CHAPTER V

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND MALABAR SOCIETIES: 1567-1663

The period under consideration is marked by different Councils and Synods. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese managed to secure their commercial motives in Malabar by the control of the whole Indian Ocean. Now their attention turned towards religious motives. The implantation of various religious orders and the increase in the number of the Portuguese missionaries added to the fervent missionary activity in Malabar. During the period up to 1567, the Portuguese maintained a rather good relationship with the St. Thomas Christians, which was quite essential for the establishment of their maritime commercial interest. They were, in good faith, convinced that the St. Thomas Christians were following the bishops from the Middle East and therefore heretics. In the initial stage they wanted to protect this Christianity. But after 1567 the relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese took a new turn. There was a series of Councils and Synods, which were meant to “make the Christians of India true Christians”. When the attempts on the part of the Portuguese became severe, the resistance also became strong. During this period, although trade was there, the most important focus of the Portuguese was on the attempt to bring the St. Thomas Christians under the obedience to Rome. The relationship with other culture patterns in Malabar also was guided on the basis of this.

Though the Dutch reached Malabar years back, the year 1663 is considered as the end of Portuguese interaction in Malabar as in the same year the Dutch captured Cochin, the stronghold of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast. With the capture of Cochin the Portuguese had to flee from Malabar leaving behind their material possessions.
V. 1. The Interaction between the Portuguese and the Hindus of Malabar

The relationship between the Hindus and the Portuguese remained almost the same as in the above period. There was occasional intermingling with different castes. But by now both the parties became aware of their differences and limitations. After the Council of Trent there was a change in the approach to the Hindus as their life was considered to be scandalous to the new Christianity.

The free mingling with the gentiles was prohibited by various laws promulgated in the councils and also by royal orders. On 14 September 1582, the king ordered that for the good of Christianity, gentile rites and ceremonies and provisions to the temples should be forbidden in Goa as well as in parts where he had overlordship.¹

Intermingling at various socio-cultural levels was prohibited. The service of the gentiles in ecclesiastical affairs was prohibited. The service of the gentiles was made use for painting the Churches. But with the Provincial Council of Goa it was forbidden to make use of the service of the gentile painters for doing ecclesiastical paintings without the explicit permission from the prelate.²

In Cannanore, which was another sphere of influence of the Portuguese, there was a bazaar controlled by the gentiles.³ The Portuguese tolerated it. The reason for this toleration was that in such markets only consumption goods were dealt with. Therefore it was not at all a threat for the Portuguese maritime commerce. But wherever the interaction became a threat to the maritime dream of the Portuguese, it was forbidden.

The interaction between the different religious communities and the Portuguese shall be dealt with below.

¹ H. A. G., 7693, Leis a favor da Cristandade 1562-1843, fl. 11.
² ibid., fl. 22.
V. 1.1. The Brahmins

The Brahmins were there in various kingdoms serving kings as clerks and officers in Alfândegas. They were very faithful to the kings. It was not possible to evade them.4

The king Zamorin respected the Brahmins very much. It was said that the reason for the expelling of the Portuguese from Calicut and the ruin of their fortress and towns was the slander against the Brahmins for which the Zamorin wanted to revenge. The Brahmins claimed that unless the Zamorin avenged the Portuguese for it, the ruin of the house of the Zamorin would be imminent. This provoked the Zamorin to act against the Portuguese.5

The Brahmins used to serve in the temples as priests. There were a lot of Brahmins in a temple at Collegeyra Mangalào (Kulasekharamangalam). The temple was constructed with timber in four storeys over four tones. The upper storey was for the Brahmins who served there. In the second there were a lot of women who were dancing girls. They used to earn for the temple through their lives. The third one was occupied by the nairs, the fourth by Musicians and musical instruments and the last was for the common people.6 In certain temples they used to offer sacrifice with the blood of cocks.7

The Brahmins of Malabar were not very happy with the way Dom Menezis the Archbishop of Goa behaved in Malabar. His attitude towards the Hindus as well as the Nazranis provoked the Brahmins. The Brahmins of Malabar who were generally very meek and peace loving wanted to see Archbishop Dom Menezis murdered in Malabar. They considered that the murdering of the Archbishop would be a service to their gods. They considered the Portuguese as having come to take the St. Thomas

4 François Pyrard of Laval, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, Translated by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, New Delhi, 2000, p. 362.
5 *ibid.*, p. 374.
Christians from their Patriarch. This attitude was the result of the zealous missionary endeavour of the Portuguese, even at the cost of hurting the religious feelings of the Hindus and of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.

The Portuguese managed to convert Brahmans, though small in number. But because of the caste regulations and also to indicate the superior status of such converts, they continued to wear poonool. Then there arose a doubt as to the feasibility of using poonool by a converted Brahmin. The problem was referred to Pope and also to the Inquisitor General. After proper studies, Pope Gregory XV. issued a Brief in 1623 in which it was permitted to use poonool provided it was not to venerate the false gods. It also admonished such individuals to wear a cross on the poonool. The response of the Brahmans to the missionary endeavour was very poor.

V. 1. 2. The Nairs

The nairs remained to be the main civil servants of the kings of Malabar. Even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century we find the nairs serving the kings of Malabar as clerks and officers.

Many nairs and panikars were there in the service of the Portuguese in different fortresses in India. The Portuguese paid them every month for the services they rendered to the Portuguese as writers, weighing men, translators and jamgada.

At times so many nairs had to suffer on account of the conversion to Christianity. The Queen of Changanate murdered some of the nairs in Changanate, who received baptism and became Christians. It might have been with a view to discouraging further conversions. Once converted those people would belong to the jurisdiction of the king of Portugal. The gain of a nair, for the Portuguese would be a loss for the queen. Being warrior caste, it would be a loss for the queen.

8 António de Gouveia, op. cit., p. 123.
10 François Pyard of Laval, op. cit., p. 362.
12 António de Gouveia, op. cit., p. 234.
The nairs tried to maintain very good relationships with the St. Thomas Christians. The nairs in the kingdom of Cochin always stood with the suffering St. Thomas Christians. There were occasions when the nairs stood against the Portuguese missionaries who, through force, persuasions, influence and threats tried to intervene in the age-old customs of the St. Thomas Christians. When the Archbishop tried to give confirmations and ordinations to the St. Thomas Christians against the will of the Archdeacon in Diamper, the nairs intervened. A nair who was a governor of the land threatened the Archbishop Menezis asking if he was the one who spoke ill of their gods and temples, and if he was the one who came to change their laws and remove the customs of the St. Thomas Christians. They threatened the life of the Archbishop as well as those who followed him telling that they would confiscate the property of those who followed the Archbishop.\textsuperscript{13} The Archbishop had to face resistance from the nairs in Carturte (Kaduthuruthy) also. The intention of the nairs was to kill the Archbishop and free the St. Thomas Christians and the kings of Malabar from vassalage of the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{14} But the nairs themselves were not always following the same policy everywhere. Some of the nairs were accompanying the Archbishop as bodyguards carrying arms with them on his visit in Malabar.\textsuperscript{15}

At the instigation of the nairs in Carturte one magician came to murder the Archbishop through his black magic. He was caught red-handed and the queen of Vadakenkur entrusted him to the Archbishop who sent him to the galleys in Cochin.\textsuperscript{16}

There were a lot of similarities between the St. Thomas Christians and the nairs. Both had caste regulations, both were warrior castes, and both had the same dressing pattern at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The nairs and Chegos (Tiyas) used to go to the Church to fulfil their vow towards the Church.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13} ibid., pp. 120, 121.
\textsuperscript{14} ibid., pp. 122, 123.
\textsuperscript{15} ibid., p. 121.
\textsuperscript{16} ibid., p. 135.
\textsuperscript{17} ibid., p. 211.
Three nairs received baptism in Corelangate (Kuravilangad) during the visit of the Archbishop after the Synod of Diamper. One of these nairs who lived near the Church of Kuravilangad, in spite of the fact that he had deep faith in Jesus, was reluctant to receive baptism as it would affect his property rights and pre-eminence that he had in the palace. One of the nephews of the Zamorin, Uniare who was a nair approached the Portuguese requesting baptism and the question was raised to the king of Portugal who responded to it positively as it would result in the betterment of relationship between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. He was baptised by Francisco Roz and was living under disguise.

At times, the nairs used to ventilate their wrath towards the Portuguese by attacking the missionaries. In 1600 the nairs burned one Church in Tumbolim and destroyed a cross. It was said to be done at the instigation of the prince of Cochin. But the king found out three culprits and did everything to reconstruct the same.

In Calicut, the nairs also had changed their attitude towards the Portuguese. It was reported by Pietro del Lavalle, that during his stay in Calicut, he spent one whole night with some nairs of Calicut. They saw that he safely entered the boat and they spent some time holding his hands as an expression of kindness towards him. It shows that there was a change in the attitude of the nairs towards the Portuguese. They were no more concerned with caste distinctions.

The king of Mangate was in support of the Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians when there was conflict between the Portuguese and the Archdeacon. It was he who protected the Archdeacon from the hands of the Portuguese lest they
should catch him. The Portuguese were looking forward to catch him as the Archdeacon succeeded in bringing a Christian from the Middle East to Malabar.  

By the end of 1663, when the Dutch began to capture the Portuguese fortresses in Malabar one by one, there were some nairs who were very loyal to the Portuguese. The nairs took arms in favour of the Portuguese. It shows that the response of the nairs to the Portuguese activities was mixed depending on the circumstances.

V. 1. 3. Chetties

The Chetties carried on their trade in Malabar smoothly. Though they were rich merchants who even had many ships, we do not find any conflict between the chetties and the Portuguese during this period. It might be because of the fact that the chetties were not competitors to the Portuguese in maritime trade. Their trade might have been in essential commodities between the Eastern and western coasts of India.

V. 1. 4. The Lower Caste People

With the efforts of the Jesuits, the number of conversions increased. In 1568 there was a general baptism of 374 persons from different castes like Nairs, Ezhavas, Mukkuvas and Pulayas. Another baptism was administered in September 1568 for 148 persons of high dignity. During the Octave of Epiphany 168 Tiyyas received baptism.

Archbishop Dom Menezis, after the synod of Diamper, took efforts to see that the Malleàs (Malayarayas) in the Serra get converted. They were the vassals of the

24 See Letter of the king of Portugal to Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, Doc. No. 195, dated 10 March 1611 in Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Documentos remetidos da India ou Livros das Mocções, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXXIV, p. 79.
26 François Pyrard of Laval, op. cit., p. 345.
28 ibid., p. 670.
29 ibid., p. 670.
kings of Turubule (probably Thodupuzha) and Punhati Perumal (Perumal of Poonjar). They used to live separately distinct from other people.30

V. 2. Interaction between the Portuguese and the Christians

During this period the attention of the Portuguese turned towards the Latinisation of the St. Thomas Christians and the conversion of the non-Christians in Malabar. The Portuguese began to look after the needs of the Christians in Malabar. The wine required for the divine cult in Malabar was obtained from Madeira. We find the communications on the part of the Jesuits requesting the same from Portugal. Every year wine was brought to Malabar for the use of the Jesuits as well as divine cult in Malabar.31 Together with caring of the existing Christians, conversion process also was accelerated.

V. 2. 1. The St. Thomas Christians

The St. Thomas Christians mainly lived in the kingdoms of Cochin, Angamaly, Mangate (Alengad), Paru (Parur), Carturti (Kaduthuruthi), Cotteta (Kottayam), Porca (Porakad), Marta, Calicoulão (Kayamkulam), Travancore and many other kingdoms.32

There was increase in the number of Churches the St. Thomas Christian had. It is said that earlier they did not have more than four churches. But by the year 1578, the number of their churches increased to almost sixty.33

During this period, the relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese was taking another shape. The stage of persuasion in religious realm was
almost ended. The Portuguese were determined to bring the St. Thomas Christians to the obedience of the Roman Church. The canons of the Council of Trent gave the ground for their argument. The council of Trent in its eagerness to fight against protestant reformation had asked to convene Provincial Councils to implement the Canons of the Council of Trent in their respective dioceses. Making use of this opportunity, the Portuguese convened a series of Provincial Councils in Goa to which the Prelates of the St. Thomas Christians were also invited.

Still, the Portuguese, to control the priestly formation among the St. Thomas Christians, decided to give 300 pardaos for the foundation of a seminary in Angamaly. But it seems that it did not take place. For, the Portuguese were not happy with having a seminary in Angamaly, which was in the kingdom of Calicut, the archenemy of the Portuguese in Malabar. At the same time there were priests from Malabar who got training in the Latin seminaries and were working together with the Portuguese missionaries to bring the St. Thomas Christians to the obedience of Rome. In 1577, the Jesuits applied a new technique by which a new seminary was established in Vaipicotta. Here the formation was given in Syriac language but in Latin Rite. But the St. Thomas Christians did not accept the seminarians and priests who were trained in Vaipicotta. A boy from Kaduthuruthy who had his training in Vaipicotta, during the Divine office at Kaduthuruthy Church, as was taught by the formators in Vaipicotta, first prayed for the Pope instead of the Patriarch of Babylonia whom the St. Thomas Christians commemorated in their liturgy. Instigated at this, the Cassanurs and the people beat him a lot and threw him out of the Church.

