CHAPTER II
NATIVE COCHIN AND THE HINTERLAND

Significant changes appeared in the exchange systems of Indian Ocean with the emergence of the port of Cochin. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had attracted long-distance traders from China, Arabia and Persia and had emerged as an important trading centre. In and around this port, there developed eventually a city, which was later called native Cochin and which became the seat of the kingdom of Cochin as well as the habitat for the native merchant groups. Trade activities of this port and the jurisdictional rights which the Perumpadappu kings exercised over various and scattered temples of Malabar played key role in the state formation of Cochin. The state was ruled by the senior most member of the royal family, which was divided into five branches. Besides the kingdom of Cochin, many kingdoms of central Kerala like that of Porcad, Thekkenkur, Vadakkenkur, Kizhumalainadu, Alengad, Parur, Cranganore, which were noted for large-scale spice-production, were carved out in the hinterland of Cochin. The Portuguese later, with the help of monetary rewards offered to the rulers of these kingdoms, tried to integrate and incorporate the hinterland intimately with the port of Cochin. The Vembanadu lake into which the different land-routes and the seven riverine-routes merged, facilitated the easy transportation of commodities from the hinterland to Cochin. There
were also some satellite markets like Erumely, Kanjirappilly, Erattupetta, Thodupuzha, Kothamangalam and Chalakudy which were located in the interior parts. However, they maintained commercial links both with the port of Cochin through the land and riverine-routes as well as with the ports of Tamilnadu through the ghat-route and the flow of spices in both directions varied on the basis of prices offered as well as on the basis of tensions and conflicts that erupted in the hinterland. This chapter deals primarily with the native part of Cochin and the various parts of the spice-growing hinterland which Cochin enjoyed till the middle of the seventeenth century.

I. EMERGENCE OF COCHIN

The emergence of Cochin as a port is attributed to the great geo-physical changes that occurred because of the flood in the river Periyar in 1341. The floods swept down the river Periyar, while one branch of it silted up the harbour of Cranganore (the old Muziris), the other branch which flows into Verapoly and merges into the Vembanadu lake, opened wide the entrance from the sea to the lagoons and thereby brought into existence the harbour of Cochin.¹ As a result of the natural convulsions and interactions between the flood water and the sea, besides the wide outlet made into the sea, a vast strip of land - about more than thirteen miles long by three miles broad - known as Puthu Vaippu in between Cochin and Cranganore and along the sea was also created.² The geographical changes which affected Cochin, Vaipin and Cranganore was commemorated by the Puthu Vaippu
Era from the date of Vaipin's formation in 1341.\textsuperscript{3} This new era was used mainly by the St.Thomas Christians of Njarrakkal church in the Vaipin island.\textsuperscript{4}

The newly created water-passage provided safe anchorage and good shelter for the ships. Eventually it came to be called Kochi, which is believed to have been a contraction of the word Kochazhi, meaning small or new harbour in order to distinguish it from the large or old harbour Cranganore.\textsuperscript{5} Merchant ships engaged in coastal trade and long-distance commerce began to frequent this port and by the beginning of the fifteenth century. It came to occupy a notable position in the trade map of Malabar coast.

The fact that trade does not exist in a political vacuum and that rulers always are eager to participate in the gains from trade can be buttressed from the political developments that took place during this period.\textsuperscript{6} The ruler of Perumpadappu realising the possibility of making capital out of the situation, shifted his residence in 1405 from Mahodayapuram to the Calvethy region of Cochin.\textsuperscript{7} Perumpadappu Swarupam had its headquarters in Vanneri from where they had been compelled to move to Mahodayapuram long back on account of the military expeditions of the Zamorin.\textsuperscript{8} It may be recalled that the swarupam had already possessed a palace at Mahodayapuram. But later, the swarupam abandoned it and shifted the capital to Cochin, which, besides the fact that it was situated outside the immediate orbit of the Zamorin's conquest, offered considerable income by way of customs duties.\textsuperscript{9}
The Zamorin, who had continuously chased the king of the *Perumpadappu swarupam* from Vanneri to Mahodayapuram and later threatened him even in Cochin, was the ruler of Calicut or *Vikramapuram* (as sometimes called in Malayalam). It was only after the transfer of the royal residence of the Zamorin from Nediyirappu in Ernad to Calicut that he began to undertake a grand expansionist policy. By the time Ibn Batuta visited Calicut in 1343, which corresponds almost to the emergence of the port of Cochin, Calicut had become the most important port of Malabar. It was the income from the port of Calicut, to which traders from China Java, Ceylon, Maldives, Yemen, Persia brought commodities, which helped the Zamorin to carry out his conquests and military expeditions that threatened Malabar. The situation seemed as if a political power with sound economic basis or fed by a strong port could challenge the supremacy of Calicut. Behind the transfer of the capital of the *Perumpadappu swarupam* to the newly emerged port-site of Cochin, there also seems to have been the desire to build on the gains from trade a strong state that could check the Zamorin's expansionism.

However, this tract of land (which comprises the present towns of Cochin i.e., Fort Cochin or Portuguese Cochin and Mattancherry or native Cochin), to which the king of *Perumpadappu swarupam* had moved in 1405, originally belonged to the king of Edappally. Edappally or Rapolim was a small kingdom, which included Edappally proper, Punithura and Tripunithura and was ruled by Namboothiri Brahmins of *Elangallur swarupam*. At the end of fourteenth century or at the beginning of fifteenth
century, the king of Edappally had presented this tongue of land of Cochin as a gift to the ruling king of *Perumpadappu swarupam* who happened to be his son. But later when Cochin developed into a flourishing port and got economic importance, the successors of Edappally king wanted to regain it from the *Perumpadappu swarupam* and this led to constant rivalry and fighting between the two for years together. Moreover, the rulers of Edappally used to provide base for the Zamorin's military operations against Cochin and the Zamorin, in turn, used to champion the cause of Edappally. However, the *Perumpadappu kings* who had better financial resources through their participation in the gains of trade could come out victorious in these wars and could maintain their hold over Cochin.

With the establishment of a considerable strong power at the port-site, security and safety required for the development of trade were guaranteed. As a result, merchants and traders from various countries began to flock to this port. By 1409, the commercial activities were so vibrant and perceptible as to invite the great Cheng Ho mission sent by the Ming dynasty of China. Ma Huan, who accompanied Cheng Ho wrote in 1409: "...there were five classes of people in Cochin. The noble caste with a thread over their shoulders (*Nampoothiris*) formed the first class, while Muhammedans occupied the second position. *Chetties, Kolings* and *Mukkuvas* held the other positions respectively." It is here important to note that out of these five classes, three viz., Muhammedans, *Chetties* and *Kolings* (*Kelings* derived from Kalinga) were merchant groups. *Chetties* were the capitalists and the leading merchant community. They bought pepper from the farmers and sold
it to foreign ships that frequented Cochin. *Kolings* were the commission agents.\textsuperscript{21}

These three merchant groups were not original natives of Cochin and their presence suggests that Cochin had already, by this time, taken part in long-distance trade. *Chetties*, with strong basis in the ports of Coromandel, were great merchants and owners of ships and used to trade with Cambay, Dabul and Chaul in areca, coco-nuts, pepper, *jagra* and palm sugar.\textsuperscript{22} *Kolings*, often referred to as *Kelings*, were traders of the Coromandel coast Pegu and Malacca.\textsuperscript{23} Their involvement in Cochin trade indicates that this port was incorporated also in the exchange systems of South East Asia. Ma Huan's mention of Muslims and their important position (second) in the social hierarchy deserves special attention as they were, during this period, associated with the trade activities of the Persian gulf and the ports of Red sea. As spices were available at cheaper rate in Cochin, sips from Arabia and Persia used to cast anchor off this port frequently.\textsuperscript{24}

With the arrival of Cheng Ho, the trade-relationship between Cochin and China became very active and flourishing and the articles of tribute were sent to China,\textsuperscript{25} to reinforce this commercial bond in 1436, as Fei Hsin writes, "the commodities brought from China for trade in Cochin included coloured satins, white silk, blue and white porcelain-ware, gold and silver."\textsuperscript{26} The Chinese junks, in return carried back spices like pepper and ginger as well as some precious substances as ivory, pearl, coral and the like. The fact that several items used in this part have got the epithet "cheena" - such as *Cheenachatti* (a house-hold utensil almost like a frying-pan), *Cheenavala*
(fishing net), *Cheenavedi* - (used for fire-works) shows that they were of Chinese origin and it speaks for the long Chinese contacts with this region.27

Ma Huan, while speaking about the trade transactions at the port of Cochin, mentions that pepper was sold at five *tales* the *P'o-ho*, which is 400 *cattis* of Chinese weight. The coin was a gold piece, called *fanam* weighing one *candareen*; there was also a little silver coin called a *Ta-urh*, which was used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen *Ta-urhs* made a *fanam*.28 Fei Hsin, who visited Cochin in 1436 also testifies to the fact of wide circulation and use of coins in the trade transactions of this port.29 However, by the end of the fifteenth century, most of the coins used in mercantile transactions were not issued by the king of Cochin, as he was deprived by the Zamorin of the right to strike coins.30

It is also quite possible that the old merchants of Cranganore especially the St.Thomas Christians and later Jews read the signs of the times and shifted to Cochin as this gate-way became an important economic centre.31 In 1503 Francisco de Albuquerque referred to a christian merchant guild, called *Korram*, which was very active in Cochin and conducted organized trade.32 In the letter, based on the report from Pedro Alvarez Cabral and written by D.Manuel (1501) to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the Portuguese king says that in the city of Cochin there were many ships and he learned that two merchants of this city alone had as many as 50 ships.33 Fei Hsin says that in Cochin, wealthy people had put up broad godowns for storing pepper.34 The presence of mercantile organizations almost like guilds, large number of ships and storing facilities for buying pepper at the harvest
time or when the prices were low show that the trade in Cochin had taken an organized shape after 1430. The overseas traders, who previously had to accept the prices dictated by the local merchants because of the monsoon, which determined the movement of ships and specified the maximum time-limit for one's stay in a port, might have played a significant role in organising the trade of this port.

Ma Huan's mention of trade in pearl and other precious stones and cutting of coral into beads and polishing by skilled workmen is suggestive of the emergence of production in the secondary sector, as well.$^{35}$

The natural result of these developments was the genesis of an urban centre in and around the port of Cochin. While referring to Cochin, Nicolo Conti says that it was a city with five miles in circumference.$^{36}$ But it seems that the area mentioned by Nicolo Conti might not be the core area of the city; but the zone under the influence of the urban phenomena of Cochin. It is to be here mentioned that though Cochin raised a serious challenge to the port of Calicut, it could not rise up to the level of the Zamorin's port although the pre-Portuguese phase.

**a. Port of Cochin and the Political Economy of Malabar**

It seems that there existed two inter-related phenomena in the history of the Pre-Portuguese Malabar. On the one hand, there existed a port-hierarchy in which from among the various nodal points along its coast, one would emerge and act for a definite and successive period of time as the central
port. Others would become minor satellite ports revolving round this principal and pivotal port.\(^{37}\) Thus the prime and pivotal position occupied, in the ancient period, by Muziris (Cranganore) was taken over by Quilon in the early medieval period which later during the period till sixteenth century was assumed by Calicut.\(^{38}\) With the advent of the Portuguese, this prime position was taken over by Cochin. On the other hand these economic centres or the trade centres of spices became the major units of political life in Malabar. The more intense the economic life was, the more vibrant were the political activities in these trade centres.\(^{39}\) So it was quite natural that the emergence of Cochin into the orbit of economic activities had its repercussions in the political scenario, as well. The emergence of the port of Cochin not only did drive a wedge into the then-existing hinterland geography and framework of port-hierarchy, but also carved out some of them for its commercial development. Many of the political changes of this period were related, in one way or another, to Cochin which had already acquired economic importance because of its port.

*Perumpadappu swarupam* or the rulers of Cochin kingdom trace back their origin to the last Kulasekaharas' sister, who was married by a Nampoothiri of Perumpadappu.\(^{40}\) This has to be seen against the peculiar custom that prevailed among the Nampoothiri Brahmins of Kerala where only the first-born married the Brahmin ladies while the younger sons of Brahmins used to marry ladies from non-Brahmin-high castes like the *kshatriyas* (who were relatively very few) and the Nairs. It seems that the founder of *Perumpadappu Swarupam* was a younger son of a Brahmin and
the matrilineal rights as well as the caste took predominance over patrilineal caste and rights. This must have been the reason why the king of Cochin was considered not as a Brahmin; but as a kshatriya by birth, to which caste the Perumpadappu kings fell because of the link with the last Perumal (the Kulasekhara ruler). The full official designation of the kings of Cochin in vernacular was "Perumpadappu Gangadhara Vira Kerala Trikkovil Adhikarikal" and as this title indicates, he exercised jurisdiction over a large number of temples in Kerala, irrespective of all considerations of political boundaries. It was a time when state was defined not merely by geographical boundaries alone. The jurisdiction over temples scattered all over Kerala played a major role in the state formation. It seems that the Brahmin link also must have given some added reasons to the Perumpadappu kings to exercise control over diverse temples. Perhaps, it might have been because of the vast spiritual power which the king of Cochin wielded that Tomé Pires called him the "Pope of the country." In fact, this moral and religious authority exercised by him more than compensated for his lack of political power and stature.

The royal family was divided into five branches or tavazhis viz., Mutta, Elaya, Palluruthi, Muringur and Chazhur. Each branch had its own seat and crown lands for its support as well as its own retainers and militia. But the right to succession to the throne was common to all; the eldest male member of all the five branches taken together was made the king of Cochin. The internal dissensions among these family branches or tavazhis gave the Zamorin great opportunities to interfere in the affairs of Cochin. In most
cases, the custom of *Perumpadappu Mooppil* or religious recluse, which was instituted to ensure sound governance, was a major source of discord in the royal family of Cochin. According to this custom, if the ruling chief grew too old or otherwise too feeble to govern the country in troublesome times, he abandoned the throne and led the life of a religious recluse, so that the administration of the country could be entrusted to the rightful heir or to the next eldest member of his own branch of the family. In the latter case, the governance was carried out as if in a regency and the regent was bound, on the death of the retired chief, not only to make way for the rightful heir, but also to retire from the world and become a religious recluse. This arrangement was made to prevent him from using against the rightful heir the power and prestige that he might have gained while he was acting as *de facto* ruler of the state. But as this practice touched the very core of power, the dissensions which it created among the members of royal family were great. In several of the Zamorin's wars one or more branches of the royal family were on his side against the ruling head of Cochin. The Zamorin took advantage of these dissensions to consolidate his power and dominion as well as to extend the economic sphere of influence of Calicut.

