CHAPTER IV

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND MALABAR SOCIETIES: 1500-1567

The contact between India and Portugal, which was opened through the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, was a unique event in the history of both Portugal and India. As far as the Portuguese were concerned it was the culmination of the efforts of their national endeavour, which had begun decades ago. It was the success of the journey in search of the 'Christians and the Spices'. As far as India was concerned it was the beginning of Vasco da Gama epoch in Indian history.¹ It was the beginning of a contact with a West European country on a permanent basis, which lasted for over one century and a half in Malabar. The scope of this chapter is to deal with the interaction between the Portuguese and Indian societies at various levels up to the convocation of the First Provincial Council of Goa, which had a lot of socio-cultural and ecclesial implications. Up to the First Provincial Council of Goa the Portuguese were following a rather persuasive policy in the socio-cultural realms. Through various stimulations, charitable activities, donations, encouragements and various types of economic relationships they were influencing the society directly or indirectly. But with the First Provincial Council of Goa, we can find a deliberate attempt on the part of the Portuguese to bring about changes in the society, culture and religion of India especially those of Malabar. From the First Provincial Council onwards there were attempts on the part of the Portuguese to introduce legislations for bringing about changes in the societal relationships.

During the period up to 1567 there were different kinds of relationships with various sections of the society depending on the response of various societies to the Portuguese activities. When interests of both interacting communities clashed there developed antagonistic tendencies. The relationships with every community varied geographically also depending upon the attitude of the ruler of each territory. As the

¹ K.M. Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance, London, 1974, pp. 21-29.
Portuguese reached Malabar for mercantile and religious motives, wherever different sections of the society went against these policies the relationship became bitter.

IV. 1. The Interaction between the Portuguese and the Hindus of Malabar

Though the Portuguese had a rather friendly relationship with the Hindus, to a great extent it depended up on the response of each caste to the needs of the Portuguese as well as on the mentality of the rulers who ruled over different castes in various kingdoms. The Portuguese had an aversion towards the religion of the Hindus. The Hindus used to say that there was only one God. But when they were questioned further they used to say that he was water, he was wind and so on. The Portuguese counted such ideas ridiculous and they tried to show the lack of rationale behind this belief. In spite of the severe criticisms raised against their religion, the people were not ready to give up their traditional faith. Therefore the Indians were depicted as 'people who were disinterested to learn anything new'.

Many a time the Portuguese did not respect the religious feelings of the Hindus. For example, the Hindus considered cow as a sacred animal. Therefore, respecting the religious feelings of the Hindus, even the other religious communities like St. Thomas Christians kept away from eating beef. But the Portuguese, without respecting the indigenous Hindu tradition, used to kill cows, which was always a matter of concern for the Malabar kings and the people.

The response of the higher varnas or jatis in the society was rather negative to the activities of the Portuguese because they had a high social status whereas the lower jatis when joined with the Portuguese had some upward mobility in the social structure. Therefore the upper varnas and jatis were reluctant to establish a cordial relationship with the Portuguese.

3 Letter of the King of Cochin written in 1510, in Reymundo Antônio Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de
relation with the Portuguese while the lower *jatis* were very eager to develop healthy relationships with the Portuguese.

IV. 1. 1. The Brahmins

The first interaction between the Brahmins and the Portuguese was in the temple of Calicut. The Brahmin priests welcomed the Portuguese to their temple and the Portuguese accepted the invitation thinking that it was a church. There they came into contact with the *Brahminical* way of prayers and sacrifices.\(^4\)

The Portuguese did not have much interaction with the *Brahmins* of Malabar. They were mainly working in royal courts and temples. Besides, due to their topmost position in the hierarchy of *varnas*, they were not to approach the Portuguese. They approached the kings without any difficulty. As they were not the producing class and the fighter class, the Portuguese were not very much interested in the Brahmins economically and militarily. However, they were interested in the Brahmins for conversion purposes. The Portuguese were well aware of the fact that the conversion of Brahmins to Christianity would accelerate conversions in Malabar. But conversions were very rare from the Brahmin *varna*.

The Portuguese missionaries used to engage in religious discourse with the Brahmins. In Calicut the Franciscan friars entered into disputes with the Brahmins and the missionaries used to win. One Brahmin who understood the futility of his religion received baptism and changed his name to Miguel de Santa Maria.\(^5\)

During the second visit of Vasco da Gama, a Brahmin from Malabar wanted to see the life of the Christians in Portugal. Therefore, he together with his son, nephew and servant went to Lisbon in a Portuguese ship. He later on became a Christian.\(^6\) This was a great change during that period because there was great stigma


\(5\) B. N. L. *Fundo Geral, Reservados Cod. N.º. 177*, fl. 38.

\(6\) João de Barros, *op. cit.*, Decada Primeira, Parte Segunda, p. 66.
for the Brahmins in connection with sea voyage. The crossing of the sea and eating in the sea were forbidden. This shows that due to the interaction with the Portuguese there were even attitudinal changes in Malabar even among the Brahmins, the apex varna in Malabar.

The Portuguese used to make use of the influence that the Brahmins had in the royal courts. For example in 1513 a Namibar of Calicut and two Brahmins of the king of Calicut helped to alleviate the discord that existed between the Zamorin and Albuquerque. As a reward for that Affonso de Albuquerque asked Gonçalo Mendes, the factor of Calicut to give an amount of 25 pardaos⁷ to these three.⁸

Even the Brahmins were employed by the Portuguese to convey messages from one place to another safely. The Portuguese knew well that if Brahmins were employed the safe passage would be easy and hence communication would be safe. We see a Malabar Brahmin carrying the message of a Portuguese in 1510.⁹

The Brahmins were never murdered in Malabar as they were respected very much by the society. This was an age-old custom of the land. That was why they were employed as messengers. But the Portuguese, though well aware of this fact at times did not see any harm in murdering a Brahmin. In the battle against the Zamorin, the Portuguese murdered the Brahmin who used to give betel leaves to the Zamorin.¹⁰ Besides, a Brahmin sent by the Zamorin to spy over Vasco da Gama was caught by the Portuguese and Gama humiliated him to the extent that his lips and ears were cut off and sewed a pair of dog’s ears to his head. Thus he sent him back to Zamorin.¹¹

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⁷ Pardão is a Portuguese coin equivalent to 320 Réis. See Afzal Ahmad, Os Portugueses na Ásia, Lisboa, 1997, p. 153.
The Brahmin women were said to be the most decent and honoured women in Malabar. The Portuguese even married Brahmin women. Margayda Vaz, was a Brahmin woman who married Domingos Gonçalluez and they were living in Cochin. Thus though very minimal, there were relationships between the Brahmins and the Portuguese at different levels of their socio-cultural life.

IV. 1. 2. The Nairs

We cannot generalise anything about the relationship between the nairs and the Portuguese. For, the allegiance of the nair was to his immediate lord who kept him. Therefore the reciprocal relationship between the nairs and the Portuguese depended on the relationship their immediate lord had towards the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were interested in nair jati because they were considered as noble people as well as warriors. As the success of the kings in Malabar was determined by the number of nairs each king had, the Portuguese were always happy to create ties with the nairs. We see the Portuguese fighting together with them, and employing many of them in their services in factories and fortresses. But the conversion of the nairs to Christianity was something very difficult. For surety, Cabral took two nairs to his ship. They were allowed to go one by one to eat in the land as the Portuguese respected the habits and traditions of the nairs regarding eating.

In the fortresses of the Portuguese, many nairs were appointed for a fixed salary. In 1525, in the fortress of Cannanore, there were 6 nairs who were at the service of the Portuguese earning an annual salary of 5250 reis. In the fortress of

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12 Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, ed., op. cit., p. 190.
13 B. N. F. Manuscritos Portugais I, fl. 288.
14 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Livro I e II, p. 90.
Cranganore and Cochin there were *jumgada nairs* who used to gain 9600 reis per year. One *Panikar* and four nairs were there in the fortress of Cochin. There were lot of nair writers who used to engage in the trade of pepper in the City of Cochin. They were in the service of the Portuguese and were paid 800 reis per month. Another nair was there to weigh the pepper in Cochin. They also entered the service of the Portuguese as arms men. This is an example for the change of occupation that happened among the nairs. Nairs, who were the fighting class in Malabar who used to engage the kings of Malabar, now engage in other occupations under the king of Portugal.

The nairs who were the soldiers of the native kings, by this period began to be employed in the service of the Portuguese as accountants, interpreters, and agents of the Portuguese. Also many of them changed to agriculture as commercialisation of agriculture led to profitable farming.

The Portuguese sought for the conversion of the nairs to Christianity as they were of noble *jati*. The Portuguese succeeded to a great extent in this effort. Many nairs as well as many honourable men like *Panikars* also received baptism. There were also cases of the conversion of nairs receiving Portuguese names at the time of their baptism. In Cochin there was a nair who after becoming a Christian changed his name to Diogo.
When the influence and power of the Portuguese increased by the second half of the sixteenth century, the number of nairs who got converted in Cochin increased. It might be because of the fact that their king was loyal to the Portuguese and the latter employed a lot of the former in their service. A Kuruppu, who was in the service of the king of Cochin also offered to be baptised, together with all the members of his family.22

Pedro Alvares Cabral took in his ship a nair of 18 years to Lisbon. When he was asked about it he declared that he was a nair by birth and then he was a noble of the king of Portugal. He was given education in Portugal to read and write. Later on he requested for baptism and he was baptised with Vasco da Gama and Pedro Alvares Cabral as godfathers and Bishop Calcedilha as the minister. He was given the name Dom Manuel and was made a fidalgo of the king of Portugal. From Portugal he used to communicate with the king of Cochin. He died in Évora in Portugal.23

The king of Cannanore wanted to establish friendship with the King of Portugal. Therefore he sent a nair to Portugal as his ambassador. He was well received by the king. On his return journey to India in 1502 along with Vasco da Gama he was given a lot of presents.24

On the part of the Portuguese there was an attempt in vain to convert the king of Cochin to Christianity. Affonso de Albuquerque presented this matter before the king through Duarte Barbosa, the translator. Though the king confessed that Christianity was the true religion he expressed his inability to get converted, as it would result in the suffering of the people whom he was entrusted with. But his uncle

Classe de sciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Lettras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sot Direccão de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo IV, Lisboa, MDCCCCX, pp. 216.
who had faith in Christianity, used to go to the Church and show reverence to the altar and the Cross.\textsuperscript{25}

The Portuguese men married nair women who were quite notorious for their sexual licentiousness. Maria Fernandez was a nair woman who became the wife of João Gomçalluez, a Portuguese.\textsuperscript{26} Thus the Portuguese had a lot of interaction with the nairs whom the Portuguese took to their service. Whereas the response of the nairs in the kingdoms where the Portuguese had much influence was positive, but of the nairs in the inimical kingdoms of the Portuguese was not so cordial.

\textbf{IV. 1.3. Chetties}

The Chetties were much-respected merchants from Coromandal Coast who dealt in inter-regional trade. They were not a threat to Portuguese trade. Therefore we do not see any inimical relationship between the Chetties and the Portuguese. But there were cases of the conversion of the Chetties. João da Cruz was a Chetti who was sent to Lisbon in 1513 when he was fifteen years of age, as an agent of the Zamorin to the court of King Manuel in Lisbon. He received baptism with the name João da Cruz and was conferred the title of nobility along with the robe of the Order of Christ in 1515.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{IV. 1.4. The Lower Caste People}

The Portuguese had a lot of relationships with the lower caste people. They were not concerned with keeping distance from them, as they were already downtrodden people. The fishermen and other people went to see the ship of Gama in

\textsuperscript{25} Carta of 1514 December 20, from Cochin pp. 367-369 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., \textit{Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de ciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Lettras da Academia Real das Sciences de Lisboa e Sob Direccão de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato}, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLI.XXIV, pp. 367, 368.

\textsuperscript{26} Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, ed., \textit{op. cit.}, Tomo VI, Lisboa, MDCCCCXV, p. 190.

Calicut and they sold things like fish, chicken, plantains, coconuts and so on for money or for a piece of biscuit.  

The fishermen were very eager to establish good relationship with the Portuguese. The Arel\(^9\) of Cochin wanted to be converted. But there was a problem as to the approach of the king towards the fisher flock after the conversion. The king of Cochin in his letter dated 1 December 1512, assured the king of Portugal that if the Arel and his kith and kin got converted to Christianity, he would continue to give them the same honour that they used to receive from him.\(^{30}\) The Arel was very powerful because all fishermen, navigators and boatmen were under his jurisdiction. Under such circumstance, because of the great influence he had on the coastal areas, Affonso de Albuquerque wanted all Arels of Calicut, Porca (Purakkad) and Calleculam (Kayamkulam) to get baptised.\(^{31}\) The Mukkuvas and other fishermen and the Mariners of Cochin who got converted to Christianity, came under the jurisdiction of the king of Portugal.\(^{32}\)

With the reception of baptism there were changes in their traditions. The Mukkuvas used to offer money in the temple. But after the conversion they began to offer money to St. Antony who they believed to be the giver of abundant fish. They also began to offer to St. Antony coconuts, candles and oil.\(^{33}\)

The Portuguese used to make use of the service of the lower caste people. For example, there is mention about 8 black Malabar people who used to work in the Portuguese ships for almost one month.\(^{34}\)

\(^{28}\) Fernão Lopes de Castenheda, op. cit., Livro I e II, edição, p. 58.
\(^{29}\) Arel is the chief of the fishermen or captain or pilot of the fort. At times he used to be a very mighty person. See Dalgado, Glossário Luso-Asiático, vol.1, Hamburg, 1982, p. 53.
\(^{30}\) A. N. T. T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte I, Maço 12, doc. 35, fl. 1v.
\(^{31}\) ibid., Parte I, Maço 16, doc. 49, fl. 1.
\(^{32}\) Carta LIII of 1514 October 20, pp. 269-270 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de ciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Scienças de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo I, Lisboa., MDCCCLXXXIV, p. 270.
\(^{33}\) A.N.T.T., Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India, N°. 48, fl. 1.
\(^{34}\) The letter of Affonso de Albuquerque dated on 19\(^{th}\) January 1510, in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de ciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Scienças de
The Portuguese employed a new tactics of war in Malabar. Generally, the warriors in Malabar were the nairs, the tiyyas, St. Thomas Christians and the Jews. The lower caste people were not traditionally employed in wars. But the Portuguese employed the poleas, the workers of paddy fields, as warriors in Cochin in the battle against the combined forces of the Zamorin in 1504. The nairs could not touch a polea. Therefore when the nairs accidentally met poleas in the battlefield, they were perplexed and it resulted in the utter collapse of the nair warriors. Thus there was a change in the traditional occupations of the people of Malabar because of the interaction with the Portuguese. With this victory the king of Cochin gave poleas more liberty. He allowed them to carry arms taken from the nairs and also to be vested in cloths, which were forbidden for the poleas according to the law of the land. Before this incident, they were allowed to cover their private parts with some roots or some herbs. With this permission to carry arms, the poleas were considered as honoured people because they were now in a better position than many others who did not have the right to bear arms. It is said that the king of Cochin got an upper hand in Malabar with this battle. This was actually a great change that happened in the society because the poleas were despised people who did not have the basic rights of human beings. Now they entered the battlefield, which was generally reserved for the high caste people and were also given permission to clothe and carry arms.