The Portuguese were totally against the bishops of the St. Thomas Christians who were said to be heretics. Though initially the Portuguese had very good contacts with them giving mutual respects, now the attitude of the Portuguese changed altogether. Alexis Menezis in his letter noticed that they had more hatred towards the Schismatic bishops than the Hindus. For, they would be very dangerous. Therefore the Archbishop swore that no schismatic bishop would be allowed to pass to Malabar.

34 A. N. T. T., Cartório dos Jesuítas, Mação, 83, Doc. 44, dated 6 February 1589, fl. 2v.
36 Michael Geddes, op. cit., p. 10.
without his license.\textsuperscript{38} After the death of Mar Abraham in 1597, no Chaldean bishop was allowed to enter Malabar. In Hormuz special arrangements were made to prevent the passage of Armenian and Chaldean Bishops to Malabar.\textsuperscript{39} Even those Bishops, who entered under disguise, were also caught by the Portuguese and sent back. This infuriated the St. Thomas Christians.\textsuperscript{40}

During the period of Mar Abraham, there was another bishop in Carturte (Kaduthuruthy). He was called Mar Simon who had his seat at Kaduthuruthy. He was very popular. He had a vicar General called Jacob, whom the Portuguese tried to bring to their side.\textsuperscript{41} But it did not produce the desired fruit because of the stiff resistance from Jacob and his followers. The Portuguese succeeded in sending him to Goa, Rome and Lisbon. Rome found that he was not even an ordained priest. Therefore he was detained in Lisbon from where he continued to write letters to the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.\textsuperscript{42}

There were some St. Thomas Christian communities in distant areas who did not have pastors to guide them. There was a community of St. Thomas Christians in the kingdom of Travancore who did not have pastors since long time. Many of the Christians were not even baptised. Since fifty years there had not been baptisms. It was said that they stayed there worshiping snakes.\textsuperscript{43} Such a situation was actually created by the Portuguese. That Christianity had been surviving in India for centuries. Now the curious thing that happened in fifty years affecting their baptism was nothing other than the coming of the Portuguese. Their prelates were not allowed to move and practise independently on account of the intervention of the Portuguese missionaries. But the credit for the conversion and christianisation of this community went to Archbishop Menezis.

\textsuperscript{37} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 68, 69.
\textsuperscript{38} A. H. U, \textit{Caixa da India N°. 001}, Doc. No. 20, dated 1597, fl. 5v.
\textsuperscript{39} Frei Paulo de Trinidad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 349.
\textsuperscript{40} Michael Geddes, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{ibid.}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{42} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 60, 61.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 230, 231.
Some of the St. Thomas Christian priests had very good relationships with the Hindu kings. Even the king of Cochin was in very good terms with them. This was really a hindrance for the Portuguese to advance with their plan of transforming the Church of the St. Thomas Christians to the obedience of Rome.\textsuperscript{44} From the time of Mar Abraham, there occurred substantial changes in the priesthood. Up to that period even the married persons were admitted to priesthood. But from the time of Mar Abraham, according to the instruction of the Portuguese missionaries, no married man was ordained as priest.\textsuperscript{45}

Alexis Menezis determined in 1597 to visit the Churches of the St. Thomas Christians with a view to bringing the Christians of St. Thomas to the obedience of the Roman Church. He found that the provincial Councils did not produce desired effect in Malabar, and hence a council for the St. Thomas Christians would be the only means to bring them under the yoke of Rome. Thus he proceeded with the idea of holding a Synod at Diamper. In this effort the Jesuits who were familiar with them would accompany him. He complained that those Christians were under the clutches of heresies on account of the coming of the schismatic bishops who had been there till now. He was planning to convene a synod calling all priests with a view to teaching them cleaning and burning their books.\textsuperscript{46}

When the Archbishop started his visit in Malabar, the response of the St. Thomas Christians was mixed but most of them including the Archdeacon were totally against the policy of the Archbishop who wanted to give confirmation and ordinations. The first destination of visit was Vaipicotta where there was a Latinised St. Thomas Christian community who were following the Jesuits who established seminary there in 1577.\textsuperscript{47}

The Portuguese knew about the obedience that the St. Thomas Christian priests had towards the prelates who ordained them. Therefore Dom Menezis decided

\textsuperscript{44} A. H. U, \textit{Caixa da India N°. 001}, Doc. No. 20, dated 1597, fl. 5v.
\textsuperscript{46} A.H.U, \textit{Caixa da India N°. 001}, Doc. No. 20, fl. 4v.
to ordain some of the candidates as there had not been ordinations for almost two years. In Diamper about 38 candidates were ordained in spite of the stiff resistance from the Archdeacon and the nairs. Before the ordination, the candidates’ knowledge of Syriac language was examined. Then they were asked to condemn the errors of Nestorius, confess catholic faith and to promise obedience to the Pope and Roman Catholic Church and that they would never obey anyone other than those appointed by the Pope.\(^{48}\) This was an attempt on the part of the Archbishop to create a group of priests who would always be loyal to him. They assumed that through these priests they could influence the people.

In Carturte the Archbishop, by making use of the technique of revealing secrets and asking the opinion of the people individually, succeeded in taking into confidence two very important persons of the community called \textit{Itimato Mapula} (Ittithomman Mapilla) and \textit{Itimane Mapula} (Ittimani Mapilla) to his side. But the common people and the \textit{Cassanares} were against the Archbishop.\(^{49}\) Through his efforts, financial helps, tactics and policies he could attract a lot of people to his side convincing the need of obedience to Rome and introduction of image worship.\(^{50}\)

The Archbishop visited churches like Diamper (Udayamperoor) Cartutre (Kaduthuruthy), Nagpili (Muttuchira), Molandurte (Mulanthuruthy), Narame, and Cranganore as a preparation for the Synod. When the Archbishop requested the people of Parur to go forward to receive the sacrament of Confirmation, the people did not agree with that idea. They found it as an instrument of making the St. Thomas Christians the vassals of the king of Portugal.\(^{51}\)

After preparing the necessary ground through visits, the Synod was convened in 1599 in Diamper. The Archbishop made provisions in the synod for the \textit{Cassanares} in Malabar. Vicars were assured a sum of 300 \textit{fanões} and other benefits. He made arrangements so that they might be provided from the Archbishop’s treasury and from

---


\(^{48}\) António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 121.

\(^{49}\) \textit{ibid.}, p. 126.

\(^{50}\) \textit{ibid.}, pp. 129-134.
1601 it began to be paid from the royal treasury. Because of this the priests of Malabar began to live rather comfortably.52 The Archbishop Menezis succeeded in holding the synod and getting over to his side a good majority of cassanars and the people. According to Jornada the synod was a great success.53

The Portuguese held that as a result of the Synod of Diamper, so many pagan customs among the St. Thomas Christians were abolished. It was true that both the St. Thomas Christians and the Hindus in Malabar shared some of the social and cultural customs in common. But both had different significance and explanations. It was not easy to change the social customs, as it would bring about changes in the social position. For, social position was determined by the social customs.54

Even after the synod he visited Churches like Diamper, Cotette (Kottayam) in Thekkenkur, Coramallu (Kudamaloor) Porca (Purakkad), Paru (Parur), Molandurte, Angamalle, Agaparambim, Mangate (Alengad), Vaypicotta, Mutão, Paliporão, Calucate (Kaloorkkad) in the land of Porca, Cranganore, Nhagrica (Njarakkal), Porca (Purakkad), Caleculão (Kayamkulam), Coulão (Quilon), Tevalecare in the land of Cenganate, Gundara, Calare (Kallada), Caramanate, Catiapely (Karthikappally), Batimena, Caricolanagare, Podiagabo or Mavelicare, Naranão, Changanor (Chenganore), Changanagere (Changanacherry) Polygunde (Pulinkunnu), Prouto (Piravom) where the Church was dedicated to the Holy Kings, Molecalão (Mulakkulam), Baragore (Vadakara), Aracore (Arakkuzha), Turubule (Thodupuzha), Malucompil (Maylacombu), Marubuli, Corolengate (Kuravilangad), Ignapeli (Elanjipally), Palla (Pala), Codemangalão (Kothamangalam), Iratur (Erattupetta), and Palurte (Palluruthy) with a view to implementing the canons of the Synod even in the interior areas. He administered sacraments like Baptism, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, then annulled many marriages of the Cassanars, and established peace with many small kings.

51 ibid., pp. 104-106.
52 ibid., p. 178.
53 The intention of Gouvea in writing the Jornada was to give wide publicity to the great deeds of Dom Menezis. So whatever be the results and aftermaths in Malabar he would not be concerned with that.
After the synod, the Archbishop wanted to create a separate bazaar and settlement for the St. Thomas Christians in Cranganore with the bishopric of the St. Thomas Christians so that they would never be under the Hindus. But the King of Cranganore, after consultation with the king of Cochin denied it.\textsuperscript{55} Because he knew well that a separate existence of St. Thomas Christians would be a loss to the military might and economic affairs of his kingdom. Anyway the efforts of the Portuguese Archbishop to separate the St. Thomas Christians geographically from the society in which they had been living for centuries did not take place in places other than Cranganore. In Cranganore the situation was different. The St. Thomas Christians were separated from the rest of the society. As pointed out by Frei Paulo da Trindade, the St. Thomas Christians in Cranganore had separate quarters from the gentiles. They now lived in villages around their churches.\textsuperscript{56}

The success of the Synod of Diamper was brought to the notice of the king of Portugal. He also expressed his great happiness in having brought that Christianity to the obedience of the Roman Church. He assured that that Christianity would receive all kinds of favours from the Captain of the fortresses.\textsuperscript{57}

The Portuguese were waiting for an occasion to prevent the coming of the Prelates from Middle East to Malabar. Actually they had already made arrangements in Hormuz to prevent the passage of the Babylonian Bishops.\textsuperscript{58} As soon as the king of Portugal got the news of the death of Mar Abraham, the prelate of the St. Thomas Christians, the king sent a letter to the Pope asking the Pope to reduce that Archbishopric of Malabar to a suffragan diocese of Goa. Pope Clement VIII converted Archbishopric of Angamaly to a bishopric by a brief dated 20 December 1599. Besides, the king of Portugal also nominated Francisco Roz, a Jesuit to be their Bishop. He was selected because he knew the language, and letters of the St. Thomas Christians.

\textsuperscript{55} António de Gouveia, . \textit{op. cit.}, p. 268.
\textsuperscript{56} Frei Paulo de Trindade, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 334.
\textsuperscript{57} H. A. G., \textit{Msheqes do Reino, No.8}, vol. 1, 1601-1602, dated 22 January 1601, fls. 85v, 86.
\textsuperscript{58} Diogo do Couto, \textit{op. cit.}, Decada XII, p. 297.
Christians. He was to be consecrated in India.59 Through an Apostolic letter of Pope Clemente VIII dated 20 December 1599, the Archdiocese of Angamaly was made a suffragan diocese of Goa and was entrusted to the king of Portugal under the Padroado Right.60

After the Synod of Diamper, the Portuguese Jesuits under Padroado governed the Christians of St. Thomas.61 The first among them was Francisco Roz who was followed by Estevão de Britto.62 As Francisco Roz felt that his life would not be secure in Malabar on account of the fact that he had to work among the St. Thomas Christians, he nominated Estevão de Britto, a Jesuit, to be the his future successor in case of his death.63

Francisco Roz, the bishop of Angamaly, after assuming his see, started visiting the St. Thomas Christians in the hilly regions. He informed the king of Portugal that he was doing a lot of works among them. He informed that he succeeded in getting to his side some of the Vicars and priests who were simoniace in the administration of Sacraments. He was trying to transform them gradually. He also requested for wine as it was heard that there was no Holy Mass in some areas due to the lack of sacramental wine. He also informed the King of Portugal that he had requested the Captain of Cochin to help the St. Thomas Christians in whatever way possible.64

The Portuguese used the service of the St. Thomas Christians for military purpose. The St. Thomas Christians were made use of in the conquest for Ceylon.65

65 ibid., fl. 165.
The relationship between the Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians worsened in the beginning of the Seventeenth century presumably because of the synod of Diamper which was convened to latinise the St. Thomas Christians and to bring them under the obedience of the Portuguese missionaries and Rome. In religious realm they were helpless as the St. Thomas Christians were at that time not in a position to get a prelate for them from the Middle East. Therefore, it seems that they joined with the Muslims and the Jews in the trade. The St. Thomas Christians, the main cultivators of pepper, used to take their pepper to the pezo of Cochin. But after the synod, they supplied their pepper to the Muslims and Jews who took it through the hinterland to other places. Due to this the king of Portugal did not get enough pepper to fill his ships of 1604. It was a matter of great concern for the Portuguese king.

The See of the St. Thomas Christians i.e. Angamaly, was an Archbishopric. But the Portuguese made it a suffragan diocese of the Archdiocese of Goa, which was a matter of great concern for the St. Thomas Christians. Thus Francisco Roz was appointed as a bishop and not as an Archbishop. They felt that their diocese, though first in India, was debased by the Portuguese. The Archdeacon and the clergy of the St. Thomas Christians wrote in 1606 to the king of Portugal about this debasement, which, they felt, to be grave. Because of this, the king of Portugal sent a letter to the Holy Father asking him to restore the title of Archiepiscopate to their prelate. Taking into account, the request of the Archdeacon, Pope Paul V, by his Bull dated 22 December 1608 restored to the See of Angamaly the title of Archbishopric again.