Already with the development of trade in Calicut, the Zamorin began to undertake an expansionist policy and the men and money supplied by the wealthy Arab merchants always helped to turn the tide of the events in favour of the Zamorin. The first target was Tirunavai (which was situated on the banks of the river Bharatapuzha in the territory of the Valluvanadu ruler) where the famous pan-Kerala assembly, often called the festival of
Mamankam was held once in every 12 years under the chairmanship of the Valluvanadu ruler. Tirunavai was politically important and the right to preside over the Mamankam was viewed and coveted enviously by the rulers of Kerala. So it was quite natural that the avaricious eyes of the Zamorin fell first on this prestigious place. By conquering this territory of Tirunavai, the Zamorin acquired the time-honoured privilege of presiding over the Mamankam. With this conquest he assumed the cultural leadership of Kerala with the already established economic and political supremacy. After having brought the neighbouring principalities of Nilambur, Manjeri, Malappuram and Kottakkal under his suzerainty, the Zamorin turned to Cochin, where the growing port had already attached to itself some of the areas in the pepper-producing-hinterland that belonged to Calicut. The dissensions between Mutta tavazhi and Elaya tavazhi, to which the ruling king belonged, gave the Zamorin a chance to interfere in the politics of Cochin. It seems that the Zamorin, by the end of fifteenth century, took active interest in the affairs of Cochin. He supported Mutta tavazhi and in the war that broke out by the end of fifteenth century, the Zamorin came out victorious. His nominee from this tavazhi was made the king of Cochin. But the other results of this war were drastically harmful to Cochin. The kingdom of Cochin was narrowed down to the island of Vaipin and of Cochin and its king was deprived of the right to strike coins and to roof his palace with tiles. The ultimate economic result of this intervention was that the Zamorin got an opportunity to control the activities of the port of Cochin. He succeeded in getting all the pepper and merchandise of Cochin re-directed to Calicut port. In the agreement that was made between the Zamorin and the
ruling chief of Cochin, which was largely influenced by the Muslim merchants of Calicut, it was stipulated that the merchants from the St. Thomas Christian community should be driven out from Cochin. All other merchants were enticed away from this port to Calicut by the Zamorin with the help of the Arab traders. Thus the Zamorin succeeded in subjugating this developing port of Cochin, which was the source of power for the Perumpadappu kings, into the position of a satellite port of Calicut.

Though the political position of the king of Cochin, by the end of fifteenth century, was no better than the other innumerable petty chieftains of Malabar of that time, he had one advantage: that he had got a very good natural harbour which could at any time transform his stature and role. Moreover, the port of Cochin was the main window for the spice-growing hinterland scattered in the kingdoms of Parur, Mangattu (Alengad), Porcad (Chembakasserry) Vadakkenkur, Thekkenkur, Kizhmalainadu, the realm of Anchekaimal etc. Most of these kingdoms were located around the Vembanadu lagoon. In the fifteenth century Cranganore was linked more with Calicut than with Cochin. The kingdom of Edappally, though was bordering on this lagoon, also had its allegiance to Calicut. Thus, though the political supremacy of the Zamorin was on the whole an accepted fact, vague signs of economic division of the spice-hinterlands between Cochin and Calicut had already appeared. Most of the kingdoms which were politically neutral found Cochin near and very accessible because of the lagoon systems. Commodities from these kingdoms found their way to the port of Cochin from where a good portion of them was again taken to Calicut,
as well. The overseas trade in the entire Indian Ocean region, by the end of fifteenth century, was monopolized by Arab traders, who were patronised and intimately connected with the Zamorin of Calicut, who wanted to see that the emerging bud of the Cochin port was nipped. So the king of Cochin had to look for another overseas trading group, with whom Cochin could carry on independent trade and by the help of whom foreign ships could be made to frequent Cochin.

b. Settlement Pattern in the Native Cochin

The freedom of trade in the port of Cochin attracted merchants from different parts of the world, as we have already seen, to this nodal point as monsoon wind system which controlled their trade made their stay-initially it was for a temporary period; but later it became permanent-in the port area a compulsory factor, urban phenomena and street-based settlement pattern appeared in Cochin. It began to house a heterogenous population including representatives of all the seafaring communities of the Indian Ocean region. Simultaneously, the rights, customs and culture of these foreigners were respected and they were allowed not only to settle down and set up their own stations and colonies but also to be administered by their own chiefs and law codes, in Cochin resembling extra-territoriality. The only obligation on the part of the foreigners was that they should respect the religious feelings of the natives.

The settlement pattern of Cochin was in such a way that members of each group could enjoy and exercise the varied rights of extra-territoriality.
The palace of the king was in Calvethy area, not far from the port. The royal presence in port area not only provided a common political umbrella but also effected an economic co-ordination of various port-mechanisms. The urban population was distributed into various segregated groups of single communities. People belonging to a particular caste would congregate on one street. New castes would demarcate a particular street for themselves. Besides caste factor, religious considerations and professional interests also played a key role in the settlement distribution. The Muhammedan merchants had better houses surrounded with stone walls and a city of their own. It seems that it extended up to Calvethy. Amaravati was inhabited by Chetties and goldsmiths. The Konkanis and the St. Thomas Christians occupied particular portions of the town along the street. The Jews, who came later were allotted space adjacent to the palace. The degree of relationship with and involvement of various merchants and service groups in port activities determined their nearness to the port. It seems that the service staff was near the warehouses; then the merchants' city divided according to faith and origin. Brahmins and Nairs were in the estates. The low castes and the untouchables were on the coast, well out of the sight of Brahmins and Nairs. Just like in any pre-colonial city of Malabar, in Cochin also neither the merchants nor the ruler had built large establishment on the water-front or the sea side. As Fei Hsin says the sea shore was occupied by villages, most probably inhabited by lower castes or Mukkuvas. The process of urban expansion left behind water-front and started from port (Calvethy area) to the hinterland. This town that developed at the hinterland end of the port was the native Cochin (Mattancherry). It was also called
Cochin de cima (upper Cochin) during the Portuguese period. The present day Mattancherry area, which corresponds to the old native Cochin, even today preserves the old settlement pattern eventhough the numerical strength of various communities and castes had undergone much change.

The sea side, which was left vacant, was later given to the newly arrived Portuguese: they settled at the water-front and expanded more along the sea-side, as they had come from across the sea and their power was based on the Ocean. The urban unit that developed at the water-front became the city of Santa Cruz or Portuguese Cochin. Today it is known as Fort Cochin.

c. The Early Phase of Portuguese Settlement and the Role of Native Cochin

Receiving the royal standard from D.Manuel (the king of Portugal) in the cathedral of Lisbon, Vasco da Gama started his journey from Belem on 9th July, 1497. This expedition of four ships (S.Gabriel, S.Raphel, Berrio and the provision ship) under Vasco da Gama was "in search of Christians and spices." They reached Capocate (two leagues from Calicut) on 20th May 1498. The Portuguese in Calicut found themselves "pigmis" in stature in contrast to the Muhammedan traders who had better commercial links and political influence. They could impress neither the king nor the market and they found it difficult to sell the Portuguese commodities. The Muhammedan traders, who had monopolised the Calicut trade, were on the defensive and their intrigues and machinations succeeded, to a certain extent, in keeping
the Portuguese away from the market of Calicut.\textsuperscript{77} But, because of the prompt help extended by the Kolathiri raja, Vasco da Gama was successful in shipping sufficient cargo from Cannanore which was worth sixty times the cost of the expedition.\textsuperscript{78} Though the initial response from India was not that much promising, it sounded a big beginning in Europe: The king of Portugal, D.Manuel assumed rather a high sounding title: "Lord of the Conquest, the Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India."\textsuperscript{79}

Meanwhile, preparations started in Lisbon for assembling a new fleet to sail to India. This fleet consisted of thirteen vessels and twelve hundred men. The captains were chosen with care to impress the rulers of India with the greatness of Portugal, and so members of noble families were given the command of many ships. This was the first commercial fleet to sail for India. One of these ships belonged to Bartolomeo Marchioni, a Florentine and to other Italian merchants. Another ship was provided by a Portuguese nobleman. The rest was financed by the crown.\textsuperscript{80} The chief command of this new fleet and this great endeavour was given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral.\textsuperscript{81} Cabral was given a diplomatic mission and was asked not to do any injury to any of the ships which he might come across in Calicut and the route between Calicut and Anjedive, eventhough they might be from Mecca.\textsuperscript{82} He was expected to establish peace and friendship with the Zamorin. The initial relationship with the Zamorin was cordial and Cabral could load two of the ships with spices. The friendship that developed between the Portuguese and the Zamorin as well as the size of the ships the Portuguese
used for loading spices prompted the Muhammedan traders to hide the merchandise for their advantage.  

The hoarding of spices led to artificial shortage of the commodity, as a result of which they had to keep waiting even after three months.  

On the other hand, the spice hoarded and transferred from the market was secretly shipped in vessels destined to Mecca.  

The Zamorin, to whom the Portuguese complained about this incident, allowed the latter to conduct search in Muhammedan ships for merchandise. The search, which the Portuguese conducted on 16th December 1500, in a Muhammedan vessel and its consequent capture led to great uproar and revolt by the Muhammedans against the Portuguese. The disturbed mass killed the Portuguese factor and with him fifty people were lost, either dead or captives. This was followed by inhuman vengeance and brutality: massacring of the innocents, capturing and burning down of the ships and bombarding of the city.  

The Indian Ocean was turned into a battlefield, for the first time. The Portuguese found themselves encountered by enemies rather than competitors in the disturbed milieu. In this hostile and belligerent atmosphere, they were eagerly looking for a helping hand or some quarter of land in the coast where they could ensure indigenous assistance and regular supply of spices.  

Finding no other land to step into, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, as led by Gaspar da Gama came to Cochin on 24th December 1500. Meanwhile, the king of Cochin, who was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the hegemony of the Zamorin, found in the newly arrived traders potency and strength to regain his lost power and to assert himself. The king of Cochin welcomed
the Portuguese wholeheartedly and did everything possible for the lading of their ships with spices. With the co-operation of the native ruler, all of the seven ships were entirely laden in nine days with spices namely, cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs and pepper. The king, besides, sent another fourteen small boats of spices as a gift, without money or anything else in exchange.

A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between the king and Cabral. Moreover, the native ruler gave Cabral a specific portion of the port area and the land adjacent to it for the establishment of a Portuguese factory. For security reasons, the then reigning king Unni Goda Varma Koil Tirumulpad allowed them a guard and permitted them to sleep within the walls of his palace. This was the stepping stone for a long-term alliance and friendship between the two.

The Portuguese fleet under João da Nova came to Cochin in 1501, after having sunk five large vessels and nine parãos of Calicut. The king of Cochin fearing that the Muhammedans might kill them, provided accommodation to them in his palace and gave them a guard of Nairs for their protection. Besides, when João da Nova had difficulty to buy spices for want of cash, the king of Cochin stood as surety and supplied pepper and other spices to be taken to Portugal.

Meanwhile in 1502, the Zamorin sent a letter to the king of Cochin asking him not to entertain the Portuguese further. But the king replied negatively explaining his inability to violate the peace and trade treaty concluded with the Portuguese. In November 1502, Vasco da Gama came to India with a great fleet of 20 vessels. He moved to Cochin, after having
bombarded the city of Calicut and annihilated the Arab merchant fleet. The king of Cochin along with large number of attendants and six elephants went to the water-side to receive him.\(^94\) One of the major achievements of Vasco da Gama's second voyage was that after talks with the king and later with local merchants, on the suggestion of the king, he could establish a fixed price for the spices.\(^95\) The king was given the responsibility to make available the spices at the prices already fixed.\(^96\)

On the departure of Vasco da Gama, the Zamorin attacked Cochin demanding the surrender of the Portuguese factors, who were under the protection of the king. But the ruler of Cochin refused to comply with the demand. Even the members of the king's council and royal family pleaded for the expulsion of the Portuguese to avoid the war. But the king preferred arms rather than breach of alliance. In the fierce fighting that followed the ablest three princes of the royal family were killed (other losses being much beyond quantification).\(^97\) Vicente Sodre, who was supposed to fight against the Zamorin evaded the situation under the pretext of patrolling the Red sea. With the death of the gallant princes and annihilation of the army, the king with his family and the Portuguese took refuge in the Sanketam of Elankunnnapuzha temple in Vaipin.\(^98\) Though the Zamorin dared not violate the sacrosanctum, he burnt down the city of Cochin.\(^99\) It is to be mentioned here that the Portuguese commercial endeavour got some roots in Indian soil mainly because of the losses and sacrifices taken up by the king of Cochin and his loyal subjects of native Cochin.
In the background of continuous attacks from the Zamorin, the Albuquerques were sent to India in 1503. Though Francisco de Albuquerque re-instated the king on the throne and attacked severely Edappally, which was the base for the Zamorin's operations, the war atmosphere continued. Before the departure of the Albuquerques to Portugal, they requested the king permission to erect a fort at Cochin for the protection of the Portuguese factory. The king not only granted the permission but also undertook the work at his own expense. The war which continued up to 1504 had a decisive turn when a large scale military operation of the Zamorin was foiled by the valiant and timely action of Duarte Pacheco assisted by native soldiers sent from native Cochin.

