CHAPTER - I
INTRODUCTION

Scholars of pre-industrial cities maintain that cities were first created by the exercise of power by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus and provide services to one geographically defined society. Later other settlements may have been planted within that society as a means of furthering political control and both creating and expropriating surplus. The cities which the Europeans founded outside their own continent were developed with a view to extracting those products which they could not acquire in Europe. These goods were largely agricultural and grown very often in a climate not found in Europe. The great demand for these commodities in Europe makes them exercise control in the processes of extraction and distribution. The requirements of colonisation demanded many unequivocally urban functions. Most important among them was the need for a port, to make the export of colonial wares and the import of commodities from Europe. When the colonists established themselves with the help of a port, governmental centres and garrisons became necessary and this led to an increase in the density of urban life as numerous suppliers, retailers and craftsmen arrived to serve such institutions. The colonial city is usually considered as
a port and a fort.¹

In colonial cities, ports are not mere centres of exchange; but also tools of sponging and extracting surplus from the production centres. The colonists could not thrive without the help of a port-city. It provided the door for penetration into the surrounding economies. The structure and functions of the colonial cities are designed to serve the colonisers and are basically parasitical and extractive.

Port is the main dynamic force and the central organising principle in port-cities and the specialised function of port determines the character, the morphology, the structure and functioning of the port-city-settlements. Settlements in port-cities are comparable to those which arise when particular specialised functions are called for, such as caravan cities, mining cities and ceremonial cities. The port-city has its own specific characteristics derived from maritime functions of exchange, enterprise and transport. It has its settlement apart from the surrounding regions and from the other urban settlements and these determine the physical, economic and social configuration of the settlement.²

Another important feature of the port-city is that its economic life is linked with two or more marketing systems. Foreland or those areas of the overseas world with which the port is immediately linked through its shipping, trade and passenger traffic represent the external dimension. They are the major overseas markets to which hinterland products are carried and the places from which goods are imported for consumption
and further distribution throughout the hinterland. Hinterland, on the other hand, represents the internal dimensions including productive and consumptive activities. It is the organised and developed land spaces which are connected with a port by means of transport lines and which receive or ship goods through that port. The hinterlands, which are more economic units than geographical regions, supply the city with commodities to be taken to overseas markets as well as for its local consumption. The hinterland is at the same time a market for the foreign commodities imported to the port. The colonial port-cities are instituted to extract the surplus of the hinterland by trading only with the mother country. The role of the port-cities is understandable only by analysing the various networks by which the hinterlands are incorporated into the foreland.

The colonists used city to extend further the boundaries of their society, by transportation (initially shipping), to incorporate other territories and peoples overseas. Thus colonial city, as a cultural artifact, becomes an instrument of colonisation. It is also explained as a spearhead of economic, political and cultural penetration, following which the structural organisation and re-organisation of the colonised society or territory takes place.

The unique features of the colonial port-city are apparently three: 1. The economic, social and political power is principally in the hands of a non-indigenous minority; while the rights of the colonised are either nil
or very restricted. 2. This minority is superior in terms of military, technological and economic resources and as a result in social organisation. 3. The colonised majority are racially, culturally and religiously different from the colonists who are culturally European and by religion Christian. Another striking feature of the colonial city is the emergence of a new settlement as separate from but close to the existing one. The new settlement is relatively European and maintains a bit of distance from the existing native part of the city. Other features like the relative absence of females and of European women, consequent creation of mixed-race population, the presence of bachelor chummery, male troops, high rates of venereal diseases, special provision of hospitals, vast areas of space laid out for recreational use and the like are unique to colonial cities. Even church and its institutions are made instruments of colonisation and social control. In short, colonial cities are those extractive and parasitical urban centres created by the colonists in order to serve their interests.

The port-cities are viewed as the very essence of colonial life. Without these port-towns, the colonial penetration would have been impossible. Against this backdrop, the role of Cochin in the maritime trade of India is taken up for study in this work.

1. Review of Literature

It seems pertinent here to review some of the works which are related to the subject under study. Though many general works on the Portuguese in Goa or on the administrative and political history of the
Portuguese Asia are available, only a very few are dealing with the Portuguese in Cochin, the first capital of the Estado da India; still few for the socio-economic history of this city.

The earliest general works which give some account of Cochin after the arrival of the Portuguese are The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires written before 1515\(^{11}\) and The Book of Duarte Barbosa (1515).\(^{12}\) The various accounts regarding The Voyage of Cabral\(^{13}\), The Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque,\(^{14}\) and The Comentaries of the Great Dalboquerque\(^{15}\) written by the illegitimate son of Afonso de Albuquerque help one to reconstruct a bit of initial history of the Lusitanians in Cochin. But it is the general works like Lendas da India written by Gaspar Correa in the sixteenth century (in four volumes and each volume divided into two parts),\(^{16}\) Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d. 1559) around 1552,\(^{17}\) Da Asia of João de Barros written in 1552 (Decadas I-IV),\(^{18}\) Da Asia of Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) written by 1602 (Decadas IV-XII)\(^{19}\) which serve as mine of information about the developments in Cochin. The Portuguese Asia of Manuel de Faria y Souza (1590-1649)\(^{20}\) which draws much material from the above sources, also gives some information about Cochin. Same is the case with The Rise of Portuguese Power in India: 1497-1550 written by R. S. Whiteway\(^{21}\) and The Portuguese in India written in two volumes (volume one deals with the period from 1481 to 1571 and volume two with the period from 1571 to 1894) by F. C. Danvers (1833-1906).\(^{22}\) To this general category, one could add C. R. Boxer's The Portuguese
Sea-born Empire, 1415-1825. These general accounts are standard works for Portuguese Asia; but the developments in Cochin are mentioned only at random. Even there, though we get a lot of material to work with, they do not explain the inner logic behind many incidents in Cochin for which we have to look elsewhere. The value of these general accounts lie in the fact that they form a vague and scattered matrix out of which one could reconstruct a significant portion of the history of Cochin.