A lot of Iravas (Tiyas) in and around Cochin came under the influence of the Portuguese missionaries by 1518. As is testified by Pe. Sebastião Pires, the Vicar of Cochin on 8 January 1518, majority of them had become Christians. It was because of the fact that the relationship with the Portuguese helped them to ascend the social ladder. Thus the relationship between the Portuguese and the lower caste people were very cordial when compared to the high caste people. It was because of the fact that the relation with the Portuguese helped them to ascend the social ladder in their position and the lower jatis in their turn were very loyal to the Portuguese.

Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCCXCIII, p. 67.


A. N. T. T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte I, Maço 23, doc. 5, fl. 2.
IV. 2. The Interaction between the Portuguese and the Christians

The Portuguese had incorporated missionary activity together with the commercial endeavour perhaps to get the support of the Pope.\textsuperscript{37} When the Portuguese reached Calicut they were under the impression that the whole Malabar was Christian.\textsuperscript{38} Therefore they took a Hindu temple for a Christians Church, took a statue of the temple for Our Lady’s statue and Hindu Priests for Christian priests and so on. Thinking that it was a Church, they prayed there in the Hindu temple. Later on they found that it was not a Church.\textsuperscript{39} Because of their misreading they took even the Zamorin for a Christian king.\textsuperscript{40} The king of Portugal, Dom Manuel in his letter to the Zamorin sent through Pedro Alvares Cabral after the discovery of India by Vasco da Gama, addressed the Zamorin as a Christian king.\textsuperscript{41}

In the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral special arrangements were made for the Missionaries. They were taken to India with three intentions-preaching of gospel in India, reforming the already existing Christians in India and assisting the Portuguese in India. The former two intentions were for new conversions and the reformation of the St. Thomas Christians.\textsuperscript{42}

Because of the efforts of the Portuguese, the Christians both new and old got a lot of benefits. The letter of the king of Cochin to the king of Portugal described the contract made between Vasco da Gama and the king of Cochin according to which the Christians whether new or old, if committed a crime or wrong, would be entrusted to the captain of the fortress whereas when a Muslim or a Hindu committed some

\textsuperscript{37} K. S. Mathew, \textit{Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany}, New Delhi, 1997, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{39} Frei Paulo da Trinidad, \textit{op. cit.}, Part II, pp. 296, 97. See also E. G. Ravenstein, ed. & Trans., \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 652-655.
\textsuperscript{40} E. G. Ravenstein, ed. & Trans., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{42} Fernão Lopes de Castenheda, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro I e II, p. 71.
crimes they should be entrusted to the king of Cochin. But the relationships of the Portuguese with the Christians both new and old varied.

IV. 2. 1. The St. Thomas Christians

There is no reference in Portuguese documents to the meeting of any St. Thomas Christian in Calicut during the first Voyage of Vasco da Gama. Actually they did not meet Christians there for it seems to be a port avoided by the St. Thomas Christian merchants due to some religious conflicts or so. But still the Portuguese retained a wrong notion that there were a lot of Christians in the City of Calicut. In the letter of the Portuguese king Dom Manuel to the Cardinal Protector written in 1499, after the discovery of India, it was written that there were a lot of Christians in the City of Calicut and that these Christians were heretics. This was a wrong assertion, for there was no mention of any interaction between the Portuguese and St. Thomas Christians at any stage of their first voyage. It was only during the voyage of Cabral that they confirmed that those whom they met in Calicut were not Christians. Still the Portuguese took the hasty conclusion that they met St. Thomas Christians in Calicut and that they were heretics. Not only did the Portuguese give such a wrong concept but also communicated and perpetuated this idea all throughout Europe. But during the arrival of Pedro Alvares Cabral, they met St. Thomas Christians. The St. Thomas Christians in their turn were very happy to find their co-religionists in India. A few Christians even went with the Portuguese to Lisbon. Two priests from Cranganore, Mathias and Joseph the Indian went to Lisbon in the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral.

The Hindus and Muslims sometimes persecuted St. Thomas Christians probably on account of religious and commercial rivalries. It is not clear if this persecution began after the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar, due to the common religion of the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians. Any way the St. Thomas

44 A.N.T.T., Coleção de S. Vicente, Livro 14, fl. 1v.
Christians had a feeling of insecurity. Under such a condition the St. Thomas Christians approached Vasco da Gama, the famous Portuguese Admiral in the name of Jesus, to get protection for them against the infidels. As a token of their readiness to enter into relationship with the Portuguese, they entrusted him the ‘staff of Justice’, which they had. It was a red staff like a sceptre adorned at two points with silver. Gama was very pleased with it. The Portuguese were determined to protect the Christians of St. Thomas. In 1505, Francisco da Almeida took such a decision to protect the St. Thomas Christians.

The St. Thomas Christians were very happy to find their co-religionists engaging in trade. They were mainly the cultivators of pepper, which was the prime commodity of Portuguese commerce. They lived mainly in the hinterlands of Malabar. Usually the chief economic activity in the hinterland was agriculture. The hilly areas of Malabar were apt for the cultivation of pepper. Therefore, the Portuguese came into contact with them directly so that pepper could be obtained directly from its source avoiding the Muslim intermediaries. There were a few St. Thomas Christian merchants who engaged in pepper trade too. They helped the Portuguese in the trade of pepper. One Mathias of Quaequillom (Kayamkulam), a St. Thomas Christian merchant used to help the Portuguese in this endeavour. He was a great merchant. He himself supplied two ships of pepper for the Portuguese. He supplied it as a representative of the Christians. At the end of the letter sent by Mathias to the king of Portugal he added that all the Christians of Malabar kissed the hands of the king of Portugal. Usually the kissing of the hands was a means of expressing the sentiments of reverence, which the St. Thomas Christians used to do to their prelates. Thus kissing the hands of the king of Portugal was an expression of the reverence the St. Thomas Christians had for the Portuguese king who was a Christian.

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

They had a very cordial relationship with the Portuguese right from the beginning. They intermingled with them and helped them in their pepper trade.\(^5\)

Though a few St. Thomas Christian merchants were in very good terms with the Portuguese, most of the St. Thomas Christians were ignorant of the activities of the Portuguese in Cochin. Instigated and misguided by the Muslim merchants who were the intermediaries in pepper trade, the St. Thomas Christians had believed that the Portuguese would cheat in trade and that they would make those who approached them, slaves and would take them to Portugal. Therefore instead of bringing the pepper to the Portuguese factories, they sold it to the Muslim merchants. Against such a backdrop, Mar Jacob, the bishop of the St. Thomas Christians encouraged the St. Thomas Christians to visit the fortress, converse with the Portuguese, and sell the pepper to the Portuguese.\(^5\) This affected the relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and the Muslim merchants who pocketed a lot of profit in the pepper trade. Therefore the Muslim merchants robbed and killed many St. Thomas Christians and burned many of their Churches and houses.\(^5\)

St. Thomas Christians were very good warriors.\(^5\) It was recorded that among them there were almost 25000 men of war in the first half of the sixteenth century.\(^5\)

So the Portuguese were very eager to have good relationship with the St. Thomas Christians for their material gains. They used to live in abundance in Cranganore as well as Mangatte. It is said that as there were a lot of St. Thomas Christians in Mangatte, the king of Mangatte was a very close friend of the Portuguese. Because of this reason, the Portuguese could move through the kingdom of Mangatte more freely than they walked in Lisbon.\(^5\)

\(^{50}\) The letter is dated 18th December 1504 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidan Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direccão de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCCXCVIII, p. 268.

\(^{51}\) A. N. T. T., Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India, N°. 99, fols. 1-1v.

\(^{52}\) ibid., fols. 1v.

\(^{53}\) B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais I, f. 295v.

\(^{54}\) A. N.T.T., Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India, N°. 99, fl. 1v.

\(^{55}\) B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais I, fols. 296-297.
But from the very beginning of the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar, somehow, the Portuguese got the idea that the St. Thomas Christians were Nestorians may be because, their prelates were from the Middle East which was the seat of Nestorianism. But Francis Xavier, the most zealous missionary of the Company of Jesus had noticed in one of his incomplete letters of 1548 that he met the Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians and that he was a saintly man who worked for the well-being of his flock.

It became the “burden” of the Portuguese to make the St. Thomas Christians “true Christians” liberating from the heresy of Nestor and bring them under the Catholic Church and Pope. With this view, the missionaries started preaching and mingling with the St. Thomas Christians. But it did not produce the fruits which they expected as the St. Thomas Christians were adamant to their old faith and traditions. Therefore the Portuguese introduced another technique to transform them. It was to give education in Roman Catholic faith to the candidates to priesthood. With this view Frei. Vicente de Lagos started a college for the Children of St. Thomas Christians in Cranganore in 1541. The Portuguese King gave financial help in this endeavour. The formation of candidates to priesthood produced some positive results in favour of the Portuguese. For example, instead of the host for the Holy Mass that was made in the indigenous manner, the Portuguese host began to be used in the Holy Eucharist. The sacraments of confession and extreme unction were introduced.

56 It was a heresy that existed in the Church. It was rather a theological controversy between the East and the west.
59 According to Frei. Paulo da Trinidad, it was in the year 1540. But other documents state it to be 1541. See also Thekedath Joseph, History of Christianity in India, vol. II, Bangalore, 1982, p. 34. See Letter of the king of Portugal to Martim Affonso de Castro, Doc. No. 24, dated 17 January 1607 in Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXX, p. 83.
60 Frei Paulo da Trinidad, op. cit., Part II, pp. 331, 332.
The images of Jesus, Mary and saints began to be used in their churches whereas there was only one St. Thomas Cross in their ancient Churches.\(^{61}\)

The college started by Fr. Vicente was the main means of latinisation during this period. The objective behind this was to form a clergy among the St. Thomas Christians who would be supporters of the Portuguese. The Portuguese, to a great extent, succeeded in this effort. By the year 1562, the Bishop of Cochin ordained 14 candidates of this college at Cranganore. They were made parish priests in different parts of his diocese.\(^{62}\)

But the St. Thomas Christians were not ready to accept these new priests; they were not ready to move from their old way of life. The main reason for this the Portuguese found was the coming of the schismatic Bishops from Babylonia. Therefore they decided to bring the prelates of the St. Thomas Christians under the obedience of Rome. The Bishop of St. Thomas Christians, Mar Jacob, who reached Malabar in 1503 along with two other bishops, chose Cranganore as his residence. But Mar Jacob was the last to reside in Cranganore. He had very good relationship with the Portuguese missionaries. He and his companions celebrated Holy Mass in Cannanore on *Puthunjayar*\(^{63}\) after the Holy Mass of the Portuguese. Mar Jacob testified that the Portuguese liked that Mass very much.\(^{64}\) But the Portuguese were not very happy with the way he administered sacraments like baptism. That is why the king asked Mar Jacob to entrust some Portuguese priests the baptism of the St. Thomas Christians to which Mar Jacob did not react positively. He said that the way he baptised was according to the biblical tradition, that the way of the administration of the same was different due to the difference of the law of Peter and law of Thomas and that the change in the customs of the St. Thomas Christians would create troubles in the community itself.\(^{65}\) In 1530, he brought some boys from the interior areas of Malabar and entrusted the Franciscans to impart them education. He lived along with the Franciscans in Cochin during his last days. He died in Cochin in 1550. Francis


\(^{63}\) *First Sunday after the resurrection of Jesus.*

Xavier had attested him to be a saintly man. The closeness with the Portuguese missionaries made some changes in his mentality. It was he who introduced oral confession in Malabar among the St. Thomas Christians. Another bishop—Mar Thoma who was here, was in charge of the St. Thomas Christians of the southern part of Malabar and he had his seat in Quilon.

The next attempt was to bring Mar Joseph under the Roman Church. Accordingly Mar Joseph (1556–1569), the prelate of the St. Thomas Christians was sent to Rome and he came back as catholic. But when he reached Malabar, he began to act contrary to the promises he made in Rome and began to propagate the same faith he had professed. Therefore again the Viceroy sent him to Portugal where he met the Queen Dona Catarina and Infanta Dona Maria who sent him to the Inquisitor General Infante Cardinal Dom Henriques to whom he promised obedience and willingness to clean the Malabar Church from errors. Therefore he was sent back again to Malabar. In the absence of Mar Joseph, another Bishop, Mar Abraham, whose episcopate was from 1568 to 1597 had reached Malabar again from Babylonia. When Mar Joseph Reached Malabar, there was a schism in the church between the supporters of Mar Joseph and those of Mar Abraham. Mar Abraham was caught by the Portuguese, with the help of the King of Cochin, and he was sent to Rome where he was given from the first Order till priesthood, as they found that the priesthood of Mar Abraham was not valid. Then according to a letter from the Pope, the Patriarch of Venice ordained him a Bishop. On his return to Malabar he was detained in Goa in the Monastery of the Dominicans from where he managed to escape on a Good Friday. The St. Thomas Christians received him with great happiness. But as the Portuguese were determined to catch hold of him, he stayed in the interior areas of Malabar away from the kingdom of Cochin where the Portuguese had great influence. Though in his letters to the Portuguese he was a catholic, he had

been professing his old faith. Thus the Portuguese efforts to bring the prelates of the St. Thomas Christians under the obedience of Rome did not find success.

At times, the Portuguese using the influence they had with the king of Cochin, called the prelates of St. Thomas Christians and compelled them to obey the Catholic prelates and accept the sacraments of the Catholic Church.

The Jesuit mission in Malabar was a turning point in the history of the St. Thomas Christians. The Jesuits were very keen to latinise the St. Thomas Christians. The Jesuits used to call the St. Thomas Christians in and around Cochin to indoctrinate them. In the college of the Jesuits, Christian doctrines were imparted twice a day. On Sundays and Feast days these missionaries used to go to different parts of Cochin with this intention.

The ground for the discord between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese was not something related to faith but it was something related to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese. About the faith of the St. Thomas Christians, Frei Paulo da Trinidade, a Franciscan friar from Portugal wrote:

"These Christians always used to keep the faith in Holy Trinity which is the foundation of all Christian Faith, adore Our Lord Jesus Christ and venerate His Holy cross in a special way. They called themselves Christians and used to receive the sacrament of Baptism and Eucharist. What is to be marvelled at is that, in spite of living among so much infidels, feasts of the gentile temples, persecution from the gentile kings in whose land they live and the poverty and misery of some of them, they never left their faith and became an infidel, Muslim or Jew."

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59 A. N. T. T., *Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India*, Nº. 55, fls. 1-1v.
61 Frei Paulo da Trinidade, *op. cit.*, Part II, Lisboa, MCMLXIV, p. 356. This statement is an answer to the assertion of some authors like Fr. John Pallath who held that the St. Thomas Christians were not so pious and that it was the Portuguese who led them through the ways of piety. Fr. John Pallath O. C. D., *Portugul Yugathile Kraitshava Sabha*, Kalamassery, 1998, p. 16.
So their only suspicion was that their prelates came from the Middle east which was quite confusing them. According to the Portuguese, Middle East, especially Babylonia was the seat of Nestorian heresy. Secondly the St. Thomas Christians did not commemorate Pope in their Divine Liturgy. It was on account of the fact that the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians was different. They were following the law of Thomas. Besides, the establishment of relationship with Rome was not possible because of the political disturbances in the Middle East after the rise of Islam. For the St. Thomas Christians, the law of Thomas had nothing to do with the Law of Peter. That is why they resisted the Portuguese attempts.