By the time Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy, arrived at Cochin in 1505, the king of Cochin had abdicated and become a religious recluse. As the two senior princes, who were next in succession, were supporting the Zamorin, the retiring king had appointed as regent his direct surviving nephew Unnirama Koil Tirumulpad, alias Rama Varma. Though this arrangement was temporary and Rama Varma had to go as a religious recluse later after the death of Goda Varma under the practice of Perumpadappu Mooppil, Almeida, in order to ensure a pro-Portuguese ruler on the throne and thus royal assistance, suppressed this age-old practice and crowned him solemnly as the king. He moreover presented the golden crown sent by D. Manuel and gave him an annuity (copa) of 640 cruzados.

This money, which the Portuguese continued to give to the kings of Cochin under the name of copas, was paid partly as the assessment on the
land given over to the Portuguese for constructing the fort and as compensation for the death of the three princes in the fight against the Zamorin for the defence of the Portuguese. Meanwhile Almeida, who had come with explicit orders to establish the headquarters of the Portuguese India in Cochin, constructed a strong fortress in Cochin in the place of wooden structure. This fortified area in the Portuguese colony was made the first seat of the governmental activities of the Lusitanians. With this the Portuguese part of Cochin began to take a unique administrative, jurisdictional and urban shape quite different from that of the native Cochin.

However, native Cochin continued to be the main channel and vehicle for the integration of various elements of indigenous assistance with the Portuguese Cochin. In the initial phase of establishment, when the Portuguese were confronted with lack of personnel and lack of fund, it was the native part of the city that came to their rescue. The king of Cochin either gave them loan or supplied commodities on credit and the amount which the Portuguese owed to the native ruler rose to 10,000 cruzados in 1513. Besides the financial assistance and political protection amounting to a certain degree of "patronage" extended by the king of Cochin, there were other areas of co-operation from the native Cochin. Any organised enterprise of large scale commercial operations at that time would require an elaborate system of spy net-works, wider commercial links with solid capital and sufficient fighting force. Unfortunately, in the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese seemed to lack in these three realms. They had to look often to native Cochin for timely help. It was mainly the
Nampoothiri Brahmins, linked with the kingdom of Cochin, who assisted them as spy-workers.\textsuperscript{109} The Nairs and the St. Thomas Christians from native Cochin and the neighbouring principalities formed an important part of the fighting force that waged wars for the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{110} The Muhammedan merchants of native Cochin, who had large number of personnel as well as huge capital resources and partnership links supplied the commodities to the Portuguese, when the latter did not have enough means and personnel to penetrate into the production centres.\textsuperscript{111} It seems that it was only because of the various helps, which the Portuguese received from the people of native Cochin especially in first decade of the sixteenth century, that they could establish solid commercial and political bases in Asia.

II. THE HINTERLAND OF COCHIN

No city stands on its own and the study of a city takes one to the interior land space which feeds the city. It is all the more true with Cochin, whose ups and downs depended heavily on its relationship with the hinterland. Right from the beginning, the land of Cochin did not produce anything (except coconuts) significantly worthy of trade. Most of the commodities that were transacted in the port came from interior land. With the high demand for pepper and ginger, for which the foreign vessels began to frequent Cochin, this port had to look more and more to the production centres lying in the inland for ensuring regular supply. Eventually, the economic life of the port of Cochin necessitated the carving out of large spice-growing land spaces scattered in the central Kerala as hinterland for its feeding. The attempt to
convert the various spice-growing inland areas into the hinterland of Cochin was a gradual one and was carried out through diverse strategies.

Hinterland can be described as organized and developed land spaces which are connected with a port by means of transport lines and which receive or send goods through that port. The structure of the city-hinterland relationship could be explained by means of the theory of concentric circles postulated by Johann Heinrich von Thünen. Thünen's theory is based on the European experience; but when suitably modified it explains a great deal of the structure of cultivation in Kerala. According to him, the city is located at the centre of a fertile plain. The central city is surrounded by several circles and each circle specialising in the production of separate commodities which the city requires. The nature and transportability of the commodity determines the circle in which they are produced. The first circle around the city, which is situated near the urban centre, produced the commodities which are to be fresh for sale in the market like vegetables or milk which otherwise get damaged by long transportation. Materials of heavy weight or big size whose transportation to the city involve much expense are also supplied by this circle. But in Cochin commodities of heavy weight and which occupied lot of space like the timber and bamboos for ship-building were brought not from the immediate circle around the city; but from remote forests through the rivers and lagoons, as the riverine transportation was relatively cheaper. The next circle around this one produced cereals and grains, which could be easily transported to the city. However in the case of Cochin, this circle besides supplying grains
produced pepper, ginger and coconuts. But it did not confine itself to the geographical limits of the kingdom of Cochin; on the other hand it extended to the neighbouring kingdoms. Next to this one, Thünen speaks of a circle of pasture land. In Kerala, separate pasture land was very less. In its place wild cinnamon and cardamom were grown in such circle, which was situated in the hilly high ranges.

Where as Thünen's theory is aimed at explaining the relationship of a central place located inside a country, the relationship between a port and its hinterland is governed by different variables. A port is by its very nature "ex-centric", being located at the sea-side. Cochin, being a port-city was surrounded by semi-circles (rather than circles) of production centres which were connected with the port through transportation lines. The availability of river-transport is crucial for the connection of internal markets with the port. Distant markets with easy access to river may be more accessible than places nearer (with less transportation facilities) to the port. Thus, the theory of Thünen explains a great deal of the structure of cultivation of Kerala, seen during this period.

Port-hinterland is often considered economic rather than geographical regions. There are cases when a port does not necessarily have exclusive claim to any part of its hinterland and an inland area may be the hinterland of several ports. The port is the window of the hinterland to the sea as well as a window from the sea to the land. The hinterland could also be conceived in terms of the area from which the city draws the material for the construction of its buildings, factories, houses and streets. It is that area
from which the port obtains its goods for export overseas and to which it distributes the imported goods.\textsuperscript{118}

The Portuguese made use of every possible means to integrate the distant and remote spice-hinterlands with the port of Cochin. The kingdoms of Cochin, Cranganore, Parur, Alengad, Porcad, Vadakkenkur and Thekkenkur were brought within the economic orbit of Cochin and were made the principal hinterlands for this port.

According to Jan Kieniewicz, there were three areas of intensive pepper-growing in Kerala between the 15th and 19th centuries. 1. The area situated in the south, in the regions of Attingal and Peritaly. 2. The area that existed in the north in Chirakkal and Kottayam regions of Malabar. 3. The lands in the central part of Kerala, which formed the hinterland of Cochin and which were of the greatest importance although this period. These three regions had the concentration of pepper-cultivation on large scale, not only because of the rich and properly irrigated soil, but also because of the proximity of transport routes.\textsuperscript{119} The area of central part demarcated by the river Periyar to the north, a plane on lake Vembanadu to the west and Achenkoil river to the south\textsuperscript{120} formed the main hinterland of Cochin. The lands of Kothamangalam, Aragosha (Arakuzha), Porrota (Piravom) and Palaya (Pala) were the most productive centres of pepper-cultivation.\textsuperscript{121} The inscriptions kept in the churches of St. Thomas Christians and the various Portuguese accounts help us to locate the various important spice-growing centres of this period and to trace the land and riverine routes that connected
these regions with the port of Cochin.

Out of the various and diverse inland spaces or hinterlands, the kingdom of Cochin stood in the centre zone. It was only fifty two leagues (52x4=208 miles) in circumference. The treaty of peace and friendship concluded between the king of Cochin and Pedro Alvarez Cabral in 1500 opened up for the Portuguese traders not only the port but also the very kingdom of Perumpadappu as the hinterland. In 1502, D.Manuel wrote a personal letter to the king of Cochin acknowledging his gratitude for this. The interior parts of the kingdom of Cochin served as the basic hinterland of this port and the annual amount of 640 cruzados, which the Portuguese continued to give to the king of Cochin as copa, included later the remuneration for ensuring regular supply of spices to the port of Cochin. Vasco da Gama in 1502 fixed the prices of the spices in Cochin at one thousand and twenty four reais per quintal. As a result, the chance of cheating of the cultivators by the traders in the name of fluctuations in the market was less. Though it led to underpricing of the commodity, it equally helped to maintain uniform prices in this part of hinterland. The trade-routes of the kingdom of Cochin intersected at three junctions: Bardela (Vaduthala), Castello (south of the island of Venduruthy) and Cochin de Cima (Maṭṭancherry). The small peddling traders who were carrying commodities to and from Cochin had to pay taxes at the customs houses of these places. The taxes collected in Castello and Mattancherry (except Vaduthala which was in Vadakkenkur kingdom), as taxes for the entry and exit of the kingdom, were an additional source of income to the king of Cochin, besides
the export and import duties levied by the king at the port.

Another important spice-growing centre was the kingdom of Cranganore which lay between Chetwayi and the kingdom of Cochin.\textsuperscript{128} It had a heterogeneous population consisting of Muhammedans, Jews, Hindus and St.Thomas Christians.\textsuperscript{129} The kings of Cranganore owed their allegiance either to the Zamorin or to the Perumpadappu kings.\textsuperscript{130} But during the early years of our study, the king of Cranganore was related to the king of Cochin who also received a part of the revenue of Cranganore (temples)\textsuperscript{131} and their relationship was on the whole cordial. Only by 1614-15, when this kingdom was annexed by the Zamorin, it ceased to be an active feeding centre of Cochin.\textsuperscript{132} As much of the pepper from here was taken to Calicut D.Francisco de Almeida wrote in 1508 to the king of Portugal to erect a fort in Cranganore.\textsuperscript{133} In 1536, during the governorship of Nuno da Cunha, a strong fortress was built here to divert the pepper-trade to Cochin.\textsuperscript{134} Since this fortress was located in between the warring kingdoms of Cochin and Calicut, it played a significant role in carving out hinterlands for the port of Cochin.\textsuperscript{135} The Portuguese also sought the help of the bishop Mar Jacome Abuna to persuade his subjects, the St.Thomas Christians of Cranganore and other areas who possessed the monopoly of pepper cultivation to sell their pepper directly to the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{136} He even took them directly to the Portuguese factory in Cochin, not once but several times. This initiative from the religious leader of the pepper cultivators played a very important role in integrating the pepper-growing areas of Cranganore with Cochin.\textsuperscript{137} As most of the cultivators in Cranganore were St.Thomas Christians,\textsuperscript{138} attempts were
also made in the first half of the sixteenth century to placate them through financial help for the maintenance of their church. Moreover, by 1545 a college was instituted in Cranganore only for the training of the seminarians of St. Thomas Christians. Though the genuine intentions behind these religious favours should not be wrongly interpreted, the economic effect shows that these actions played a considerable role in incorporating significant portions of this kingdom into the orbit of the port of Cochin. From Cranganore came a lot of pepper, wild cinnamon, raw hides, wood, sandalwood, angelins etc.

The kingdom of Alengad or Mangatte was another hinterland of Cochin and its ruler belonged to Nair caste and was often called Mangatte Kaimal. The Portuguese documents of the period between 1550 and 1575 say that the ruler of Alengad was designated also as Chyrama (Cheraman). Antonio Bocarro gives a detailed description about this land. Situated on the side of the river (Periyar) the kingdom of Alengad had only a small land space. The king had sixteen thousand soldiers and was almost a subject of the king of Cochin. The kingdom was thickly populated and a good number of them were St. Thomas Christians and they lived more near their farms than in the bazaars. People could travel and sleep safely anywhere in the kingdom and the king used to take very rigorous and strict measures against robbers and criminals. The customs duty was comparatively less and the maximum tax rate did not reach two reales. The Archbishop D. Alexis Meneses, who visited the churches of the St. Thomas Christians to win their co-operation, came to Alengad as well in the troublesome days following the
The visit was made to ensure the collaboration of the pepper cultivators of Alengad and to keep them as strong supporters of the Portuguese religious and commercial policies.

Mangatte Kaimal in his letter to the king of Portugal speaks about the various services he rendered to the kings of Cochin and Portugal. He was actively involved in 1548 in the war fought by the Portuguese and the king of Cochin against Vadakkenkur and the Zamorin. It has to be specially noted that in the war against Calicut, the rulers of hinterlands always stood with the king of Cochin, who was the owner of the port, giving us the impression that though they were politically and geographically different, they formed one economic unit. For the regular supply of pepper to Cochin, the Mangatte Kaimal used to receive 72000 reais per year.

Parur, another hinterland of Cochin, was situated near Cranganore. Diogo Gonçalves writes: "the ruler of Parur was of Brahmin caste and he is almost a subject of the king of Cochin with the obligation of sending twelve thousand Nairs for Cochin in the war against the Zamorin." In 1546, we read about the Portuguese who were making visits to the king of Parur with a view to procuring spices. In the war of 1548, the king of Parur joined forces with Cochin against Calicut and Vadakkenkur. During the visit of D. Alexis Meneses, the St. Thomas Christians of Parur expressed great rebellious spirit and their co-operation was purchased with strenuous efforts. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ruler of Parur turned out to be a friend of the Zamorin and was often in war with Cochin, as testified by
Antonio Bocarro. But it was a temporary estrangement and the Portuguese won them back to co-operative mood. For the continuous support and supply of the goods to the port, the ruler of Parur used to get an annual amount of 72000 reais.

Though the ruler of Rapolim or the king of Edappally was an enemy of the king of Cochin, major portion of its produce went to the port of Cochin. As we have already seen, it was ruled by Nampoothiri Brahmins called Lamgualu Nambiadiri (Elangallur Nampiyathiri). Edappally was politically associated with the Zamorin, who often came down to this place for performing his coronation ceremonies. By 1540's, many Portuguese, who were engaged in clandestine commercial activities, used to procure pepper for their trade from Edappally. Salvador de Leão speaks about the promise the king of Edappally made to supply angelins (for ship-building) and pepper to the king of Portugal. At the entrance of the kingdom of Edappally there was a customs house to collect taxes from the commodities taken to and from Cochin.

The kingdom of Porcad (Purakkad) was ruled by Chembachere Nampiartiri (Chempakasserry Nampiyathiri) belonging to Brahmin caste. It consisted of the present Ambalapuzha and Kuttanadu taluks. The economic life of Porcad was linked with the commercial activities of the port of Cochin. The king of Porcad was very tolerant and benevolent towards the cultivator-group, the St. Thomas Christians. He even built a church for them.
in Kudamaloor. The ruler of this kingdom used to get an annual amount of 72000 \textit{reais} for his service to promote the trade of Cochin. The customs house of the kingdom of Porcad was situated in Qeygeyra (Kayalkara) where the entry and exit taxes were collected.