The economic aspect of Portuguese India was treated in detail by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho in his classic works Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial and Ensaios. But they deal mostly with the entire Portuguese East and only very little with the trade activities of Cochin. Meilink-Roelofsz and M.N. Pearson are other scholars who have worked on the Portuguese trade in the East. But Meilink-Roelofsz in her work Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630 treats primarily South East Asia and M.N. Pearson in his book Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat dwells more on the trade in Gujarat.

The Portuguese phase in Kerala history is dealt with in several standard works like History of Kerala by K.P. Padmanabha Menon, Medieval Kerala by P.K.S. Raja, A Survey of Kerala History by A.Sreedhara Menon, The Kunjalis, Admirals of Calicut by O.K.Nambiar, Mamale de Cananor by Genevieve Bouchon. The first three works
treat this phase in a very superficial way without making critical study of the Portuguese sources; while the last two works deal mostly with the rival figures of the Portuguese and their activities. A highly esteemed work on the Portuguese presence in Malabar was produced by K. M. Panikkar first under the title *Malabar and the Portuguese* and later incorporated into *A History of Kerala 1498-1801*. Though it is a very good work, it is mostly political and administrative history rather than economic history. Two very significant works on the economic history of Portuguese Malabar are *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century* by K.S.Mathew and *Twilight of the Pepper Empire* by A.R.Disney. But the first work confines itself to a period from 1500 to 1530; while the second work dwells only on the trade of the early seventeenth century. Though these two works deal also with relatively great part of the export-import trade in Cochin, they do not go deep into the economic life of Cochin. *The Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century: 1600-1663* by Afzal Ahmad also belongs to this category of general trade history of India under the Portuguese.

Several works like *The Land of the Perumals or Cochin* by Francis Day, *The Cochin State Manual* by C.Achyuta Menon, *Kochi Rajya Charitram* by K. P. Pamanabha Menon, *Castes and Tribes of Cochin* by L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer deal with the history of Cochin. The first three authors treat Cochin as a political unit and narrate the political and administrative history of the kingdom of Cochin; while Ananthakrishna Iyer has dwelt with the castes and tribes of the kingdom of Cochin. A
notable work on the port of Cochin is made by Robert Bristow under the title *Cochin Saga*. But it deals mainly with the British phase and moreover it is less scientific. The M.A. Thesis of Okon L. Abraham submitted to the University of Bombay in 1930 under the title *Cochin under the Portuguese and Dutch* dwells on the historical developments in Cochin from 1500 till 1795; But it throws less light on the trade activities of Cochin. Moreover, the author did not have access to the sources available to the researcher today. *Cochin-Malabar, Palms and Pageants* written by T. W. Venn gives historical account of Cochin from the sixteenth century to 1948 covering Portuguese, Dutch and British periods. But it deals less with the economic history. An attempt is made to study the town of Fort Cochin by K. L. Bernard. But it is superficial and unscientific. *A Translation of a Record, Grandhavari in the State Archives* which dwells more on the genealogy of the kings of Cochin and *Padapattu* which deals mainly with the Portuguese-Dutch war in Cochin in 1660s are good native sources for corroborative study.

Gervasis J. Mulakara has done a study on the history of the Diocese of Cochin. Though it helps one to understand the various ecclesiastical institutions of the Portuguese city of Cochin, it leaves aside the other urban institutions and moreover it covers only very short period, i.e., upto 1558. The accounts of the Jews of Cochin during the Portuguese period are given in the works of Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva (*Notisias dos Judeus de Cochin, mandadas por Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva*), David Mandelbaum (*The Jewish way of Life in Cochin*).
Segal (A History of the Jews of Cochin) and Thomas A. Timberg (Jews in India). These authors confine themselves only to the history of the Jews of Cochin and leave aside other social groups in the native as well as Portuguese parts of the city of Cochin.

