavia, Hague, 1887-1931.

soldiers to plunder the city for three days. It is not possible to imagine the cruelty of the soldiers, the ways some women were treated, Those who, a short time before, owned fine houses and plenty of money had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter....” ¹⁸⁷

E. Francisco Gomes Sermento, Captian of a Company of Infantry, Marco de Pinho, Burger of Cochin, delegate of Ignatio Sermento Carvalho, Captain Geral of the Town of

Cochin on behalf of His Majesty the king of Portugal and Mr. Jacob Hustaert, Councilor Extraordinary of India, representative of the General Rijcklof Van Goens, ordinary Councilor of India were parties to the above mentioned deed of surrender.

The Portuguese who were Catholics were treated in an inhuman way at the hands of the Dutch. This was one of the deplorable acts recorded in the history of Cochin. The city of Cochin renowned throughout the world as one of the important trading centers with prestigious educational institutions and library with thousands of books and rare manuscripts were burnt by the Dutch. All the priests and friars were expelled.¹⁸⁸ Very soon Cochin became a town of `empty houses and deserted streets`. Seeing this the Dutch changed their policy to some extent to draw the Luso-Indians back to their enclave. Many of them returned and started acting as translators. Without them it was not possible for the Dutch to carry on the day to day administration. Those days the Luso-Indians were named `Topasse`. They served as interpreters which was esteemed a honourable profession. Many of them also served as *Lascorins* in the Dutch Armada. During the reign of the Dutch at Cochin and other parts of Kerala, there were marriages between the Dutch and the Luso-Indians and became a part of Luso-Indian household.

When the British defeated the Dutch at Cochin on 19 October 1795, special protections

187. D. Ferroli, *Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939-5, pp. 21-22

188. Joseph Thekedath, *History of Christianity in India* Vol II, Bangalore, 2001 p.119.

for the Luso-Indians and other ethnic groups were provided in Article 13 of the Dutch deed of Surrender.¹⁸⁹ Accordingly, they were allowed to retain their property as well as privileges and protections which they always enjoyed from the Dutch.

Intermarriages between the English and Luso-Indians have taken place during this period. These *mestices* in Kerala were for a long time known by the popular term "Eurasian". This term was first used by the Marquis of Hastings who considered it more euphemistic and

more precise. Actually, after the Dutch advent of Cochin, the Luso-Indian community slowly started mixing with other Europeans who came to India, like the Dutch, French, British etc. But, 90% of the 'Eurasians' in Kerala even now are the descendents of the Portuguese who can be classified as 'Luso-Indians'. They are now settled mainly at Cannanore, Calicut, Wayanadu, Trichur, Ernakulam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum districts of Kerala.

The Luso-Indians are identified from their Portuguese surnames (*Apelido/Alcunha*). The popular surnames in Kerala are:- *Almeida, Abrao, Allwyen, Aruja, Biveira, Coutinho, Carvalho, Cabral, Coelho, Correia, de Costa, de Coutho, de Cunha, de Cruz, de Mello, de Ross, de Silva, Dias, Durom, Fereira, Faria, Fernandez, Figureido, Furtado, Furtal, Gomez, Gonsalves, Lopez, Luiz, Livero, Mendez, Netto, Nunez, Noronha, Oliveira, Paiva, Padua, Pereira, Pinheiro, Pinto, Rodrigues, Rozario, Rebeiro, Rebello, Saiza, Sousa, Severence, Sequira, Surrao, and Simenthi.*

The Luso-Indian community in India especially Kerala, had the fate of encountering with other European nationals. When we evaluate the struggle for power and commercial dominance the competition of European powers for the West-Asian trade supremacy, the people of Malabar coast were forced to witness the calamities of war, in the coastal settlements. As a result, the history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was mostly the narration of the wars for the trade supremacy.