Another significant hinterland of Cochin was Bembalanaru (Vembolinad) that extended from Valiaperumpulley (Valiapumpuzha near Ashtamudi lake) up to the river Urupulley (Muvattupuzha). During the period of our study it was already divided into Tecamcurru (Thekkenkur) and Barecamcurru (Vadakkenkur) kingdoms. The kingdom of Thekkenkur consisted of the modern taluks of Changanacherry, Kanjirappally, Tiruvalla, Kottayam and a small portion of the High Ranges. The rulers of Thekkenkur resided at Kottayam. Most of the pepper produced in this region was brought to the markets of Iratuperha (Erattupetta), Erumelin (Erumely), Quanhara Pee (Kanjirappilly), Koon (Konni?), Irroonny(?) and from there to the port of Cochin. A good amount of it was taken to Coromandel coast through the ghat-route, as well. In the letter of Gaspar Luis da Veiga, we read that in the kingdom of Thekkenkur, the Portuguese had various interests besides procuring of the spices. The son of Gaspar Lopez, the \textit{vereador} of the city of Cochin was in the services of Thekkenkur king making cannons for him. The ruler of Thekkenkur also used to receive an annual amount of 72000 \textit{reais} as remuneration for making available pepper regularly in Cochin.
The most important and principal hinterland of Cochin was the kingdom of Vadakkenkur which was often called *reyno da pimenta* (pepper kingdom). It was bounded on the west by Vembanad lagoon, on the east by Poonjar, on the north by Kothamangalam and on the south by the kingdom of Thekkenkur. The kingdom of Vadakkenkur included the areas of Ettumanoor, Vaikkom and the northern portion of Meenachil taluk. Its capital was in the town of Kaduthuruthy, located in between Vaikkom and Ettumanoor. Kizhumalainad, which comprised Muvattupuzha and Thodupuzha taluks merged into Vadakkenkur by 1600 and there after the pepper kings had their residence in Turubuli (Thodupuzha) or more exactly at Caricotti (Karikode near Thodupuzha). A road called *Kotta vazhi* starting from Poonjar and running along the places like Bharananganam, Lalam, Puliyannor, Kidangoor (till Kidangoor, along Meenachil river), Ettumanoor, Kottackapuram, Kanakkary, Manjoor, Kaipuzha reached Kayalkara via Kudavechur and this road is said to have separated the Vadakkenkur kingdom from the Thekkenkur kingdom. Bardela (Vaduthala), Perimpalam (?near Vaduthala), Chembe, Palliporão (Pallipuram), Bayquette (Vaikkom), Mannato (Mannar), Vechu (Vechur), Curru Vechur (Kudavechur) were important centres connected with pepper production and transactions in the kingdom of Vadakkenkur. During the period between 1548-1552, the pepper king with the help of the Zamorin waged war in Vaduthala against the king of Cochin as well as the Portuguese and the latter found it very difficult to get pepper to be sent to Portugal. However, by 1553-4 the differences were patched up and this
landscape continued to feed the port of Cochin for the remaining period. There were two customs houses in this kingdom to extract taxes from the merchandise taken to and from Cochin: One was by Rio Largo (the Vembanad lake) and the other was by the river Urupule (Muvattupuzha).\textsuperscript{179} For supplying regular pepper to Cochin, the ruler of Vadakkenkur kingdom used to get 72000 \textit{reais}.\textsuperscript{180}

The other important hinterlands of Cochin were Diamper\textsuperscript{181} (Udayamperur), Aluva\textsuperscript{182} (Alwaye), Anchekaimal\textsuperscript{183} (Ernakulam), Muterte\textsuperscript{184} (Muthedathu), Lerte\textsuperscript{185} (Iledathu) etc., Of these the ruler of Diamper used to get an annual amount of 72000 \textit{reais}\textsuperscript{186} and the Karta of Aluva 42000 \textit{reais}\textsuperscript{187} for ensuring regular supply of pepper to the Portuguese factory in Cochin. Thus, the land which was located around the Vembanad lake and extended to the eastern slopes was used extensively for growing pepper on large scale. This land space scattered in different petty kingdoms was attached as hinterland to the port of Cochin by the Portuguese and ensured continuous supply of pepper and other commodities there by way of distributing monetary rewards annually to their respective rulers. The following table gives the details of the annuities paid by the Portuguese to the various native rulers for their co-operation in keeping their territory as hinterland which supplies cargo to Cochin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Ruler</th>
<th>1554 (^{188})</th>
<th>1564 (^{189})</th>
<th>1574 (^{190})</th>
<th>1605 (^{191})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King of Cochin (cops) (^{192})</td>
<td>640 cr.</td>
<td>640cr.</td>
<td>640cr.</td>
<td>640cr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Vadakkenkur</td>
<td>240par.</td>
<td>200par. (^{193})</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother of the king of Vadakkenkur (^{194})</td>
<td></td>
<td>100par.</td>
<td>100par.</td>
<td>220xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Thodupuzha and Vadakkenkur (^{195})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>240xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Alengad</td>
<td>240par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>240xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Parur</td>
<td>240par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>240xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Porcad</td>
<td>240par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>240xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Diamper</td>
<td>240par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>200par.</td>
<td>240xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karta of Alwaye</td>
<td>140par.</td>
<td>140par.</td>
<td>140par.</td>
<td>140xer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The two kings of Thekkenkur kingdom (^{196})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100 each)</td>
<td>(100 each)</td>
<td>(120 each)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, the king of Thodupuzha (Turuguly) who became also the king of Vadakkenkur by 1600 began to receive annuities from 1603 onwards.\(^{197}\) Francisco da Costa writes in 1607 that it was the king of Thodupuzha (Turuguly) and Vadakkenkur (Pimenta) who was supplying the greatest quantity of pepper to the Portuguese factory of Cochin. He was said to be the only ruler who regularly supplied pepper to the Portuguese. Other kings like that of Porcad failed often to send pepper to the Portuguese factory of Cochin.\(^{198}\) In 1554, the major pepper supplying kings like those of Vadakkenkur, Alengad, Parur, Porcad and Diamper used to get 240 pardaos or 72000 reais each per year.\(^{199}\) In 1564 and 1574 though these kings and those of Thekkenkur kingdom received only 200 pardaos and it may seem that some portion of the annuity was curtailed, in actuality it was not so. In
terms of reais it was equivalent to that of previous annuities: i.e., each of these kings received 72000 reais. The difference in the figures given in pardaos was because of the price fluctuations in the currency of pardaos.200 These monetary rewards were usually given to the rulers of the hinterland sufficiently early in every year, so that pepper supplies might reach the weighing place of Cochin before the advent of the ships from Portugal. These annuities were more or less fixed. However, the difference in the annuities given to the local rulers show that the rulers of large centres of pepper production used to get higher amount by way of annuity. Here it is to be specially mentioned that these overhead expenditures are to be added to the original price of pepper so as to get the actual price of the commodity. As the price of pepper was fixed, the fixed annuity-scheme was devised to ensure continuous supply of the commodity through the intervention of the recipients of annuities. In fact, what the cultivator should receive as price for their product was curtailed. On the other hand an attempt was made to please the native rulers and purchase their co-operation by giving them a portion of that which actually belonged to the cultivators. Paying regular annuity to the local rulers (this annuity did not form a considerable amount, as the maximum paid per year was only 240 pardaos) appeared more profitable to the Portuguese than allowing the price of pepper to fluctuate.

1. The Cultivators

In the Portuguese documents, St. Thomas Christians were described as the major cultivators of pepper in Kerala. In the early information given to
Portugal, we read that pepper was cultivated by the native Christians. In a letter written in 1529 to the king of Portugal it was said that all the pepper was in the hands of the St. Thomas Christians and that majority of the pepper that went to Portugal was given by them. The St. Thomas Christians, who trace back their origin to St. Thomas who preached gospel in Kerala and Mailapore during the period between 52 and 72 A.D., were distributed in the kingdoms of Calicut, Paru (Parur), Angamali, Managate, Cochin, Carturi (Kaduthuruthy), Cottette (Kottayam), Porcad, Marta, Callicoulam and Travancore. The centres of christian settlements became specialised regions of pepper-cultivation. They dissociated themselves from the Muslim traders from whom they had to face lot of atrocities in the past and the very producers began to take pepper to the Portuguese factory of Cochin. This actively co-operating cultivator group was a great source of support to the Portuguese, to get pepper from hinterland almost till the middle of sixteenth century, when elements of tension began to strain their relationship. Besides St. Thomas Christians, there were others like the Hindus who were also involved in the production of pepper.

There were three categories of people, who were connected with the pepper cultivation: Proprietors (Janmi or Janmakaran), tenants (Kanamkkaran) and cultivators (Kutiyans or verumpattakkaran). The origin of this three-tier land system was the consequence of the Aryanisation of the region and was linked to the control over land established by the Nampoothiri Brahmins between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when they made profit out of their position in the sabhas which administered temple
property. The Nampoothiri Brahmins from north India, had begun to enter Kerala in large number and as an organised body in the seventh and eighth centuries, and were wholeheartedly welcomed by the Perumals. Gradually a Brahmin-centered land system evolved with the frequent land-grants made to them by the Perumal. When the latter was threatened by the western Chalukyas, and later during the wars between Chera-Chola powers, the Nampoothiri Brahmins amassed vast areas of land from other social groups and became wealthy and powerful janmis. The cultivators who had more or less customary proprietary rights in their lands transferred their lands to Brahmin temples and through temples to the Brahmins themselves. The Brahmins gained control over the entire affairs through the legitimation myth spread by them.

The end result of these land-transfers was the emergence of Brahmins as janmis or janmakarans (holder of janmam tenure). They, as landlords, enjoyed a fixed share of one third of the total produce of the soil. Brahmins, meanwhile, transferred their lands on kanam tenure to the Nairs. Kanam included the right to supervise or protect all the inhabitants of the particular nad wherein the land lay. Usually Kanamkkan or the holder of Kanam was the hereditary protector of his nad and not the hereditary protector of any particular piece of it. Though they were socially subordinate to the janmi, the Kanakkarans enjoyed for their service a fixed share equal in amount to that of the janmi, i.e., 1/3 of the total produce of the soil. Thus, Kanakkarans were, like the janmi, a part-proprietor of the soil with the right to sell, subdivide and sublet his holding. For all practical purposes, the Kanakkarans
were permanently attached to their holdings, as the *janmi* would not dare to expell them, for they were not only the chief means of providing the *janmi*'s income, but composed his retinue of armed followers and so the expulsion would usually create problems for him.\textsuperscript{210} However a system of renewal of the *kanam* agreement also existed. The *janmis* used to receive *kanappanam* from *Kanamkkarans* in advance either as advance of rent or as security for payment of rent. This advance was periodically revised, often at the time of succession to *jannam* or *kanam*, which was considered as the occasion for *polichezhuthu* or renewal of the *kanam* deed.\textsuperscript{211} The *janmi* could also turn to a third person or another *Kanamkkaran* and accept an advance payment (*melcharth*) on condition that he would transfer the land to him after having terminated his contract with the earlier *Kanamkkaran*. But in this case, the *janmis* were under the customary obligation to pay compensation to those whom he wanted to evict.\textsuperscript{212} Since the Nairs or other *kanamkkarans* were placed in the higher strata of the society and since they too spurned manual labour, their holdings were further passed on to people of the lower strata of society on inferior tenures.\textsuperscript{213} The actual cultivator under the *kanamkkaran* was called *verumpattakkaran*. He was also considered as part-proprietor to the extent of the one-third of produce, including the right to sell or sublet his holding and to payment for the improvements he made in his holdings.\textsuperscript{214} Usually the *janmis* were *Nampoothiri* Brahmins. Most of the *Kanamkkarans* were Nairs and majority of the actual cultivators or *verumpattakkarans* who produced pepper in the hinterland of Cochin were drawn from St.Thomas Christians. Besides them, there were also some Nair and Ezhava cultivators.
However this division was not a water-tight one with regard to central Kerala. Many St. Thomas Christians were also real land-owners. Those members of this community, who were holding land from days prior to the emergence of Brahmin-centered land system, enjoyed considerable proprietary rights over the cultivable land, they held. Moreover, during the period of large land-grants made to the Brahmin temples, many churches of St. Thomas Christians also received considerable land-grants from the local Hindu rulers, in remuneration for the favours they received from the churches. This led to some sort of communal ownership of land among the St. Thomas Christians. The influential members of the palliyogams (administrative council of the churches) were the administrators and are-takers of such lands, who transferred this to ordinary farmers for cultivation. Besides this, many local rulers and Brahmin families used to grant sizable portion of land to some families of the St. Thomas Christians and made them settle down in and around the settlement of high-caste Hindus with a view to touch and purify the vessels and other house-hold utensils polluted by the use of low caste Hindus and the untouchables. The belief behind this practice was that the members of these particular families of St. Thomas Christians, whose ancestors were said to have been Brahmins and were converted to Christianity by St. Thomas, could take away the pollution by simple touch and these utensils could be later used by the Brahmins without having the fear of being contaminated. One important advantage of this system was that many members of this community got personal property with ownership rights. Thus, it seems that a considerable
number of St. Thomas Christians enjoyed proprietary rights over significant portion of the land which they cultivated. It was highly probable that some of them held land as *kanamkkarans*, as well. However, a good majority of them seems to have been *verumpattakkarans* cultivating the land for one third of the produce. The *lavradores* or the cultivators from whom the Hindu, Muslim and Christian merchants purchased pepper in *serra* (here it means, in the interior production centres) could be either one of this category mentioned above. However, the big cultivators as well as the *janmis* and *kanamkkarans*, who were having large amount of pepper at their disposal and could organise transport of pepper to the ports played very significant role in the regular supply of cargo in Cochin.

The Portuguese did not have any way of controlling the producers. Moreover, they had no particular reason to be interested in the actual volume of pepper grown. Their main concern was rather on the means and ways by which pepper could be purchased and supplied regularly for the Portuguese factory in Cochin.