A good introduction to the urban space of Cochin is given in A.M. Mundadan's article, "The Town of Cochin and the Portuguese." The initial phase of Cochin is studied by Jean Aubin in his article "L'apprentissage de L'Inde: Cochin 1503-1504." However these two works do not go deep into the historical changes and economic activities in Cochin. A valuable work which is greatly useful for the study of Cochin is Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era: A Study of Portuguese Cochin edited by K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad. It is mainly a collection of primary documents related to Cochin, dealing more with the city administration. It deals very little with the economic aspect of its history. The articles written by R.O.W. Goertz under the same title "The Portuguese in Cochin" in Indica and in Studia give lot of information about the trade in Cochin. But they are dealing primarily with the private trade and smuggling of spices that became common in Cochin by 1540s. Sanjay Subrahmanym covers rather a long period of trade in Cochin in his article "Cochin in Decline, 1600-1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India" and in his book The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1650. He dwells more on the trade of the casados and ignores other mercantile groups and leaves aside many social as well as economic changes in Cochin. A recent Doctoral thesis, "O Estado
Português da India: da Rendição de Ormuz à Perda de Cochin, 1622-1663" of Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco submitted at the Faculdade de Letras de Universidade de Lisboa (1992) deals with the final phase of Cochin and shows how the breaking of caravan route effected with the loss of Ormuz affected the downfall of Cochin. But this study deals mainly with the Estado da India and with regard to Cochin, it covers only very short period, i.e., from 1622-1663.

A scientific, critical and holistic study of the city of Cochin, the first base and headquarters of the Portuguese in Asia, and its commercial relations is a must at least now, when the world celebrates the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama, in India.

When preparations are being made all over the world for celebrating the fifth centenary of Vasco da Gama's arrival in India, scholars wonder how a small nation like Portugal with limited man-power and limited economic resources could establish a large far-flung politico-commercial empire touching the four continents of the world. The emergence of this small Iberian nation into a world-power is a puzzling phenomenon in the world history, which requires deeper researches into developments outside the mother-country and an answer to this riddle is proposed by studying Cochin, the first colonial base of the Portuguese in Asia. The central purpose of this study is to see what role did Cochin, the first political headquarters of the Portuguese Government in the East (till 1530) and
later the commercial capital of the Portuguese trade empire till 1663, play in organising the maritime trade of India and how far its trade contributed to the building up of the universal empire of the Lusitanians.

It is very important to identify the area of study, as the name Cochin denotes different geographical units. Cochin is understood as, (1) the present city corporation of Cochin which comprises the present Ernakulam mainland, Cochin proper, the islands of Venduruthy, Wellington, Bolgatty, Vaipin and Gundur (2) the former kingdom of Cochin and (3) the town of Cochin in which was located the port and which was also the capital of the kingdom of Cochin. During the period under study, this town of Cochin was also understood as two geographical and urban entities: the Native Cochin (Cochim de Cima or the present Mattancherry area) and the Portuguese Cochin (the city of Santa Cruz or the present Fort Cochin area). The focal area of our study is both the towns of Cochin with special emphasis on Portuguese Cochin. The role of the Portuguese city of Santa Cruz in the maritime trade of India is analysed against the native urban background.

This study is confined to the Portuguese phase of Cochin and so the "terminus a quo" is 1500 when the first Portuguese, Pedro Alvares Cabral reached Cochin and the "terminus ad quem" is the year 1663, when the Dutch occupied the city after defeating the Portuguese. Though the period from 1500 to 1663 is quite long, it is chosen for a variety of reasons. This 163 years of Portuguese phase thematically forms one unit of study. A fragmentary study confined to particular years would not give us
holistic view of the changes over time and would not serve the purpose for which this study has been conducted. The pattern of trade at various periods was different and the export-trade-index of Cochin always fluctuated with upward and downward trends depending on local conditions and native factors, an assessment of which would be impossible without taking the entire Portuguese period into account. The indigenous co-operation was never unconditional and static, the changes of which have long term repercussions that affected the entire Portuguese phase.

It is proposed to study how much did Cochin - which rose up from a small fishing village into an international trade centre and a port-city - owe its development to its geo-physical position, to the royal patronage which it received from the king of Cochin and to the strategies of the Portuguese. It is also necessary to study the location of hinterland, as Cochin, during this period, did not produce any of the spices. All kinds of spices came from the interior regions like the kingdoms of Vadakkenkur, Thekkenkur, Porcad, Alengad, Parur, Rapolim (Edappilly), Kizhmalainad etc. These spice-hinterlands were connected with Cochin through a net-work of land-routes and water-routes consisting of seven major rivers. The Cartaz-armada-Cafila-fort system, developed by the Portuguese may also be investigated to understand their role in making the trade system of the Indian Ocean centered on Cochin. The opening up of Cochin-Lisbon commercial axis brought about significant changes in the international economy with repercussions in Malabar. The initial thirty five years of Portuguese establishment in
Cochin witnessed flourishing trade via Cape route with the Atlantic ports of Lisbon and Antwerp where the Portuguese had established a satellite trade house (the Portuguese factory). This was followed by the relative closure of the routes through Red sea and Persian Gulf which adversely affected the Venetians, Genoese, Arab merchants and the traders associated with the Zamorin. Meanwhile the intra-Asian trade emanating from Cochin and which had so far been monopolised by the Muslim merchants, slowly passed into the hands of Portuguese entrepreneurs who had, by this time, organised themselves into a lobbying group known as "the Cochin group" and were opposing state trade and state intervention in commerce. After 1515 the traders of this lobbying group got demarcated for them a space east of Cape Comorin which was relatively free of state interference. Moreover, by 1520s, the private initiatives of the Portuguese entrepreneurs began to be encouraged by granting licences and voyages out of which gradually evolved an intricate and extensive system of private trade. Often the limits and the destinations specified in the licences were not observed and spices were diverted to various Asian ports. Almost 18.8 per cent of the total pepper produced in Malabar was taken through the Ghat-route which ran from the hinterland of Cochin to the Coromandel coast from where they were again distributed to different ports of Asia. This route was linked with the net-work of private trade established by the Portuguese citizens of Cochin. The arrival of new Christians from Portugal from 1533 onwards, gave an added fillip to the local as well as intra-Asian trade. The various trade privileges like the customs concession which the casados enjoyed in Cochin
(where they had to pay only 3.5 per cent to the native king as against 6 per cent in all other Portuguese ports) made the *casados* and their trade-partners, among whom there existed some sort of vessel-ware-exchange-practice, to concentrate their activities in this city. Both licensed trade and illicit trade prospered with the support of the Portuguese bureaucracy and some officials even invested public fund to conduct private trade. There developed some sort of "mixed economy" in which the Portuguese officers and also the ordinary *casados* of Cochin, while co-operating with the official Cape-route-trade, had built up a private trade empire of their own. Very often the private interests gained upperhand and spices began to be made available in large quantities not only all over Asia but also in ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, during the period between 1535 and 1570. As a result the shipment of spices to Portugal dwindled and the volume of commodities which entered Europe both through Lisbon and the Eastern Mediterranean ports became almost equal.