189. K.M.Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931, pp.177 – 184.

The Portuguese were in Malabar from 1500 to 1663. Holland (*Holandes* in Portuguese and *Lantha* in the vernacular), another European power had started their commercial operations in the Indian Ocean¹⁹⁰ in the 17th century. The Portuguese had their commercial operations in the later part of sixteenth century not only in Malabar coasts but

in Malacca , Macao, Ceylon, Sumatra , Spice Islands and in other Indian ports like Diu and Chittagong etc. Slowly , when the Portuguese became weakened mainly by the invasion of Spain of Portugal and on account of so many other reasons, the Dutch people started invading and dominating the Portuguese centers one by one. The conquest of the Portuguese settlements by the Dutch and the ‘contract’ of the Dutch with the king of Cochin, are now part of history.¹⁹¹ The Dutch were called ‘*Lantha*’¹⁹² or ‘*Lanthakkar*’ in Kerala.

With the incorporation of the English East India Company, the British also started their commercial activities in the Indian sub-continent during the second half of the seventeenth century. Their encounter with the Dutch and other European powers like the French ultimately ended in the ouster of the Dutch from the Indian coasts.

The French had very limited trade operations in Malabar. They had Mahe (near Telicherry) as their main settlement. As mentioned earlier , the Italians and Germans who came in the early years along with the Portuguese, had settled in Malabar, especially at Cochin. All the above mentioned Europeans had marital relations with each other and as the first settlers, the descendents of the Portuguese , formed as the Luso-Indian community. The progenies of these *mestices* were named ‘**Eurasians**’ to distinguish them from the native Indians.

190. T.I. Poonen, *op.cit.*, p.16.

191. *Ibid.*, pp.34,35. By this contract agreed with King of Cochin by Van Goens , on 20th March 1663 , both parties promised each other for peace and friendship.

192. *Ibid.*, preface.

The British rule in India lasted till 1947. As the last European power in India, who exercised complete political control over the vast country , the British started calling their progenies in Eurasian or Indian mothers as ‘**Anglo-Indians**’ It was at the formation of the Anglo-Indian Defense Association in 1882 that the term ‘*Anglo-Indian*’ was for the first time introduced as the official description of the Eurasian communities. Finally, the present

definition was accepted in the Constitution of India in 1950 as per Article 366 (2). Accordingly, an Anglo-Indian means:

“ A person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established before there for temporary purposes only”¹⁹³.

According to the above definition, all the progenies of Europeans or their descendants in India, come under the term ‘Anglo-Indian’, even though there was no relevance for other European descendants with this term. The 500 year old Luso-Indian community was also forced to be called **Anglo-Indian** as per the Constitution.

As explained earlier in Kerala the Portuguese and their descendants – the Luso-Indians were called ‘*Feringi*’¹⁹⁴. The Chamber’s Twentieth Century Dictionary defines the word ‘*Feringee*’ as a Hindu word for foreigner. The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘*Feringee*’ as Indian term for European, especially Indian born Portuguese’. This word in the vernacular slowly changed to ‘*Parangi*’ which is still in use.

193. Constitution of India, Article 366 (2).

194. The word ‘*Feringi*’ was derived from the Arab word ‘*Frank*’ (foreigner). The Arabs called the French Crusaders by this word. When the Portuguese arrived at the Malabar coasts, the Arab merchants called them ‘*Frank*’, which later slowly changed to ‘*Feringi*’ and then to ‘*Parangi*’.

Luso-Indian Organizations

The Luso-Indians and other descendants of Europeans in India, in the beginning of 20th century started experiencing the conflicts of interests between the various communities in India. That was the time big hue and cry started from Indians to free themselves from the yoke of administration of the British. The Eurasian community in India also sensed that

unless they unite and form their own organizations , their interests will be affected. Various organizations for Luso-Indians and other Eurasians were established during this period.