2. Trade-Routes  

a. Land-Routes

There was an intricate network of land-routes, (often connected with water-routes) which took commodities from the hinterland to the port of Cochin. Because of the geophysical position of Malabar, wheeled traffic was difficult and scanty. Overland transport was based on caravans of oxen
and donkeys as well porters. Transport along straight routes was made difficult by the existence of steep inclines, tropical forests and rivers.220

People, who took to land routes, followed a method, as mentioned by Ibn Batuta, for carrying the merchandise. The merchants of Malabar hired out men for carrying baggages and other movables on their backs. One merchant was accompanied by approximately hundred men carrying his wares. Every one of them carried a stout stick fitted with an iron point at the lower end and a hook of the same metal at the top. When the porters wanted to take rest, he stuck his baton into the ground and suspended his burden on it. After rest, he took up his charge without anyone to assist him and resumed his journey.221 It seems that this practice of the merchant caravans continued althrough the medieval Kerala. Visscher reports that the porters usually carried two packs: one on the shoulder and the other on the head. A fanam was to be paid in every kingdom through which they travelled, as tax for the packs which they carried on their backs, while no charge was imposed on those which were carried on the head.222 These goods, thus, brought by land-routes required the help of water-routes to reach Cochin, because of its geophysical position. In many cases, the land-routes reduced the distance of travel; but the cost of land traffic was heavy and so the merchants preferred water-routes whenever they reached the navigable part of a river. In fact, both land and riverine transports took the merchandise of the hinterland to the port of Cochin.
b. The Riverine Routes

Most of the commodities were taken from the hinterland to Cochin through several riverine-routes. The seven rivers which flow into Vembanad lake form the principal water-ways.

Periyar, which has got a very important position among the wide and diverse networks of rivers, played a major role in linking the far-flung hinterlands lying in the north eastern part with Cochin. It originates near Sabarimala on the southern side of the Peerumedu hills. But the waters of its tributaries like Mullayaru, Muthirapuzhayaru, Kuttampuzhayaru and Deviyaru, coming from distant and different hilly forests make Periyar quite navigable by the time it reaches the low land. An important centre situated on the banks of Periyar in the low land is Thrikkariyoor. Kothamangalam, an important pepper-growing centre is located some five kilometers to the east of Thrikkariyoor. Kothamangalam had a big bazaar, as it was the important halting centre for the traders from Tamil country that went to Thrikkariyoor and other neighbouring places. The other spice-growing regions which this river integrated with Cochin were Perumpaulur (Perumbavoor), Curupanpady (Kuruppumpady) Maleatur (Malayattoor) Mekkattur. Periyar, as a means of communication between the port of Cochin and its hinterland, has a very significant and decisive role when it reaches Alwaye. There was a fair in this place and Alwaye was a major market place. At Alwaye, Periyar is bifurcated and it flowed in to the Arabian sea by two mouths: one into the opening at
Cranganore and the other into the mouth of Cochin. The first branch passing through Alengad merged into the sea at Cranganore. The second branch or the southern branch that flows south, again is bifurcated into two branches of which one joins Varapola (Varapuzha) while the other passing Rapolim merges into the backwaters of Tripunithara. These two branches of Periyar, joining the backwaters of Vembanad, flow into Arabian sea along Cochin. Through Periyar, which has a length of 228.5 kilometers were carried down to Cochin with the help of tonis and small boats various spices and large quantities of teak, mast wood as well as angelins for ship-building.

Besides these spice-pockets which were situated on the river-side, there were other agrarian centres in the interior extending to the north. The most important among them was Angamali which, having a great market place and three big churches, was the seat of the bishop of St. Thomas Christians. Antonio de Gouveia says that there were two rulers in Angamali: rey branco or Velutha tavazhi and rey preto or Karutha tavazhi. In the same kingdom of Angamali or exactly in Velutha tavazhi was located Agaparambim (Akaparambu) which was peopled mostly by St. Thomas Christians. Other important agrarian pockets were Mourikolam (Moozhikulam) and Manjappra, situated in the kingdom of Parur as well as Cheguree (Chowara) and Canhur (Kanjoor). These parts of the serra were connected with Cochin, first by a network of land routes and then with the help of water routes.

The Chalakudy river, which has got a length of 144.8 kilometers merges into the northern branch of Periyar at Elanthettikkara, six miles to the east of
Cranganore.\textsuperscript{242} It seems that less spice-items had been carried down through Chalakudy river to Cochin via Cranganore, as most of the agrarian centres around this river like Koratty, Chalakudy etc., were in the kingdom of the Zamorin. The ghat-route trade from Chalakudy also diverted much of pepper to Coromandel coast. However, through this water passage lot of teak wood, \textit{angelins} and logs for masts were taken to Cochin for ship-building activities.

Muvattupuzha river, having a length of 120.7 kilometers connected the hinterland of the Vadakkenkur region with Cochin.\textsuperscript{243} The three rivers of Thodupuzha, Kothamangalam and Kaliyar joined together at Muvattupuzha to form this river, which was navigable except during the peak of summer. Turubuli (Thodupuzha-it was sometimes written as Turuguly) situated on the banks of this river was a centre of hectic trade and political activities. Caricotti (Karikode) near Turubuli was the seat of Vadakkenkur after 1600.\textsuperscript{244} The ruler of Turubuli championed the cause of the St. Thomas Christians and Archdeacon their leader. The very king himself intervened for them through a letter written to the queen of Kaduthuruthy when D.Alexis Meneses tried to latinize them and convert them into "\textit{vassalos e sogeytos a el Rey de Portugal},"\textsuperscript{245} which was an indirect device of controlling the pepper-producers. Turubuli had intense trade relations with the Tamil country and commodities from Tamilnadu were brought through Cumbam and Kumily passes via Udumppannoor and Marubuli (Muthalakodam).\textsuperscript{246} The land route from Turubuli passed through Juncam (Chunkam) as well as Nediale (Nediasala)\textsuperscript{247} and reached Pruto (Piravom)\textsuperscript{248} from where they were again
interlinked with the water-routes provided by Muvattupuzha river and through it commodities were taken to Cochin via Vembanad lake. A major spice-growing centre near Turubuli and situated in the basin of this river was Melucompil (Mailakompu). Other important spice-growing regions on the banks of this river were Aragosha (Arakuzha) Muyattupula (Muvattupuzha), Palur (Pazhur). Land-routes from Ramrat Ramapuram, Baragore (Vadakara near Koothattukulam), Ignapeli (Elenji) and Molecalao (Mulakkulam) intersected at Piravom from where commodities were taken down to Cochin through the waters of Muvattupuzha river. This river that flows down into Baiqueta (Vaikkom) gets bifurcated at Vettikkattumukku into two: one branch passing Ithipuzha falls at Vadakkemurry and the other branch passing Murinjapuzha reaches Chembu. The other important centres around Baiqueta lake (Vaikkom lake is only an extension of Vembanad lake) were Bechu (Vechur), Muttão (Muttam) situated in the kingdom of Muterte (Muttedathu) as well as Palliporao (Pallippuram) and Collegeira Mangatao (Kulasekharamangalam) located in the pepper kingdom.

Meenachil river with a length of 67.6 kilometers was an integrating link of the northern part of Thekkenkur kingdom. The hilly regions from which this river originates were ruled by Punhati Perumal (king of Poonjar). The royal family of Poonjar had its origins in Pandi (Tamilnadu). Malleas or the highranges, through which the trade-routes from Poonjar, Thodupuzha and Kanjirappilly ran to Madura, were under the king of Turubuli and Punhati Perumal. It seems that the king of Poonjar controlled the land-route that
went from Meenachil basin via Periate (Periyar) to Tamilnadu.\textsuperscript{264} Irattuperha (Erattupetta)\textsuperscript{265} was an important bazaar located on the banks of the Meenachil river down below Poonjar. The presence of a large number of enterprising St.Thomas Christian farmers ensuring regular supply of sizeable volume of spices (their settlement was often called Aruvithara) and the presence of equally enterprising Muslim merchants in Erattupetta made this region a famous trade centre. It had flourishing trade relations with the Tamil country through the Kumali pass.\textsuperscript{266} Anagalengal (Anakallunkal or the present day Bharananganam),\textsuperscript{267} Larat (Lalam in Pala), Palaya (Pala), Cherpungal, (Cherpunkal) and Punnathara\textsuperscript{268} were other pepper pockets of Thekkenkur kingdom located near Meenachil river. It was navigable except during summer. The commodities from the interior were taken to Cotette (Kottayam)\textsuperscript{269} and from there to Cochin through the Vembanadu lake. Important spice-growing centres of Puthuppalli as well as Manarcad (Manarkad)\textsuperscript{270} in the kingdom of Thekkenkur, Coramallur (Kudamaloor)\textsuperscript{271} in the kingdom of Porcad and Athirampuzha in the kingdom of Vadakkenkur were located near Cotette (Kottayam). Carturte (Kadathuruthy),\textsuperscript{272} the first capital of pepper kingdom was integrated with Cochin (via Vembanad lake) through Valiathodu. The pepper pockets like Kadaplamattam in the kingdom of Thekkenkur,\textsuperscript{273} Corlengeate (Kuravilangadu),\textsuperscript{274} Ettumanur,\textsuperscript{275} Kothanalloor,\textsuperscript{276} Nagpili (Muttuchira)\textsuperscript{277} etc., in the kingdom of Vadakkenkur were in the immediate vicinity of Carturte.

The land-routes connecting Raakate (Rakkad), Kadamattam, Kolencherri\textsuperscript{278} of the kingdom of Cochin intersected at Tripunithara part of
Vembanad lake. Kandanatt (Kandalad)\(^{279}\) and Molendurte (Mulanthuruthy)\(^{280}\) also of the kingdom of Cochin were so located that the land-routes from these agrarian pockets had got an immediate opening to the back-waters of Vembanad.

Manimala river starting from Peerumedu hills, has a length of 91.7 kilometers. It integrated the important inland market of Quanhara Pee (Kanjirappally)\(^{281}\) as well as the agrarian pockets of Changanachere (Changanacherry)\(^{282}\) and Tiruvalla\(^{283}\) in the kingdom of Thekkenkur with the lake of Vembanad which was further linked with Cochin.

The river Pampa originates on the eastern part of Sabarimala hills and Azhuthayaru, Kakkattaru as well as Kallaru were its main tributaries. It, with a length of 177 kilometers, linked Changanor(Chengannoor), Naranao (Niranam) and Maramon\(^{285}\) in the kingdom of Thekkenkur and Poligunde(Pulinkunnu)\(^{286}\) in the kingdom of Vadakkenkur, with the Vemabanad lake.

Achankovil river having a length of 128.7 kilometers joins Pampa river near Niranam and merges into Vembanad lake as a part of Pampa. It is a main water-passage for the regions of Pathanamthitta, Karthikappally and Tiruvalla. The major agrarian pockets located around it were Podiagabo or Maelicare (Puthiakavu or Mavelikkara), Calucate (Kalloorkad or Champakulam), Batimeni (Venmani), Tuumpone (Thumpamon), Calupare (Kallooppara), Catiapely (Karthikappilly).\(^{291}\) These seven rivers flow into a long stretch of back-waters called Vembanad lake which made
the integration process of the spice hinterland with the port of Cochin smooth and constant. Considerable portion of these rivers, except Pampa and Periyar, were not navigable during the peak summer period. But land routes always intersected at navigable parts of these rivers which provided easy and cheap accessibility to the Vembanad lake.

c. The Back-waters: A Highway between Cochin and its Hinterland

A system of backwaters which encircled Cochin, played a very significant role in integrating the various riverine routes with the port. The back-waters in the vicinity of Cochin have got two parts: 1. The northern part called Cranganore lake. 2. The southern part called Vembanad lake.

Vembanad lake is the long stretch of back-waters or the land locked water that extended from Cochin down to south. It has got 84 kilometers of length and an average of 32 kilometers of width. On the border of this lake were situated the kingdoms of Karappuram, Karthikappally, Porcad, Thekkenkur, Vadakkenkur, Cochin, Rapolim, Anchekaimal etc.

Some parts of this lake are very deep, though shallow places are not rare. However, this lake was fully navigable and bigger boats and ships were used for trade traffic. Merchandise brought up to the banks of this lake from hinterland either with the help of small country-boats or tonis or with the assistance of pack-oxen or carried by men themselves were taken by big boats and barges to the port of Cochin.
Cranganore lake is actually the northern extension of Vembanad lake. This, being joined by Periyar and Chalakudy rivers, extends 25 kilometers north of Cochin. These two lagoons served as highways for the spice-carriers that moved constantly from the hinterland to the port of Cochin.

The Portuguese claimed that as the king of Portugal was the lord of the sea, and of the coast of India, all rivers and ports must be under his command. So the back-waters and the lagoons into which the various riverine routes and land-routes from the hinterland merged were patrolled very vigilantly by the Portuguese fleet. Every loop hole for diverting commodities from Cochin's hinterland to other ports was closed by well-thought out strategies. The Portuguese fleet patrolled the mouths of various rivers as well as the junctional points in the water-routes. It seems that the patrolling of the junctional points of rivers and lagoons was undertaken by Portuguese with the help of Indian auxiliaries. Those who were patrolling the lagoon used to get 369 xeramins, 4 tangas and 68 reais as salary.

The cost of river-patrolling and the annuities given to the native rulers also are to be added to get the actual price paid for the pepper. If one totals the protection money, the "fixed-price" dictated by the Portuguese would appear to be higher. At the same time, the money actually paid to the cultivator would appear to be less as compared to the "protection cost". The protection cost increased as the Portuguese paid only less price to the cultivators, and as the producers increasingly resorted to the diversion of spices to the centres which paid rather better prices.
**d. Satellite Markets**

The exchange system in the hinterland led to the emergence of wide and intricate network of bazaars (*Angadi*), markets, fairs and mega markets. Each of these acted as satellite economic units of the port of Cochin, in varying degrees.