In 1570, king Sebastian renounced the royal spice monopoly and during the period between 1576-1598 the crown farmed out the pepper monopoly to a succession of syndicates composed variously of the Germans, the Italians and the Portuguese, usually for five-year periods. It was these contractors who carried out the trade between Europe and Cochin till 1598. At first it was the Augsburg merchant, Konrad Rot who entered into this contract-trade to which later Giacomo di Bardi and company of Florence were joined. On the bankruptcy of Rot, the
Italian merchant Rovallesca took up the contract. The Germans like the Fuggers and the Welsers joined the contract trade for the period 1586-91 and finally the Portuguese syndicate comprising of Andere Ximenes took up the spice contract for the remaining years. When the Cochin-Lisbon route was handed over to the contract traders, the Portuguese entrepreneurs in Cochin were extending their empire of private trade in Asia. The private trade in Cochin, during the period between 1570 and 1598 saw the highest level of watermark in its history. Corresponding to the external trade, attempts were made to organise the local trade system. But the dawn of seventeenth century witnessed two major events which adversely affected both the Indo-European trade as well as the intra-Asian trade. The Dutch blockades from 1601 onwards, made the space east of Cape Comorin risky and dangerous for the *casado* traders whose private commercial bases were located more in the space between south-east India and Moluccas. Some of them even changed the place of residence to avoid the Dutch blockade. But the trade of the *casados* with other ports of western India and West Asia continued more or less in a hectic manner. The fall of Ormuz in 1622 was a severe blow to the private traders of Cochin, who had concentrated in West Asia after the blockade of South-East Asia by the Dutch. Meanwhile tensions in the hinterland and the estrangement of the pepper cultivators led to the diversion of pepper to places other than Cochin. With this the flow of the spices to Cochin dwindled and the volume taken to Europe from Cochin decreased considerably. The establishment of the Portuguese India company in 1628 with bases in Goa and Cochin and the contract which the
Portuguese authorities later made with the *casado* traders of Cochin to tranship spices to Lisbon were later arrangements to ensure regular supply of spices in the metropole.

Meanwhile, along with trade, Cochin developed into a big city with all the urban institutions and administrative system of the western world. In 1527, king John III raised Cochin to the status of a city granting it all the privileges and arrangements for administration by a municipal council. The bishopric of Cochin was established in 1557 and the major religious orders of Europe like the Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians had established monasteries and educational institutions in Cochin. The city of Santa Cruz of Cochin was developed on western pattern and preserved its uniqueness by maintaining some sort of exclusiveness and distance from the native part of the city. The prime interests of the Portuguese city were linked not with those of the native part of the city; but with those of the metropole. All these prompt one to say that the Portuguese part of the city of Cochin was instituted as a part of the entire colonial system or better to say, as a pre-colonial urban structure. In reality, it seems to have been a forerunner or proto-type of a colonial city exhibiting some of its essential characteristics.

The present study is an attempt to show how far had the urban base of Cochin, which played leading role in organising the maritime trade of India, been utilised to build up the vast sea-borne empire of the
Lusitanians.

The first chapter, being an introductory chapter, is an attempt to review the conceptual frame and the existing literature related to the topic. It states the central purpose and identifies the geographical area of the study. It also puts forward the problem that is to be analysed in the succeeding chapters. A mention is also made about the method of study and the nature of sources consulted, giving details about the principal archives and libraries visited for the collection of data.