In spite of the precautions received by the Portuguese to control the entry of the Bishops from the Middle East to Malabar, many used to come and they used to remain in the interior areas where the Portuguese did not have much influence. Thus we see Mar Simon’s arrival in Malabar. In a letter written on 13 January 1558 by Fr. Franciscus Perez mention was made about this bishop who remained there in the hinterland of Malabar where St. Thomas Christians were in abundance. He stated that already there were many supporters for this Bishop who gave their children to this Bishop to be ordained priests. At the same time he mentioned that there was another group of St. Thomas Christians who did not consider him a Bishop. This shows that by that time the Jesuits were able to create at least some supporters for them who would remain loyal to them and object to the Bishops from the Middle East.

Though the Portuguese continued their efforts to bring the Bishops of the St. Thomas Christians under the obedience to Rome, and sent two of them to Rome with the same view, it did not produce fruits as they expected. Once they returned to Malabar after the confession of catholic faith, they began to administer sacraments and sacramentals in the same way they used to do. But the Portuguese missionaries continued their efforts to make the ceremonies and administration of sacraments in

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the same way as the Portuguese used to do. A few priests reconciled with the Portuguese missionaries.\textsuperscript{73}

There was no regular source of income for the maintenance of the Malabar Bishops. Therefore they used to get money from the people for the administration of sacraments, which according to the precepts of the Roman Church was simony. It was said that there were a lot of people in Malabar who were born as Christians but died without receiving baptism, as they did not have money to give to the ministers of baptism.\textsuperscript{74} The Portuguese king, under such a circumstance decided to help the Bishops of St. Thomas Christians. The king informed Mar Jacob that he would pay him an amount of 20000 \textit{reis} every year. Thus the Portuguese took initial measures for the protection of the clergy of the St. Thomas Christians.\textsuperscript{75}

The St. Thomas Christians did not have faith in the Portuguese priests. The Portuguese complained that it was because of the Nestorian priests of Malabar.\textsuperscript{76} Actually the St. Thomas Christians might have thought that close relationship with the Portuguese missionaries would endanger the identity of their Church.

The St. Thomas Christians, moved by their fellow religionists, supplied their merchandise to the Portuguese. Christian merchants supplied their pepper and spices to the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{77} The Portuguese on their turn used to help the St. Thomas Christians. In 1510 Affonso de Albuquerque entrusted to the two Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians in Cranganore one thousand \textit{fanams} for the restoration of their church.\textsuperscript{78} The king of Portugal supplied them with Latin vestments and Church objects like chalice, bell, images, altarpieces and other things necessary for divine


\textsuperscript{74} A. N.T.T., \textit{Corpo Cronoligico}, Parte I, Maço 24, Doc. 3, fl. 3.


\textsuperscript{77} Frei Paulo da Trinidad, \textit{op. cit.}, Part II, pp. 333.

The St. Thomas Christians used to adore only the cross because they had only a cross in their churches. But by the second half of the sixteenth century we find that in one or two places where they had more interaction with the Portuguese, there were other images in the churches.  

Because of the relationship with the Portuguese, the Muslims of Calicut destroyed one of the Churches of the St. Thomas Christians in Quilon, named after St. Thomas the Apostle. The Muslims destroyed the Church to avenge the Portuguese. This means the Muslims were aware of the fact that the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar were co-religionists and therefore to avenge the Portuguese an attack on the St. Thomas Christian Church would be enough. This shows that the traditional balance that had been maintained in Malabar had been destroyed then.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were able to create at least a very little interest among the Cassanars of St. Thomas Christians for the learning of Latin. A few unmarried Cassanars from Malabar went to Cochin to learn a little Latin so that they could pray, celebrate Mass and administer sacraments in Latin.

At the same time the prelates of the St. Thomas Christians preferred to stay in the interior areas of Malabar for fear of the Portuguese. For example, some of the prelates who reached Malabar remained in Angamaly where the Portuguese did not have any hold. The St. Thomas Christians used to live there in very friendly relations with the ruler of Angamaly. Therefore the Portuguese could not catch hold of their prelates. Under such circumstances the Portuguese decided to enter into friendly
relations with the Caimal of Angamaly and gave him a lot of presents. Then onwards the ruler of Angamaly began to support the Portuguese.83

Thus the relationship between the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians was rather complicated. Though they belonged to the same religion, their way of life was quite distinct. The Portuguese wanted to change the life style of the St. Thomas Christians in accordance with the norms marked by them.

IV. 2. 2. Quilon Christians

We do not find much resistance to the Portuguese on the part of the St. Thomas Christians in Quilon. It shows that the St. Thomas Christians in Quilon were already familiar with the Latin traditions84 may be because of the western missions of earlier centuries. One of the silver crosses that was there in the Church of our Lady of Mercy belonging to the Quilon Christians was presented to the king of Portugal. The king of Portugal in his turn sent a lot of vestments required for the church. Albuquerque left Fr. Rodrigo, a Dominican priest to instruct them in faith. He did a lot of missionary works. He even baptised a lot who were 30 or 40 years of age, who did not have the memory as to if they were baptised or not.85

In Quilon there was a college of the Portuguese where many children of the Malabar Christians studied. One Fr. Dom Gonçalo did a lot of things among these Christians and also among the Christians of the Portuguese descent.86 Thus the Portuguese had rather close relationship with the Christians of Quilon.

IV. 2. 3. The New Converts

As missionary activity was not there in the original plan of the Portuguese voyage to India, there were no missionaries together with Gama during his first voyage. In the roll-book of the ship the names of two priests, who perhaps might have been incorporated into this voyage to serve as chaplains in the ship, are recorded. The second fleet that reached Malabar under Pedro Alvares Cabral consisted of 1300 men and 8 Franciscan friars who were the first Portuguese missionaries to reach Malabar. These missionaries were taken in the fleet to help the Portuguese soldiers as chaplains and also for the missionary activity in India. The Portuguese, as soon as they reached Calicut under Cabral raised a Portuguese flag and arranged altar for the Holy Mass in the house given by the Zamorin for the Portuguese to stay. The two favours that Cabral requested the Zamorin were the permission for free trade and propagation of Christian faith. The Zamorin granted permission for the same. The Moors were against that. First missionary preaching was done through the interpreters and the idea they preached was the uniqueness of Christianity and the need for conversion. A few of them got converted and one Yogi received the name Miguel after baptism.

This Miguel followed the Portuguese to Cochin where they reached in 1500. The four friars who stayed in Cochin for assisting the Portuguese in their spiritual needs also engaged in the preaching gospel in Cochin with the help of Miguel, who was originally from Calicut. The king of Cochin, though did not object to it, never received baptism.

The Portuguese were never concerned with the caste or jati distinctions. They associated freely with all classes of people. For example among the converts in Quilon, there were many from the blacksmiths, carpenters, and naikas. At the same

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87 See the “Muster-Roll of Vasco da Gama’s Fleet” in E. G. Ravenstein, ed. & Trans., op. cit., p. 177.
88 B. N. F., Manuscrits Portugais I, fol. 1v. See also João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Primeira, Parte Primeira, pp. 384, 385.
89 Frei Paulo da Trindade, op. cit., Part II, pp. 293, 294.
90 ibid., p. 368.
time the Portuguese were happy with the conversion of the higher caste of people as they thought that it would accelerate the pace of conversions in Malabar. Therefore they immediately reported in their documents details about the conversions of the higher varnas and jatis. For example the willingness of the conversion of a teacher of the prince who was to succeed the throne was expressed in the same document.  

In the beginning the people were not much interested in conversion to Christianity. But later on, the various needs arising from their social life compelled the people to conversion. In Quilon only a few people were interested to be converted to Christianity. These few were actually those who lived in sheer poverty. Four areis in Quilon came asking for baptism in 1561 and they claimed that they had 4000 souls with them to be converted.  

The arrival of the zealous Jesuits in Malabar added a new nuance to the Portuguese missionary activity in Malabar. In Cape Comorin there was Travancore Mission, the Jesuits converted a lot of indigenous people to Christianity. Many of them were from the Parava community. By 1554, the number of Christians newly baptized in Cape Comorin was around 125 000. If the Jesuits converted such a large number to Christianity within a short span of missionary activities, it points to their tremendous efforts. But the Portuguese also had the responsibility of protecting these newly converted Christians from the attack of the Muslims and others and from the exploitation of some Portuguese. The Jesuits reached Malabar only in 1542. The first group of Jesuits who reached Malabar consisted of only four. To say that by then there were 125000 Christians in Cape Comorin itself shows that these Christians were not properly instructed in faith. But rather they were baptized exploiting the social

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94 Arei was the governor of the seacoasts who had large authorities.
96 Refer to "Lista das Pessoas da companhia que se mandarão a India dos annos de 1541 ate o ano de 1556 inclusu e das Cartas que ate este tempo se receberão" f. 11 in B. A., Códice 4949-49 Jesuitas na Asia, fl. 11. See also "Journal des Voyages des Portugais 1497-1632" in B. N. F., Manuscrits Portugais 46, fl. 43.
necessity, which arose from the conflict between the Moors and the \textit{Paravas}.\textsuperscript{97} In Cochin even \textit{Panikars} and honourable men were converted to Christianity.\textsuperscript{98}

Many Hindu women came for conversion. Due to the continuous wars in India only very few Portuguese women travelled to India. There would rarely be more than a dozen women in a ship that contained almost six hundred to eight hundred men.\textsuperscript{99} Under such circumstances, the Portuguese men used to mingle with Malabar women freely. During the Viceroyalty of Almeida, it was found that many Portuguese men entered on friendly relations with native Hindu and Muslim women. Mothers used to go to the Portuguese with their virgin daughters with a view to earning money. Against such a backdrop the Viceroy prohibited the Portuguese from sleeping with non-Christian women with severe punishments. Therefore many women came for baptism. Later as it was found that baptism was motivated by economic benefits rather than conviction in the matters of faith. The missionaries were asked to see if conversion was motivated by pure faith in Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{100} Anyway, a new mixed community of the Portuguese and indigenous people began to grow around the fortresses.

As the people were not well instructed in faith before baptism, there were catechism classes in which the doctrines related to the Catholic faith, the life of saints and Catholic life were given. Generally on Sundays the men and on Saturdays the women were convened in various places for these religious instructions. Thus slowly the falsity of the Hindu religion was imparted to them. Gradually they became


\textsuperscript{98} Carta IX of 1512 Abril 1, from Cochin pp. 29-65 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., \textit{Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes, Políticas e Bellas-Lettras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato}, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXXIV, p. 44.


\textsuperscript{100} Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte II, p. 625.
interested in faith; went to the church very often; gave offerings to the churches in times of their necessities and sought the help of Christ in their illness.\(^{101}\) In Malabar, the people used to live together. Sometimes many relatives lived together under the same roof. People, after being converted to Christianity, also went on living together with their relatives many of whom were non-Christians. They even shared house even with the Muslims. Afonso de Albuquerque, on reaching Cochin found this strange way of life of the new Christians. He ordered the Christians to live in separate quarters away from the influence of the Hindu elements. For this purpose the king of Cochin gave the Portuguese separate land.\(^{102}\) Thus the newly baptised were separated from the very society and culture in which they had been living for centuries. As was the custom earlier in Travancore, one of the priests of the temple went to a newly converted Christian’s house for getting some offering for the temple. He refused to give telling that he would not give offering to the idols, as he was a Christian then.\(^{103}\) This shows a definite rupture in the social relationships along with a change in the custom of the land, which they had been living for centuries.

The Portuguese had great concern for the new converts. They were quite eager not only to confirm them in Christian faith and doctrines but also to look after their material well-being. At times foodstuffs were distributed to the new converts. Afonso de Albuquerque mentions about the rice distributed to hundred Christians from Malabar.\(^{104}\) One of the means of conversion that the missionaries applied in Malabar was to help the people in their necessities and thus get the confidence and love of the people. For example, when Francis Xavier reached Travancore in 1544, it was the time of severe famine. He left for Cochin and returned with a lot of food


\(^{102}\) Carta IX of 1512 Abril 1, from Cochin pp. 29-65 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de ciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Scienccias de Lisboa e Sob Direccao de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato*, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXIV, p. 44.


supply. Thus lot of people were converted.\(^{105}\) With the entry of the Jesuits in Malabar under the zealous Francis Xavier, there was a new vitality in conversions. The missionaries used to reach with helping hands in times of misfortunes and diseases. In 1563 small pox took the life of so many. As it was contagious, the gentiles as well as Christians fled from their houses to far away places leaving behind mercilessly their infected kith and kin. But the Portuguese missionaries visited them giving them food and drink.\(^{106}\)

With the missionary activity of Francis Xavier, the number of baptisms increased. He wrote to Francisco Mansilhas on 8 December 1544 that he had baptised many Mukkuvas of Travancore. He also instructed in the same letter to set up schools in each village of Travancore and appoint teachers for them.\(^{107}\) Within a month he baptised almost 10000 in the kingdom of Travancore. The method he applied for conversion was very simple. The people were gathered in different places and prayers were taught and then they were baptised. At the time of baptism new names were given to them. It was given in writing so that the people might not forget it.\(^{108}\) It itself shows that there was no much preparation before the baptism.

After conversion the names of these people changed and they had close association with the Portuguese. They adopted Portuguese names and their old names were not used any more. So these converted Christians had a tendency to imitate the Portuguese. We come across 20 Malabar Christians who were working in the Portuguese ship named Holy Spirit, having Portuguese names.\(^{109}\) The Christians were employed by the Portuguese in various spheres of their activity may be because of

\(^{105}\) Pe. Sebastaim Gonçalves, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. I, p. 162.
\(^{108}\) "To his Companions Living in Rome" from Cochin on 27\(^{\text{th}}\) January 1545, pp. 116-120, in M. Joseph Castelloe S.J., \textit{ed.}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 117.
their loyalty to the Portuguese. They were employed in Portuguese ships and they were paid well.110

To protect and maintain the new Christians, the Portuguese missionaries appointed Canacápoles111 (Kanakkapillas) who were to see to the spiritual growth of the people. They were people who led exemplary Christian life. Actually it was their duty to translate the prayers to the local languages and teach the new Christians. They were also taught the baptismal formula so that they might use them in extreme necessities. It was their duty to look after the cleanliness of the Church, teach the doctrines of Catholic faith twice a day for the boys in the morning and for the girls in the evening. It was also their duty to enquire about the impediments, public sins, discord among Christians and so on. For this he was paid 4000 fanhões each year. They were like the procurators and looked after to the well being of the Christians as lay people.112

At times, the conversions affected the land in such a way that the kings had to intervene asking to stop conversions. When the number of converts reached almost 15000 on the coast of Cape Comorin, the king called the missionaries and instructed them not to baptise anymore.113 There were cases when the Hindus and Muslims got converted to Christianity, they were removed from the office that they had in the kingdom. At times, in addition to that the kings also imposed economic burden upon them. Finding it as a hindrance to conversion, the Portuguese instructed the queen of Quilon that when some Hindus or Muslims became Christians there should not be any change in the office and problem with their hereditary rights and their transfer.