In almost all the pepper-growing centres, there were *angadis* or bazaars attached to the settlements. They were often located near the churches or temples. These places experienced concentration of population.\(^{301}\) Thus Antonio de Gouveia says that there were bazaars in Vaipicota (Vaipinkotta), Palla (Pala), Mangate (Alengad), Cranganore, Changanachere (Changanacherry), Cheguree (Chowara) Canhur (Kanjoor), Molendurte (Mulanthuruthy), Corlengate (Kuravilangad), Cotette (Kottayam), Coramallur (Kudamaloor), Baiquete (Vaikkom), Changanor (Chengannoor), Calucate (Kalloorkad), Podiagabo (Puthiyakavu), Poligunde (Pulinkunnu) etc.\(^{302}\) In these bazaars the necessities of life were sold.\(^{303}\)

Besides these, markets or centres of greater economic activities also existed in some important nodal points. Diogo Gonçalves says that there were four centres that belonged to this category. They were Angamale (Angamali), Carturte (Kadathuruthy), Diamper (Udayamperur) and Paraur (Parur).\(^{304}\) They were the capitals of the kingdoms of Angamali, Vadakkenkur, Udayamperur and Parur respectively. As centres of hectic political activities, they must have played a very significant role in the economic life, as well. Moreover these four towns were important as far the
ecclesiastical life of the St. Thomas Christians was concerned. Angamali was the seat of their bishop and in other three places St. Thomas Christians formed almost the majority of the population. They also became important inland trade centres. The inhabitants of these market towns varied between hundred and one thousand.305

There were feiras or fairs in connection with the important festivals of the churches and temples. Most of these fairs, which were conducted after the harvest of the pepper and other spices gave the people better exchange opportunity. The "moderneities of life" entered the hinterland through these fairs. Thus, there were fairs in Aragosha, Pruto, Rapolim, Maleatur, Athirampuzha, Palaya, Ettumanoor, Cranganore etc., in connection with important festivals. But Feira d'Alwa (the fair of Alwaye probably in connection with Sivarathri festival) occupied an important position among them.306

On the eastern side of the hinterland six centres viz., Zaruquly (Chalakudy)307 Codemangalao (Kothamangalam),308 Turubuli (Thodupuzh),309 Iratepely (Erattupetta), Canharapely (Kanjirappally) and Erimamoly (Erumely)310 developed the networks of mega-markets because of their trade connections with the Tamil country.311 These six centres from where began the ghat-routes that ran to Coromandel coast, are located almost 80 to 120 kilometers east of Cochin and were thus on the peripheral zone of Cochin's hinterland and were accessible for Tamil contacts. In reality the vitality of these inland markets depended on their relationship
with Tamilnad. The Tamil merchants took to these places metal utensils, opium, rice, oil seeds, groundnut and peas for exchange. But the most important items that came from "Pande" (from Pandyanad-a general expression to denote Tamil country) to these market centres were various types of clothes, rice and cereals. As the areas around these markets were lacking heavily in food-supplies, it seems that the rulers not only allowed but also encouraged the Tamil traders to come to these markets, which would ensure regular rice-supply in their kingdoms. They often sold rice and cloth in exchange for pepper, which was in high demand in the Coromandel coast. Thus, large amount of pepper from these markets were carried off to Tamilnad with the help of pack-oxen. The Tamil merchants often took pepper from the interior markets of the hinterland to different parts of Tamilnad, whose network ultimately extended to Coromandel ports, as a cargo for their return journey and this reduced greatly the transportation costs. As pepper and other spices were a return-cargo, these merchants could cheaply transport these items to the ports of Coromandel coast from where they were further taken to different destinations in Asia. Merchants from distant regions came to these markets for selling spices, arecanut etc., and buying rice, clothes and the "foreign" items brought from Tamil country. These bazaars with active processes of exchange and transactions occupied almost one mile distance, and eventually developed into mega-markets.

Erumely, Kanjirappally, Erattupetta, Thodupuzha, Kothamangalam and Chalakudy were interrelated by a network of roads. From Erumely, there was a road going to Kanjirappally via Koratty and crossing Chittar river. It
intersected at Chirakkadavu Areekkal near Kanjirappally and this was one of the ancient routes taken by the Ayyappa pilgrims to Sabarimala. The trade-route from Kanjirappally to Erattupetta ran through Nellimalapetta. However, the routes from these two places viz., Kanjirappally and Erattupetta ran in the direction to Tamil country via Pazhoomala. This route, which was later joined by the trade-route from Erumely, crossing Periate (Periyar) entered the Tamil border through the Kumaly pass. It was a very old and traditional route, through which the vellalas and the Ravuthar Muslims from Madurai reached Kanjirappally and Erattupetta by 14th century. There was a land-route running from Erattupetta to Thodupuzha via Edamaruku and Muttam. Thodupuzha, which was the capital of Kizhumalainad and later by 1600 that of Vadakkenkur, had hectic trade relations with Tamilnad. The usual trade-route from Thodupuzha to Tamilmnad ran through Muthalakodam, Cheenikuzhy and crossed Kerala border either through Cumbam pass or through Kumaly pass. The active Tamil contact with Thodupuzha is evident from the existence of Annamalai temple of Karikode, Thodupuzha (the seat of the kingdom), which was dedicated to Siva and built in Chola style of architecture. The presence of Vellalas and Tamil speaking Ravuthar Muslims still living in and around Thodupuzha, who entered this region through this traditional trade-route as early as fourteenth century, attests the connection of this portion of hinterland and its market with Tamilnad. From Karikode -Thodupuzha, there was a kottavazhi or a land-route running to Kothamangalam via Vazhakala (West Kodikulam), Kalloorkad (near Vazhakulam) and Ayavana. Kothamangalam had strong
trade relations with the regions of Thirunelvely and Dindigal in Tamilnad.\textsuperscript{323} The remnants of \textit{athanis} (stone structures) which the Tamil traders used to unburden their carriages are still seen in the vicinity of its markets. The Jacobite bishop who landed in the Coromandel coast in the seventeenth century, came via Pallivasal and using this trade-route to Kothamangalam, where he died and where his mortal remains are even now kept.\textsuperscript{324} It also seems that there was a land route between Kothamangalam and Chalakudy running through Thrikkariyoor, which was initially serving as a land-route to connect Kothamangalam with Muziris (Cranganore).\textsuperscript{325} From Chalakudy the commodities were taken to Tamilnad through Peringalkuthu.\textsuperscript{326}

Thus, from Erumely to Chalakudy one could trace some sort of continuous land-route along the ghats connecting the various markets. It seems that these routes which connected the different market centres were often used for distributive trade by the native peddlers and less by the Tamil merchants who conducted the bulk trade. As the trade touching different markets involved the journey through different kingdoms and petty principalities, where the payment of taxes consumed all the possible profits, it seems that it was quite usual that the Tamil traders used to bring commodities only up to the mega-markets and the local distribution was left to the native traders of the locality. But the trade of Erattupetta, Kanjirappally and Erumely seems to have been conducted as one unit and the same Tamil traders distributed commodities for these three mega-markets, since these places formed part of one and the same kingdom, viz., that of Thelikenkur. With regard to other places, the Tamil traders seem to have preferred to take
the hilly ghat-route to reach each of the other markets instead of going through the land routes which connected the markets, as such travels would be tantamount to losing profit by paying taxes to the various kings and *Naduvazhis*, who were ruling the territories lying between these markets. Moreover, as we have already seen, the Tamil merchant groups, who were visiting these markets, were coming from different but specialised regions of Tamilnad like Madurai, Thirunelvely or Dindigal. The traders from each of these regions seemed to have established some sort of monopolistic hold over one or more of these inland-markets, making its trade activities linked with the place of their origin and commercial operations. These commodities that were taken from the inland markets of Kerala to Madurai, Dindigal and Thirunelvely, were further distributed to interior India for domestic consumption and to the Coromandel coast for taking them to different destinations in Asia. This distribution was also undertaken often by the same merchant groups. But it was not unlikely that merchants from other places with better resources and networks actively participated in this trade to Coromandel coast.

However, these markets were not totally cut off from Cochin. As most of them were important political centres of the Vadakkenkur and Thekkenkur kings, to whom regular annuities were given by the Portugues (The king of Thekkenkur had a palace in Kanjirappally. It seems that of the two kings of Thekkenkur to whom the Portuguese used to give annuities, one was staying in Kanjirappally), the respective rulers had to see to it that pepper, ginger and other commodities reached Cochin regularly. At the same time, they
did not dare to close the ghat-routes which provided food-supplies in their kingdoms and which ensured regular source of income coming from the transactions in the markets, even though these routes were associated with the diversion of pepper to Coromandel coast. It is specially to be noted that in times of tensions in the hinterland, these inland markets served as feeding centres for the ghat-route that went to Coromandel coast via Madurai or Dindigal.

Thus, with the emergence of Cochin as a port in the middle of the fourteenth century, the political and economic life of Kerala experienced a new turn of events. The establishment of royal residence of the Perumpadappu kings in Cochin gave to the port security and safety, which were required for conducting trade attracted traders from China, Persia and Arabia. With this, attempts were also made to convert considerable portions of the interior land into the hinterland of Cochin. This process of carving out of the hinterland for Cochin adversely affected Calicut, which indispensably led to frequent clashes between the two. However, with the arrival of the Portuguese under Pedro Alvarez Cabral in 1500 and later with the establishment of the headquarters of the Portuguese Estado in Cochin in 1505, Cochin seems to have had a more advantageous position than Calicut, as the Portuguese tried to attach to Cochin more and more hinterlands by paying annuities and subsidies to the rulers of various inland territories. The fact that most of the pepper-cultivators were St. Thomas Christians also helped them to get the spice-growing regions integrated with Cochin, in the initial phase. Different land and riverine-routes which merged into the Vembanad
lake helped easy transportation of commodities from hinterland to the port of Cochin. Moreover, the economic activities of the peripheral zone of the hinterland was often linked with six satellite markets, which, while maintaining relations with Cochin, had trade relations with Tamilnad as far as Coromandel coast through the Tamil merchants. Though these markets served as the entrance for the ghat-route going to eastern coast via Madurai and Dindigal, they supplied food-materials and clothes for the entire hinterland lying in the eastern slope. Inspite of the susceptibility to the Tamil contacts, these satellite markets as a part of the hinterland were linked with Cochin, as well. In short, Cochin and its hinterlands, which were scattered over different kingdoms and principalities, though were politically and administratively different, formed one economic unit.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


4. *Ibid*: According to Innes, this era commemorates either the establishment of the first church on the island or the date when the island first became cultivable. C. A. Innes. *Madras District Gazetteers: Malabar*, Madras, 1951, p. 429. But these events are too significant to be commemorated by an era. As events with long-term significance are usually related to the commencement of an era, the geographical changes caused by the flood of 1341 must be the most probable event behind the Puthu Vaippu Era as well.

5. Nicolo Conti calls it Kocchi after the small river that flowed by that place. (Actually this is not a river; but a water-passage between the lagoons and the sea) R. H. Major (ed.). *India in the Fifteenth Century: A Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century Preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope: From Latin, Persian, Russian and Italian Sources*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 19; K. P. Padmanabha Menon argues that this Kocchazhi appeared about 1000 A.D. by an earlier flood in Periyar and it became broadened and deeper water-passage appeared with the great flood of 1341 A.D. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, "The Fort of Cochin", p. 60. There are also other hypotheses on the etymology of the word Cochin. One among them is that it is a corruption of the Sanskrit word "Go-sri" meaning prosperous with cows. The Aryan colonists of South India in their anxiety to give a Sanskrit colour to all Dravidian nomenclatures named the town Go-sri to mean that it was a place with prosperity of cow. S. S. Koder, *Glimpses of Old Cochin*, in *Fort Cochin Municipal Centenary Souvenir*, p. 43; C. Achyuta Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Keral Mahatmyam says that Cochin was originally known as Balapuri. According to the legend, this land instituted by Parasu Rama after the name of the daughter (Bala) of Vaisravana was known as the small land or the little land. The Malayalam word for small or little is Kochu: Hence it came to be called Cochin. Ramesan Thampuran, *Gosri Rajavamsavali: Geneology of Cochin Royal Family*, Cochin, 1989,
There are authors who say that the Permpadappu chief transferred his residence to Cochin to escape from the constant attacks of the Zamorin. See A. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History, Kottayam, 1967, p.173. But it seems to me that besides these political motives, there was a preponderant desire in him to take part in the gains that accrued from the emerging trade activities of the port.

Ibid. Perumpadappu Swarupam was the name of the royal family of Cochin. It is so-called after the village of the same name in Vanneri in Ponnanı Taluk of Malabar, which is said to have been the original seat of the family. C.Achyuta Menon, op cit, p.2. It was also called Madathumkal Swarupam. 

In Kerala, the kings prefered to have kingdoms with coastal outlets rather than mere land-locked kingdoms, as the former ensured regular revenue by way of trade. The situation was such that the kings, who had high political ambitions, centered their designs around a port.


The earliest account of Calicut is given by Ibn Batuta. Marco Polo who visited Malabar towards the end of the 13th century, though mentions the kingdom of Eli, speaks nothing of Calicut or its ruler. It seems that Calicut became a considerable force only by the beginning of the 14th century till 308 traders travel, p.292.

Nicolao Gomçallves. Livro que trata das cousas da India e do Japao, ed. by Andelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1957, p.45.


Inspite of this link with the Brahmin ruler of Edappilly the king of Cochin was never considered a Brahmin. It shows that the caste of Kulasekahara rulers, to which the Perumpadappu kings originally belonged by matrilineal system, continued even when the father was a Brahmin. But it also suggests that the Brahmin links, which this royal family had given added claims over temples. Cf. below.

Although the period of our study, as we shall see later, Edappilly stood against Cochin, providing base for the Zamorins operations against it.