The second chapter tries to analyse the general condition of Cochin in the pre-Portuguese period. It also attempts to see when did it emerge as a port and how far did the emergence of the new port affect the existing economic and political life of Malabar. It is necessary to highlight the reactions of various political powers to the emerging port and its initial trade activities. It also proposes to study the initial traders, the various countries with which it had commercial relationship as well as the nature and pattern of settlement in the city that developed around this port. It is necessary to examine the factors that accounted for the state formation in Cochin and the general political conditions that prompted the native king, later, to offer protection and a part of the city of Cochin to the Portuguese. An attempt is made to examine the important hinterlands that supplied spices and other commodities to the port of Cochin and where they were located. It also tries to see who were the principal pepper-producers and what were the important land-routes that connected the hinterland with the port of Cochin. It traces the principal
riverine-routes that were used to penetrate into the hinterland and the major markets which were located in the hinterland.

The third chapter proposes to dwell on the urban phenomenon in Cochin. It also examines the circumstances in which the Portuguese were compelled to land in Cochin and the reasons why Cochin was opted as the principal base for the Portuguese establishments in the East. An attempt is made to study the location of the port, the Manuel Fort, the Portuguese part of the city as well as its native counterpart in Cochin. Discussions on the juridical establishment of the urban unit of Santa Cruz of Cochin, the demographic structure and the administration of the city as well as the role of the Municipal council in the administration of the city are also included in this chapter. What were the important economic activities in the city of Santa Cruz and how far were the ship-building activities in Cochin necessary for maintaining regular ships for the carreira service are also considered here. Special attention is given to see how the social life in Cochin was and how the urban society was stratified. The important educational institutions, the structure and function of Misericordia, hospitals and other social welfare institutions in Cochin are examined bringing out their role in the urban life. It is equally important to examine the important ecclesiastical institutions in the city of Santa Cruz and see how far did the activities of the Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians affect the socio-religious life of the city. Along with it, investigation is to be done on how far the establishment of the bishopric of Cochin with jurisdiction over the entire south-eastern
India was utilised for realising the Portuguese policy of socio-economic penetration. It also examines how far did the institution of Inquisition set up in Cochin affect the socio-economic activities of the various religious groups.

Chapter four is devoted to find answers to the questions related to the nature of the trade in Cochin during the period between 1500 and 1570. An attempt is made to trace the main features of the local as well as intra-local trade that centered around Cochin and the volume of illegal pepper-trade conducted through the Ghat-routes that ran from the hinterland of Cochin. It also tries to see how far did Cochin participate in the intra-Asian trade and how far did the crown take part in the country trade. The trade in Cochin was never a monolithic phenomenon; on the contrary it included several strands and layers. This chapter examines what were the main features of the various layers of licensed trade and illicit trade conducted in Cochin. It also tries to see how far were the voyages converted into a trade system and how far were the ships with cartazes used for licensed trade. The way in which the traditional Muslim merchants of Cochin were ousted from the pre-eminent position they held in Intra-Asian trade and how the casados stepped into their shoes are also analysed in this chapter. It also looks into the commercial arrangements made by the casados almost parallel to those of the Estado and examines who were the patrons, partners and associates who helped the casados in their illegal trade transactions including smuggling of spices. In this connection, a mention is made about the way in which the
estranged Muslim merchants of Cochin resorted to the so-called corsair activities as an alternative means of trade. This chapter also treats the important features of the Indo-European trade during the period between 1500 and 1535. This period witnessed a relatively greater volume of export-trade. It is necessary to examine the factors that could be held responsible for this and the role of the fortress-armada system, the fixation of permanent price for the various spices and the amount of co-operation extended by various native groups are analysed in this context. A mention is made about the reasons why the Portuguese crown was compelled to make the Germans and the Italians participate in Indian trade and the degree of involvement of the Germans and Italians in the commercial activities of Cochin. The volume and commodities of export and import are also discussed. The important features of the export-trade for the period between 1535 and 1570 are analysed separately. It seeks answers to the questions such as why was the royal monopoly relaxed, why was private trade viewed as an exigency of the time and how far were the tensions in the hinterland associated with the diminishing supply of spices in Cochin. It also examines how far did the developments in Cochin favour the revival of Levantine trade, how far did the international changes affect the trade in Cochin and how far did the changes in the trade pattern of Cochin influence the changing international scenario.

The fifth chapter seeks answers to the questions on the nature of the trade in Cochin during the period between 1570 and 1663. It tries to look
into the reasons why the royal monopoly was given up. An attempt is made to trace the nature of the contract trade during the period between 1570 and 1598 as well as the principal European contractors engaged in the trade with Cochin. It also examines the circumstances that led to the thriving of private trade during this period and the volume of intra-Asian trade. The reasons for the apparent decline of European as well as Intra-Asian trade in the seventeenth century are also analysed. It tries to see how far did the Dutch blockade in the eastern space of Indian Ocean and the estrangement of the principal pepper cultivators affect the private trade of the casados as well as the European trade of the crown. The seventeenth century kings of Cochin turned out to be more assertive. It is necessary to see how far did this affect the Portuguese trade in Cochin and how far did the Portuguese succeed in bringing them to a co-operative endeavour. It seems equally important to examine how far did the fall ofOrmuz affect the empire of the private traders of Cochin. Attempts are also made to see the circumstances that led to the establishment of Portuguese India Company and to examine how far did the Company administration succeed in improving the export-trade of Cochin. The circumstances in which trade-contracts were made with the casado traders of Cochin for exporting spices to Lisbon on regular basis and the extent to which this arrangement turned out to be successful are also briefly discussed here.