111 They were scribes, accountants, administrator and catechists. It was their duty to write prayers on vela and distribute it among the people to be learned by heart. For details see “To Francisco mansilhas in Punicale,” pp. 104-107, in M. Joseph Castellioe S.J., ed., op. cit., p. 106.
112 Padre Joam de Lucena, op. cit., pp. 91, 92.
Economic burden of all types levied as a result of conversion were also prohibited.  
When King D. João was apprised of the fact in 1543, that the king of Cochin used to confiscate the property of those who were converted to Christianity, the king wrote to the King of Cochin directly asking him to favour the Christians. According to an agreement made between Jorge Temudo, the bishop of Cochin and the King of Cochin in 1560, those converted to Christianity were given some special privileges. When some of the Christians committed crimes in the land of Cochin, the king of Cochin and the Bishop of Cochin or one nominated by him would judge him. If someone committed some wrong against the Christians, the king and the Bishop of Cochin according to the law would judge him. Besides, the Christians of Cochin would be obliged to help the king of Cochin in his wars.

As soon as someone became converted to Christianity, he was brought to the jurisdiction of the captains and the priests so that he might no more be oppressed. There were many cases where the Christians were oppressed by the Muslims, Hindus and Jews.

Their social customs changed with conversions. The marriage rites became entirely different. The Portuguese demanded legitimate priests and witnesses for marriage. For marriage there should not have impediments like a former marriage relationship or consanguinity. Persons who did not have any ecclesiastical impediment only could marry. The priest, properly vested would go to the door of the church and would enquire once more about the impediments. If no impediment was found, the priest would put one end of his stole over his left hand, over it was put the right hand of the bride, that of the groom above it and the other end of the stole was put over that and he prayed in the name of the Trinity. Then their hands were put between the hands of the priests covered with stole and soon the groom would say

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115 Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira with his "Kings of Hormuz" and Extracts from his "Kings Persia"*, Translated and annotated by William F. Sinclair, with further Notes and Introduction by Donald Fergusson, Nenden/Liechtenstein, 1967, p. 356.
that he received the bride given by the Roman Church and the bride would also do the same thing. Then the priest gave the blessings to join them together in matrimony in the name of the Holy Trinity. Then Holy water was sprinkled upon them. Thus the ceremony ended.118

Some of the people of lower castes after their conversion to Christianity could touch the nairs and could walk freely through the streets of the king.119 This was a great change that was affected in a traditional society like Malabar where upward mobility in caste system was not at all possible.

The Portuguese attempted to convert the kings. The most important conversion was that of the king of Tanore. He was said to be a Brahmin king. Though initially he was in the camp of the Zamorin, later on he stood against him and became a friend of the Portuguese. That friendship took him to baptism. He was baptised in 1548 with the name D. João after the name of King João III of Portugal. The Captain of the fortress of Tanore was his godfather. Even after his baptism, he used to keep his poonool but a cross was put on it. He used to keep a crucifix on his neck until his last breath. Even after his baptism he had to live like a Hindu because of his obligations towards his subjects and kingdom. But in the heart of his heart he was a Christian. After baptism, he received the sacrament of confirmation in Goa, which was a splendid celebration.120 But this very baptism had created some conflicts in his mind that inside the palace he prayed kneeling like a Christian while in the presence of others he went to the temples.121

Among the new converts in Cochin there were three different classes such as Cupajacares (Kuppayakkar) who were the Mestiços,122 Mienutil paregia or Munnoottuparisha which is to say the Community of 300 men and Catacotigell who

120 Frei Paulo da Trindade, op. cit., Part II, pp. 299-304.
121 Ibid., p. 313.
122 Mesto denoted a person born of parents of different races; for example, born of a Portuguese man and an Indian woman and vice versa. See K.S. Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century, New Delhi, 1983, p. 279.
were *Mukkuas*, the fisher flock who were said to have been baptised by St. Francis Xavier.\(^{123}\) Though there is mention about a third caste, they were said to have been baptised only after the Portuguese left Cochin. They were *Munducar*.\(^{124}\)

In addition to them there was a new community of the Portuguese in Malabar especially in Cochin. Portuguese came to the East either as servants of the crown or those of the church. The lay people who married after reaching India were allowed to settle down in respective countries either as citizens or as traders. Such married people were called *casados*. The rest were called *soldados* or soldiers who were relieved from the service of the state as soldiers only after their marriage, death, desertion, or incapacitation by severe wounds or disease.\(^{125}\) In Malabar there were a lot of Portuguese men. Even when Goa became the centre of the Portuguese activity in India, in 1536 we see at least 400 Portuguese soldiers in Cochin.\(^{126}\)

Several children of the Portuguese parents were admitted in different colleges. In the college at Cranganore, there were many children of the Portuguese descent. In 1562, about 14 of them were ordained priests and another 14 became religious in the Orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. They were well instructed in good manners, grammar and ecclesiastical music. One of them, Fr. André de Santa Maria, later on became the bishop of Cochin.\(^{127}\)

When we examine as a specimen the New Christianity in Cannanore in 1514, we can just get an idea of the conversion from different religious communities. In 1514, according to the letter of Afonso Velho, the Vicar of Cannanore, there were altogether three hundred and forty Christians in Cannanore. Among them hundred and sixty-four were men and hundred and seventy were women. Out of these, thirty-four men and forty-eight women were from the Muslim community, five men and three women were Nairs, seventy-three men and eighty-five women were from among the *Tiyyas* and *Mukkuvas*, and out of the twenty two boys thirteen were from the Muslims

\(^{124}\) They have other names such as *Marcar* or *Maracar* or *Gunutil Parijia* (*Eshuvootilparishu*) which is to say a community of 700. They were not baptised at the time when Portuguese left Cochin.  
\(^{125}\) C. R. Boxer, op. cit., p. 58.  
\(^{126}\) Gaspar Correa, op. cit., p. 703.
and nine were from the Hindus. Thirty-three children were from the lower castes. The children of the Portuguese *casados* married to the native women were thirteen. Then the children born to the Portuguese from the *salves* were twenty four - twelve boys and twelve girls.\(^{128}\)

The association with the Portuguese made a change in the names, life styles, occupations, reception of salaries, and also social positions. All Portuguese kings used to admonish the viceroys to take care of the new Christians very well and to do them economic favours.\(^{129}\)

Thus under the Portuguese the new converts enjoyed a lot of benefits. The Portuguese were always ready to look after their needs both spiritual as well as material. So under the Portuguese they remained as different ethnic community dominated by the bonds of Christian religion.

**IV. 3. Interaction between the Portuguese and the Muslims**

The Portuguese, from the very beginning of their arrival in Calicut realised that the Muslim merchants would be a threat to their dream of maritime supremacy, which was based on the monopoly of the spice trade from India. At the same time the response of the Moors to the arrival of the Portuguese was very negative as they were afraid that it would affect their pockets because they were monopolistic traders between the East and the West. This is clear from the first response of the Muslim merchants in Malabar at the arrival of Vasco da Gama expressed by Barros- "ficáram mui tristes."\(^ {130}\) Against such a backdrop the Muslim merchants wanted to oust the Portuguese from the Malabar coast. So they instigated the Zamorin saying that the Portuguese were spies and that they would come again with great forces to plunder and conquer the country.\(^ {131}\)


\(^{128}\) A. N. T. T., *Corpo Cronologico*. Parte I, Maço 17, doc. 27, fls. 1v, 2.

\(^{129}\) Pedro Teixeira, *op. cit.*, p. 354.


\(^{131}\) Gaspar Correia, *op. cit.*, Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte I, p. 77.
The Muslim merchants were alarmed by the arrival of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast. It is said that the astrologers of Malabar who were even talented to show the lost ship in a glass of water, could foretell the death knell of Moorish merchants. The Portuguese wanted a preferential treatment in Calicut from the Zamorin. But the Muslim merchants who had been trading with Calicut for a long time were not ready to surrender the privileges they had been enjoying, being the principal merchants of Calicut. This added to the resentment between the two.

The Portuguese never missed an opportunity to attack the Muslims. Cabral attacked without any provocation a ship which belonged to Mamale Mercar and Cherina Mercar which was carrying seven elephants. As soon as he understood that the Zamorin had an eye on those elephants, the Portuguese seized them and presented them to the Zamorin. The religious antipathy that was there in Iberian Peninsula against the Moors also added to their enmity to the Moors in Malabar. So the Portuguese were keen to inflict damage on the Muslim merchants whenever they got an opportunity. There were many instances where the houses and Mosques of the Muslims were burned by the Portuguese. They demolished Mosques which were on the shore of Cochin and they constructed Church there. The Portuguese did not hesitate to do inhuman atrocities against the Muslims. Many of them were taken captives, sold as slaves and so many others were killed.

Thus the Portuguese, from the very beginning had considered the Muslims as their enemies not only in temporal matters but also in spiritual life because of the hatred the Muslims had for the Christians. May be because of that the Muslims were always there with the forces of the Zamorin to fight against the combined forces of the king of Cochin and the Portuguese. The Portuguese in their turn considered

133 ibid., pp. 351-357.
135 Carta IX dated 1 April 1512, from Cochin pp. 29-65 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direccao de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXXIV, p. 49.
136 Dr. J. Leyden, “History of the Mapillas” Manuscript kept in B. L., Add. 26,578, fl. 11v.
137 ibid., fls. 14, 14v.
139 Dr. J. Leyden, “History of the Mapillas” Manuscript kept in B. L., Add. 26,578, fl. 12.
the fight with the Muslims as a continuation of what had happened in the Iberian Peninsula which was always in continuous enmity and conflict with the Moors and that the ultimate success would be with the Portuguese as was the case in Portugal.\textsuperscript{140}

The Muslims used to go for pilgrimage to Mecca. The Portuguese captured one of the ships, destined to Mecca, carrying almost 260 Muslim noble pilgrims from Calicut, and they were killed. Besides them there were around 70 women and children. According to the Portuguese it was a vengeance for the killing of the Portuguese in Malabar. Then 20 Muslim boys among them were captured and they were converted to Christianity in retaliation to the conversion of a Portuguese boy to Islam by taking him to Mecca.\textsuperscript{141}

The Portuguese never respected the religious feelings of the Muslims. When they built fortress in Cochin, they demolished a Mosque, which was there on the coast of the sea. In its place they built a Church.\textsuperscript{142} On 3 January 1510, the Portuguese burned the chief Mosque in Calicut.\textsuperscript{143} The Portuguese persecuted Muslims in whatever way possible. Cruelties of this sort were done only to the Muslims while all other sections of the society like nairs did not have any problem.\textsuperscript{144}

At the same time the Portuguese used to make use of the service of Muslims if it was beneficial to them. For example on certain occasions the Muslim pilots were employed by the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{145}

There were cases where the Portuguese gave asylum to some of the Moors even without the consent of the native kings. In Cochin, the Portuguese gave shelter to Quoja Lequi (Khoja Bequi) a Moor from Calicut, in their castle without the consent

\textsuperscript{140} João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Primeira, Parte Primeira, p. 450.
\textsuperscript{141} Manuel de Faria e Sousa, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 144, 145. See also D. Joseph Martinez da la Puente, op. cit., p. 133.
\textsuperscript{142} Zinadim, História dos Portugueses no Malabar, Lisboa, 1998, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{143} ibid., p. 60.
\textsuperscript{144} ibid., pp. 63, 65.
\textsuperscript{145} Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque dated 22 December 1514 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCXCVIII, p. 123.
of the King. 146 It shows that the Portuguese when they found that certain activities would help their commercial interest, they would not pay heed to the demands of even their dearest king in Malabar. Here we see that the Portuguese put aside their animosity to the Moors. It points to the fact that the Portuguese rivalry to the Moors was not primarily religious but commercial.

The indigenous Muslims had rather good relationship with the Portuguese. It was because of the trade relationship both of them had. Khoja Bequi, the leader of the indigenous Muslims was in very cordial relationship with the Portuguese. He told the Portuguese captain that he liked the Portuguese as they could sell their commodities to the Portuguese for a just price. He used to take the Portuguese to his house and treat them well. He used to go to the king several times in favour of the Portuguese and give news secretly to the Portuguese. 147

Cotiale was a very rich Muslim from Tanore. He was in very good terms with the Portuguese. He used to conduct trade with Portuguese cartazes. He mainly dealt with the commodities of the land like rice, which he used to bring from the Maldives to Calicut. Though the Portuguese first caught him, later he became one of their great friends. The Portuguese, whenever they went to visit him, were treated like brothers. He had a house well furnished with cots, beds, chairs, and tables in the European fashion. He used to honour them by supplying wine. 149 Thus we can see that some of the Muslim merchants had already adopted European life style in Malabar. The Portuguese used to be very friendly towards him as long as their commercial interests did not collide.

Whenever the commercial aims of the Portuguese clashed with those of the Muslims, their friendship was broken. It happened in the case of Timoja, Coje Bequi, and Cotiale. Cotiale was caught when he moved with two armed ships laden with

146 Letter of the King of Cochin written in 1510, in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de Ciências Moraes, Políticas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo IV, Lisboa, MDCCCCX, p. 43.
pepper to Mecca. Later on he became a corsair against the Portuguese and joined
hands with Patemarcar, another corsair of Cochin.150 These facts show that behind the
enmity between the Portuguese and the Moors was the clash of interests in economic
affairs rather than religious war.

But the foreign Muslims were deadly against the Portuguese because of their
commercial rivalry. They were furious at the preferential treatment some of the kings
in Malabar used to give to the Portuguese. For example the king of Cochin and Queen
of Quilon, according to the contract they had made, had to first fill the ships of the
Portuguese with the commodities that the kings collected, at a fixed price. The foreign
Muslim merchants were very jealous of it and they used to raise allegations against
the Portuguese saying that they used to touch the lower caste people, eat beef and
pork, kill cows, sleep in the houses of the lower caste people and sleep with the
women of lower castes, take women by force and so on.151

Some of the Muslims also availed themselves of the opportunity they got to
attack the Portuguese. The Moors killed three friars of the Franciscan order, who
reached Malabar in the fleet of Cabral, while engaging in preaching in Calicut.152
Kunhali, a corsair burned the houses of some Portuguese and a few of their ships.153
The antipathy that the Muslims had towards the Portuguese was expressed by the
burning of the Church of the St. Thomas Christians at Quilon in 1505. The
Portuguese factor at Quilon wanted Moorish ships to be filled with merchandise only
after the Portuguese ships were filled. Therefore the factor seized the oars and sails of
the Muslim ships. This led to the murder of the factor and his companions. In addition
to that, they burned the Church of St. Thomas along with a Portuguese deacon and
forty St. Thomas Christians who had taken refuge in that Church.154 This undermined
the social relationship and religious tolerance that had been there in Malabar for
centuries.

149 *ibid.*, Livro Segundo, Tomo II, Parte II, p. 679. See also *ibid.*, Livro Terceiro, Tomo III, Parte I, p.
228.
151 *ibid.*, Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte I, pp. 192, 193.
153 João de Barros, *op. cit.*, Decada Quarta, Parte Primeira, pp. 520.
At the same time, there were instructions from the part of the Portuguese Government to the Viceroy and Governors to encourage the Christian and Hindu merchants against the Muslim merchants. Such changes in the occupation of the people affected the balance of the society.\textsuperscript{155} It had its effects. We see Ittikunj, a nair merchant from Cranganore supplying the Portuguese large quantity of pepper.\textsuperscript{156}

Whenever the Muslims got an opportunity to attack the Portuguese, it was always utilised. Ada Rajão (Ali Raja), the administrator of the city of Cannanore, was at first in good terms with the Portuguese. When their commercial activity was found to be at the ruin, Ada Rajão, gathered together all the Muslims on the coast to attack the Portuguese. On 15 May 1559, Ada Rajão came with a force of 100000 Moors and Nairs among whom 10000 were gun founders. They came towards the fortress and some even entered inside the fortress. The women and children spent the time praying and the priests consoled them. In that terrible fight in which 15000 died from the side of Ada Rajão and 25 on the part of the Portuguese, the victory was with the Portuguese. To thank God for the victory a procession was held.\textsuperscript{157}

Many Portuguese men married Muslim women. The Church as well as the state encouraged such matrimonial relationship as a means of conversion to Christianity and thereby the salvation of the Muslim souls. In Cochin there were Muslim women who received baptism in the Church, like Briatiz Nunez who was the wife of Afonsa da Mota.\textsuperscript{158} Many Muslim women were attracted to Christianity just because they did not have enough freedom as they had to remain inside the house. Once they became Christians, they had better exposure. Therefore some of the Muslim women left their husbands behind and joined with the Portuguese men.\textsuperscript{159}


\textsuperscript{156} Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, ed., *op. cit.*, Tom. VII, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{157} Frei Paulo da Trinidad, *op. cit.*, Part II, Lisboa, pp. 252-254.