The St. Thomas Christian Prelates had their see in Angamaly which the Portuguese wanted to transfer to the fortress of Cranganore. The reason for such a transfer of the sea might have been that in Angamaly, the Portuguese did not have

---

66 Weighing place.
much hold. But in Cranganore they had a fortress and Cochin was very close to Cranganore. Therefore for security’s sake Cranganore was selected. The see was shifted to Cranganore through a Papal Bull dated 3 December 1609. But the transfer of the See to Cranganore was a matter of great concern for the St. Thomas Christians as they were very much attached to Angamaly. The Jesuits wanted to transfer the seminary at Cranganore to Vaipicotta because the Portuguese were not happy with two seminaries in a small place like Cranganore.

Through various efforts of the Portuguese missionaries, especially of the Jesuits, there was a change in the attitude of some of the St. Thomas Christians. Earlier they would not compromise with the customs of the Roman Church. But by 1611, we find there were staunch supporters for the European missionaries. At least a small minority was ready to deal with the Roman Church. Many people began to go to receive sacraments like confessions in the western mode. One missionary testified that in one of the Churches in Malabar, he heard 600 confessions on a single day of Lent. This shows the changes that occurred in the attitude of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.

In the Churches and in the celebration of Divine Liturgy, Portuguese influences became quite tangible. The Holy Eucharist was being celebrated with the Portuguese hosts and wine. People began to receive sacraments of confession and extreme Unction.

In 1626 during the time of Estevão de Brito, the Archbishop of Cranganore, in a meeting of the Archbishop, Archdeacon, Jesuits and the laity, decision was taken to create a retreat house in Edappally for the priests of the Archdiocese of Cranganore. It was with a view to leading the diocesan priests to religious life. The intention of the

---

73 Fernão Guerreiro, Relaçam Anual Das Cousas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da Indiа Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 1607, 1 608. & do processo da conversão & Christandade daquellas partes, com mais hua addiçam à relaçam de Ethiopia, Lisboa, 1611, p. 65v
Archdeacon behind this was to use these priests as preachers, missionaries and confessors. When their number increased to seven another house was established in Angamaly. In the following years due to the tension between the Archdeacon and the Archbishop, a few members left the Congregation. The Archdeacon wanted to get the congregation independent of the Archbishop who never wanted the intervention of anybody other than the Jesuits for their formation. As there was no mention about this congregation in the documents after 1657, it is inferred that the congregation somehow disappeared not later than 1657. The Congregation, which was named after St. Thomas the Apostle, did not have any vows but had rigorous community life and timetable. They had to wear a badge with St. Thomas Cross and had tonsure and grew hair backward. It shows that following the spirit of the Council of Trent there developed ascetic life in Malabar in the Western mode.

The difference of opinion between the Archdeacon George of the St. Thomas Christians and the Archbishop of Cranganore became very acute. The Archbishop wanted to evict the Archdeacon from the affairs of the Church. The Archdeacon refrained from obeying the Archbishop. The Dominicans in this case supported the Archdeacon whereas the Jesuits supported the Archbishop. The Jesuits as well as the Captain of Cochin affirmed that the Archdeacon was schismatic. The Archbishop of Cranganore was of opinion that the Dominicans were supporting the Archdeacon and they were using pulpits for this purpose. In this conflict between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the king of Portugal favoured the Jesuits as they had been with these Christians for long time. The king asked the Jesuits to take special care in the cultivation of this Christianity. At the same time through a letter dated 8 January 1635 the king ordered the Dominicans to go out of Serra and stop all communication including letters, with the Archdeacon.

---

76 ibid., p. 125.
77 ibid., pp. 126-128.
78 ibid., pp. 131, 136.
80 ibid., fl. 387v.
Estevão de Britto, who succeeded Francisco Roz who died on 18 February 1624, tried to reconcile with Archdeacon George de Cruz (1577-1637). As part of it he delegated the Archdeacon the power of nomination of parish priests, suspensions, excommunications, and dispensations. Though later on he wanted to get rid of the Archdeacon from these affairs, the Archdeacon did not give back the original of his letter. Thus the Archdeacon was practically ruling the Christianity of Serra till his death in 1637. After his death he was followed by his nephew Thomas de Campos nominated by Archbishop Britto. In spite of all these circumstances the St. Thomas Christians were obedient to the Roman Church. This means that to a great extent the Portuguese missionaries succeeded in bringing the St. Thomas Christians under the Latin hegemony.

But his successor Bishop Francisco Garcia was not ready to give such authority to the Archdeacon Thomas which enraged him. So he was in open revolt with the Archbishop. The Jesuits were not in favour of accommodating Archdeacon in the temporal affairs of the Church. The Cassanars in Malabar were divided between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon. The Archdeacon proceeded to Angamaly and began to celebrate Mass there. Against such a backdrop the Archdeacon wrote the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon to send an Archbishop to Malabar.

The St. Thomas Christians knew that they would not get justice from the Jesuits. Therefore they asked Rome to send some priests of other orders like Dominicans and Franciscans. But the Jesuits were not ready to sacrifice their monopoly in Malabar for the sake of saving a forlorn Christianity. This added to the wrath of the St. Thomas Christians.

82 D. Ferroli S. J., The Jesuits in Malabar, vol. II, 1951, p. 26. Ferroli depicts the rights given to him as a favour he received from Archbishop Britto. But it was the right the Archdeacons had been continuing for centuries as part of the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians. For detailed information of the traditional powers of the Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians see Jacob Kollaparambil, The Archdeacon of All-India (A Historico-Juridical Study). Rome, 1972, pp. 189-205.
83 B. N. F., Manuscrits Portugais I, fl. 296.
84 D. Ferroli S. J., op. cit., pp. 27-29.
85 See the letter of the Viceroy written to the king of Portugal on 15 January 1648 in D. Ferroli S. J., op. cit., p. 31.
The relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and their prelates who were from the Western churches became worse. The prelates were not at all in a position to control them because of the divisions in the society. The letter of the Procurator of the Archbishop of Angamaly himself mentioned it in his letter dated December 1648. The relationship between Archbishop Garcia and the Ramhans became worse.

The stipend for the Bishop, Archdeacon, the priests and other officers in the church of the St. Thomas Christians was paid from the Portuguese treasury. This was a real support for the Malabar clergy who did not have any regular source of income. But due to financial strain, the stipend of the Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians and some other officers were pending since 1645. The petition of the Archbishop of Cranganore in this regard was accepted and order was issued in favour of that. It shows that the Portuguese were now not in a position to look after the affairs of the Malabar church because of financial problems.

In a vacant sea Archdeacon was supposed to be the administrator. Ignoring all the traditions of this land the Jesuit missionaries tried to put the St. Thomas Christians under their yoke. Now with a view to ending the generation of the Cassanars of the St. Thomas Christians, Dom Garcia decided not to receive many candidates in the Seminary at Vaipinchotta. He felt that the coming of Bishops from Babylonia would encourage further ordinations in Malabar. It was to avoid such a situation that Bishop D. Ignacio Caldeo was done away with by throwing him into the sea with an anchor tied on the neck.

---

66 A. N. T. T., Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço, 83, Doc. 47, fl. 1v.
67 They were indigenous order of religious priests who led austere life. They were contemplative and vegetarians. They controlled the see of Angamaly. They had houses at Angamali, Etepuli (Edappally) and Corolangate (Kuravilangad). Doc. 97, “Sobre os Cristãos de S.Thomé” (1786-1787), pp. 851-875, in António da Silva Rego, Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: India, vol. XII, (1572-1582), Lisboa, 1947, p. 856.
68 ibid., pp. 851-875.
69 B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais I, fl. 297v.
70 A. N. T. T., Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço, 82, Doc. 56, dated 23 November 1648, fls. 1-2.
71 According to Doc. 97, “Sobre os Cristãos de S.Thomé” (1786-1787), pp. 851-875, in António da Silva Rego, Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente:India , vol. XII, (1572-1582), Lisboa, 1947, p. 856, it was this incident of the homicide of bishop Ignacio
On 23 August 1652 at the time of Francisco Garcia, one man by name Ahatalla appeared in Meylapore (Mylapore), claiming that he was with the title of the Archbishop of Damascus and that he was in India at the invitation of the Archdeacon to govern their church. At this juncture the Archdeacon and his supporters were in rebellion with the Archbishop, perverting that Christianity with errors. The Portuguese wanted to send them to Portugal without permitting him into Malabar, for the Portuguese knew that once he entered Malabar, Archdeacon would defend him with the help of the gentile kings. Secondly their past experiences with Mar Abraham and Mar Joseph who even after returning from Rome lived the same way they used to, also compelled the Portuguese to take such a view. In addition to that the Portuguese were also concerned with the salvation of 200,000 souls of the St. Thomas Christians.

The St. Thomas Christians had come to know about the arrival of a Prelate from the Middle East, through two deacons from Vaipicotta who were on pilgrimage to Mylapore. They were also informed that he was under the custody of the Portuguese who would take him to Cochin and from there to Goa. The coming of this prelate to India caused lot of perturbations in that Christianity. They were totally unhappy with the Jesuits. The people of Vaipicotta rose against the Jesuits and seized the church, and seminary, and the seminarians were compelled to quit it. The ship destined to Goa left without leaving Ahatalla in Cochin. It is said that Ahatalla had bulas of Pope Urban stating that he was sent to be the Patriarch of the Serra. Under such circumstances, the Archdeacon and his followers denied obedience to their legitimate Prelate Francisco Garcia appointed on the basis of Padroado right of the

Caldeo which led to the Oath of Coonanercross. But according to the B. N. L., Fundo Geral, Reservados Cod. N°. 464, fl.11v, it was followed by Ahatalla incident.


The document says so because the only way to substantiate the position of the Portuguese missionaries was to attribute heresy on the Archdeacon who was in rebellion with the Archbishop for ignoring the traditions of the St. Thomas Christians.


B. N. L., Fundo Geral, Reservados Cod. 464, fl. 11. See also D. Ferroli S. J., op. cit., p. 33.

Portuguese and also declared non-cooperation to the Jesuits. This led to a rebellion, which is locally known as Coonankurisusatyam.

**Coonankurisusatyam** is said to be an oath made by the St. Thomas Christians under the leadership of their Archdeacon that they would never obey the Jesuit fathers. It is said that they made the oath holding a rope tied to a cross in Mattancherry. It was on 3 January 1663. The oath was made in the presence of the lighted lamp and crucifix by touching the Bible in the main altar. It is said that about thirty-three thousand St. Thomas Christians had gathered in Mattancherry. With this oath the St. Thomas Christian community was sharply divided into two factions accepting the Jesuits (though not open heartedly) and the other faction following the Archdeacon, the traditional temporal head of the St. Thomas Christians. The Portuguese had no other interests in Malabar than protecting the Padroado rights of the Portuguese and the interests of the Jesuits.

The Cassanars and other leaders of the St. Thomas Christians decided to consecrate Thomas de Campo as the Bishop by the laying on of hands by twelve cassanars. The consecration was arranged in the Church of Managatte on 22 May 1653. To justify their acts the Cassanars including Kallucherry Ittithomman and Parampil Chandy forged a document of the Pope authorising the twelve Cassanars to consecrate the bishop. The Raja of Cochin supported the St. Thomas Christians. Thereafter the laying upon of hands, Thomas de Campo acted as Bishop of the rebel St. Thomas Christians with the name Mar Thoma. Due to the hatred the St. Thomas Christians had towards the Jesuits, they were terrified and never again were allowed to enter the kingdom of Mangatte.
The reasons that led to the oath of Coonancross was the attempt of the Portuguese to reduce the difference between the St. Thomas Christians and the Roman church and the resistance to it from the part of the Archdeacon and the supporters. The means they applied to remove the difference between the two churches were various synods and councils convened by the Portuguese, the intervention in the priestly formation of the St. Thomas Christians in the Latin style, the reduction of the power of the Archdeacon, transfer of the see of Angamaly to Cranganore, preventing the entry of the prelates of the St. Thomas Christians from the Middle East, appointment of Jesuit bishops using Padroado right and so on. All these factors combined together created a response in which the St. Thomas Christians ventilated their suppressed feelings in the form of an oath which led to the division of the St. Thomas Christian community which has been living together for centuries undivided. The Portuguese themselves have analysed the reason for the revolt. According to the Portuguese the reason for the revolt was the wish of the St. Thomas Christians to continue the customs of the Babylonian Patriarch which were more liberal than those imposed by the Roman Church.104

The king of Cochin, in all these perturbations, in the heart of his heart sided with the Archdeacon105 who was a native of the land. But his contract with the king of Portugal as 'brothers in arms' compelled him not to take an open stand against the Portuguese. Even under such circumstances, some of the St. Thomas Christians used to render whatever service they could do for the sake of the King of Portugal. Some of them helped the Portuguese in the pepper trade.106

Many priests of the St. Thomas Christians were not serving that Christianity now.107 The reason behind it might be either the married clergy were forbidden from serving in the Church or the payments were not made because of the financial decay of the Portuguese state. Therefore they had to look for other substitutes for their livelihood. The stipend of the clerics had not been paid for a long time.108