An attempt is made, in the concluding chapter, to bring out the role and functions played by Cochin in organising the maritime trade of India
and to see how far was Cochin's trade utilised by the Lusitanians as a means of extracting the surplus for the sake of their empire building.

The select bibliography contains two parts: the first part gives the list of the primary sources while the second part mentions the secondary sources including studies both in periodicals and other publications in both European and local languages.

2. Methodology and Sources

The methodology employed in this study is primarily analytical and descriptive. The basic data for the study have been collected from the sources available in the Archives and Libraries in Europe and India. These sources found in several European languages like Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English and Dutch could be divided into archival sources and published works. Among them, some are historical narratives; while others belong to the category of diaries, reports, chronicles and travelogues. The important archives and libraries consulted in various countries in connection with my research are the following:

A. The Archives and Libraries in Portugal

1. Arquivo Nacional da Tôrre do Tombo, Lisboa

a) Corpo Chronologico: This rich collection is an important source on trade and viceregal affairs. It is grouped into three parts, consisting of variety of documents including the original correspondences of the Viceroy's
of India, letters from the factories of Cochin, Cannanore, Goa as well as those of kings of Cochin, merchants of Malabar and the exchequer papers. The collection covers a period from 1161 to 1699, containing 82,902 documents divided into the *maços* (bundles) in chronological order without regard for subject or area.\(^6\)

*b) Cartas de Vicereis e Governadores da India e de outras Pessoas para El Rei*: (The letters from the Viceroy’s and Governors of India and other persons to the King) is another collection in the archives of Torre do Tombo which provides information for the period from 1504 to 1657. It contains about 190 original documents dealing mainly with the correspondence between India and Portugal.

c) *Gavetas* (*Drawers*): This collection contains about 5274 original letters from Europe and overseas, grants, wills and diplomatic agreements ranging from 12th to 16th centuries. The documents pertaining to Indo-Portuguese affairs have already been published\(^6\).

d) *Collecção de São Lourenço*: It consists of 5 volumes of which the first volume contains letters to D. Antonio d’Ataide and D. João III and the volumes two to five include letters to D. João de Castro and his son D. Alvaro. The first three volumes are published while the remaining two are preserved in this archives in manuscript form. This collection gives a lot of information about the trade and general situation especially of Cochin during the period between 1545-1548\(^6\).
e) **Nucleo Antigo:** It contains registers of the *Casa da India* in Lisbon as well as records of the factories on the Malabar coast giving details about the cargo exported from Malabar ports. Nos.701,705,755,758,774,804,808 are consulted for this study.

f) **Fragmentos:** This collection consists of 30 bundles of letters sent from India to the Portuguese king. *Caixas* 4-6 which give details about the Portuguese situation in the South India are consulted.

g) **Cartório dos Jesuitas:** This collection, consisting of an *Armário* of 184 documents and *Cartório* of about 100 bundles, contains documents dealing primarily with the Jesuit activities. *Maços* 88 and 89 are consulted for this work.

h) **Collecção de S. Vicente:** This collection contains mainly original letters, copies and minutes of sixteenth century. It runs into twenty-six volumes out of which volumes XIV and XXVI are useful for the present study.

i) **Leis:** *Livro do Registo de Leis e Regimentos de D Manuel:* It consists of many royal orders issued by D.Manuel as well as many legislations made regarding the overseas posts like those of a Factor, or of a commander of a fleet etc.

j) **Chancellarias:** The copies of all state papers including the royal orders and correspondences are preserved in the books of chancery or *livros de Chancellarias*. The books of the chancery are divided into three different sections: viz., *dotações* (grants), *privilegios* (privileges) and *perdões*
(pards). The Chancellarias of D. Manuel (1495-1521), of D. João III (1521-1557), of D. Sebastião (1557-1578), of D. Philip I (1580-1598), and of D. Philip II (1598-1621) are consulted.

k) Convento da Graça: Miscelâneas: This collection gives a lot of information about the Indo-Portuguese history and in particular about the political and religious life of Cochin. Caixas 2, 3, 16 are of great importance for this study.

l) Inquisição de Lisboa: This collection gives information about the inquisitional procedures conducted in Lisbon as well as the contemporary socio-economic conditions. The documents are arranged on the basis of processo and the procedures as well as trials conducted in relation to each of the accused are preserved in separate and particular number. It also gives valuable information about the new Christians of Cochin and their economic activities. Processo Nos. 3836, 4516, 4656, 5808, 5261, 5265, 6369, 7296, 7543, 10906, 12292, 15411 are of very much importance for the study of Cochin.

2. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa

Another major repository of documents on Indo-Portuguese affairs is the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino (the Overseas Historical Archives). It contains many documents of the Conselho Ultramarino (Overseas Council) relating to the administrative affairs of the Portuguese colonies. Though it includes a few documents of the sixteenth century, it
is an excellent source for the seventeenth century. It is divided into two major sections: The first group has documentation for the period before 1833 and consists mainly of the holdings of the *Arquivo do Conselho Ultramarino*. The second group includes all the documentation of the *Arquivo do Ministerio das Colonias*. All the documents are categorised in geographical areas and in chronological order. The material on the *Conselho da Fazenda* (treasury Council) and *Conselho da India* (Council of India) are arranged in either caixas (boxes), maços (bundles) or codices. Caixas 1 to 22 A of *Caixas da India* are consulted for this work.