\textsuperscript{158} Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, ed., *op. cit.*, Tomo VI, Lisboa, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{159} Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, Livro Primeiro, Tomo I, Parte II, p. 625.
The victory against the Moors was considered as a great thing. That is why the kings of Portugal used to attach much importance to the victory over the Moors. The letter of 1 July 1550 asks the Provincial of the Dominicans in Lisbon to inform all the Convents to give thanks to God for the success the Portuguese had in Calicut over the Muslims. Thus the most antagonistic relationship that arose in Malabar was between the Portuguese and the Muslims.

IV. 4. Interaction between the Portuguese and the Jews

In Malabar there were black Jews as well as the white Jews. The white Jews were mainly from the foreign stock. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, there were Jews in Cochin. The German Traveller who reached Malabar in the fleet of Almeida in 1506 noticed their presence in Cochin. The first notice of the interaction between the Portuguese and the Jews is the mention of Martim Pinheiro, a Jew from Lisbon taking along with him a chest filled with Hebrew books he had collected from one of the Synagogues in Portugal, which was destroyed during the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal by Dom Manuel in 1497. He sold these books to the Jews in Cochin for a high price. When the Viceroy heard about it, from the king of Cochin, he asked them to entrust the books to the Viceroy and give back the money to the Jews. When the king of Portugal came to know about it he scolded the Viceroy for his action.

Because of various reasons, the Jews were inimical to the Portuguese. According to the principle my enemy's enemy is my friend, the Jews of Calicut supported the Zamorin against the Portuguese. In the war between Calicut and the king of Cochin in 1536, the Jews openly fought against the King of Cochin and the Portuguese.
The Portuguese, through their different attempts had understood that it was not easy to convert the Jews of Malabar into Christianity. Therefore, the missionaries wrote, that the sect that was most difficult to be converted was of the Jews.\footnote{Padre Ioam de Lucena, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.}

There were religious confrontations between the Portuguese and the Jews. In Parur, near the fort of Cranganore, there was a synagogue of the Jews, by the bank of the river. At the time the Christians used to celebrate the Passion and death of Jesus, the Jews used to mock the Christians by making a figure of Jesus and they used to do whatever the Jews were said to have done to Jesus from the prison to the cross. They did that with great shouting. Enraged at this, the Portuguese went to that synagogue. But they had shut the door of the synagogue from inside. Later on they managed to open the synagogue and asked them to adore the image of Christ. To punish the Jews, more Portuguese came from Cochin and they set fire to the Synagogue, which was fully destroyed in the fire. Though they rebuilt it, they never repeated the same act.\footnote{Frei Paulo da Trinidad, \textit{op. cit.}, Part II, p. 340.} Cruel activities of this nature on the part of the Portuguese created a rupture in the societal framework of Malabar.

There were also problems between the Jews and the Muslims of Cranganore. The reason might be mainly economic. In 1523, the Muslims sent representation to the Muslims of other cities to avenge the Jews. Consequently the combined Muslim forces reached Cranganore in 1524 and killed many Jews and destroyed their Synagogues. At the same time the Muslims also attacked the houses and churches of the Christians too.\footnote{Zinadim, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 69, 70.} The hatred towards the Christians in this regard was generated by the religious and commercial policy of the Portuguese.

Because of the Portuguese atrocities, many of the Jews had to leave areas like Cranganore and Parur. They left for Cochin where there were a lot of their fellow religionists. In the beginning of the sixteenth century there was a flow of Jews from Europe to Malabar seeking fortune in Malabar. In the Iberian Peninsula, the fate of the
Jews was quite miserable, because of the expulsion of the Jews in Spain and Portugal. The only way to escape expulsion was to become Christians. Even those who received baptism were persecuted very much in the Iberian Peninsula accusing them of occult Jewish practices. The sword of inquisition was hanging over their head. Under such circumstances many Jews fled to eastern countries. Many of them reached Malabar seeking fortunes here. In Malabar they could find their co-religionists. So, many of them could practice Jewish traditions here. Now it was a matter of great concern for the Portuguese masters as to what was to be done with these Jews. Therefore Affonso de Albuquerque sought the advise of the king of Portugal regarding the management of the Spanish Jews in Malabar who reached here via Cairo as merchants.  

Thus the number of the Jews in Cochin increased. Many white Jews used to come from Turkey to Malabar. Besides them there were many indigenous black Jews also. One white Jew who came from Turkey was very well versed in Hebrew Bible and he conversed with many new Christians. Though the Portuguese wanted to convert these Jews, it was not easy as they were “blind” according to the Portuguese. The king of Cochin was very friendly with the Jews. He gave asylum to the Jews who reached Cochin, may be because of the fact that they were very daring merchants who could bring wealth to Cochin. He allowed them to settle down in Mattancherry, near his palace where he permitted them to build a Jew Town and accordingly the Jew Town came into being in 1567.

There were commercial relationships between the Portuguese and the Jews. We find the Jewish merchants bringing textiles from Cambay to Malabar to be exchanged for pepper and other commodities. Though religiously the Portuguese and the Jews were enemies, they had commercial relationships.

170 P. S. Velayudhan & Others, ed., op. cit., See the introduction, p. viii
171 A. N. T. T., Cartas dos Viceres de India, No. 95.
Due to an order from the king of Portugal in 1565, the Jews were forbidden from entering and staying in Portuguese fortresses under severe punishments including confiscation of their material possessions.¹⁷² The Jews abandoned their residence in Cranganore in 1565 and took refuge in Cochin where the king permitted them to stay near his palace.¹⁷³

The king of Cochin appointed a Mudaliar, the chief of the community who was the chief spokesman of the community, having special privileges. The Mudaliar had some right to enforce law, give certain punishments and impose fines subject to the final decision of the King. But capital cases were dealt only with the King. The first Mudaliar was Barukh Joseph who was there in Cochin by the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁴

Many Portuguese new Christians who got converted from Jewish religion decided to try their fortune elsewhere other than Iberian Peninsula. This led them to India. Once they reached Malabar, they had two possibilities: either they could be loyal to the Portuguese and remain as Christians or they could join with their fellow Jews who were there in Cochin and surrounding areas. The latter group could evade the wrath of the Portuguese by remaining in the kingdom of the enemies of the Portuguese.¹⁷⁵

In places like Quilon the Jews, Muslims and the Christians used to live together without creating a rupture in the social fabric.¹⁷⁶ But with the Portuguese the situation changed.

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¹⁷² H.A.G., No. 9529 Provisões a favor da Cristandade (1513-1840), fls. 79v, 80.
¹⁷³ Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, op. cit., p. 16.
IV. 5. Aspects of Society and Culture

All aspects of the interaction between the Malabar society and culture and the Portuguese cannot be brought under the head of religion, varna and jati. There are different other traits of culture which somehow affected Malabar society and culture. They are following.

IV. 5. 1. Mercantile Activities

The main motive behind the coming of the Portuguese was commercial, to obtain the monopoly of spice trade evicting the Muslim intermediaries.\(^\text{177}\) The Portuguese used to take a lot of spices like pepper and ginger from Malabar to Portugal. Along with spices, they found that Cochin was source of a much-wanted commodity- wood such as angelim and teak, which were used for shipbuilding.\(^\text{178}\)

During the second visit of Gama, an agreement was signed between the King of Cochin and Vasco da Gama on the price of pepper. This was the first contract that the Portuguese signed in Cochin for the sake of protecting their commercial interests.\(^\text{179}\) At the time Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, the price of pepper was 70 fanões or 4 1/5 cruzados per quintal. In Cranganore it was 55 1/2 fanões or 3 1/2 cruzados per quintal. Vasco da Gama fixed the price of pepper with the king of Cochin on 3 January 1503 as 2 1/2 cruzados per quintal. According to the contract, the payment was to be made in gold and a small percentage in copper.\(^\text{180}\)

The third fleet under the captainship of João da Nova was little more trade oriented, as there were foreign capitalists like the Florentine merchants called Fernão Vinet and Bartholomew Marchioni.\(^\text{181}\) The free trade that was there in Malabar was controlled. During the Pre-Portuguese period, people could come and purchase any

\(^{177}\) Zinadim, op. cit., p. 53.
\(^{178}\) Pe. Manuel Godinho, op. cit., p. 21.
commodity from whichever port they liked and also they could take it to whatever destinations without the interference of any external agent. But there was a change in this conventional free trade. In 1502 the Portuguese introduced some passes for the safe conduct of ships laden with merchandise.\textsuperscript{182} To get this pass of safe conduct known as \textit{cartazes}, the merchants had to pay a certain amount to the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{183} If anyone moved in the Indian Ocean without these passes, the Portuguese used to confiscate such ships together with the merchandise.\textsuperscript{184} By the year 1517 we find the Portuguese confiscating two ships that belonged to the king of Cambay and its captain Coge Bequim was taken captive, as they did not have \textit{cartazes} from the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{185} The Muslim merchants who were to trade in the Indian Ocean had to pay for the \textit{cartazes}.\textsuperscript{186} Thus the Indian Ocean was fully brought under the control of the Portuguese that no ships could ply in the Indian Ocean without Portuguese \textit{cartazes}.

The Portuguese used to adopt serious steps when illegal trade was carried on in the Indian Ocean. They were guided by the theory of \textit{Mare Clausam}, the closed sea. The Portuguese fleets used to ply in the Indian Ocean to capture the ships, which engaged in illegal trade. In spite of all these precautions, the people used to engage in illegal trade. In 1528, the Portuguese Governor noticed a fleet of 30 \textit{paraos} of Calicut going armed to bring rice to Calicut.\textsuperscript{187} The main commodity that was dealt with by these merchants was rice. The cultivation of rice was less in Malabar. So there was the shortage of food items that was to be balanced with imports from areas like Coromandel, Batecala and Maldives.

Rice was imported to Cochin and other kingdoms. But the \textit{paraos} used to hold up them on the way. Therefore, the king of Cochin requested the Portuguese to give security to the ships laden with rice coming from Coromandel to Cochin. The \textit{modus operandi} of the \textit{paraos} was that they would rob the ship that stayed at the back.\textsuperscript{188}

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{182} Gasper Correia, \textit{op. cit.}, Tomo I, p. 298.
\item\textsuperscript{183} José Manuel Correia, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 40, 41.
\item\textsuperscript{184} Dr. J. Leyden, "History of the Mapillas," Manuscript kept in B. L., \textit{Add. 26,578}, fl. 12v.
\item\textsuperscript{185} Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro III e IV, p. 406.
\item\textsuperscript{186} Zinadim, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.
\item\textsuperscript{187} Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Terceiro, Tomo III, Parte I, p. 278.
\item\textsuperscript{188} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 335, 336.
\end{footnotes}
According to the demands from the West, there was a boost in the indigenous market. Because of that the producers of both primary and secondary sectors increased their production. This was an encouragement for the Malabar economy as a whole. It seems that by the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese trade declined. We see reports that there was a lot of pepper in Cochin and Quilon but the Portuguese did not have money to buy it.

Side by side with the official trade of the Estado da Índia, the trade of the private fortune seekers also increased. The private traders were mainly the casados. The casados and sailors were allowed to take together with them a certain quantity of spices. But when the trade of private individuals began to be a hindrance for official trade, the treatment of pepper trade by all individuals was forbidden by the king through a letter dated 7 February 1522.

Thus during the Sixteenth century Indian Ocean regions were brought under the world economy and capitalism and its features penetrated to India and other countries of the Indian Ocean littoral. Competition among different trading communities increased although Portuguese could control it through its own mechanism. The profitable Indian trade of the Portuguese was an eye-opener to other western European countries who also followed the course of the Portuguese gradually. Together with the development of trade and money economy a new middle class also originated in Malabar. This was a great change in the society.

IV. 5. 2. Coinage

The gold coin used in Cochin was called fanão, which was described by the Portuguese as the ‘lower gold’ (ouro baixo). The fanões were used also in Cannanore,

Calicut, and Quilon. There was also peças brancas, which had the same weight of the fanão. It was called chakram in Travancore.¹⁹³

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Dom Henrique de Menezes asked a few minters to be sent to Cochin to strike cruzados.¹⁹⁴ By 1530, the king sent Fernão de Estevão as minter for Cochin and a mint was started in Cochin.¹⁹⁵ Later on by 1544 copper coins also began to be minted in Cochin during the Governorship of Martim Afonso de Sousa.¹⁹⁶

IV. 5. 3. Shipbuilding

The Portuguese found Malabar Coast to be very good for shipbuilding. There were woods like teak and angelim which could resist the worms and saline water. The nature of the wood as well as the season of cutting the tree was very important. Life of the people on board depended upon the strength of the wood. If it were cut out of season, it would be unable to resist the waves. The wood should be of tough, dry, of bitter and resinous sap and pliable. These qualities are combined only in two woods namely, the teak¹⁹⁷ and angelim.¹⁹⁸ These two woods were very abundant in Malabar.¹⁹⁹ Because of this factor the Portuguese started shipbuilding in Malabar. Cochin had abundant hinterland, which provided these woods. Therefore in Cochin shipbuilding was started. Under the order of Albuquerque the work of the ship called Santa Catharina was started and was completed in the year 1517 when Lopo Soares was the Governor. This ship was of 800 tonéis.²⁰⁰ The ship São Pedro which accompanied Francis Xavier was built in India.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ Cruzado was ancient Portuguese gold coin.
¹⁹⁷ Its botanical name is Tecona grandis or Andira racemosa.
¹⁹⁸ Angelim amargosa or its botanical name is Andira verrnifuga.
²⁰¹ Quirino da Fonseca, Os Portugueses no Mar, Lisboa, 1926, p. 325.
IV. 5. 4. Corsairs

Though the Portuguese tried to control the Indian Ocean trade, they could not find an easy solution to the problem of sea piracy. There were many big and small groups of corsairs in Malabar. The areas like Muterte (Muthedath) and Porkad (Purakkad) were strong centres of piracy. Some of the principalities encouraged corsair activities. At times, it affected the Indian Ocean commerce of the Portuguese. Therefore, the Portuguese were very keen on taking action against them. The Caimal of Muthedath was punished by the Portuguese for the piracy that he committed against the Portuguese ship. In the battle, the Portuguese killed the Caimal of Muthedath and they cut down almost 10,000 coconut trees between Purakkad and Cochin. In spite of these type of measures adopted by the Portuguese, Corsair activity continued to be very common along the coastal areas of Malabar as a substitute for trade. The Portuguese could not find an easy solution against piracy.