104 "Documentos Anexos", No. 27 in Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, N°. 23, p. 171
107 ibid., fl. 1.
108 ibid., fl. 1.
When Garcia informed Rome of the situation in Malabar, the Pope sent the Carmelite priests. They reached Malabar, and worked independently trying to reconcile both parties. Archdeacon would not be satisfied unless by getting his Episcopal ordination ratified by the Pope. As his Episcopal ordination was not valid it was not very easy. Therefore the Carmelites could not find an easy solution to the question. There was a large number amounting to 150,000 Christians in support of the Archdeacon.109

Dom Francisco Garcia, the Archbishop of the St. Thomas Christians died in the first week of September 1659.110 Following the death of Archbishop Dom Francisco Garcia, Francisco Barreto of the Company of Jesus was nominated to be the bishop of Angamaly. But there was resistance on the part of the St. Thomas Christians. Actually Garcia had nominated him before his death. The Apostolic Commissary Frey Jacintho de São Vicente, a Carmelite, declared that Archbishop could not make such a nomination.111 In 1659 a Carmelite, Giuseppe da S. Maria (Sebastiani), an Italian, was consecrated bishop and was appointed as the Vicar Apostolic of the Serra under the Propaganda. With this the period of Padroado ended among the St. Thomas Christians.112 He had to deal with the Portuguese missionaries who were exponents of Portuguese Padroado in Malabar and also the Archdeacon who was leading the anti-Roman faction.113 He also continued his efforts to dissuade the Archdeacon, which became futile. When Cochin fell to the Dutch, Giuseppe (Joseph) da Santa Maria consecrated Chandy a Cossanar of Kuravilangad as Bishop, which was a blow to the party of the Archdeacon.114

111 ibid.
113 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 636.
There were a lot of St. Thomas Christians who followed the Archdeacon, the false bishop of Malabar.\textsuperscript{115} Though there were efforts on the part of various missionaries, they were not ready to subject themselves to the obedience of Rome.\textsuperscript{116}

Thus after one and a half centuries of Portuguese interaction in India, the St. Thomas Christians of India who have been standing united for centuries were divided into two factions one which followed the legitimate bishops appointed by the Holy Father and the other faction following the Archdeacon. This was the result of the Portuguese efforts to alienate the St. Thomas Christians from the socio-cultural life that they have been living for centuries and to lessen the difference between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese Christianity by bringing them under the obedience of Rome.

\textbf{V. 2. 2. Quilon Christians}

No mention is made in the Portuguese documents about the existence of such a community during this period. Therefore we can infer that they might have subjected themselves to the Portuguese missionaries joining themselves with the new converts. It was not difficult for them to adapt to the demands of the Portuguese missionaries as they had earlier connections with the European Missionaries.

The Church of Quilon, which belonged to the St. Thomas Christians, dedicated to St. Thomas, was left for the Portuguese. For, on account of the fights, many Christians died there. The St. Thomas Christians built another Church dedicated to St. Mary and they were living there at the end of the sixteenth century without proper cassenars to baptise them.\textsuperscript{117}


\textsuperscript{117} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 230.
V. 2.3. The New Converts

After 1567, the number of conversions in and around Cochin increased. One of the reasons was the permission the king of Cochin granted to the Portuguese to convert the people. In 1568 about 374 people received baptism from various jatis like Nairs, Ezhavas, Arayas and Pulayas. Soon there was another solemn baptism in which 140 persons belonging to various noblest and richest families got converted. It was followed by baptisms of 220 and 80 persons respectively. The majority of these Christians lived in Palluruthy where the king allowed the Portuguese to build a Church. Next year in 1569 another group of 700 people received baptism. At the same time there were cases where the king of Purakad deprived the Arayas of their possessions on account of the conversion to Christianity. Thus depending upon the attitude of the kings there took place baptisms. The Portuguese king also encouraged conversions by granting various benefits to the new converts. The king asked the viceroy to present baptismal dress to the new converts at the expense of king’s exchequer.

But in Calicut, the number of conversions was very meagre. The reason was that the Zamorin in the heart of his heart was not in favour of conversions. Exploiting that situation, the Muslims used to persecute the Christians. The existing few Christians could continue in faith just because of the peace treaty with the Zamorin and the Portuguese. Even in the coastal areas of Quilon, the number of conversions went down. It was because of the enmity of the gentiles towards the new converts. Always the gentiles used to create problems.

119 ibid., p. 670.
122 Fernão Guerreiro, Relaçam Anual Das Couas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 607. 1 608. & do processo da conversão & Christandade daquellas partes, com mais hua addiçam à relaçam de Ethiopia, Lisboa, 1611, p. 63.
123 ibid., p. 63.
124 ibid., p. 67.
The conversion sometimes created some socio-cultural issues in the society. There were cases when gentiles received baptism, some of their wives were not willing to be converted. This led to problems like giving up of husband as if he was dead.\textsuperscript{125} The Portuguese took special interest to protect the Christians. As part of their religious favour, they sometimes even supported the criminals. In Cannanore, one of the Christian nairs, took refuge in the chapel of the fortress against the wrath of the king of Cannanore for the crime of murdering one of King's nairs.\textsuperscript{126}

At times there were persecutions on the part of the Hindus towards the new converts. There were occasions where the gentiles destroyed their churches. Another problem the Portuguese had to tackling was the conversion of the lower jatis to Christianity. Sometimes separate churches were to be made for them.\textsuperscript{127}

Though in Christianity all were considered equals, some times the lower caste people such as Ezahvas and the fishermen had to assist the Mass from the porch of the Churches whereas the foreigners and the slaves of the St. Thomas Christians could enter inside the church. The Portuguese claimed that it was for avoiding scandal to the converts from the Nairs and the Brahmins. To evade such a situation, a separate church was built very close to the older church in Purakkad for the converts from lower castes.\textsuperscript{128}

On the coast of Travancore there were 32 churches, which were run by the Jesuits with the money from the Portuguese crown. There were a lot of people on the way of conversion to whom were also given money as they were in utter poverty.\textsuperscript{129} The number of converts from Nairs, Nambudiris and the Moors were few in

\textsuperscript{125} François Pyrard of Laval, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 390.
\textsuperscript{126} Geneviève Bouchon, \textit{Regent of the Sea: Cananore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528}, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{127} Georg Schurhammer, S.J., \textit{The Mission Work of the Jesuits in Muthedath (alias: Arthunkal) and Porakad in the 16th and 17th Centuries}, pp. 13, 16.
\textsuperscript{128} B. L., \textit{Additional MS. 9853}, "\textit{Annua do Sul de 602}" fl. 25. See also Georg Schurhammer, S.J., \textit{The Mission Work of the Jesuits in Muthedath (alias: Arthunkal) and Porakad in the 16th and 17th Centuries}, p. 26.
Travancore. Most of the converts were from the Mukkuvus and Paravas.\textsuperscript{130} Between 1600-1604 there was a persecution in Travancore. About 20,000 Christians had to flee and their churches were demolished. But later on, at the effort of Pe. Nicolo de Espinola, the king rebuilt the churches and allowed the people to come back.\textsuperscript{131}

The "Annual da Vice Provincia de Sul de 601' says that at the beginning of the seventeenth century 200 persons were baptised in Mutorte and many of them were toddy-tapers.\textsuperscript{132}

The Jesuits were still very zealous in their missionary endeavour. They had different houses. In Calicut they had a house with two Jesuit priests. In Tanor they were still engaged in the conversion of the gentiles and also in the administration of sacraments for the other Christians. They were very strong in their Travancore mission. The principal churches of the newly baptized Christians in Travancore were Upper Quilon, Paimel, Mampolim, Putentopo, Agenga, Reitora, Bringão, Puduturrei, Coleche, Cariapatão, Santa Luzia, Topo, Raquiamangalão, Covalão and Cape Comorin.\textsuperscript{133}

In 1622, we find that again on the part of the king of Cochin, there were objections towards the Christians. He maltreated many of them, which remained to be a hindrance for further conversions. Therefore the king of Portugal wrote to the king of Cochin to favour the Christians in Cochin.\textsuperscript{134} There were occasions earlier, because of the attitude of the king of Cochin who used to kill and take the properties of the baptised, when many nairs and Caimals restrained from receiving baptism. Some of them secretly went for catechism.\textsuperscript{135} The new converts from the noble castes like Brahmins and the Nairs were very few in areas like Cochin.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{130} B. N. L., Manuscrits Portugais I, fl. 311v.
\textsuperscript{131} D. Ferrol S. J., op. cit., p. 96.
\textsuperscript{132} B. L., Additional Ms. 9853, fl. 2v.
\textsuperscript{133} Pe. Manuel Godinho, op. cit., p. 238.
\textsuperscript{134} A. N. T. T., Colecção de S. Vicente, vol. 19, fol. 52 dated 3 March 1622.
\textsuperscript{136} B. N. F., Manuscrits Portugais I, fl. 302v.
By the second decade of the seventeenth century, the Dominicans had started missionary work in the Serra to convert the gentiles of those areas. By 1644, there were 2600 Christians in the mission of St. André, which consisted of Churches like Manacodarn, Kadakarappalli, St. Andrew, Kattur and Thumpoli, and there were almost 140 Christians in Tanore and Calicut. In Calicut, due to the benevolence of the Zamorin the Portuguese Jesuits could do a lot of missionary works. In 1654 there were some conversions and the number of new Christians in Calicut town as well as outside the town amounted to 320. When the members of the higher castes got converted they did it on condition that they would not be compelled to eat beef and that their dress would not be changed. This many a time created a feeling among the Portuguese that they were not true Christians.

In the coastal areas of Travancore, the Portuguese raised a large number of Christians. Most of the Paravas of the Travancore shore became Christians. They had a lot of Churches also. The benefits enjoyed by the new converts, the restrictions imposed on the Hindus by religious precepts, and the service-mindedness of the missionaries attracted so many to the Christian fold.

V. 2. 4. The Christians and Various Councils and Synods

The Provincial Councils were held in India in accordance with the requirements of the Canons of the Council of Trent. The Council of Trent was counterreformative in nature. To execute the canons of the council it had taken resolutions to convene Provincial Councils.

139 D. Ferroli S. J., op. cit., p. 258.
141 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 645.
V. 2. 4. A. The First Provincial Council of Goa

The First Provincial Council of Goa, the first ever-held council in India since the days of St. Thomas the Apostle, was convened in 1567. The decisions of the council were to be implemented in Goa, Malabar, Moçambique and Malaqua. As the Archdiocese of Angamaly was not under this Province, the St. Thomas Christians were not bound to obey the decrees of the Council. But it was binding on the diocese of Cochin, which was under the Goan province. In accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent, it accepted the Apostolic and Ecclesial traditions and sacred Scripture, seven sacraments, transubstantiation, purgatory and the position of the Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all other Churches. The Council through its various decrees dealt with a lot of socio-cultural issues, which had great impact on Malabar also. The question of conversions was discussed in the Council. The council declared that forced conversions were not to be encouraged. The forcible taking of children from the Hindu parents with a view to baptise them was also forbidden. But such children could be baptised after they had reached the age of discernment. In such cases those children could be accommodated in the houses of virtuous Christians. The council also ordered to bring up the orphans in the house of the honourable men, teaching them good manners with a view to future conversions lest their Hindu relatives should exploit them. The conversions were to be encouraged by building up churches in different places, appointing clergy in places where there were a lot of infidels, preventing the infidels from admonishing others either by word or deed to join their religion, asking the kings not to confiscate the property of those got converted to Christianity and by preventing concubines, second marriage and such types of unions among the infidels lest the people should be attracted to gentile religion. The non-Christians were forbidden from preaching their religion publicly and people were forbidden from hearing such public preaching.

145 ibid., pp. 7, 8.
146 ibid., pp. 9, 16.
147 ibid., p. 21.
148 ibid., p. 11.
149 ibid., p. 20.
150 ibid., p. 15.
The books containing precepts of Hindu religion were also forbidden, as they would be scandalous to the new converts.151

Another area of intervention of the council was caste system. Though the Council did not want to encourage caste system, it tolerated it. The council pondered over the situation where no one would eat with people of lower castes, as there was threat of losing ones caste. Therefore the Council admonished the faithful not to give food to the members of the lower castes if they were not ready to become Christians. At the same time the council provided room for supplying food to the lower caste people in case of extreme necessity.152

Idolatry was yet another concern of the Council. Idolatry on the part of the gentiles could be a scandal to the new Christians who were obliged to adore the Only True God. Such worship of idols would resuscitate among the new converts the memory of their past and it would endanger their catholic life. Therefore the synod asked to destroy all idolatrous places in the province. It also insisted upon the destruction of private as well as public veneration to Mohammed. The Council also prohibited the Hindu customs like sati, anointing with oil, sandal and other things, ceremonial washings, fasting, pilgrimage, casting of thread, putting of sandal on the forehead and chest, supplication with and without rice, diabolic marriage rites, the burning of dead bodies, giving of food to the corpse, or supply of food to others in the name of the dead and any other public or occult ceremonies.153

The council also took measures against the inordinate intermingling between the Christians and the non-Christians. The favour some of the Christians showed towards the rites of the infidels, lending of jewels, musical instruments, artillery and other things used for the feasts, burials, and lending of boats for the feasts and pilgrimages of the heathen and so on were forbidden under pain of excommunication.154 The processions on the feasts and pilgrimages of the non-

152 ibid., pp. 8, 9.
153 ibid., pp. 13, 14. All these were not enforced everywhere. In places like Goa, where the Portuguese were the supreme power, it was easy to enforce all these laws.
Christians used to pass through the neighbourhood of Christian's residences. To protect the new Christians, the council prohibited under pain that such pilgrimages and feasts could never be conducted in and through the land of the Christians.  