The Ming ruler Yung Lo (1403-1424) took keen interest in maritime activities and despatched a big fleet under Grand Eunuch Cheng Ho (1405-14339 to overseas
countries with an ambassadorial role as well as with a plan to make foreign delegates and traders to come to China to submit tribute and to conduct supplementary trade. Roderich Ptak, "China and Portugal at Sea: The Early Ming Trading System and the Estado da India Compared", in *The Asian Seas 1500-1800 local Socites, European Expansion and the Portuguese*, *Revista de Cultura*, vol.I, Ano V, 1991, pp 23-24. In the initial stages, Calicut was the western terminal point of these official navigations, though with the fourth of Cheng Ho's voyages, Chinese ships also reached Ormuz and Aden and later expeditions to East Africa. The economic significance of these expeditions can be inferred from the fact of large number and size of Chinese Government vessels employed for this purpose. The first fleet was composed of 62 ships and carried 28000 men. K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, New Delhi, 1985, p.60.


28. Ma Huan, *Ying Yai Sheng lan* 12- "Kochih", p.451. *P'o-ho* is *bahr* or *bharam* which is equal to about 3cwts, C.Achyuta Menon, *op cit.*, p.45. The value of tael has undergone much variation over time. In 1666, the value of one *tael* was five shillings. Richard Carnac Temple(ed.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and


30. Duarte Barbosa, op cit, vol.II, p.95. This deprivation of the right to strike coins was a result of the Zamorin's interference in the family dissensions and the conquest of Cochin by the end of the fifteenth century.


33. "Letter from King Manuel to Ferdinand and Isabella", in William Brooks Greenlee(ed.&tr.), The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, Nendeln. 1967, p.49.

34. Fei Hsin, op.cit., p.452.


37. The idea of a major central port supported and reinforced by satellite ports and subordinate noda centres of exchange is adapted from Ashin Das Gupta's observation of one principal port strengthened by the activity of subordinate ports on the Gujarati coast. Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, Wiesbaden, 1979. Authors like Genevieve Bouchon and Denys Lombard find a similar situation on the Malabar coast. Genevieve Bouchon and Denys Lombard, "The Indian Ocean in the Fifteenth Century", in India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800, edited by Ashin Das Gupta and M.N.Pearson, Delhi, 1987, p.59: B.S.Boyle while studying East African sea ports. says that in the port complex. the individual ports are functionally inter-related and they form a hierarchy. He also says that the character and functions of ports within this hierarchy are subject to change over time as a result of the differential impact of factors influencing port growth. B.S.Boyle, "Indian Ocean Gateways: Some Maritime Perspectives on East African Sea Ports", a paper presented in the Second International Conference on Indian Studies held in Perth, Western Australia, 5-12 december, 1984, p.6. It seems that a similar port-complex with functional inter-relation and hierarchical structure and with the role of principal port changing over time existed on the Malabar coast.

38. The fact that Cranganore, Quilon and Calicut were the major ports which occupied pivotal position on the Malabar coast till the end of the fifteenth century in successive phases, is based on the early writings on this coast. For details see the unpublished M.Phil dissertation of M.C.Pius, "Urban Growth of Cochin in the

Ibid. pp.27-45 It is here worth noting that these three ports were the nucleus of political consolidation in the pre-Portuguese Malabar.

K.P Padmanabha Menon, Kochi Rajya Charitram, pp.15-16; Ramesan Thampuran, op cit., p.6.

Francis Day says that among the innumerable kings of Malabar, only the Perumpadappu ruler was considered as a kshatriya by birth. See for details Francis Day, The Land of the Perumals or Cochin. Its Past and its Present, New delhi, 1990, p 45. It was the Marumakkathayam law of succession that was operating here. For details see, C.Achyuta Menon, op cit., p.39.

C.Achyuta Menon, op cit., p.39.


As power over religious institutions was considered a great honour by kings as well as chiefs and played great role in state formation, there was frequent rivalry among them in acquiring temple powers. The rulers of Cochin, Calicut, Palghat and Kakkad acquired some power more or less well defined, over Tiruvilamala Devasam in the territory of Cochin. Cochin also had similar powers over the Tiruvalla and Haripad Devasams in Travancore. C.Achyuta Menon, op cit., p.50.


the Zamorin used to maintain good relationship with the Mutta tavazhi of the royal family. Very often the Zamorin tried to take advantage of the situation by installing his nominee from the Mutta tavazhi.


Tome Pires, op cit., p.80. It seems that this geographical unit mentioned by him was only the political territory ruled by the king in Cochin. The other branches of Cochin royal family used to control land territories other than the ones held in Cochin. These developments took place by the end of fifteenth century. C.Achyuta Menon, op cit., p.p.43.

Duarte Barbosa, op cit., vol.II, p.95.

K.V.Krishna Ayyar, The Zamorins of calicut, p.131. King Manuel in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella mentions that the harbour (of Cochin) is having much better
and much more extensive trade, *inse of almost all the merchandise which goes to Calicut, most of it is to be found in that land (of Cochin)*, and others go there first without going to Calicut (underlined by the author) "Letter from King Manuel to Ferdinand and Isabella" (29th July 1501) in William Brooks Greenlee (ed.), *The Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, p.49.


56. Edappally, as we have already see, claiming the land of Cochin always sided with the Zamorin in his war against Cochin.

57. After the withdrawal of the Chinese, the power and influence of the Arab traders were on the increase. William Logan, *Op cit.*, Vol. I, p.294 The Karimi Merchants who had controlled most of the network of the spice-route had to abandon the Red Sea, as they were disturbed by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and a good number of them settled down in Calicut. Genevieve Bouchon, "Calicut at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" in *The Asian seas* 1550-1800, p.42. Eliyahu Ashtor also says that many Karimi merchants left the countries under the control of Mamluk sultan and established themselves in India. Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly of Pre-colonialism"-, in the *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. III, Rome, 1974, p.27. These Karimi merchants had their bases in Yemen and Cairo. They constituted an organisation or corporation, an organised body of merchants closely knit together, a collective group of men who associated themselves for the pursuit of a common goal. trade in pepper and spices. Walter J Fischel, "The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt", in the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. vol. I, Leiden, 1958, p.165. Lotika Varadarajan says that this merchant group formed a very significant economic organisation in the Indian Ocean during this period with commercial houses being primarily family-owned and each generation bequeathing its experiences, assets and clientele to the succeeding one. Lotika Varadarajan, "Commodity Structure and Indian Participation in the trade of the Southern Seas, Circa Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries", in *The Indian Ocean Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics*, ed. by Satish Chandra, New Delhi, 1987, p.102. For details about the Arab traders who were a source of strength and financial support to the Zamorin, see Genevieve Bouchon, "Les Musulmans du Kerala β L‘Epoque de La Découverte Portugaise", in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, t. II, Paris, 1973, p.54; Henry E.J. Stanley (ed.), *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and His Viceroyalty from Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa*, New York, 1869, pp.154-156: 358-360.

58. Unlike other parts of India, Malayalis do not congregate in closely built villages; but live in houses in their own premises and farmland. The urban phenomena or the cluster of closely built houses was the result of the influence and example of non-Malayali Hindus, native Christians or Muhammedans. C. Achyuta Menon, *Op. cit.*, pp.3-4. These communities made their appearance in Kerala either
through trade or activities connected with trade.

59. The most important obligation on the foreigners was that they should not kill cows. Later, during the Portuguese phase tensions fomented because of killing of cows. Paduronga S.S. Piisurlencar, Assentos do Conselho do Estado, vol.II, Bastora/Goa, 1953, p.430. The existence of extra-territorial jurisdiction in Cochin was indirectly alluded by Philip Baldaeus, when he writes that "all the different nations live (in Cochin) in perfect liberty as to religion, each having its own temple and that they all live in peace "Philip Baldaeus, A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East Indies Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as also of the Isle of Ceylon, with all the Adjacent Kingdom, Principalities, Cities, Chief Harbours, Structure, Pagan Temples, Products and Living Creatures, London, 1672, p.632.

60. When the Portuguese came to India, the residence of the king of Cochin was in Calvethy. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, Kochi Rayja Charitram, p 129, Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India, tomo.I, Lisboa, 1858, p.209.

61. It seems that the characteristic features usually seen in the settlement pattern of pre-colonial port-town, as mentioned by Arasaratnam, was also applicable to Cochin. For details on this see, Sinappah Arasaratnam, "Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Port-towns", in Indu Banga(ed.), Ports and their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950, New Delhi, 1992, p.373.

64. Ibid.
66. For details about the settlement pattern of pre-colonial port-towns of Malabar, see Bouchon's study of Calicut. The same pattern seems to have existed in Cochin. According to Bouchon's analysis, the Zamorin's palace was bit away from the port area, while in Cochin the royal residence was very close to the port. Genevieve Bouchon, "Calicut at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century", in The Asian Seas 1300-1800, p.42.

69. This fact is testified with the help of field study and interviews with the local people.
70. Sinappah Arasaratnam, "Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Port-towns", p.373.
72. B. Greiff(ed.), Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494-1541, p.120. The writers vary in opinion with regard to the date of departure of Vasco da Gama. Roteiro says that on 8th July, saturday from Restello started the journey. Gernot Giertz, Vasco da Gama, die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Indien: Ein Augenzeugenbericht 1497-1499, Tübingen, 1980, p.35: Gaspar Correa gives March 25. Henry E.J. Stanley,
73. Gernot Giertz, *op cit.*, p.14. The flag-ship S. Gabriel and S. Raphael were each of about 120 tons. The Berrio was of 50 tons and was purchased from a rich merchant, Ayres Correa and it was under the command of Nicolau Coelho. The fourth vessel of the fleet was a store-ship of 200 tons which was later to be abandoned.Henry E.J.Stanley, *op cit.*, p.58.

74. In Calicut Vasco da Gama explained the purpose of his voyage in these words to the skeptic Arab trader from Tuns. Gernot Giertz, *op cit.*, p.79


77. The ignorance of the native language (Malayalam) was a great handicap for the Portuguese. The arab traders who read and translated the Portuguese letter gave a wrong interpretation of the same. This capacity as interpreters of Portuguese letter seems to have given the Arab traders an extra-opportunity to turn the decision-making machinery in their favour. For further details see, Gernot Giertz, *op cit.* pp.95-96.

78. The various spices brought by Vasco da Gama are mentioned in "King Manuel's letter to the King and queen of Castile, July 1499". They include cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg and pepper. For full text of the letter see the appendix of E.G.Ravenstein(ed.). *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497-1499*, 1898, p.113.


81. "The Anonymous Narrative" in WilliamBrooks Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, p.56. Though Cabral had the chief command of the fleet, the commercial activities were in the charge of Ayres Correa and the latter was given the power to negotiate commercial treaties.


Sanuto, *op cit*, vol IV, cols.66-67. It is estimated that out of the 13 ships of Cabral, ten were of 200 to 300 tons and the smallest one was of 100 tons. William Brooks Greenlee, *op cit*, pp.191-192; H.Lopes de Mendoça, *Estudos Sobre Navios Portuguezes nos Séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, 1892, pp.12-25

84. "The Anonymous Narrative" in William Brooks Greenlee, *op cit.*, p.83. Because of the Monsoon-factor, the prolongation of spice-loading would make their return-voyage to Portugal risky, if not impossible. That is why the Portuguese demanded for preferential treatment for loading their ships first. However, this new and unexpected demand for the spices in the market created by the Portuguese, the Muhammedans feared, would leave behind little commodity for the ships to Mecca. This must have been the logical background to the hectic intrigues and the consequent tragic incidents that took place in Calicut.


86. Marino Sanuto, *op cit*, vol.IV, cols 66-67. Letters sent by Bartolomeo Marchioni to Florence dated 27th June, 1501 in William Brooks Greenlee, *op cit.* p.147-148. The factor who was killed in this uprising was Ayres Correa.


88. Marino Sanuto, *op cit*. vol.IV, cols.66-67; Gaspar da Gama was a Jew from India whom Vasco da Gama had taken to Portugal and he was later Baptized: E.G.Ravenstein, *op cit.* p.179.


94. Henry E.J.Stanley, *op cit.* pp.277; 341; João de Barros, *Decada I*, liv.vi, cap.v; "Calcoen" in Gernot Giertz, *op cit.*, p.188 the Zamorin was ready to compensate for the outrage on Cabral's factory and he had punished 12 Muhammedans who were responsible for the entire event. the Zamorin promised to offer 20,000 *cruzados* as satisfaction. However, Vasco da Gama bombarded Calicut as the Zamorin did not


96. The king of Cochin was given special payment for making available spices from the hinterland. For details see below


102. Francisco de Albuquerque and Afonso de Albuquerque requested the king to grant a site close by the river for the construction of the fort. Initially there was some obstacle because of the opposition from the Muhammedan traders of the land. Later on getting the permission both of them divided the labour between them so that the fort might be quickly finished. Walter de Gray Birch, *The Commentaries.*, pp.6-7. For further details see the discussion on Manuel Fort in chapter III below.

103. Duarte Pacheco had only 150 Europeans and 300 native soldiers and a few detachments of Cochin Nairs sent by the king. C. Achyuta Menon, *op cit.*, pp.68-69; Bailey W.Diffie and George D.Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580 Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion*, Minneapolis, 1977. p.226; The king of Cochin created Duarte Pacheco a Dom.Gundert, *Kerala Pazhama*. Trivandrum, 1961, pp. 65-68. On the arrival of Pacheco in Portugal, D.Manuel ordered great procession in thanksgiving from Cathedral to St.Dominic’s church and he wrote to all christian princes about his bravery. But later he was imprisoned on charges which were afterwards proved to have been false. Although he was thereupon released, he ended his days in accute poverty. George H.T. Kimble(ed.), *Esmeraldo*. pp.xiii-xv.


106. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato(ed.), *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, Seguidas...*
As the Portuguese did not develop an organised spy-system in Malabar, they had to depend on the native network especially that maintained by the Nampoothiri Brahmins. The developments in Calicut and the designs of the Zamorin were immediately and secretly conveyed by them to the Cochin camp, on the basis of which the Cochinites altered their strategies. Even before the arrival of Cabral in Cochin, the king of Cochin had already known what he had done in Calicut through this spy-network. William Brooks Greenlee, op cit., p 86. In 1502, when Vasco da Gama was in Cochin, the spies informed the king of Cochin of the Zamorin's preparation of a big fleet to attack the Portuguese. Henry E.J. Stanley (ed), op cit., p.356. Even the Zamorin sent a Brahmin spy to find out the size of the Portuguese fleet Vasco da Gama, who heard about this through a pro-Portuguese spy, killed the Brahmin and mutilated the body and sent it back to Calicut. Ibid., pp.357-360. It was with the help of these spies that Duarte Pacheco came to know about the way and the course of the Zamorin's military advance. K.m. Panikkar, Malabar and the Portuguese, pp.60-61. The native spies, moreover, informed him of the designs of the Zamorin and the Muslim merchants to blockade supplies to Cochin. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da Índia, tom. I, pp.430-431. Castanhedda, Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia, liv. I, p.74.