IV. 5. 5. Portuguese and Kings of Malabar

At the time of the arrival of Vasco da Gama, there was a political balance in Malabar centred on Calicut. The three independent kingdoms in Malabar were Calicut, Cannanore and Quilon. But the pre-eminence was for Calicut. All the other kings and lesser nobles were under the Zamorin who never allowed anyone other than the kings of Cannanore and Quilon to mint coins or tile their houses. But with the arrival of the Portuguese that power balance was disturbed. The Portuguese who left for Cochin after the bombarding of Calicut in 1500, helped the king of Cochin to realise his dream for an independent Cochin. Besides, the kings of Cannanore and Quilon also supported the Portuguese for the growth of their trade. These kings were well aware of the fact that the development of Calicut as the most important emporium of trade in India was due to the maritime trade of the foreign Muslim merchants. Therefore the above kings wanted to establish healthy relationship with

204 João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Primeira, Parte Segunda, p. 327.
the Portuguese and build mercantile states like that of the Zamorin. The force behind the kingdom of the Zamorin was the money that he used to get from trade. That is why the Queen of Quilon invited the Portuguese to Quilon sending an emissary to Cochin.206

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the political hegemony was in the hands of the Zamorin who exercised it at his will. The kings of Calicut used to crown themselves in the temple in Repelim (Edappally) where all the Malabar kings used to come to show their respects on the occasion of his crowning ceremony. But in 1535 the Portuguese guarded the way to Repelim such a way that the Zamorin could not go to Repelim. Thus the crowning ceremony did not take place.207 In 1524 there was a war between the Zamorin and the king of Cranganore. The cause behind this war was the secret alliance that the king of Cranganore, who was formerly an ally of the Zamorin, made with the king of Cochin. Infuriated at this action of the King of Cranganore, the Zamorin sent his troops to Cranganore, destroyed a lot of land, killed a host of men and the Church of St. Thomas and its surroundings were burned by the Zamorin. The King of Cranganore managed to escape from there.208

With the giving of asylum to the Portuguese in Cochin a new type of relationship started between the king of Cochin and the king of Portugal. The king of Cochin in one of his olas sent to the king of Portugal held that both of them were brothers. This was the beginning of a novel relationship, which had lasting implications in Malabar.209

Even when the kings of Cannanore and Quilon wanted to establish good trade relationship with the Portuguese, they were not very happy with the cruelties the Portuguese perpetrated in Malabar. A letter written by the king of Cannanore on 6 December 1507 to the King of Portugal, mentioned that all the kings of Malabar were not as bad as the king of Calicut and he described all he did from his part for

206 Gaspar Correa, op. cit., Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte I, p. 219. See also B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais I, fol. 1v.
establishing a good trade relationship with the Portuguese in spite of the robbing and killing of the Portuguese in Calicut.\textsuperscript{210}

The Portuguese king sent through Vasco da Gama during his second voyage a lot of presents like gold, silver, brocade, silk and a crown of gold to the king of Cochin. Again the loyalty of the king of Cochin was rewarded with a crown of gold sent through Francisco de Almeida. The viceroy himself crowned the king.\textsuperscript{211} Later on the crowning ceremony became very solemn in which the Portuguese had a lot of say. After the death of the king of Cochin, the new heir used to go along with his men to the Captain of the city and would inform the Captain about the demise of the king. And all of them would express their condolence at the death of the king and congratulate the new king. And they used to go to the city. After a few days arrangements were made for the dead body of the king to be burned for which the heir came accompanied by an army of almost 20000 men. The Portuguese Captain along with the casados of the city, richly vested, would wait outside the city. When one group came at the sight of the other, the heir who came on elephant and the captain who came either on horseback or in palanquin would embrace each other. Then they went to the City through the streets, which were well decorated with rich carpets and window curtains. They went to the parish church where the counsellors who would be waiting for him with their rods in their hands, took guard of the king. There would be a lot of people and officials in the church. After having received him in the Church, the Captain would lead him to the big Chapel and took the naked sword of the king in the palm of the captain's hand, the king in his turn would put over it his poonool and put his hand over it swearing vassalage to the king of Portugal. Having done this oath, the Captain would put the crown on his head. Wearing that crown, the king would sign the term of the oath he made and the captain and councillors would also sign the same. Once that was over, the king would go out of the church accompanied by all until the end of the city where he took leave of the Captain and others.\textsuperscript{212} This is a

\textsuperscript{210} Letter of the king of Cannanore addressed to the king of Portugal dated 6\textsuperscript{th} December 1507, pp. 400-402 in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidan Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCCXCVIII, p. 400.

\textsuperscript{211} Frei Paulo da Trinidad, \textit{op.cit.}, Part II, p. 365.

\textsuperscript{212} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 366.
clear example of the change that happened in the tradition of a kingdom. Before the contact with the Portuguese, the installation of the king was a quite different ceremony performed by the Brahmins. But now, the most important ceremony became the declaration of vassalage to the king of Portugal and the crowning of the king of Cochin by the Captain. This shows how much change there was in the traditions of the land because of the Portuguese presence and their influence in Cochin. The crowning ceremony by the Portuguese captain was under certain conditions including that the king of Cochin would not receive any favours from other kings. 213

Another custom that developed in Cochin was that on the New Year day. On 1, January, the Counsellors of the City and other officers of the municipal council would go to wish the king. After having wished, they would present to him in a silver tray a stipulated quantity of gold as a gesture of their thanks for having given them that land. Yet another custom was that whenever the king of Cochin visited the City, the captain went to the door of the city and entrusted the king the key of the city. 214 This shows that the Portuguese were also loyal to the king. Though the City belonged to the Portuguese and it was organised and administered in the European way with counsellors and other officers, they had accepted the overlordship of the king of Cochin.

The king of Cochin used to acknowledge his loyalty to the king of Portugal. In a letter written by the King of Cochin to the king of Portugal, the former enumerated whatever he did for the king of Portugal including the wars he waged for the Portuguese, his good will to load the Portuguese ships and all other services. He also acknowledged that he had no other friend or brother other than the king of Portugal. He also thanked the king for the Crown sent and also for the annual present of one glass of gold presented every year. 215

213 D. Joseph Martinez da la Puente, Compendio de las Historias de los Discubrimientos, Conquistas, Y Guerras de la India Oriental, y Sus Islas desde los Tiempos de Infante Don Enrique de Portugal Su inventor, hermano del Rey D. Duarte; hasta los del Rey D. Felipe II: De Portugal, y III. De Castilla, Madrid, 1681, p. 155.
215 Letter of the King of Cochin written in 1510, in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de
By the early decades, some of the kings of Malabar became subservient to the Portuguese. For example, the Queen of Quilon wanted to get a pass from the Portuguese in 1516. The Portuguese put forward certain conditions before the queen for issuing a pass. The conditions were as follows a) The Church of St. Thomas in Quilon, destroyed by the Moors of Calicut should be rebuilt in the same place it was without lacking anything b) The Christians of Quilon should be treated well c) To repair for the loss of the goods that occurred because of the murder of Antonio Saa in Quilon, a quantity of 500 bares of pepper was to be given to the Portuguese and its cost would be paid only in three years time d) The Portuguese were to be given pepper, drugs and other spices at the price and weight of Cochin and they should not be sold outside without the Portuguese license e) The king had no right for any payment for the goods that were loaded and unloaded in the port of Quilon f) everyone in the kingdom should be judged for his deeds according to justice and not according to caste or religion g) when any Muslim or gentile was converted to Christianity no condition should be put and h) no favour should be given to any other people in the port of Quilon. In return, alliance in war was declared in case the king of Quilon fought war with the enemies of the Portuguese and security was promised for the ships of Quilon port. Thus we find that the traditional freedom, the Malabar kings used to enjoy, was curtailed because of the intervention of the Portuguese.

The change in the power structure of Malabar was very evident after a few years of Portuguese presence in Malabar. When the Zamorin wanted to send two ships of pepper to Mecca in 1512, he asked permission from the Portuguese pleading that he would not ask such favour again. The viceroy permitted it. We see that the Zamorin who had been the overlord of Malabar was now at the mercy of the Portuguese. The kings of Malabar who depended upon the Portuguese, lost jurisdiction over some of their subjects. For example the Portuguese and the Christians, in case of crimes were entrusted to the captain of the fortresses whereas

\textit{sciences Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo IV, Lisboa, MDCCCCX, p. 42.}

\textit{216} "Trelado no Contrato das Pazes que o Governador Lopo Soares fez em Coulão com a Reynha e Regedores da Terra no ano de 516," (pp. 30-34) Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, ed., \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 30-33.

\textit{217} Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Segundo, Tomo II Parte 1, p. 334.
the Hindus and Muslims were to be entrusted to the king even if they did something wrong to the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{218}

In serious socio-cultural issues, the king of Portugal used to intervene. For example, when the Portuguese slaughtered cows indiscriminately without respecting the indigenous culture, the King of Cochin, wrote to the king of Portugal. It had its results. The butchering of cows was prohibited in Cochin in 1543 and it was decided that if a Portuguese or a Christian killed a cow he should be entrusted to the Captain for punishment.\textsuperscript{219}

The relations between the Portuguese and the Indian kings depended upon the economic needs of the Portuguese. If the Portuguese needed some economic benefits from the Malabar kings, they enriched the relationship. For example when the Portuguese wanted some trade benefits, they entered into peace with the Queen of Quilon.\textsuperscript{220} So peace and tranquillity depended on the needs of the Portuguese in Malabar.

There was very friendly relationship between the King of Travancore and the Portuguese. As the King of Travancore did not have much merchandise needed for commerce, their relationship was mainly religious. The Portuguese were very much interested in the Christians of the coasts of Travancore. A contract was signed between them stating that the King of Travancore would give great privileges to the Christians, help in the construction of Churches and that this contract would last till the duration of the sun and moon.\textsuperscript{221}

\textbf{IV. 5. 6. Portuguese and the Malabar Folk}

In the second siege of Goa, Albuquerque made use of the service of almost 300 men from Malabar. It shows how the Portuguese could make use of the service of

\textsuperscript{218} "Trelado da Capitolação das Pazes que fez o Gouvernador Martim Afonso de Sousa", Coulão, 25 October 1543, (pp. 36-38) Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, ed., \textit{op. cit.}, Lisboa, MDCLXVIII, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{219} \textit{ibid.}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{220} Fernão Lopes de Castenheda, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro III e IV, Coimbra, 1928, pp. 383, 384.

\textsuperscript{221} P. Sebastaim Gonçalves, vol. III, pp. 227, 228.
the Malabar people within a short duration of time. The Portuguese might have employed the soldiers either for money or because of religious affinity.222

In Malabar itself different races of the Portuguese developed. The European born Portuguese were called Reinol. The second race was the Portuguese who were born in India from pure European parents. Thirdly there were Castiços who were born of the European father and Eurasian mother. The last race was that of Mestiços who were half-breeds.223

IV. 5. 7. Change in the Traditional Occupations

According to the custom of Malabar, the occupation of a particular jati was determined by birth. One had to follow the occupation of his father till his last breath. On whatever conditions, the change of occupation was not possible among the Hindu fold.224 But with the Portuguese a change began to happen in this tradition. This happened in the case of Poleas, Muslims and Nairs.

The poleas became warrior class. They were actually the workers in the paddy fields. In 1504, the poleas helped the king of Cochin against the forces of the Zamorin. The forces of the Zamorin could not withstand the attack of the poleas because of the caste restrictions. After this victory, the poleas like the Nairs began to carry arms with the permission of the king.225

The Muslims who were the chief mercantile community in Malabar now turned to waging wars. They were always there in enormous number to fight against the Portuguese.226 Many Moors joined with the king of Calicut to fight against the combined forces of the king of Cochin and the Portuguese.227 The intention of the

222 Philip Baldeus, p. 606.
223 C.R. Boxer, op. cit, pp. 62, 63.
226 Zinadim, op. cit., p. 57.
Muslims in this regard was to protect their commercial interests in Malabar for which there were new rivals from Europe.

The nairs who were mainly the fighting class now, were encouraged by the Portuguese to take up farming activities, trade, accounting and so on.

**IV. 5.8. Factories and Fortresses**

With the arrival of the Portuguese the European system of fortresses was implanted in Malabar. In 1503, Francisco da Albuquerque and friends decided to build a fortress in Cochin by the side of the river. For security's sake it was built on the upper part of the city. It was constructed with timber like coconut trees and other trees. The work of the fortress was begun on 26 September 1503. The king supplied workers. The king himself used to watch the construction. It was named after King Manuel. The opening of the fort was done solemnly with a procession in which crucifix was taken around the fort. Trumpets accompanied the procession. When the procession entered the fortress, the Vicar blessed it. A Solemn Mass followed the blessing. Although it was renovated in 1508, it was the first fortress built in Indian soil by a European power. It served as the centre of Portuguese activity in Malabar.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco da Almeida wanted to build a fortress in Cannanore. When the Portuguese convinced him of the need for a fortress for defending themselves against the Muslims, the king gave permission for the same. The building up of the fortress commenced on 23 December 1505. The work was done very speedily that within five days the walls and tower for the protection of the fort were completed. The fortress was given the name Santo Angelo and Lourenço Britto was made the captain of the fortress. Later on a Convent for the Franciscans and a Church dedicated to St. Antony were also built. The fort, which was built in Cannanore, was renovated in 1526 with a tower and fifteen feet high wall made of stone. Dom Francisco de Almeida built the fort of Quilon in 1509. There were

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228 *ibid.,* pp. 119-120. See also B. N. F., *Manuscrits Portugais* 1. fol. 3.
Map of the Fortress of Cannanore in the Sixteenth Century.
artilleries, House of Charity, Hospital, ecclesiastics, captain and so on in the fort. Around this fort there were about 60 houses of the Portuguese. In 1513, the Zamorin who was a friend of the Portuguese, granted permission for the Portuguese to build a fortress in Calicut.

The fort of Chale began to be built in 1532. The stones for the fortress were collected from the debris of an old mosque. There were houses for the captain, soldiers, and other officials and also a church inside the fortress.

Inside the fort of Cranganore, which was founded by António de Albuquerque, there was a College for the St. Thomas Christians and a Church was also there attached to it. There was a Captain, artillery for defence, hospital and a house of Charity in the fortress.

The fortresses were independent entities, which were outside the jurisdiction of the local kings. When the Portuguese approached the king of Cannanore to build a fortress with stones, the latter said that, as that tip of land belonged to the Portuguese, they could do whatever they liked with that piece of land.

In every fort there were offices for the secular administration, religious activities, military installations, charitable institutions and so on. The Supreme authority in the fortress was the Captain. Captains were occasionally given civil and military jurisdiction within the purview of the fortress. Thus we find the king, Dom

21 B. N. L., Fundo Geral, Reservados, Cod. 29, “Relação das plantas, e Descripções de todas as Fortalezas Cidades e Povoações dos Portuguezes na India.” fls. 48v, 49.
23 Ibid., Livro VII, VIII e IX, p. 271.
24 João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Quarta, Parte Primeira, p. 475.
Manuel appointing D. Aires da Gama as the Captain of the fortress of Cannanore with civil and military jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{239}

When Pedro Alvares Cabral left for Portugal, he left one of his men Gonçalo Barbosa, as factor in Cochin in 1501. In Cannanore also another factory was opened.\textsuperscript{240} This was an arrangement to facilitate trade by purchasing and storing commodities needed for the next Portuguese fleet. These were to be centres of Portuguese trade in the subsequent years. By 1509 in the factories, there developed different production units. There was a gunpowder factory in the fortress of Cannanore. The water in Cannanore was ideal for the refinement of saltpetre from Honvar. Sulphur was also available there. There was another building for grinding charcoal.\textsuperscript{241}

These fortresses and factories were built to facilitate trade and also with a view to military diplomacy. Through a system of different fortresses in strategic places, the Portuguese could control the whole coast.