Decree 23 affirmed that the mixing of the infidels with the new Christians created a lot of problems. Therefore the Council ordered that no native Christian should live with the infidel in the same house. If anyone acted contrary to it, the prelate could punish him. They were also forbidden from serving the infidels in their houses. Even if they worked in some of the fields of the gentiles, they should never support the idol worship and Hindu way of life. Through decree 25, the council demanded Christian women and boys to refrain from visiting the houses of the Muslims except with their masters or parents. Anyone who violated this could be given a penalty of 50 Cruzados.

Other two areas where the contacts with the infidels were to be checked were those of arts and medicine. The council noticed that even the pagans were employed for making church articles, images and so on. Decree 28 admonished Christians not to entrust to the Hindus the painting of anything related to divine cult and also asked not to employ them for making sacred objects like cross, paten, and chalice which were used for Divine Cult. No painters were allowed to paint the mystery of Christian faith without the prior authorisation of the concerned prelate. The next decree forbade the Christians from approaching an infidel doctor, as the council doubted a lot of evils in that. It held that the Christians could go to the heathen doctor only on inevitable circumstances and that also with the permission of the prelate.

Another area of Portuguese intervention was slavery. In India there were a lot of domestic and agricultural slaves who did not have much liberty. Decree 17 makes mention of the custom among the foreign Muslim merchants who brought a lot of heathen slaves so that they could be made Christians in their native lands. The council

---

155 ibid., p. 15.
156 ibid., pp. 21, 22.
157 ibid., p. 23.
158 ibid., pp. 24, 25, 45-46.
159 ibid., p. 25.
prohibited the passage of such slaves and masters through the area of Christians and asked the Christians not to travel under pain of excommunication in such ships containing slaves and their masters. This punishment was extended to the pilots, captains and masters of such ships. The prelate or the vicars were to be informed about such ships as soon as they disembarked from the ships. As it was a violation of the conditions of the cartazes they were to be given severe punishments and the concerned slaves should be entrusted to the Christians. Decree No. 16 further insisted that no infidel could have a Christian slave and if there was any slave who desired to become Christian, under the custody of the infidels, he should be liberated.\textsuperscript{160} The severe punishment with fire or extraordinary means, which would sometimes amount to death, was prohibited. It also asked not to employ them on Sundays and other holidays. The vicars were entrusted with the task of instructing the slaves working in commercial centres.\textsuperscript{161} 

The council also took measures to remove some of the gentile customs such as caste system, mixed marriages, ceremonial mourning over the dead body, visit to temples, offering of money and gifts to the temples, participation in heathen festivals and marriage celebrations and the use of heathen names among the Christians.\textsuperscript{162} 

The council also asked the Municipal administration to limit the residential areas of Muslims, the foreign gentiles and public women. It was to avoid many evils from the society.\textsuperscript{163} 

There arose the question of the Armenian and Georgian Christians who used to move around in India in their native dress. The council asked them to adopt the dress of the Christians of the land. At the same time the council asked the native Christians as well as the Christian women to adopt a distinguishing dress.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{160} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 17, 18, 19. 
\textsuperscript{161} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 30, 51. 
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{ibid.}, p. 31. 
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{ibid.}, p. 52. 
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 29, 30.
In the Churches and Chapels of the religious, both men and women were asked to have separate places according to the decision of the prelate. It was with a view to participating in the divine worship more honestly. The Council also made arrangements for the payments of the ecclesiastics serving the Churches and convents.

These decrees had their bearing on Malabar as the bishop of Cochin took part in the same. He was supposed to implement them in his diocese which was consisted of the new converts form Malabar and also the Portuguese and mixed Christians who lived in Malabar.

V. 2. 4. B. The Second Provincial Council of Goa

The Second Provincial Council of Goa was held in 1575. Dom Henrique de Tavora, the Bishop of Cochin and Mar Abraham, the Archbishop of Angamaly were invited for this council together with other prelates of the Province. But Mar Abraham did not attend it on account of his previous experiences of maltreatment on the part of the Portuguese in Goa during his return from Rome. He had lost his faith in the Latin Bishops. But as the Bishop of Cochin participated in the Synod it had its impact in Malabar.

This council also framed decrees with a view to improving the fate of the orphans, slaves, and new converts. But the decrees were formed in such a way as to avoid scandals to the new Christians and also to encourage further conversions.

One of the new issues that was dealt with in this council was the improvement of the fate of the widows. The widows used to shave off their hairs to show that they were widows and they could never get married again. The Council ordered to see that no widow shaved off her head. It also declared that the widows could remarry. The

---

165 ibid., p. 41.
166 ibid., p. 42.
167 ibid., p. 3.
168 ibid., pp. 79, 80.
confiscation of the property of those hindered it was also ordered by the Council.\textsuperscript{171}

Another concern of the council was the misery of those in the galley. It passed decrees to improve their status.\textsuperscript{172}

Though Mar Abraham, the Archbishop of Angamaly did not take part in the council, decrees were framed for the St. Thomas Christians also. It declared that one of the reasons for the abuses among the St. Thomas Christians was the coming of the prelates from Chaldea. Therefore to get rid of the abuses, their bishops should be one presented by the king of Portugal. It was also mentioned in the decree that as the Archbishopric of Angamaly did not have suffragan dioceses and the Chaldean churches were far away, the Archbishop of Angamaly had an obligation to participate in the Provincial Councils of Goa.\textsuperscript{173}

V. 2. 4. C. The Third Provincial Council of Goa

The Third Provincial Council, held in Goa in 1585, was attended by two prelates from Malabar- Mar Abraham, the prelate of the St. Thomas Christians and Dom Matheus, the Bishop of Cochin.\textsuperscript{174} Mar Abraham attended the Council, as there was a letter from the Pope requesting him to attend the same. Pope had given a letter of safe conduct to Mar Abraham so that there might not be disturbance on the part of the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{175} The council dealt with the decrees related to the previous councils.

The Council passed decrees against idolatry, gentile rites,\textsuperscript{176} making of temples,\textsuperscript{177} mystical conversation and co-habitation of the infidels with the Christians,\textsuperscript{178} treatments under the infidel physicians,\textsuperscript{179} service of infidel accountants under the Christian masters in their negotiations and their entry into the houses of the

\textsuperscript{70} António de Gouveia, , op. cit., p. 61.
\textsuperscript{71} J. H. Da Cunha Rivara, op. cit., Fascicu 4, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{72} ibid., pp. 97, 98.
\textsuperscript{73} ibid., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{74} V. Nagam Aiyar, , op. cit., p. 170. See also B. N. L., Fundo Geral, Reservados, Cod. N°. 116, fl. 111.
\textsuperscript{75} Michael Geddes, op. cit., p. 32.
\textsuperscript{76} J.H. Da Cunha Rivara, op. cit., p. 121.
\textsuperscript{77} ibid., p. 123.
\textsuperscript{78} ibid., p. 130.
\textsuperscript{79} ibid., p. 133.
Christians, simony and usury among the priests of Malabar, the use of mixed wine for the mass, opening of the Churches during the night, and superstitions of the Brahmins.

The Council also decided not to issue cartazes for the ships destined to Mecca for pilgrimage. It also forbade the Portuguese ships from taking the relics of the infidels and ashes. In the marriage celebrations of the gentiles diabolic rites and customs were applied. The council found it as a scandal to the new converts. The council decided to request the king of Portugal to issue orders prohibiting gentile ceremonies and public feasts of the gentiles.

In Malabar many Christian children had their learning from some of the infidels. Especially, the St. Thomas Christians used to undergo training in arms under the heathen masters like Panikars. Before the starting of such learning the students were taken for initiation to certain temples or images. The Council prohibited the Christians from these kinds of idolatries and training under the infidel masters, as there were Christians masters.

The Councils also lamented over the situation where the new Christians were deprived of their property, honour, and offices, which had been there and imposing upon them new and unjust tributes as a consequence of their conversion. This was done especially by the king of Cochin and his other vassals. The council requested the king of Portugal to write to the king of Cochin on this matter.

The Council took special attention in the case of the St. Thomas Christians. Their prelate was asked to make a confession of faith accepting the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was asked to punish the heretics. It took special care in the case
of the priests of the St. Thomas Christians who did not have enough means to survive either on the part of the Church or on the part of the people. The council requested the king of Portugal to send an amount of 1000 cruzados for the maintenance of the clergy of that Christianity.\(^{189}\) The age for the reception of Holy Order was fixed as 25 and the priests were forbidden from receiving money for the administration of sacraments, and marital relationships according to the directives of Canon Law. Clerics who received any sacred orders over sub-deaconates were forbidden from marrying and if they married that would be null and they would be excommunicated. Mar Abraham was asked not to ordain any more priests as there were enough and more priests in Malabar. Besides, the ordained priests were asked to always wear tonsure, and religious habit and to abstain from all kinds of simonies. Besides, the Council insisted upon the establishment of seminaries in each bishopric with a view to creating a clergy familiar with the system of the Roman clergy.\(^{190}\) The priests ordained for one diocese must remain in their own diocese and they should not be admitted to celebrate sacraments without celebræ.\(^{191}\)

It was also decided to translate the Missal and Roman Breviary into Syriac for the use of the St. Thomas Christian priests. Many other prayers and catechism books were translated into Malayalam. The need for erecting seminaries in each diocese of the Province was also insisted upon in the Council.\(^{192}\)

With this synod, the Archbishop Mar Abraham accepted the decrees of the two previous Councils held in Goa.\(^{193}\) Therefore it could be certainly asserted that the Provincial councils affected the St. Thomas Christians only after the third Provincial Council held in 1585. It was made mandatory through the canons of the Councils that no bishop could come to India without presenting his credentials to the Archbishop of Goa, whether he came from Rome or Chaldean Church.\(^{194}\) This was an attempt on the

\(^{190}\) ibid., pp. 145-146.
\(^{191}\) Authorizing letter of the bishop given to a priest giving him permission to celebrate Divine Liturgy in other places. ibid., p. 147.
\(^{192}\) ibid., pp. 149, 152.
\(^{193}\) ibid., p. 148.
\(^{194}\) ibid., pp. 151, 152.
part of the Archbishop of Goa to intervene unnecessarily in the affairs of the Malabar Church.

Mar Abraham, the Archbishop of Angamaly, though promised to follow the canons of the Third Provincial Council of Goa, did not practise it when he reached back Malabar.\textsuperscript{195}

V. 2. 4. D. The Fourth Provincial Council of Goa

The fourth Provincial Council was held in Goa in 1592.\textsuperscript{196} The council confirmed the canons of the previous Provincial Councils held in Goa. In addition to that the entry of the infidels into the houses where there were women was restricted to the drawing room under threat of punishment,\textsuperscript{197} the living of the public women in the streets or neighbourhood where the spinster Christians lived,\textsuperscript{198} the service of the Christians in the factory of the gentiles,\textsuperscript{199} and the service of the priests in royal places\textsuperscript{200} were prohibited.

V. 2. 4. E. The Synod of Diamper

The Synod of Diamper was convened on 20 June 1599 in the All Saints Church, in the kingdom of Diamper\textsuperscript{201} with a view to bringing the St. Thomas Christians of Angamaly Archdiocese under the obedience of Rome.\textsuperscript{202} The Canons of the Synod of Diamper show that, the synod was convened, as the canons of the Provincial Councils were not fruitfully implemented in Malabar on account of the disinterest of the Prelate, Archdeacon and the people as a whole. This made Dom Alexis Menezis, the Archbishop of Goa to convene a Synod at Diamper in Malabar. As we have already seen, for the preparation of the ground the Archbishop Dom Menezis visited various churches of the St. Thomas Christians.

\textsuperscript{195} Frei Paulo de Trinidad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 347.
\textsuperscript{196} J.H. Da Cunha Rivara, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 185.
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{ibid.}, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{198} \textit{ibid.}, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{199} \textit{ibid.}, p. 192.
\textsuperscript{200} \textit{ibid.}, p. 195.
\textsuperscript{201} B. N. F., \textit{Manuscritos Portugais 42}, fl. 1.
Regarding the validity of the synod and its conduct there have been so many studies. There were many scholars who maintained that Dom Menezis did not have the right to hold a diocesan synod in Malabar, as he did not have any jurisdiction over the St. Thomas Christians.\(^{203}\)

The synod made decrees to minimise the degree of contacts between the St. Thomas Christians and the Hindus with whom they had been living for centuries. Various realms of contacts were cut off. When the children of the St. Thomas Christians became eight years old, they were taken to some Kalaris for the training in arms. The training was usually under a panikar who generally was from the Hindu religion. The synod forbade the Christian children from going to a heathen panikar. But they could go to a heathen Panikar if there was no Christian master in the neighbourhood. But it was to be assured that such Hindu masters did not demand the students to adore the idols. It was entrusted to the church to establish schools for the children and the schoolmasters were to see that no idols were kept in such schools for the sake of the heathen children.\(^{204}\) Another area of contacts between the Hindus and the St. Thomas Christians was the employment of heathen midwives for the delivery of Christian women. The synod wanted Christian midwives to assist the Christian women during their delivery so that their service could be used for the baptism of the child, in case need arose.\(^{205}\)

Another area of Portuguese intervention was slavery. In Malabar there were many domestic slaves and there was the sale of the same. The council did not want the Christians to keep infidel slaves without baptizing them. Besides, the sale of Christian slaves to the Hindus, Muslims and the Jews was prohibited by the synod.\(^{206}\)

In Malabar, at times newly born children were abandoned under some trees or in some ditches by their parents because of various reasons including an unfavourable


\(^{203}\) For detailed discussion about the issue see Jonas Thaliath, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-174.