Concerning Kerala , on 11th March 1922, Chev.C. Paul Luiz convened a meeting of Eurasians at Perumanoor at Cochin and formed the first Association for Eurasians with himself as President and Prof. S.F. Nunez as Secretary. Mr.John D'silva initiated to form an Association for Luso-Indians at Mulavukadu on 1st January 1934. Mr.B.A. Fernandez from Mulavukadu organized the South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association at Vallarpadam with Mr.C.J. Luiz as its Director and Mr.Leander Lopes as its General Secretary. In 1936 Sir Henry Gidney visited cochin and established branches of the All India Anglo-Indian Association at Ernakulam with Chev.C.J. Luiz as President and at Fort Cochin with Mrs.L.G. Bernard as President. On 5th November 1939 Mr.JHoseph Pinheiro re-named the South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association to Federated Anglo-Indian Association with himself as President and Mr.Stephen Padua as General Secretary. In 1944 Mr.Frank Anthony, President of the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association, visited Ernakulam. In 1945 , Mr.Stanley Luiz succeeded Mr.C.J. Luiz as President of the All India Anglo-Indian Association, Ernakulam. In 1946 , the Federated Anglo-indian Association with 14 branches was amalgamated with the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association, New Delhi. Circle Associations of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Associations of South India were functioning at Munnar, Alleppey and Fort Cochin during this period¹⁹⁵ . When India

195. *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, of The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala State, Cochin, 2003, p.14

became independent from the British rule in 1947 and the community is recognized in the Constitution of India in the label of 'Anlo-Indian', the leaders of these Associations felt the need for a strong Association to fight for the interests of the Eurasian community in India . It was in these circumstances, on 14th October 1951 , at a Convention of various Anglo-Indian organizations held at Perumanoor, Cochin resolved to form the Union of Anglo-Indian

Associations with Mr. Stanley Luiz as President-in-Chief and Mr. E. F. Nigli as General Secretary. On 1st September 1953 Mr. A. A. D. Luiz took initiative and drafted the constitution for this organization and got it registered as No. 9/53 under the Literary Scientific and Charitable Societies Act.¹⁹⁶ Now, at 37 places Anglo-Indian Associations are functioning in Kerala, who are affiliated as Member Associations to the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations.

In 1945, the erstwhile Government of Cochin while the Maharaja at the Cochin State was reigning, gave sanction to start a dozen of Anglo-Indian schools in the State. The schools so established were developed and their present position at the following places are:-

- 1) Chev. C. P. Luiz Memorial Anglo-Indian High School, Perumanoor
- 2) Loretto Anglo-Indian High School, Saude
- 3) Luiz Anglo-Indian U.P. School, Kadukutty (Trichur District)
- 4) Holy Family Eurasian U.P. School, Vaduthala
- 5) Pauline Victoria Mendez Memorial U.P. School, Edacochin
- 6) St. Francis Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Bolgatty
- 7) St. Antony's Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Vallarpadam
- 8) European Primary School, Elamkunnappuzha
- 9) Cruz Milagiris European Primary School, Ochanthuruthu
- 10) Don Bosco European Primary school, Padiyoor (Trichur District)
- 11) Our Lady of Snow Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Kunjithai¹⁹⁷

196. *Ibid.*, p. 14

197. *Ibid.*, p. 33

Anglo-Indian Nominated Members to the State Legislative Assemblies

When the Eurasians formed their own Associations in the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin States (the present Kerala), they demanded to get their members nominated to the State Legislative Assemblies. It was succeeded in 1925 in Cochin State Legislative Assembly. Later, when the Constitution of India was introduced, Article 331 was introduced to nominate two members to Lok Sabha from among the Anglo-Indian

community in India and Article 333 to nominate an Anglo-Indian to the State Legislative Assemblies wherever a concentration of Anglo-Indians are there. The persons so nominated to the Cochin, Travancore-Cochin and Kerala Legislative Assemblies are :-