\textbf{IV. 5. 9. The Urban Development of Cochin}

Cochin, which was a small kingdom at the beginning of sixteenth century, by the efforts of the Portuguese, became a well-known trading centre within a decade. By 1510 Cochin was counted as the main factory in the whole of India.\textsuperscript{242} It was at the cost of Calicut that Cochin gained such a prominence.

The relationship between the Portuguese and the king of Cochin began with the bombardment and desertion of the Portuguese from the City of Calicut. From Calicut, as led by Gaspar da India, they reached Cochin, where the king was very


\textsuperscript{240} B.N.F., \textit{Manuscrits Portugais} 1, fol. 2.


eager to give asylum to the enemies of the Zamorin. The king of Cochin knew the importance of foreign trade from the lessons of the Zamorin who could make Calicut a major emporium of trade on the Western coast with the help of the Muslim merchants.

The king of Cochin had no option other than supporting the Portuguese. For, the Zamorin was never prepared to accept the king of Cochin’s position as an independent kingdom. Therefore there was no possibility of compromise with the Zamorin. The next possibility was to support the Portuguese against the Zamorin, his perpetual enemy. The Portuguese responded positively to it. For them a base was needed in Malabar. It would not be available elsewhere. When the needs of both parties corresponded, the relationship became smoother. The Portuguese helped the king of Cochin in different ways even by the annexations of certain principalities. For example, Nicolão Coelho murdered the Cuimal of the Island of Cheravaypil and put that under the obedience of the king of Cochin.

In Cochin there was a city of the great king of Portugal. Cochin became the first colonial city in India. Cochin had a mixed population consisting of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Jews, the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese casados and soldiers. Cochin became the first city in India to be called a City in terms of the European standards. On March 12, 1527, King John III of Portugal raised Santa Cruz Cochin to the status of a City on par with the city of Évora in Portugal. The king granted all the privileges enjoyed by the cities of Portugal to the city of Cochin. In this city elections were held in the European mode.

Cochin served as the base of Portuguese activity in the orient. It was the initial residence of the Viceroy's till 1530 when Nuna da Cunha shifted the house of accounts

243 B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais I, fol. 1v. See also João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Primeira, Parte Primeira, p. 440.
244 João de Barros, op. cit., Decada Primeira, Parte Segunda, p. 92.
and other offices to Goa. Cochin served as a base when Affonso de Albuquerque captured Goa both in February 1510, which did not last longer, and in November 1510 in which Goa came under the Portuguese to be the capital of the Estado da Índia later.

Once the Portuguese got hold of Goa and Diu, their attention was diverted from Malabar especially from Cochin because then they were aware of the fact that in Malabar, their foothold was almost secure. For the king of Cochin was very powerful and there were other supporters like the kings of Cannanore, Quilon who were always willing to help the Portuguese. Now the Portuguese wanted to keep away the Muslim interference in the Indian Ocean trade. For the control of trade they wanted to secure posts on the Western Coast. Goa was a place almost at the middle of the Western Coast. To control the Indian Ocean a middle post will be easier than moving the fleet from Cochin which is at the southern most part of the coast. From Goa, the Portuguese fleet could move to any point on the Western Coast very easily. Therefore they decided to control the Indian Ocean by building different fortresses at strategic points and also to patrol in the Indian Ocean to control trade.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Cochin had great commerce with Bengala, Pegu, Sion, Malaqua, China and other parts of the Orient. Thus by the second half of the Sixteenth century Cochin became a renowned emporium of trade. It was at the coast of Calicut that Cochin developed as an international commercial centre.

IV. 5. 10. Hospitals and Medicine

The Portuguese who were familiar with hospitals and medicines in Portugal applied their medicinal knowledge in Malabar also. Those soldiers who were
wounded were given treatment in Cochin. On their wounds hot coconut oil together with lime juice was applied and they recovered within a few days.  

The Portuguese also had taken the responsibility of opening hospitals in different parts of Malabar. It was with the purpose of helping the wounded and sick Portuguese as well as for charitable purposes. There were a provedor, who used to administer the hospital, a secretary, a surgeon, physician, nurses and other servants in the hospital.  

The first hospital established by the Portuguese in India was in Cochin in 1505. Francisco da Almeida took the initiative in this regard. It was followed by the hospitals in Cannanore, Quilon, Cranganor and in other localities of Portuguese establishments.  

It seems that the hospital in Cannanore was rather big with almost 60 beds. In 1510 sixty bed sheets for the sake of the hospital in Cannanore were asked for. Attached to the hospital there were pharmacies with pharmacist or apothecary. Different medicines were used for curing the sick. Each sick was given one cartilho of wine every day and free food was also given.  

But many a time the state of the hospitals was decaying. We see Francis Xavier writing to the king of Portugal on 20 January 1548 asking him to entrust the veadores da fazenda to take care of the hospital. There were lot of sick people who served in the fleet in this hospital. It was the king of Portugal who supported economically the day-to-day running of the hospital.  

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252 Superintendent of a charitable institution.
256 Ibid., doc. 52.
257 See also Maço 34, doc. 91.
258 Comptroller of Finance.
IV. 5. 11. Houses of Charity or Holy House of Mercy (*Miséricordia*)

Imitating the houses of Miséricordia in Portugal, they established holy house of mercy (*Misericórdia*) with a view to helping the poor and the needy. In different parts of the Portuguese possessions, houses of this type of charity were established. In Cochin there was a *Misericordia*, which used to assist the poor and the needy. It was established in 1527. Soon in other parts of Malabar such as Cannanore, Cranganore and Quilon, such houses of charity and compassion came into being. The money for the day-to-day running of the same was obtained from royal treasury as well as from private individuals. In confessions, the cases of restitutions were directed to the houses of Charity.

IV. 5. 12. Churches and Monasteries

A lot of Churches were constructed. The king of Portugal had ordered that churches should be constructed in all areas of the Christians. Inside every fort there were churches. The first Church that was built by the Portuguese in Malabar was in the fort of Cochin, dedicated to St. Bertholomeu. The Franciscan friars were looking after this place as a centre of their missionary activity in the absence of any other residence for them.

The first Franciscan friars who reached Cochin for missionary activities stayed in the fortress. Later on when the number of the friars increased, a convent was built in Cochin in 1523. It was built with the money received from the Portuguese royal exchequer. The convent was named after St. Antony of Padua. Another monastery

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266 Frei Paulo da Trinidade, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 368.
was that of the Dominicans. The Dominicans had a very beautiful convent in Cochin.268

The other main churches were the Church of Santa Cruz and the Church of St. Francis Assisi, St. Dominic, of Augustinians, Madre de Deus of the Jesuits and the Chapels of St. Sebastian, Misericordia, St. Bartholomew, Guadalupe and so on. When Cochin was made a diocese, the Church of Santa Cruz was converted into the Cathedral of the Diocese.269 Inside the College of Cranganore, which was established by Fr. Vicente de Lagos, there was a Church, dedicated to the Patronage of St. James.270 This Church was built in the Western mode as the college was meant to latinise the St. Thomas Christians.

In the fortress of Cannanore there were a Church of Mercy (Misericordia) with a chaplain, and a convent of the Franciscans.271 There were also a parish church dedicated to St. James, a chapel of Our Lady of Victory, and a Franciscan Monastery.272

In Palleporto (Pallippuram) there was a house of the Paulist fathers.273 Besides, religious houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans and so on came into being in Malabar.274

IV. 5. 13. Erection of Dioceses

On 12 June 1514, the first Padroado diocese of Funchal was erected. The patronage of the diocese including the presentation of the prelate as well as other benefices belonged to the king of Portugal who was the perpetual administrator of the

271 B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais 1, fl. 287v.
273 B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais 1, fl. 298.
Military Order of Christ. All the Christians of Malabar, except the *nazranis* were under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Funchal. King João II requested Pope Paulo III to make Funchal an Archdiocese to whose jurisdiction should be the diocese of Goa. The king also had requested for the right to present Archbishops, Bishops and other dignitaries. The territory of the new diocese of Goa began with Cape of Good Hope including India and China. Together with the bull of 1534 erecting the diocese of Goa, it gave a clear definition of the *Padroado* right of the Portuguese by which the king had the right to present the candidates for bishoprics and from the part of the king he had to meet the necessary requirements of the diocese including the payment of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, building up of the churches, convents chapels and other things required for divine cult. Fr. João de Albuquerque, a Franciscan, was appointed as the Bishop of Goa and Fr. Vicente of the same order as Coadjutor with right of succession. They all left for India in 1538 and in the next year the former was appointed as the Bishop of all India and Goa was made the capital of all bishoprics in India.

The diocese of Cochin was erected on 4 February 1558. The diocese of Goa was raised to the status of Archdiocese with Cochin and Malacca its suffragan dioceses. The territory of the diocese of Goa extended from the Cape of Good Hope to Hormuz and from there up to Cannanore. The limit of Cochin was from Cannanore to Bengal and Pegu with all the Christians of the eastern Coast of India. The St. Thomas Christians of Cochin, Cranganore, Quilon and those of the hilly regions of Malabar were under the Armenian Bishops. A Dominican priest Jorge de Temudo was appointed as the Bishop of Cochin.

**IV. 5. 14. Inquisition**

During this period, a branch of Inquisition, which was very prevalent in Europe, came into being in Goa. In all Portuguese possessions only Goa had a proper

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277 Pedro Teixeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96.
Tribunal of Inquisition. The whole Malabar was under this Inquisition, which was quite notorious for its atrocities and cruelties. It was established in Goa in 1560. The tribunal had got its commissaries in all the Portuguese fortresses. The Jesuits wanted a branch of Inquisition in Cochin too. According to P. Melchior Nunes Barreto, in Goa it was established to clean the faith. In Cochin also it was needed just because the people of Malabar also lived mixing with the Muslims, Jews and the Hindus. He contradicted the views of some who informed Portugal that an Inquisition was not needed in Cochin. His view was that if there was an Inquisition the people would live well and that it would prevent the flow of white Jews from Turkey and Persia and the Syrian Bishops.

IV. 5. 15. Education

In Malabar there was no formal education in the western mode before the arrival of the Portuguese. The education that prevailed in Malabar was mainly religious which was denied to the vast majority. From the very beginning the Portuguese paid their attention to education. As was their custom in Portugal, religious education was the most important objective. Therefore it was imparted attached to some religious houses. Actually reading and writing were taught to serve the religious purpose. Around the year 1507, the boys of the honourable Christians were taken from Cochin to be instructed in catholic faith. They were sent to the public schools to study writing and reading.

The children were given incentives to frequent the school. In the fort of Cochin, in 1512, there were 17 Christian boys who were learning to read. Every week they were given one farde (bale or pack) of rice for their food.
The Jesuits opened the college of Madre de Deus in Cochin at the request of the people of Cochin. The efforts of Francis Xavier were there behind its foundation. In 1559 there were about 250 boys who used to learn the doctrines of the Church, and good manners. ²⁸⁴ It was this college, which was transferred to Vaipincotta after constructing a new building there. It was for the sake of the St. Thomas Christians that it was transferred to Vaipincotta. ²⁸⁵ Children of the principal men of the land were sent to the Jesuit College in Quilon. ²⁸⁶

The children were helped by the missionaries to read and also to assist in the Holy Mass. Thus some of the Malabar children, especially those converted to Christian faith were taught to read. We can see the beginning of Western education by the Portuguese missionaries who imparted it primarily as a means for evangelising the people. ²⁸⁷

The students of the school after many years of training became well versed in letters. They were also trained in humanism and other virtues. Some of the students used to move from house to house asking for old cloths for those admitted in the hospitals. They visited the hospitals with bread and other food items and also helped in the cleaning of the hospitals. With the help of these students the missionaries attracted many to Christianity. These boys in their turn had become agents of imparting education to the elders and slaves of the land. ²⁸⁸

In the college at Cranganore, dedicated to St. James, along with St. Thomas Christians students, many orphans and children of the Hindus were admitted. The intention behind this was none other than the propagation of Christian faith. There

²⁸⁷ Letter of JuliBo Nunes, the Vicar of Cannanore to King Dom Manuel of Portugal dated 14 October 1510, pp. 308-312, in Reymundo Antônio Bulhão Pato, ed., Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Moraes. Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Tomo III, Lisboa, MDCCCIII, pp. 311.
were many colleges of this nature in Malabar. In these colleges students were instructed in the doctrines of the Church, grammar and good manners. They were taught to read and to handle ecclesiastical music. Fr. Vicente used to beat the students for not having attended the lessons in the college. Many a time it infuriated the parents of the students.

IV. 5. 16. Art and Architecture

The first Portuguese architectural expression in Malabar was the construction of fortresses, which is dealt with under a different title. Though the first fortress was made with wood, which was the main building material in Malabar, soon the Portuguese found out its weakness and opted for masonry fortresses. The people of Malabar were not familiar with the fortress system.

Then new buildings like Churches and Chapels (Capelas) were built in Malabar. The earlier churches were made in the form of the Hindu Temples respecting the traditional Vastusastra whereas the new buildings were constructed with stones and lime. In the construction of some Churches, there was the influence of Manueline style. The Franciscans founded the Church of St. Francis in Fort Cochin in 1500. It was fortified in 1503. It was reconstructed and completed in 1516 and it was dedicated to St. Antony. In 1552, the Franciscan college and seminary were attached to this church. In all these Churches the Portuguese style of architecture was visible.

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290 ibid., p. 337.
According to a letter of Frei Lourenço de Goes to the King of Portugal dated 28 December 1536, the first Church which was built among the St. Thomas Christians in the Portuguese manner was in the place of Mar Simon who lived 8 leagues away from Cochin. For building churches and other buildings, stones and lime were used. The measurements were also taken but according to the European manner.

The Portuguese art and architecture were seen mainly in decorative art and it was through the missionary activity that it spread all over the areas of Portuguese influence. Ivory carving was one among them. Majority of the indo-Portuguese ivory artefacts were of religious nature.

Paintings and decorations in the churches were used following the tradition in Europe. The Vicar of Calicut wanted to do an altarpiece. Through the ambassador of the king of Calicut the Portuguese managed to get a painter. They decided to paint the whole passion of Christ on that altarpiece with the help of that painter. The estimated expense for that altarpiece was 800 cruzados. Another altarpiece, which João Pereira requested from the king of Portugal, was for the St. James College of Cranganore, which was under Frei. Vicente. João Pereira was very particular that the altarpiece should be with the whole life of St. Thomas the Apostle as the Christians in Cranganore were very much devoted to St. Thomas. This shows that the Portuguese were very much interested in building and decorating the new churches in Malabar with the Portuguese style of art and architecture.

IV. 5. 17. Music and Theatre

The Portuguese introduced the western Music especially in the divine worship in Malabar. High Mass with the accompaniment of Organs became very common.