\(^{205}\) *ibid.*, p.115.
horoscope. The synod insisted that the Christians should take such children home and bring them up in Christian faith as an act of charity. It was made the obligation of the Parish Priests to see how they were brought up.\footnote{207}

The names of the St. Thomas Christians were adopted either from the Old Testament or from native stocks and generally they were called by a different name other than the baptismal name. The synod admonished the parish priests to give names only from the New Testament and also to call the people only by their baptismal names.\footnote{208}

The celebration of marriage was an occasion for the St. Thomas Christians to demonstrate their privileges and also to show the traits of their socio-cultural life. They commonly shared some of these customs with their non-Christian counterparts. The Synod considered such customs and ceremonies as heathen and many of them were prohibited. Accordingly, the selection of auspicious day for marriage, the conducting of marriage just by tying a tali by the neck of the bride outside the church, the marriage without the presence of priests and witnesses,\footnote{209} the marriage between close relatives, the marriage of boys below fourteen and girls below twelve, insistence on more dowry after marriage,\footnote{210} and the drawing of certain figures and circles in the panthal as a symbol of fertility\footnote{211} were forbidden. The newly married couple used to go to the church only after the fourth day of their marriage. The synod found it to be an imitation of the Jewish practice and asked the couple to go to the Church from the very first day of their marriage.\footnote{212}

The synod also attributed polygamy to the St. Thomas Christians. The synod asked the St. Thomas Christians to get rid of all their wives except the first.\footnote{213} But the Joseph the Indian, a native priest of Cranganore, in his accounts, held that the St.
Thomas Christians were monogamous and that divorce was unheard of among the St. Thomas Christians.  

Yet another area of intervention of the synod was the reformation of the clergy of Malabar who were leading a deplorable life due to the lack of economic means for subsistence, serving the heathen kings in military and administrative spheres and also engaging in simony and worldly business. Some of the priests used to get protection from the kings against their prelates. The synod came forward with ipso facto excommunication measures against such priests. To keep the dignity of priesthood, they were also forbidden from eating in public and dining with infidels, Muslims and Jews under pain of excommunication. Changes were made in their traditional habit. They were forbidden from moving in secular dress and the use of indigenous habit for the priests. The priests were asked to wear the European dress, always and everywhere. Against the custom of the Malabar priests, it was maintained that they could shave off their beard. They were also asked to cut their heir lest they should be a hindrance to drinking the blood of Christ.

An additional problem that the synod tackled was that of the married clergy. It was against the tradition of the Western Church. Though there were married clergy in other churches too, there was an exceptional situation in Malabar. This was a unique tradition. Here, the priests used to get married even after their ordination. The reason might be the ordination of Malabar priests when they were quite young. The wives of the cassanars were much respected in Malabar and they were identified by a cross worn around their neck. The priests who were married were suspended through regulations of the synod. The married clergy was to restore their priestly

---

214 Antony Vallavanthara, op. cit., p. 178. It is highly probable that what Portuguese meant by polygamy was the stay of the female slaves as well as concubines in Malabar in the houses of their masters, which was part of the socio-cultural life.
216 ibid., p. 162.
217 ibid., p. 163.
219 António de Gouveia, , op. cit., p. 159.
ministry only after leaving their wives. The wives of the priests, who were reluctant to leave, were threatened with degradation in the church. 221

According to the custom of the Hindus, the St. Thomas Christians used to fast on fixed days. On such days of fasting, they used to take bath early in the morning and keep away from the lower caste people including the nairs. The synod condemned it as a gentile practice. 222 The synod also accepted untouchability to a great extent because of the privileged position the St. Thomas Christians had in the society. At the same time it instructed that if a St. Thomas Christian touched a person of a lower caste unknowingly, he was not to run to take bath. Such people should be punished. 223

Together with prohibiting some of the socio-cultural customs related to marriage, 224 the synod also intervened in some of the customs related to childbirth. In Malabar after the childbirth the women were allowed to go to the Church only after forty days if the baby was a boy and eighty days if it was a girl. This was a Hindu as well as Jewish custom, which considered women as impure after childbirth. This was condemned by the synod. 225

The burial of the Christians outside Church, 226 consultation with magical books, witches and fortune-tellers, 227 buying and selling of children, 228 participation in the heathen ordeals and oaths, festivals like onam, 229 selling of liquors in inns owned by the Christians, 230 and the use of false weights 231 were also forbidden by the synod.

The dressing pattern of the St. Thomas Christians also underwent changes. The external appearance of the Christians resembled that of the nairs who went naked

---

221 ibid., p. 166.
222 ibid., p. 118.
223 ibid., p. 203.
225 ibid., p. 203.
226 ibid., pp. 197, 198.
227 ibid., p. 205.
228 ibid., p. 205.
229 ibid., pp. 208, 204.
230 ibid., p. 209.
231 ibid., pp. 210, 211.
except down the waist. From the waist to the knees they used silk dress. Like the nairs they grew their hair in Kudumi into which a cross inserted would show their Christian identity. The men used to bore their ears and adorned them with golden ornaments.\textsuperscript{232}

Among the St. Thomas Christians, the inheritance was through the sons and never through the daughters. In situations where there was no male offspring, even if there were daughters, the property went to the closest male relative. The synod judged that, inheritance should be given to the daughters in case of the absence of sons to inherit.\textsuperscript{233}

The St. Thomas Christians, being agricultural people lived in scattered villages amidst the infidels. The synod asked the Christians to live together in existing villages or to build new villages with parish churches.\textsuperscript{234} The intention of the synod was to separate the Christians from the gentiles and lessen their contacts so that the heathen practices would not creep into Christianity. But it seems that the Portuguese did not succeed fully in separating the St. Thomas Christians from the infidels. By the middle of the seventeenth century also we see the St. Thomas Christians living among the infidels, Moors and the Jews in places like Chanota and Parur.\textsuperscript{235}

From the decrees of the Synod it is clear that the synod promulgated such legislations just because the decrees of the Provincial Councils of Goa did not become very popular in Malabar due to various reasons. So the Synod was convened in a place in Malabar and also in a place where the Portuguese had much influence. Through these decrees the Synod was trying to westernize and latinise the St. Thomas Christians.


\textsuperscript{233} Scaria Zacharia, ed., \textit{The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper 1599}, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{234} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 213.

\textsuperscript{235} B. N. F., \textit{Manuscrits Portugais I}, fl. 296v.
V. 2. 4. F. The Fifth Provincial Council of Goa

The fifth Provincial Council of Goa was held in Goa in 1606 under the presidency of Dom Aleixo Menezis. Most of its decrees are concerned with the conversions and the protection of the new converts. Many of these issues were treated in the previous Provincial Councils. The plight of the widows in India was very bad. Therefore the synod ordered that no Christian widow who was below fifty years of age should shave off her hair.

Thus all these Councils and Synods became instrumental in bringing about drastic changes in the society by which the social fabric, which had been there for centuries, was disrupted. The way of life of the new converts as well as that of the St. Thomas Christians changed a lot. A new lifestyle, which was far from the traditional one, originated in Malabar.

V. 3. The Interaction between the Portuguese and the Muslims

A lot of Arab Muslims used to travel in Portuguese ships. The First Provincial Council of Goa forbade the travel of the Arab Muslims in the Portuguese ships. Besides, the Muslims were asked not to take along with them the books and relics related to their religion through the areas of the Christians. In case, they travelled through such lands, the Vicar of that place could examine their baggage. All these were introduced with a view to controlling the spread of Islam in India. This created a rupture in the relationship between the Portuguese and the Muslims.

The Muslims of Malabar were against the Archbishop Meneszis’ visit in Malabar in his effort to bring the St. Thomas Christians to the obedience of Rome. They entered into terrible fight with the St. Thomas Christians in Tevalacare as they

237 ibid., p. 211.
239 António de Gouveia, op. cit., p. 123.
welcomed the Archbishop. In this fight the nairs of that area stood with the St. Thomas Christians.240

The Muslims who resided in the interior areas dissuaded the Areis (Malayarayas) from receiving baptism. In Canharapaly (Kanjirappally) also the Muslims were against these new Christians.241 Besides, there were occasions when the missionaries had to suffer a lot from the Muslims. A certain Fr. Francisco Baptista was taken captive in Kunhali. Sometimes, the missionaries were physically wounded by the Muslims or they were put in captivity.242

Though the Portuguese used every means to control the Indian Ocean trade with Cartazes, we see that the Muslim merchants got pepper for Mecca from the king of Cochin himself. The means they applied for this was offer of higher prices for the commodity. The king of Cochin actually misused the Cartaz. Therefore the king asked not to issue cartazes to Malabar kings.243 As it was favourable for the king of Cochin, in spite of the contracts he had with the Portuguese, he supplied pepper to the Muslims. On account of this phenomenon, the Portuguese found it difficult to get enough pepper for their ships. Thus by offering better prices the Muslims tried to maintain their trade.

The principal reason for the enmity between the Portuguese and the Muslim merchants was the control of trade by the Portuguese using cartazes.244 The Muslim merchants used to move without cartazes. The Portuguese confiscated such ships. This added to the enmity between the two.245

240 ibid., p. 236.
241 ibid., p. 208.
243 See Letter written by El Rei to Dom Martim Afonso de Castro, the Viceroy doc. No. 8 dated 6 March 1605 in Raymundo Antonio de Buhlão Pato, Documentos remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXX, p. 36.
245 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 623.
The Portuguese never got rid of an opportunity to eradicate those who were threats to the maritime trade of the Portuguese. Kunhali Marakkar, a corsair in the Indian Ocean became a threat to the Portuguese. At the initial stage as he had the support of the Zamorin, the Portuguese could not do anything against him. By the end of the sixteenth century, when he became a threat to the Zamorin himself by assuming the title ‘King of Kotta’, the Zamorin promised to entrust him to the Portuguese.

V. 4. The Interaction between the Portuguese and the Jews

The Portuguese with an Iberian eye looked at the Jews in Malabar. In the Iberian Peninsula, most of the Jews were converted to Christianity. They doubted occult Jewish practices among the newly converted Jews. They found that the Jews would be a threat to the new converts. Therefore, the attempt of the Portuguese was to keep away the Jews from the new converts as well as trade, which was another area of competition with the Portuguese. But the Portuguese after the efforts of decades found that the Jews in India were not responding positively to the efforts of the Portuguese to convert them. Therefore the Portuguese took the conclusion that the Jews were the least interested in conversions.

Through a decree of the First Provincial Council of Goa, the Christians were forbidden under penalty of 100 pardaos the bringing and taking of any Jew to any commercial centre where Christians traded. This was to keep the Jews away from the trade and thereby to get rid of the competition on their part.

In the third Goan Provincial Council also, decrees were enacted regarding the communication between the Christians and the Jews. As the presence of the Jews would create some problems for the Christian faith, the council instructed not to lend houses to the Jews in towns and also among the Christians in places like Cochin.

---

247 Padre Joam de Lucena, op. cit., p. 54.
under a penalty of 100 cruzados. They were also forbidden under monetary punishment from entering the houses of the Christians.\textsuperscript{249}

Though the Portuguese were deadly against the Jews on account of religious and commercial rivalries, the St. Thomas Christians maintained or improved their relationship with the Jews. During the period before 1567, the relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and the Jews had worsened instigated by the activities and propaganda of the Portuguese against the Jews. But during this period under review we find there was co-operation between the Archdeacon, the temporal leader of the St. Thomas Christians and the Jews. It was through a Jew that the Archdeacon managed to get an Armenian in his support in 1611.\textsuperscript{250}

At times, the missionaries preached in the Synagogues. We find that the Archbishop Menezis used to send Francisco Roz, as he knew the language of the land, to preach in the synagogue. But it did not produce any result, as they were not open to it.\textsuperscript{251}

The Jews also stood with the St. Thomas Christians, Hindus, and the Muslims of Malabar in their resistance to the visit of Archbishop Dom Menezis in Malabar as part of his attempts at making St. Thomas Christians the subjects of the Church of Rome.\textsuperscript{252}

The king of Cochin, who died by August 1637, was not in very good terms with the Portuguese. The reason behind it, as given by the Portuguese was that, he was guided by a Jew by name Samuel Cashel who was his chief regent. This affected the Portuguese negatively because with him there were alterations in the price of the pepper.\textsuperscript{253} By the time the Portuguese left Cochin, there was a Jewish settlement in

\textsuperscript{249} \textit{ibid.}, p. 131.
\textsuperscript{250} See Letter of the king of Portugal to Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, Doc. No. 195, dated 10 March 1611 in Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções, Tomo II, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXXIV, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{251} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{252} \textit{ibid.}, p. 123.
Cochin outside the fortress. They lived without much communication with the Christians.  