3. *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*

The National Library of Lisbon, besides the vast collection of many rare published works, has a special reservado section, containing primary sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The section of the reservados includes the *Fundo Geral* (general sources), *Collecção Pombalina* (Pombaline collection) and the *Manuscriptos* (Manuscripts). *Fundo Geral* dates from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and gives information on customs duties, revenue accounts, rents and many other commercial data. *Collecção Pombalina* dates from circa 1699 to 1782. Many of the manuscripts belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. MSS. No. 1815, 1816, 1975, 1976, 1980, 1983, 11410 are very much useful for this work.
4. Biblioteca da Ajuda

Another store-house of precious manuscripts belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the Ajuda Library. It contains documents related to administration (Cartas das Governadores da India, Africa e Brazil), Jesuits (Jesuitas na Asia), the Council of India (Conselho da India) and the treasury (Conselho da Fazenda).\(^6^6\) The India Portugueza section contains 5 volumes of documents related to a variety of themes including details about the pepper-export from Cochin, conversion of the Tanore king etc. The Livro das Mercés que fez D. João de Castro, 1545-1548 (51-VIII-46) which is the fifth volume of this collection, is a document written by D. João de Castro himself and gives a lot of information about the voyages and other grants given to the citizens of Cochin. One of the most precious documents preserved in this repository is the Codex 51-VII-14 which contains the privileges granted to the city of Santa Cruz in Cochin. Recently this has been edited and published by K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad under the title Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era: A Study of Portuguese Cochin.\(^6^7\)

5. The Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, Lisboa

The Film Library pertaining to the Portuguese overseas empire, which is organised under the auspices of the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos (Centre for the Overseas Historical Studies), contains a treasure house of films and microfilms gathered from all the former Portuguese colonies and other foreign libraries and archives like Arquivo
Historico General de Simancas in Spain. The Filmoteca helped me to consult many microfilmed documents related to Cochin which are available only in foreign libraries and archives.68

6. Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Lisboa

Though it is comparatively a smaller library, in relation to the above-mentioned ones, it has valuable documents in the Série Azul (Blue Series) and Série Vermelha (Red Series).

7. Biblioteca de Sociedade de Geografia, Lisboa

The Library of the Geographical Society has a collection of manuscripts and rare books classified as Reservados (reserved). The material is catalogued according to subject, title and author.

8. Biblioteca Publica e Arquivo Distrital de Evora

The public Library and District Archives of Evora contain many documents directly related to the economic and religious life of the Estado da India69. Codices Nos. CXVI/1-18; CXVI / 1-23 are highly useful for this study.

Besides these, thanks to the magnanimity of Prof. Luis Filippe Thomaz, I could work in his personal library in Parede, Portugal which has got a large collection of rare books and photostat copies of some primary sources.
B. Archives and Libraries in Germany

1. Stadtarchiv, Augsburg

It contains four boxes of manuscripts on German financiers like the Fuggers, Welsers and Höchstetters who participated in Indian trade and who sent trade agents to Cochin. Some of the letters sent from Cochin by George Pock, the German agent of the Hirschvogels and George Imhoff, the agent of the Herwarts of Germany, are also found here.

2. Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg

The city library of Augsburg contains many wood-cut pictures related to Indian themes made by Hans Burgkmair in 1508. The most famous among them is "DER KVNIG VON GVTZIN" (the king of Cochin) prepared by the same artist in 1508 for the travel report of Balthasar Sprenger, published shortly after his return from Cochin. It is the earliest pictorial depiction of the king of Cochin available today.

3. Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg

The city library of Nürnberg contains some manuscripts relevant for this study. The most important among them is the letter of George Pock sent from Cochin in 1522.
4. Fürstlich und Gräflich Fugger'sches Familien und Stiftungs Archiv, Dillingen/Donau

The Fugger's family archives of Dillingen/Donau contain many documents which give information about Cochin and other parts of Malabar. The most important among them is MSS Codex No.46.1, which is the letter of Ferdinand Cron, the agent of the Fuggers, sent from Cochin in 1587.

5. Fürstlich Waldburg-Zeilschen Archiv, Leutkirch

One of the important documents preserved in this archive is the travel report of a voyage conducted to India in 1503/4. It is found in the Paumgartnerschen Usancenbuch and is believed to have been written by one Peter Holzschuhfer, a German who died in Calicut in 1504. This gives detailed description of the weights and measures of Cochin as well as the various commodities available in Cochin along with their prices. Recently this document has been printed by Horst G.W. Nusser under the title Frühe Deutsche Entdecker: Asien in Berichten Unbekannter deutscher Augenzeugen, 1502-1506.70

Besides these archives, I have visited many libraries of Germany such as the university Library of Bremen, the Library of Historisches Institut, RWTH-Aachen, the Library of South Asian Institut of the Heidelberg University and the General Library of the University of Heidelberg, in connection with the collection of data.
C. Archives and Libraries in Austria

1. Nationalbibliothek, Wien

The National Library of Wien has many rare documents pertaining to our topic. Codices 8953 (The letter of Gabriel Holzschuher written from Cochin in 1580), 8961 and 8963 (Information about coastal India written in 1588 and 1590 respectively) are consulted for this study.