294 A. N. T. T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte I, Maço 16, doc. 67, fl. 1.
296 A. N. T. T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte I, Maço 19, doc. 85, fl. 1v. One cruzado is equal to 400 reis. Afzal Ahmad, Os Portugueses na Ásia, 1997, p. 154.
297 A. N. T. T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte I, Maço 80, doc. 7, fl. 1v.
There were solemn celebrations of Divine Liturgy and trumpets accompanied the processions on feast days. It was so beautiful that even the nairs, Caimals, and also the princes used to come to watch it. 299

A new type of Music originated in Malabar due to the foreign missionaries. The Jesuit missionaries used to teach the children music in the indigenous language as part of their catechism. It was clear that the Portuguese missionaries would be applying the Portuguese tunes to the Tamil or Malayalam lyrics. 300 This definitely gave a stimulus for the development of Liturgical music in a different style in Malabar.

Another mode of music that was introduced in Malabar was the singing of the Mass and Passion in polyphony. On Good Friday evening a song of lamentation of Our Lady, which is believed to have been of St. Bernard was sung which made the listeners cry. 301

The students from Malabar, under the training of their teacher, a religious brother, as part of their talent show, performed a tragedy, which began with the sin of Adam and ended with the death of Abel. The drama had five acts. Each act had song accompanied by flutes, violin and so on. 302

IV. 5. 18. Food Habits

Rice remained to be the staple food of the people of Malabar. Till now the import of rice from the Coromandel and Canara coast was a profitable business of the Muslim merchants and the Chetties of Coromandel Coast. Now the Portuguese through their cartaz system managed to control the food supply. The rice used to be

299 ibid., Parte II, p. 627.
300 Padre Ioam de Lucena, op. cit., p. 55.
301 B. A., 49-IV-50, fl. 490.
brought to the Malabar Coast through the ports of Quilon and Kayamkulam where the Portuguese had considerable influence.303

The food habits of the people began to change. In Malabar biscuits began to be used. Biscuits were new to Malabar, because at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese the natives were not familiar with biscuits. Therefore, the natives exchanged chicken, and fish for a piece of biscuit. But after a decade we see that biscuits were made in Malabar.304

The Portuguese way of cooking slowly crept into the country. In the dinner hosted by the King of Tanore, to the Portuguese in Goa, the Portuguese dishes were served and special cooks were brought from the Portuguese fleet for this purpose. This shows a change at least in the mentality of a Brahmin king in the case of food.305

Within a few decades of Portuguese activities in Malabar, there occurred famines, especially in Calicut. There was shortage of rice as the Portuguese controlled the Indian Ocean trade especially trade in rice, which was the monopoly of the Moors. But at times, they obtained rice from the paraos but it was sold in Calicut for high price.306 Thus within a short period a kingdom of plenty could be transformed into a place of famines because of he commercial policy and control of the Portuguese.

IV. 5. 19. Disrespect for Indigenous Traditions

At times the Portuguese used to disrespect the indigenous culture. The Portuguese being non-vegetarians used to go for hunting and eating flesh of the animals and birds hunted. In 1516, Gaspar da Silva, one of the Portuguese noblemen and seven of his servants went to the river near Diamper in a Tony. They went to hunt the peacocks of the temples there. One of the Caimais forbade them from doing that. But they did not pay heed to his words and when one of the wounded peacocks fell

near the house of the Caimal he felt pain and he asked the Portuguese to leave the land in the boat. But when they resisted there was a terrible fight between the people of the land and the Portuguese, which ultimately resulted in the death of the four servants of the nobleman. As they went for hunting without license, they were sent to the fort and they had to remain there all throughout the winter. Though such things happened, it was true that the Portuguese authorities used to take serious measures against such people who violated the law of the land.

In Malabar cow was considered as a sacred animal of the Hindus. Respecting the religious feelings of the Hindus even the other sections of the people refrained from eating beef. But there were incidents where the Portuguese used to butcher cows indiscriminately. The king of Cochin complained about the same to the king of Portugal.

IV. 5. 20. Changes in the Traditions of the Land

Malabar was a land whose customs were determined by age-old traditions. The Portuguese changed certain traditions that had existed in Malabar for centuries. One of the traditions of Malabar was that no house other than that of the kings and temples could be tiled. The Portuguese wanted to change this tradition. The Portuguese Viceroy used to stay in a house roofed with ola and cane. The Viceroy wanted to tile it. With this intention he set ablaze his own house without the knowledge of the king of Cochin and asked permission from the king of Cochin to build a house with stone and tiles. The viceroy held that he was afraid of fire and that Moors would kill him any time, as there was no security. But the king did not give a reply that day, as it would undermine the custom of the land. The king gave permission only after consulting the Caimals, other lords and his relatives. The king maintained that being foreigners, as the law of the land was not applicable to them, the Portuguese could tile their house. But he was still quite afraid and therefore he

308 Laurence A. Noonan, John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque, Lisboa, 1989, p. 145.
asked them to postpone the construction work for some more time for fear of other kings.\footnote{310}

Usually the warrior castes in Malabar used to serve either the king or the lords of the land. But some of the people of Malabar began to serve the Portuguese as soldiers. In the ship destined for the kingdom of Prester John, there were 800 Malabar people. The ship was equipped with the Portuguese.\footnote{311}

\bf{IV. 5. 21. Moral Life}

At the beginning stage of interaction, the number of Portuguese women was very few in Malabar. The European women were forbidden from sailing to India. But some women somehow managed to reach India. The first reference of such a woman was in 1505. A son was born from a Portuguese woman to the fidalgo António Real in 1503.\footnote{312} Under such circumstances, the Portuguese men used to go after native women who used to go after the Portuguese. We see the missionaries complaining about the immoral life of the Portuguese in Malabar. The Portuguese bought a lot of male and female slaves and slept with them. There are also references to a lot of Portuguese who had many children from various women.\footnote{313} The Portuguese men even used to intermingle with the Hindu women. Their mothers for the sake of some earning brought the virgin girls to the Portuguese. Almeida intervened in such a situation prohibiting the immoral interaction with the gentle women under penalty.\footnote{314} Many casados as well as bachelors had four to six female slaves with whom they used to enter in illicit relationship. Some of the casados compelled the female slaves to earn a fixed sum, even through prostitution. This lowered the moral standard of the people in Portuguese towns.\footnote{315} Several times, the Portuguese used to take the native

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte II, pp. 628-632.
\item \textit{ibid.}, Livro Segundo, Tomo II, Parte II, p. 488.
\item Diogo do Couto, \textit{op. cit.}, Decada Quinta, Parte primeira, p. 8.
\item Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Primeyro, Tomo I, Parte II, p. 625.
\end{itemize}}
women by force. In 1528, to avenge the arel of Porca, the Portuguese took many women of the land including the mother of the proper arel himself.316

Many children were born to the Malabar women from the Portuguese. In a letter dated 27 November 1514, the names of 29 children who were frequenting the schools were given. Attached to their names, the names of their fathers or mothers were given. Most of the names were those of their mothers. This means that the names of the fathers of many of them were not known.317

It was only after 1545 that the king began to send on a regular basis the orphan girls to India. The intention of this was to make them wives of Portuguese men serving in India and thus to increase the number of Portuguese population in India.318

Even then the abuses continued. Therefore on May 4, 1551, Dom Afonso de Noronha issued an order preventing the coming of the unmarried women to the part of the city where the Casados lived.319 When such measures did not give the desired effect, the Governor Francisco Barreto ordered the officials of the City of Cochin to oust the casados from the city if they continued their immoral life.320

Another element that led to the degradation of moral standards was the permission to conduct private trade. This led to the yearning for private profit by using any means. The private fortune seekers used to apply all means to fill their pocket even using illicit means. Though such people went for annual confessions, they never took interest for restitution.321 Even Portuguese clerics were not free from such fortune seeking.322

317 A.N.T.T., Corpo Cronologico, Parte II, Maço 52, Doc. 72.
319 "Da Províção do Vizo-rei Dom Afonso de Noronha que Nenhuma solteira vira entre os Casados nesta Cidade", in K.S. Mathew & Afzal Ahmad, ed., op. cit., pp. 29, 30.
320 "Da Províção do Governador Francisco Barreto sobre poder Botar a Sidade os Casados que nela viverem Mal", in K.S. Mathew & Afzal Ahmad, ed., op. cit., p. 32.
In Malabar there were a lot of New Converts to Christianity as well as a lot of Portuguese Christians who used to live publicly in mortal sins. The life of the Portuguese Christians was many a time scandalous to the new Christians in Malabar.\(^{323}\)

At times the inflow of the people from other parts of India added to the moral decay of Malabar. There is mention about the Canarese people who reached Cochin from Goa. They used to rob the people of Cochin and enter into adulterous relationships, which added to the misery of Cochin.\(^{324}\)

**IV. 5.22. The Portuguese Clergy in Malabar**

Most of the Portuguese clergy were very zealous. They engaged in missionary activity. The work some of the missionaries, especially the Jesuits did on the Malabar Coast was amazing. They worked day and night to increase the number of the Christians in Malabar by preaching, teaching, baptising and helping them in their material needs.

At the same time there were members of the clergy who engaged in worldly affairs. There are mentions in Portuguese documents of the clergy who were drunkards, very low in morality, paedophilic and those who used to engage in commercial activity to gain profits for themselves. There were cases of Portuguese clergy who were caught in adulterous relationships.\(^{325}\) In 1525 one Portuguese friar went to the mountainous part of Malabar to buy the woods for the construction of their monastery. There a woman distracted him, he had temptation and he began to move with her. It was a scandal to the friars as well as to the people. The authorities gave him severe penance. He was taken through the streets in a shameful manner. He was given severe penance in the monastery that he had to pray with stretched hands.


\(^{324}\) B. N. L., *Fundo Geral, Reservados, Cod. N.*. 4534, fl. 470v

\(^{325}\) Letter of Julião Nunes, the Vicar of Cannanore to King Dom Manuel of Portugal dated 14 October 1510, pp. 308-312, in Reymundo António Bulhão Pato, ed., *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as elucidam* Publicadas de Ordem da Classe de sciencias Morales, Políticas e Bellas-Lettras da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa e Sob Direcção de Reymundo António de Bulhão Pato, Tomo III, Lisboa, MDCCCIII, pp. 308-310.
He was forbidden from celebrating Holy Mass; he had to eat standing after all others had eaten; had no permission to go out of the monastery; he was not allowed to have contacts with outside people; and had to work in the kitchen and wash the cloths.\textsuperscript{326} Such was the penance that was given to the scandalous clerics.

IV. 5. 23. Mixed Marriages

Many Portuguese married here in Malabar. The number of the \textit{casados} was increasing. In 1512 more than 500 Portuguese got married in Malabar. Many of them were Carpenters, blacksmiths, and bombers. In Cochin and Cannanore there were almost 100 \textit{casados} in the year 1512. There were also cases where many Portuguese men lived with native women without marrying them.\textsuperscript{327}

The children born of the marriages including mixed ones were given great care and help by the Portuguese. Such children were given financial help by the king of Portugal.\textsuperscript{328}

Many Portuguese married native women. The Portuguese had great concern if such women became widows. In that case they were given special financial assistance from the royal treasury. We find a letter of Affonso de Albuquerque ordering to give an amount of 3000 \textit{reis} to Luzia, a Malabar woman who was the widow of Pero Lopez, who died recently.\textsuperscript{329}

\textsuperscript{326} Gaspar Correa, \textit{op. cit.}, Livro Segundo, Tomo II, Parte II, p. 931.
\textsuperscript{329} Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque dated 26 December 1509, \textit{ibid.}, p. 255.
IV. 5. 24. Development of Vernacular Languages

The Portuguese tried to understand the language of the people; especially the Jesuits were very much interested in learning the language of the people and reaching the people through their own language. Francis Xavier translated the articles of faith, commandments of God and their explanations, the Christian prayers and General Confession into the language of Malabar. The language of Malabar need not be necessarily Malayalam; the Portuguese also considered Tamil as the language of Malabar. Many Portuguese words were adopted in Malayalam language like *Mesa, Cadeira, Janela, mestre, toalha* and so on. Besides, a lot of Portuguese-Asian vocabulary also came into being which was necessitated by commercial and religious needs.

IV. 5. 25. Changes in the Dress Code

The Portuguese dressing pattern was strange to the Indians. But after some time of interaction many Indians were curious to imitate the Portuguese dress code. We find the king of Tanor dressed as a Portuguese in crimson satin and damask, with shoes of black velvet and white plume in his black cap. This shows that the upper class in Malabar, especially the nobility and the royal people were fascinated by the western mode of dressing and at least some of them imitated it.

IV. 5. 26. Other Cultural Activities

The Portuguese used to participate in some of the Hindu feasts as onlookers. In 1519, the king of Cochin invited the Portuguese to see the festal celebrations that

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330 Padre Ioam de Lucena, op. cit., p. 86.
331 For, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa some manuscripts are kept with the name the Grammar of Malabar language Henriques Henriques, *Arte da Língua Malabar*, but it was Tamil. B. N. L., Fundo Geral, Reservados, N°. 3141.
were there in a Hindu temple in connection with the greatest feast of winter. The Governor as well as some other Portuguese went to see the artificial fire and crude battles, which they enjoyed a lot. They went because of the invitation of the king of Cochin as he used to supply pepper for them.\textsuperscript{334}

In addition to the feast celebrated in Malabar, the feasts of Corpus Christi, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, Finding of the Holy cross, Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints and Christmas began to be celebrated in the Churches.\textsuperscript{335}

The general awakening that resulted due to the renaissance in Europe stimulated the eastern enterprise of the Portuguese. The ulterior motive of the Portuguese discoverers was the establishment of a commercial tie with India with a view to evicting the Muslim middlemen from the Eastern trade. When ample encouragement from the part of the Church was offered the motto of the Portuguese became “in search of Pepper and Christians”. But the actions of the Portuguese throw light on the fact that their prime motive was economic. It is clear from the fact that, though the Portuguese were very hard on the Muslims on the basis of religious antagonism, they were very soft on the indigenous Muslims. Both foreign Muslims as well as the native Muslims were of the same religion. The only distinguishing mark was that the latter were friendly with the Portuguese in their trade. Therefore it is clear that the economic interest of the Portuguese was dominating over the religious interests. The relationship of the Portuguese with different sections of the society depended on the response of each community to the commercial interests of the Portuguese. That is why we find that the Portuguese had some enmity towards the commercial communities like the Muslims, and Jews who were their rivals in trade where as with other communities, the Portuguese had only fewer relationships.

The secondary motive of the Portuguese was proselytization. The Portuguese, by different means tried to convert people, especially those of the forlorn classes. The

\textsuperscript{331} Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Gasper Corrêa*, Humphrey Milford, 1924, pp. 38, 39.
\textsuperscript{334} Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, Livro Segundo, Tomo II, Parte II, p. 571.
response of the upper castes to the call for conversion was rather negative. Only a few got converted from the upper classes. The lower caste people responded positively to the Portuguese call to conversions because of various reasons. Some of the reasons were economic favours from the part of the Portuguese, and the possibility for the upward mobility in the society.

Another attempt from the part of the Portuguese was to bring the St. Thomas Christians under the Roman Church. During the scope of this chapter, the activities of the Portuguese in this line confined mainly to persuasions, formation of clerics in western lines and also imparting of western education, influencing the prelates of the St. Thomas Christians. But this did not find much success.

But the Portuguese succeeded in bringing about great changes in the society and culture of Malabar by establishing fortresses, control over the Indian ocean trade, missionary activities, imparting of Western education, charitable institutions like hospitals and houses of charity, colleges and schools, good relationships with some of the native kings, mixed marriages, art, architecture, drama and music in the western mode, and different standards of moral life.