V. 5. Various Other Realms of Interaction

The interaction between the Portuguese and Malabar societies cannot be confined to the above religious sections. It affected various other realms of social, cultural, economic and political life of Malabar.

V. 5. 1. Mercantile Activities

When we examine the volume of cargoes at the end of the sixteenth century we find that there was a decline in the pepper and spice that belonged to the crown. The reason behind it was the increase of illegal trade during this period. The private fortune seekers always found new routes of trade and new ports from where private trade could be carried on. This affected the Portuguese trade. Therefore the king ordered that no individual of whatever quality, whether Christian, Muslims or Hindus should load merchandise in small or big quantities, and that the ships carrying such merchandise be confiscated and burned and that the Moors in such ships be taken captive. The king ordered the captains and the soldiers to take care guarding the Malabar Coast so that illegal trade and movement of merchandise might not happen. But the Estado da Índia did not succeed in controlling the illegal trade. Therefore again the king of Portugal wrote a letter to the Viceroy on 16 April 1597 preventing all from trading in pepper and taking it to other ports under serious penalty and asked them to take pepper to the royal fortresses in India to be weighed there and sold to the Portuguese.

254 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 631.
255 Afzal Ahmad, Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663), Delhi, 2000, p. 199.
258 A.H.U., Caixa da Índia 001, Doc. No. 19.
The Muslim and Carnatic merchants used to collect pepper from interior areas evading the Portuguese. This illegal trade increased the price of pepper, which was 390-400 fanams per candi. This rose to 450 fanams by the year 1640.\(^{259}\) The reasons that could be attributed to the rise in price might be the existence of illegal trade and rival trade.

In spite of different warnings and threat of punishment illegal trade was carried on between the residents of the *Estudo da Índia* and the illegal traders including pirates. The king threatened with severe punishment against the illegal traders irrespective of the state, condition and quality of the persons.\(^{260}\) But the illegal trade was carried on. The royal officers through illicit means supplied licenses to the rich merchants to carry on trade with prohibited ports.\(^{261}\) The wood was one of the principal commodities exported from Cochin. The abundance of it, especially the apt wood for making ships was an attraction for the Portuguese.\(^{262}\)

There were very famous traders who were very rich. Ada Rajão was considered the richest merchant in the whole of south India. He was indebted to the Portuguese for the commercial relations that made him very rich.\(^{263}\) It is asserted by some scholars that the Portuguese encouraged the Christian and Hindu traders against the Muslim merchants.\(^{264}\) Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the Hindus in Malabar were not generally interested in trade. They were pushed to trade by the Portuguese.\(^{265}\) This was to break the monopoly of the Muslims in the trade in Malabar. This played a great role in bringing about changes in the socio-cultural life in Malabar.

\(^{259}\) Philip Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 622.
\(^{263}\) Frei Paulo da Trindade, *op. cit.*, Part. II, p. 263.
There is little mention in the Portuguese documents about the ships going to India after 1640. The year 1640 is marked by the end of the reign of the Spanish kings in Portugal. It seems that after this period the policy of Portugal changed. The growing threat of the Dutch in the Indian Ocean trade might have been the other reason, which led to the lessening of Portuguese sea borne traffic in the Indian Ocean.

Still there was trade between the different ports of Malabar and other ports in India. There were ships from the ports of Cochin, Cannanore, and Calicut in Surat by the middle of the seventeenth century.

In places like Calicut there were shops where Portuguese goods like swords, arms, books, cloths of Goa and other goods were available. They also sold stolen things brought from Portugal in Indian vessels. The Christians were forbidden from buying such things.

V. 5.2. Coinage

In Cochin, according to the request of Gaspar Alexandre, the Procurator general of India, permission was given on 28 March 1577 by the Governor to elect a competent person to issue coins called Bazarucos, which was a copper coin.

The coins which were in circulation in Cochin in the year 1587 were Santhomes doura, Ventos soldanos de Turquia, Pagodes velhos, Pagodes Novos, madrafaxaos de Cambaia, hum pardao de 8 reales, Patacois de prata velhos, patacois de malaca, Xeralfis de prata, larins compridos dorumus, hua tanga da prata, and hum vintem de prata.

266 B. N. L., Colecção Pombalina No. 265, fl. 158v.
V. 5.3. Shipbuilding

Cochin continued to develop as an important centre of shipbuilding because of the availability of good timber. Since shipbuilding was very important for maritime activities, the Portuguese felt the need of a man who would devote himself to look after the construction of ships. In 1573, the Viceroy asked the municipality to elect a person for this purpose. To encourage shipbuilding and to relieve the Estado da Índia from its financial burdens in this regard, one per cent was collected from the port and this was assigned for shipbuilding.

A ship, made in Cochin was named after the city of Santa Cruz in Cochin. This ship was made by the King of Cochin in honour of the Portuguese. It was of 1600 tons. It was sold to the Portuguese. It shows that by the end of the sixteenth century the Malabar ports were able to construct ships, which could ply even in the waters of Europe.

There were different types of ships in Malabar. Manchuaś, empalegas, balōc, and tones, were some among them. All the ships built in Cochin were quite beautiful. Some of the tones were well decorated like a house covering the roof with ola.

---


273 “Do Víz-Rei Dom António de Noronha que Trata Sobre o hum por Sento que a sídade de Cochin da para as Gales etc.”, dated 30 October 1572, p. 58-59, in K. S. Mathew & Afzal Ahmad, ed., op. cit., p. 59.


275 A cargo ship

276 A Malabar canoe which was also used for fishing. B. N. F., Manuscritois Portugais 1, fl. 303v.


278 Carved out of a single piece of wood. Some of them were quite big. P. A. Tiele, op. cit., vol. II, p. 227.


280 Ola is the palm leaf. B. N. F., Manuscritos Portugais 1, fl. 303v.
The advantage of the ships built in Cochin over the ships built in Portugal was that the ships built in Cochin were durable and less expensive than the ships that were built in Portugal.\(^{281}\) At times ships built in Cochin by the Portuguese were sold to the private traders. We see a ship made in Cochin being sold to a man in Surat.\(^{282}\)

**V. S. 4. Corsairs**

During the period when the Portuguese controlled the trade, the illegal trade increased together with the increase in corsairs. Actually this was a compensation. When free trade was not possible, some other substitute must be found out. It was this that made many Muslims like Kunhalis, pirates. Their wrath towards the Portuguese was ventilated at times by persecuting the Christians and the Portuguese missionaries.\(^{283}\) No one including the Zamorin was in a position to take action against these pirates as they had very good hideouts and other skills.\(^{284}\) Kunhali was the greatest corsair in Malabar. Another corsair of Malabar Coast was llamado Cutimuza who was the nephew and General of Kunhali.\(^{285}\) Kunhali had a fortress in the European fashion from where he controlled piracy. It was the rulers of Malabar who supported the growth of Kunhali, may be as an alternative to the Portuguese. But later on he disobeyed his very master the Zamorin and rebelled against him. By 1600, the Portuguese tried to capture Kunhali with the help of the Zamorin. The Portuguese beheaded him.\(^{286}\)

The methodology the pirates used to apply was to attack the ships carrying merchandise all of a sudden. In this endeavor the pirates used to have seven to eight ships.\(^{287}\) The Zamorin had made understanding with some of the corsairs who paid him tributes. Every year thousands of men used to move from Calicut to the sea to engage in piracy. They used to go to the Zamorin with presents and compel him to break the peace with the Portuguese.\(^{288}\)

\(^{281}\) Doc. 11 dated 22 February 1585, in Cunha Rivara, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
\(^{282}\) P:\'e\' Manuel Godinho, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
\(^{283}\) Antônio de Gouveia, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
\(^{286}\) François Pyrard of Laval, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-356.
\(^{287}\) A. de S. S. Costa Lobo, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
\(^{288}\) François Pyrard of Laval, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
The number of ports with corsair activity increased in the Malabar coast during this period. Pyrard of Laval found ports like Moutingué (Muttungal), Chombais (Chomboal), and Badara (Vadakara) Cangelotte (Kanjiram Cottu) as centres of Piracy. These pirates used to sell the captured goods at a cheaper rate even to the one from whom it was captured. Therefore, those who had a Portuguese cartaz were quite ready to buy them.

There were a lot of pirates on the coast of Porca (Purakkad). A lot of robbers had taken refuge over there. They were a real threat to all those who carried trade and other activities in the sea. By the settlement of Christians there, the Piracy disappeared from the beach of Porca. Archbishop Menezis succeeded in entering into a contract with the king of Porca that he would not allow any Muslims to settle on the ports of Porca. This gave peace in Porca.

Even some of Portuguese, with a view to increasing their private fortune, engaged in private trade. It was not easy to have private trade, in the territories of the Portuguese. It was to be carried on through the interiors of Malabar. Some other Portuguese traders found out another way-out for the same by entering in contract with the Pirates to whom they sold their goods.

Anyway, piracy was a substitute for trade in Malabar. This is clear from the life of Kunhali Marakkar. During his early days he was a pirate. Later on after the arrival of the Portuguese he became a merchant. But later on, again he turned to be a pirate again. This shows that piracy emereged as a substitute when trade was controlled by the Portuguese.

As a pirate, Kunhali became so powerful that he made a fort for himself, took many Christians captive, killed many of them, rebelled against the Zamorin, sent

289 ibid., pp. 337-338, 344.
290 ibid., p. 342.
ambassadors to the Moorish kings at his own authority, compelled even some of the Portuguese to navigate with his *cartazes* and kept titles like King, Defender of the Law of Muhammad, and the Lord of the Sea of the Portuguese.\footnote{294}

Against such a backdrop, the Portuguese joined hands with the Zamorin and captured him in 1600. He was taken to Goa, where he was cut into pieces, as he did not accept the option to receive baptism.\footnote{295}

V. 5.5. Portuguese and Kings of Malabar

There were many kings in Malabar who used to receive from the Portuguese a fixed annuity each year. The kings of Cochin, the king of Vadakkenkur (*Rey da pimenta*), and his mother, brother king of Mangatte, king of Porca, king of Diamper, king of Paru were some among them. They were paid this annuity for favouring pepper trade of the Portuguese by evicting all other competitors from the market.\footnote{296} It shows that all these kings of Malabar were in very good relationship with the Portuguese because of economic gain from the Portuguese. Even the Zamorin was interested in getting presents from other people. The magnanimity of the Zamorin depended on the presents that the traders gave him.\footnote{297} The Portuguese well apprehended the mood of the local rulers and they always offered presents to the kings in Malabar. The kings, without understanding the underlying motives behind them accepted the gifts and danced according to the tune of the Portuguese.\footnote{298}

In the conflict between the Archbishop Francisco Garcia and Archdeacon George, which led to the Oath of Coonancross, the Queen of Cochin supported the Archdeacon.\footnote{299}

\footnote{293 Frei Paulo de Trinidad, , *op. cit.* p. 70.}
\footnote{294 ibid., p. 271.}
\footnote{295 ibid., pp. 272, 280.}
\footnote{296 H. A. G., 3025, *Idem das fortalezas dalIndia*, vol. I, 1568, fl. 64v.}
\footnote{297 François Pynard of Laval, *op. cit.* p. 366.}
\footnote{298 António de Gouveia, , *op. cit.* p. 226.}
The relationship between the king of Kayamkulam and the Portuguese was very bad at the end of the sixteenth century. It was on account of the destruction of a Church belonging to the diocese of Cochin in which the Franciscans lived. The enmity had resulted in the closure of the river between Kayamkulam and Quilon affecting the passage of Portuguese commodity through this river. The Archbishop Menezis established peace between the two and got concessions for the Christians and he obtained on an *ola* in writing. This helped the trade and the increase in conversions and good of the Christians.300

By the end of the sixteenth century there was a change in the attitude of the Zamorin. Because of the diplomatic approach of the Portuguese, they could inject hatred towards the Muslims in the heart of the Zamorin who in his turn handed over Kunhali to the Portuguese. The Zamorin also permitted a few missionaries to preach in Calicut.301 He also gave place for the Jesuits to build a Church in Calicut.302 Even that time the Zamorin continued to be the unquestionable head of the Malabar king. For we find that even in the Feast of *Mamanga* held in 1600, all the kings of Malabar showed respect to him. Some Portuguese were also present in this *Mamanga*.

V. 5. 6. Factories and Fortresses

Imitating the fortress of the Portuguese, Kunhali made a fort. The Portuguese did not want to have a fort owned by a Muslim who would be a threat to Portuguese trade. Therefore they razed that fortress to the ground.304

The fortress of Cannanore had a *House of Charity* (*Misericordia*), hospital, a Vicar who belonged to the Franciscan Order, 40 inhabitants and about 20 indigenous people.305 But in the seventeenth century we find that, the fort of Cannanore was

---

303 It was a feast held near the river in Tanor in every 12 years in which all the kings of Malabar together with the lords participated. It was an occasion for the Zamorin to prove his overlordship and suzerainty. See Diogo do Couto, *op. cit.*, Decada XII, pp. 373-378.
305 *Relação da plantas, & descrições de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povações que os Portuguezes tem no Estado da India Oriental*: *Ms. Do Século XVII*, Lisboa, MCMXXXVI, p. 56.
neglected to a great extent. Pietro del Lavalle noticed during his journey that its wall had decayed. By the time François Pyrard of Laval visited Calicut in 1607, both Portuguese forts which were built one after the other in Calicut were in ruins.