D. Archives and Libraries in Rome

1. Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome

It contains many letters sent from India, principally from Goa to the Superior General of the Jesuit order in Rome. These documents are of the period between 1542 and 1773 when the Jesuit order was temporarily abolished (as a result of which some manuscripts are either scattered or destroyed or confiscated). The collection Goa, 38: *D. Duarte d'Eça, Relação dos Governadores da India* (1571) is consulted for this study.

2. The Vatican Library

The syriac documents preserved in the *Fondo Siriaco* of the Vatican library give corroborative information on the early days of Portuguese establishment in Cochin and other places. *Fondo Siriaco* No.204, the report of the four syrian bishops (Mar Jaballah, Mar Thomas, Mar Jacob and Mar Denha) sent from Cranganore to the Patriarch Elias (in Mossul) in 1504 gives, besides the information on Thomas Christians, details about the
Portuguese in Cochin and Cannanore. Almost all the Syrian documents of this library are published by J.S. Assemanus under the title Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana.  

E. The Archives and Libraries in India

1. The Padroado (Diocesan) Archives of Cochin

It is located in the Bishop's House of Cochin. Most of the records which it contains begin only with the year 1785. It is to be here said that no relevant documents are available in this archive for the present study.

The Portuguese Padroado Museum of Cochin, located in the same Bishop's house has some useful maps of 19th century Kerala.

2. The Kerala State Archives-Regional office, Ernakulam

Some Portuguese, Dutch and Malayalam sources belonging approximately to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are found here. I could not find here any document pertaining to the period between 1500 and 1663.

3. The Tamil Nadu State Archives, Egmore-Madras

This provides a mine of information on Portuguese relations with the states on the Malabar coast, Mylapore, transactions with the Jews, the Dutch and the English. However the earliest documents among them date back to the second half of the seventeenth century.
4. The Archives of the Madurai Province of the Society of Jesus, Shembaganur-Kodaikanal

This private collection in Tamil Nadu contains photographic copies of Jesuit documents concerning South India (mostly found in Rome and Paris), parish registers formerly belonging to churches situated on the Fishery Coast, originals and ancient copies of the Christian Tamil literature and a collection of ancient and modern books related to Christianity in South India since the 16th century.

5. The Historical Archives of Goa (Panjim)

It is actually the continuation of the Torre do Tombo do Estado da India established in 1596 to house the ancient records of the former State of India. Since 1961, it is called Historical Archives of Goa. It contains records from 1520 to 1914. The most important collection for our study is the Monções do Reino (Books of Monsoon) which is also the largest collection among the documents, extending over 456 folio-books and covering the period from 1568 to 1914. It contains letters, reports, instructions etc., received at Goa every year from Portugal in the monsoon of June to September and the replies sent from Goa during the months of December to March. The register of books containing the copies of letters, orders and instructions received from Portugal were filed together with the name "Monsoon of that year". Lot of informations about Malabar and particularly about Cochin are scattered through all the volumes and the pertaining portion of this collection is consulted for this study.
Besides these archival repositories, the personal library of Prof. K. S. Mathew, Pondicherry, the general libraries of Pondicherry University, the French Institute, Pondicherry, St. Joseph's Pontifical Seminary, Alwaye and St. Thomas Apostolic Seminary, Kottayam are also consulted in India for this research.

In the process of analysis, these documentary evidences are corroborated with the help of inscriptions and the studies on Portuguese numismatics and conducting field study in areas connected with this theme.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


4. Ibid., pp.192-193.


6. The port links the hinterland with the foreland. Foreland is defined as those areas of the overseas world with which the port-city is immediately linked through its shipping, trade and passenger traffic. See for details Atiya Habeeb Kidwai, op. cit., pp.22-23.


10. How far the port cities of Bombay and Madras were utilised for colonial penetration was well explained in the works of Dick Kooiman and Susan Lewandowski. See


43. Okon L. Abraham, *Cochin under the Portuguese and Dutch*, M.A. Thesis submitted at the University of Bombay, 1930.
44. T.W. Venn, *Cochin-Malabar, Palms and Pageants*, Calicut, 1948
46. *A Translation of a Record, Grandhavari in the State Archives*, Trivandrum, 1973
47. Ulloor Parameswarai Aiyar(ed.), *Padappattu*, Trivandrum, 1924.


57. R.O W Goertz, "The Portuguese in Cochin in the Mid-Sixteenth Century", in *Studia*, 49, 1989, pp.5-38. Though the two articles of R.O.W. Goertz has got the same name, there is substantial difference in the contents.


63. These three volumes are published with notes and commentaries by Elaine Sanceau. *Collecção de São Lourenço*, vols.3, Lisboa. 1975-78.


67. Cf.Supra n. 55.

68. A guide to its contents is given by the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* published by the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisboa.