Prof. S.F. Nunez	- 1925-28	Cochin State
Dr.E.A. Veigas	- 1928-31	
Mrs. Josephine Soares	- 1931-35	
Dr.E.G. D'souza	- 1935-38	
Chev.C.J. Luiz	- 1938-45	
Stanley P. Luiz	- 1945-48	
Gasper D'silva	- 1948	
Gasper D'silva	- 1948-52	Travancore Cochin
A.A.D. Luiz	- 1952-56	
W.H. D'cruz	- 1957-59	Kerala State
C.F. Pereira	- 1960-64	
S.P. Luiz	- 1967-70	
Stephen Padua	- 1970-87	
Mr.Nicholas Rodrigues	- 1987-91	
Mr.David Pinheiro	- 1991-96	
Mr.John Fernandez	- 1996-2001	
Mr.Ludy Luiz	- 2002-2006	
Mr.Simon Britto Rodrigues	- 2006-	¹⁹⁸

198. *Ibid.*, p.64

Myth of the *Kappiris* who guard Treasures of Portuguese

The atrocities committed by the Dutch during their invasion of the Portuguese Cochin in 1663 was unparalleled in many respects and their treatment of the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians was deplorable. Not only the Portuguese soldiers who fought against them were treated badly but the Luso-Indians in the city of Santa Cruz Cochin were

ousted from their houses . Their houses were demolished and sent them out on roads, so much so they had only a bundle of clothes in their hands ¹⁹⁹ and were forced to wander in the streets of Cochin and suburbs. According to a contemporary account of Archbishop Joseph Sebastiani :-

“Those who, a short time before , owned fine houses and plenty of money, served by numerous slaves, living in ease and luxury, had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter.....Honourable men were allowed to take away what they had on their backs, and perhaps a small bundle of clothes” ²⁰⁰

It is still a belief among the people of Cochin that the affluent Portuguese and the *casado* settlers , when the Dutch invaded their settlements at the city of Santa Cruz , hid their money , gold and other treasures in niches made urgently on walls or beneath the floors of their houses and covered it. After covering and sealing these treasures they had killed one of their Negro slaves and fixed him near to the niches or cavities where they hid their treasures and commanded him to protect their treasure until they come back and claim for it. The belief is that, Negro slaves, known for the faithfulness to their master would keep the treasure entrusted to their ‘custody’ and return the treasure to his master when he returns and claims it.

199. D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.21-22.

200. Giuseppe di Santa Maria (Joseph Sebastiani) , *Seconda Spedizione alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1672, p.96.

Was it true that the Portuguese killed their Negro slaves to guard their treasure ? Whatever be the answer, there are people in Cochin still worshipping ‘Negro spirit’ to appease or propitiate their spirit , in the hope of getting the treasure ‘in their possession’. The Negroes were called ‘*Kappiri*’ in Malayalam . The myth on *Kappiri* was passing on to generations and as years passed the Negro slave became ‘reversed’ and the people

started calling the *Kappiri* guarding the treasure as ‘*Kappiri Muthappan*’ - the Reversed Negro ²⁰¹. Certain spots in Cochin were specially known for the oblation and offering of candles and even small bottles of arrack for the ‘*Kappiri Muthappan*’ ²⁰², mostly on Tuesdays and Fridays. The spirits of the sacrificed Negros are believed to be resting at Mangattumukku and Panayappally in Cochin, where people still offer oblations with the hope that some day the *Kappiri Muthappan* will allow them to take the treasure entrusted to him by the Portuguese. The myth of *Kappiri* keeping the treasure is still live in the minds of Cochinites. ²⁰³

201. Ponjikara Rafi, *Orapronobis*, (Mal.) ,Cochin, 2002, reprint, p. 10.

202. Jaison C Cooper, ‘Worshipping Negro Spirit? Yes, here in Fort Kochi’.
article in *Indian Express daily*, Ernakulam , dated 22 January 2003 ; Also see, article
‘Nidhi Vetta’ by M.K. Kuriakose in *Malayala Manorama* daily dated 9h April 2003,

203. Antony Thundiparambil, *Maya*, Pondicherry, 2008 , pp. 250-251