Tens and thousands of Nairs fought and died for the Portuguese. The service of these Nairs were utilized for the capture of Goa, Malacca, Ormuz and other coastal belts as well as for the wars against all anti-Portuguese forces. On 6th August 1547, the Vadakkenkur king promised to send 2000 soldiers from St. Thomas Christian community for fighting for the Portuguese in Diu. ANTT, Cartas de D. João de Castro, Letter of Damião Vaz dated 6th August 1547, fol.93. The St. Thomas Christian soldiers were used for the military operations of the Portuguese in the island of Ceylon by the end of sixteenth century and the beginning of seventeenth century. HAG, Livro das Monções, No.8(1601-1602), Royal Letter sent to Aires de Saldanha, fol.106.

The Muhammadan merchants were kept as collaborators of the Portuguese trade till the end of the viceroyalty of Afonso de Albuquerque. After 1515 they were estranged and thrown into the network of corsairs. The details are furnished down below in chapter IV and V.


123. Luis de Albuquerque(ed.), *Cronico de Descobrimento*, p.25.

124. ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice Reis*, Doc.71.


126. Cf, Supra n.95.


128. Tomé Pires, *The Suma of Tomé Pires*, p.79


135. Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Documentos da India*, 51-VII-IRellacio de las Ciudades fortalezas de la India,y de los reys vezinos dellas, assi de pax como de guerra, 12 de Dezembro de 1596.

136. K.S.Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century", in *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues-New
Questions, New Delhi, 1985, p.3.


141. Antonio Bocarro, op cit., p.197


143. Ibid.

144. Antonio Bocarro, op cit. p 196.


146. ANTT, Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India, Doc.124. Carta do Mangate Caimal para El Rey de Portugal. The date and year of this letter are not mentioned.


156. Simão Botelho, op.cit., p.25.

157. Diogo Gonçalves, op.cit., p.6. In the Malayalam poem Kokasandesam, Edappally is described as a town and its ruler as a recipient of tributes from other kings. But it seems that this was not tribute but money and land which he received from other kings in his capacity as the official priest (santhikaran) of the temple of Thrikkakara. Elamkulam P.N.Kunjanppillai (ed.), Kokasandesam, Kottayam, 1952, pp.88-89.


165 Diogo Gonçalves, *op cit.* p.87.


170. There were two kings in this kingdom residing at two different places; probably one at Kottayam and the other at Kanjirapilly. Both of them together got 200 pardaos or 72000 reais. For detailed figures, see below n.195.


181. He used to receive 240 *pardaos* as annuity. *Ibid.* p.25. For further details see below.

182. He used to receive 140 *xerafins* as annuity. Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portugues,* vol.III, p.310. For details, see below.


185. The kings of Muthedathu and Iledathu were cousins and they belonged to *kshatriya* caste. They had fourteen thousand Nairs. *Ibid.*7.


192. Usually the *copa* also included the remuneration for the help which the king of Cochin used to render for the supply of pepper in Cochin. 640 *Cruzados* was equivalent to 256000 reis. Paduronga S.S.Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, p 217, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les Finances de l'état Portugais*, p.306.

193. The amount 200 *pardaus* was equivalent to 72000 reis which was given in 1554. Paduronga S.S.Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, p.218; Simão Botelho, *op cit.*, p.25.

194. The mother of Vadakkenkur referred to here was living at that time in Kadathuruthy. Even when the seat of the Vadakkenkur kingdom was transferred to Thodupuzha, the queen continued to receive the annuity for the help she rendered for the supply of pepper in Cochin.

195. The kingdoms of Vadakkenkur and Thodupuzha were combined into the kingdom of Vadakkenkur and Thodupuzha by 1600 with seat in Thodupuzha. From 1603 onwards, the ruler of this combined territory began to receive the annuity which the ruler of Vadakkenkur previously used to receive. Francisco da Costa, in Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol.III, pp.310; 312. But the mother of the king was in Kadathuruthy and her support and co-operation was ensured by giving regular annuity to her, as well.

196. It seems that these two kings of the Thekkenkur kingdom lived in two different places: probably one in Kottayam and the other in Kanjirappally.


204. BNL, *Reservados Cod.* 464, Vida do Ilustríssimo D. Francisco Garcia Arcebispo de Cranganore por Francisco Teixeira, 1659, fol. 7.


210. P. Radhakrishnan, *Peasant Struggles*, pp. 25; 28. The organisation of the state in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. was by guilds or corporate bodies, each, down to the lowest and the meanest, having its distinct function to perform in the body politic. The Perumal stood at the head. Below him, there were a number of chieftains of the nads including the well-known rajas of Venad (Travancore), Eralanad (Calicut),
Valluvanad and Nedumpuraiyur (Palghat). Each nad was a territorial organisation of the Nairs into Six Hundreds, who were Kanamkkar, the overseers or protectors of all within it. The chieftain was not an absolute ruler; on the contrary, he was only the head of the guild or the executive agent of the Six Hundreds' wishes and their representative in all public affairs. There were other corporate bodies subordinate to nads and enjoying greater or smaller self-government. *Ibid.*, pp.25-26.


214 One such case was that of Arakuzha, where the local ruler (Unnyathi) granted lot of cultivable land for the church of this community. Several grants which this community received from the local rulers were referred to by Father Bernard. *Bernard. The History of the St Thomas Christians*, Palai, 1916, pp.296-324.


217 For details, see Jan Kieniewicz, "Pepper Gardens and Market in Pre-colonial Malabar" pp.15-18


224 It is a very ancient place. Some say that Thrikkariyoor was the capital of the ancient Chera kingdom. Ruins and remnants of old buildings are still seen here. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Kochi Rajya Charitram*, p.50; Velayudhan Panikkasserry, *Sancharikalum Charitrakkaranmarun*, Kottayam, 1972, pp. 44-45.

225 It was called Codemangalāo in Jornada do Arcebispo. Antonio de Gouveia, *op.cit*. p.261.


227 See the map of James Horsebury, Hydrographer to the East India Company who has...
published it according to the Act of the Parliament on 1st May, 1829. A copy of this map is preserved in the Padroado Museum of Cochin.

228. See the map of Malabar in Paolino da San Bartolomeo, Viaggio alle Indie Orientalie, Roma, 1796.

229. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit, p 266.

230. The upper Cattur in opposition to Kizhcattur or lower Cattur. Nycolão Gomçallves, op cit. p 44.

231. Alwaye was the seat of Karta of Alwaye. See Antonio da Silva Rego, Documentação Ultramarina Portugesa, vol III, p 310.

232. For Varapuzha see the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo.

233. In Kokasandesam we read that Edappally is situated on the side of river Periyar. Elamkulam P.N Kunjanpillai(ed.), Kokasandesam, p.89.

234. For Tripunithara, see the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo. Varapuzha lake and Tripunithara lake are the extensions of the Vembanad lake.


236. Angelins or Anjili and teak were found in abundance in the Serra. Diogo Gonçalves, op cit. p.79. Toms or small boats were used for both travel and carrying merchandise through water. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp 99;105; 111;125.


239. Ibid. See also the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo.


241. Ibid., p.111.


243. Diogo Gonçalves, op cit, pp.4;87.


247. See the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo.Jongam and Nerani were the names given by Perron du Anquetil.They were situated in the kingdom of Vadakkenkur. Perron du Anquetil, in P.V. Mathew, Sugandhanadu, p.623.


249. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit. p.258. This agrarian settlement is very old. The inscriptions on the church ûbell say that it was made in 686 after the birth of Christ.For


See the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo; The list given by Perron du Anquetil, in P V Mathew, *Sugandhanadu*, p 623.


It is near Mutholapuram and Vadakara. Antonio de Gouveia, *op cit.*. p.261.

Ibid. p.258. It is situated near Piravom.


For Vechur see, Nycolão Gomçalves, *op cit.*. p.47; For Mutam see, Antonio de Gouveia, *op cit.*, p.223.


Ibid., p.263.

For the king of Punjar, see Antonio de Gouveia, *op cit.*, p.206.

Ibid., pp.203-209.

Periote is probably Vandiperiyar near Elappara and Kumily. It is located on the banks of the river Periyar and is also called Periyar, as a place name. Antonio de Gouveia says that it is situated twenty six leagues (26x4=104 kilometers) from Madure and that cloths from Tamilnad pass through this place. The Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities asked permission from the king of Punjar to erect a church here. Antonio de Gouveia, *op cit.*, p.208; See also the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo which gives dot-marks to show the trade-route from Punjar to Tamilnad.


The Muslim merchants mentioned here are the *Ravuthar* Muslims or the Tamil Muslims who came from Tamilnad. Edamaruku, *Sthalapuranangal*, Kottayam, 1972, p.191; It is said that the first Muslim to come and settle down in Erattupetta from Madurai was one Chandu Khan around 1375. See for details, Jacob Aerthail, *op. cit.*, p.95; In ancient days both the names of Aruvithara and Erattupetta were
interchangeably used. But Aruvithara is often now referred to the Christian settlement, while Erattuppetta is used for the Muslim area of inhabitation. For further discussions on this, see Thomas Arayatham, A Short History of Irupuzhai or Aruvithurai Church, Erattuppetta, 1953, pp.8-9.


268. These places were in the kingdom of Thekkenkur. Ibid., p.624. Pala was ruled by Gnamacata Caimal and was a unit of Tecancut (Thekkenkur) kingdom. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., p.261.

269. In Kottayam there were two churches. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp.193-194; See also BNL, Reservados Cod. No 464. Vida do Ilmº D Francisco Garcia, fol.41-42. Kottayam was the seat of the Thekkenkur kings. A Sreedhara menon, A Survey of Kerala History. p.193 During this period, as we have already see. two kings were ruling this kingdom: one was in Kottayam, while the other must have been in Kanjirappally.

270. These two places were located in the kingdom of Thekkenkur. Perron du Anquetil, in P.V. Mathew, Sugandhanadu, p.624.

271. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp.210-211. Athirampuzha was a famous trade and agrarian centre. See the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo.

272. Nycolão Gomçallves. op cit., p.11; Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp.121; 258-261. See also BNL, Reservados Cod.No.464. Vida do Ilustrissimo D Francisco Garcia, fol.42. Kaduthuruthy was called Sindhudeepam in Unnuneeli Sandesam which was written before the arrival of the Portuguese. It mentions that a road for charriots starting from Muttuchira and reaching Kaduthuruthy was built by Bimbali (Vadakkenkur) kings. Elamkulam Kunjanpillai, Unnuneeli Sandesam, Kottayam, 1989, pp.123-125.

273. see the list of places in Thekkenkur kingdom given by Perron du Anquetil, in P.V. Mathew, Sugandhanadu, p.624.


276. The land-route from Ettumanur to Kaduthuruthy passed through Kothanalloor. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Unnuneeli Sandesam, p.123.


278. These places were in the kingdom of Cochin as testified by Perron du Anquetil, in P.V. Mathew, Sugandhanadu, pp.619-620.

279. Ibid., p.619.

280. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp.139-143.

282. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., p.254

283. Thiruvalla is situated on the banks of the river Manimala. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai doubts whether the ancient name of this river had been Valla. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Unnuneeli Sandesam, p.115.


285. These two ancient centres of trade and agrarian activities were located in the Thakkenkur kingdom. Perron du Anquetil, in P.V. Mathew, Sugandhanadu. p.624. Niranam was called as Naranão by Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., p.251.


287. Ibid., p.250.

288. Ibid., pp.225; 249-250 There is a tradition that people from Kalloorkad (near Muvattupuzha) came and settled down in Champakulam and that they began to call this place as Kallorkad.


290. Ibid.

291. It was situated in the kingdom of Batimeni. Antonio de Gouveia, op cit., pp.248-249.

292. The water-routes often reduced the cost of transportation, which helped the supply of commodities in Cochin at cheaper price.

293. K.A. Vasukuttan, op cit., p.265.

294. Ibid.

295. The remnants of big ships were excavated from some place bordering on Vembanad lake. Recently, some remnants were unearthed from Kaduthuruthy.


298. Jan Kieniewicz" The Portuguese Factory and Trade in Pepper in Malabar during the 16th Century", in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, vol VI, No.1,
March 1969, pp.64;67.


300. The protection cost of the Portuguese included the annuities given to the native rulers and the money spent for the patrolling of coastal Kerala as well as for the guarding of the junctional points of rivers and lagoons.

301. This fact is testified by Antonio Bocarro, *op cit.*, p.196.


304. Diogo Gonçalves, *op cit.*, pp 92-93

305. Ibid., p 93.


308. Cf.Supra notes 224 and 225.


311. These six places are connected with Tamilnad by dot-marks in the map of Paolino da San Bartolomeo, suggesting the trade-route through which this trade was carried out.


315. Ibid., p.290. This information on land-routes connecting the various inland market is corroborated with field study.

316. Ibid., p.125.


320. This route runs along the ghat.

321. Muthalakodam was said to have been a halting centre for the traders going to Tamilnad.


323. The remnants of this *kottavazhi* are still seen from Thodupuzha upto Kallorkad-Ayavana. For the contacts of Koathamangalam with Tamilnad, see, A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers: Ernakulam*, p.851.
324. The mortal remains of this bishop are kept and revered in *Cheriappally* of Kothamangalam. James Panthackal, "Kothamangalam Puthiya Mugham Thedunnu" in *Deepika*. Kottayam, March 21, 1992, p. 7. The inscriptions kept in Kothamangalam *Valliappally* (built c. 800 A.D.) mention the agrarian nature of this area and its vicinity.

325. Some portion of this ancient land-route is still traceable.

326. See the map of the hinterland attached to this chapter.

327. Cf *Supra* n. 196.