The fortresses were the signs of Portuguese power in India. So the Portuguese took great care in the protection of the fortresses. The fort of Cochin was given extreme importance. For, it was the backbone of Portuguese activities in Malabar. The Portuguese were suspicious of the deteriorating condition of the fortress of Cochin. Therefore, the king of Portugal decided to send engineers to examine the strength of the fortress of Cochin.

In every fortress there were different officials like Captain, factor, Alcaidemor, clerk, storekeepers, clerks, bailiff of the fortress, rounds-men, condestabre, doorman, vicar and so on who were paid by the state.

V. 5. 7. The King of Cochin and the Urbanisation of Cochin

The relationship between the king of Cochin and the Portuguese continued without much rupture. But at the same time there were complaints against the king of Cochin regarding the disinterest he showed on Christianity as well as on trade. The Portuguese did not get enough pepper in the weighing centre of Cochin. They assumed that it was because of the disinterest of the king of Cochin as he had a lot of money. Actually the Portuguese were responsible for the economic prosperity of Cochin.

---

307 François Pyrard of Laval, op. cit., p. 374.
The king of Cochin was not satisfied with the visit of Dom Menezis in Serra for bringing them under the obedience of Rome. For he knew well, that the gain of the Archbishop would be a loss for him. For, if they had joined with the Portuguese, the king would lose 50,000 valiant Christian warriors. Therefore the king on the visit of the Archbishop in Mulanthuruthy supported the Archdeacon who imposed some chungam (tax) on those who visited the Archbishop. The king of Cochin did not show his dislike to the Portuguese outwardly. It was just because the king knew well that strained the relationship with the Portuguese would affect the money that he got from the port of Cochin. But secretly the king had reached an agreement with the Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians that he would give 150,000 nairs in case of a conflict with the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{313}

The custom of the crowning of the king of Cochin by the captain of the fortress of Cochin was continued even in the seventeenth century. After the abdication of Ramabrama (Ramavarma) the king of Cochin for Sanyasa in 1600 his successor Codobrama (Godavarama) was anointed king and was crowned by the captain of Cochin after the new king having made his oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal in 1602.\textsuperscript{314}

The king of Cochin did not show much interest in Christianity and he was not in favour of conversions. He used to persecute them, take their properties, and demolish their churches. He did not show respect to the Bishop of Angamaly and to the other religious.\textsuperscript{315} The king of Cochin continued his disinterest in Christianity and in the Portuguese for the rest of the period.\textsuperscript{316}


\textsuperscript{313} António de Gouvea, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 139, 141.


\textsuperscript{315} H. A. G., \textit{Monções do Reino, No.9}, 10.11, vol. 1, 1604-1609, dated 23 March 1604, fl. 46.

This might be the reason why the Portuguese viceroy was not happy with the king of Cochin. The Viceroy cast the refreshments, the king of Cochin sent for him during his siege of Malacca into the sea. The king of Cochin received so many insults from the Portuguese on account of his friendship with the Portuguese.317

When the Dutch reached the harbour of Cochin, the Portuguese did not allow the king of Cochin to enter their town. The Zamorin laughed at what happened to the king of Cochin due to his friendship with the Portuguese.318

The Portuguese played a significant role in the urbanisation of Cochin. In 1571, the king Dom Sebastian of Portugal permitted the Portuguese to build a new Municipal house according to the status of the city.319 This was a milestone in the development of the city of Cochin.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, there developed the city of Cochin. It became the biggest port city in the Estado da Índia.320 The City of Cochin developed as two entities, the Portuguese Cochin, the administration of which was solely in the hands of the Portuguese and the native Cochin which was densely populated. Its administration was the prerogative of the king of Cochin. The latter was in the Indian fashion. It had very broad streets also.321

On account of being a port city that was the centre of pepper trade, there emerged the commercial houses and other related facilities in Cochin. This itself led to the growth of the city of Cochin day by day. Therefore more officials were posted in the city.322

317 François Pyrard of Laval, op. cit., p. 375.
318 ibid., p. 375.
321 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 608.
The Portuguese made good roads as well as jetties in Cochin for easy traffic and transport of goods. The infrastructural facility is very necessary for the development of any city. The Portuguese, though for facilitating the easy transport of their commodities and conduct of trade, were very eager to provide these facilities.

When the number of inhabitants increased in Cochin, there was shortage for food materials. Therefore there developed black-marketing in the case of rice, which was the staple food of Malabar. Hence, the king of Portugal decreed on 22 January 1593 to sell the rice only through the shops, which are under the jurisdiction of the Municipality of Cochin. Thus the Portuguese tried to maintain a very good system of distribution of provisions in Cochin.

Baldaeus testifies that by the end of Portuguese rule, the city of Cochin was on par with many best European cities. Extent of the city was almost two English miles. The buildings were beautiful and uniform. The streets were large and straight.

V. 5. 8. Hospitals and Medicine

The Portuguese with great care looked after the hospitals. For the hospital in Cochin an amount of 300,000 reis was given each year for the food of the sick, payment of the physician, surgeon, pharmacist, and servants.

In 1580, when there was a spread of small pox on the coast of Cochin, the Jesuits hired a house and turned it into a hospital. Through their tender care many were saved from death. One of the remedies adopted by the Portuguese for burning

---

325 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 631.
fever was venesection, which was done five to six times a day on certain occasions.  

There was a hospital in Cranganore too.  

V. 5. 9. Houses of Charity or Holy House of Mercy (Miséricordia)

The Miséricordia was functioning for the well-being of the people. Several Miséricordias were maintained in all Portuguese settlements. A lot of charitable works like, keeping of goods, safe transmission of the Bills of Exchange, helping of the poor, sick and the imprisoned, upkeep of the orphans, help in the marriage of the young maids, upkeep of the women of low moral standards after conversion, and redemption of slaves were all part of the Portuguese Misericordias of this period. Measures were also taken so that the help might reach the deserving public. They were administered by the secular confreres. The Miséricordia at Cochin used to give an amount of 30 pardaos every month to the orphan girls for their marriage.

To facilitate conversions, the Misericordias used to give cloths to the newly baptised. This many a time attracted so many to Christian folds. Thus Misericordia was the extension of Christian charity and it was used as an instrument for conversions.

329 Philip Baldeus, op. cit., p. 608.
331 ibid., fl. 44v.
V. 5. 10. Churches and Monasteries

The number of Churches and religious houses increased considerably during this period. In 1580 a house was built in Cochin for the Augustinians which was taken over by the Dutch on 6 January 1663 when Cochin fell to the Dutch.335

In 1591 the Zamorin himself laid the foundation stone of a church in Calicut. The Jesuit built this church and it was quite beautiful. It was situated in the shore and had an enclosure and cemetery attached to it. There was large number of newly converted people there.336

In Cochin there were a lot of Churches built. There was a Church of St. Antony that belonged to the Franciscans. Out of the city of Cochin there was a Church dedicated to St. John.337 Other churches were the cathedral, the Jesuit church, the churches of the Austin friars, the Dominicans and so on.338

Because of the repeated requests from the king of Tanore, a new Jesuit house was opened in Tanore in 1606. A Church was also built there. The king of Tanore was present personally on the occasion of the hosting of the flag in the Church, which was built as the best building in that locality. On the same day the king permitted the people of Tanore to receive baptism if anyone wanted.339

Processions were made from one church to another and on certain occasions the processions lasted for hours together. Once a procession was held in Cochin, which began at 7am. from St. Antony’s Church which belonged to the Franciscans.340

337 Frei Paulo da Trinidad, Part. II, op. cit., p. 143.
338 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 632.
340 This church was rebuilt in 1580 with the offerings received from the people. Frei Paulo de Trinidad, op. cit., Part. II, p. 369.
The Franciscan friars took crucifix accompanied by *ladinhas* (Litiny) and it proceeded to the Church of St. John which belonged to the contemplatory Franciscan monks and was outside the City of Cochin, entered the church of the college of the Jesuits and continued up to the Church of S. Domingos. When the procession ended in St. Antony's Church it was 5 pm. At times penitential processions and exposition of blessed sacraments were also held.

By the third decade of the seventeenth century there were four churches in the fortress of Cannanore. Due to the efforts of the Portuguese many churches began to be tiled. For example, when the Christians first asked permission to tile the Church dedicated to Virgin Mary at Cranganore, the governor of the land did not consent to it. But later on he gave permission.

**V. 5. 11. Inquisition**

The Holy Father wanted to have a Tribunal of the Sacred Inquisition in every country. Accordingly it was established in Portugal. Later on the Bishop of Cochin felt the need of having one in India, as there were secret mingling between the Christians converted from the Jews and the Jews of Malabar.

The main motive of the Inquisition in Goa, which was the capital of the Inquisition in India, was to enquire about the apostasy that was there in Goa and other part of India. It also dealt with heresies, and schisms also. Though the centre of the activity of Inquisition was Goa there was a Commissary of the Holy Office in Cochin. In 1556 the commissary in Cochin was Frei Joam Rangel, a Dominican priest. The Inquisition proper was there only in Goa in India. But in every fortress

---

342 Ibid., p. 144.
346 In Goa it was established in 1560 and the Inquisitor General was Alexio Falcão. The Activities of this Inquisition was severe than that of Portugal. There were cases, some of the Jews were burned in Goa and their property was confiscated. see Baião, Antônio, *a Inquisição de Goa: tentativa de historia da sua origem , estabelecimiento, evoluo e extinção* (Introdução à Correspondencia dos Inquisidores da India 1569-1630), vol. I, 1949, pp. 7, 9.
there was a Commissary. But it does not seem that this office of the Commissary in Malabar was as strict as it was in other parts of the world. In Malabar it worked as an agent of Padroado to implement its interests in Malabar.

The proceedings and punishments of the Inquisition were applicable only to the Christians both native and foreign and the new Christians especially the Jewish Christians. The Hindus and the Muslims were not subjected to it. But they could also be punished provided they some how intervened against the conversions. Some cases like a Christian entering into a second marriage making the first wife a widow, was punished by the Inquisition. For such individuals a prison was built in Cochin by the Vicar General.

François Pyrard de Laval testified that he saw in Cochin three Dutch men being put in the gallows as part of Inquisition. Later they were hanged. It was done just because they were Lutherans.

V. 5. 12. Education

The education imparted during this period was mainly religious. It was imparted through various schools and colleges. The Portuguese could not maintain educational institutions as they used to do during the earlier period. In a letter of the first decade of the seventeenth century, it is mentioned that the Jesuit College in Cochin was in great poverty that it was very difficult to maintain so many people who were needed for service in that college.

No one came out as priests successfully from the seminary, which was established by the Franciscans in Cranganore in 1541 for the formation of the clerics

---

of the St. Thomas Christians. At the same time there was a seminary in Cochin where there were a lot of students. Therefore at the instruction of the bishop of Angamaly, the king asked not to have two seminaries in a small place like Cranganore.\footnote{See Letter of the king of Portugal to Viceroy Ruy Gonçalves, Doc. No. 105, dated 23 January 1610 in Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções, Tomo I, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXX, p. 297.} An extension of the college of Cochin was there in the residence of St. André in Muterte.\footnote{Fernan Padre Guerrero, Relacion Anual de las Casas Que Han Hecho los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon, en los anos de 600, y 601. Y del progreso de la conversion y Christandad de aquellas partes., En Valladolid, 1604, p. 86.} When formation in Latin failed, the Jesuits started another seminary in Chanota or Vapincotta in 1587 where they started teaching Syriac too. But the response of the St. Thomas Christians to the students who studied in this seminary was rather negative. The students in Vaipincotta were trained to pray for the Pope and the Catholic Church. The St. Thomas Christians said that the Pope did not have anything to do with their Church.\footnote{António de Gouveia, op. cit., pp. 68, 69.} But in the seminary of Vaipicotta Syriac and Latin were taught. The priests of the seminary also studied Malayalam reading and writing.\footnote{Fernan Padre Guerrero, Relacion Anual de las Casas Que Han Hecho los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon, en los anos de 600, y 601. Y del progreso de la conversion y Christandad de aquellas partes., En Valladolid, 1604, p. 88.}

The Jesuits controlled all seminaries in Malabar. They were the rectors of the colleges of Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon and Vaipicotta.\footnote{A. N. T. T., Cartório dos Jesuítas, Maço, 86, Doc. 142, dated 4 November 1648, fts. 1-1v.} The seminary of Vaipicotta did not have enough students. The reason might be the lack of peaceful condition in the church. In 1653, there were only 50 students in the Seminary of Vaipicotta.\footnote{A. H. U., Caixa da Índia N°. 38, Doc. No. 39, dated 23 June 1653, fl. 1.}

To encourage education in Malabar the masters of the school were paid by the Portuguese.\footnote{H. A. G., 3025 Idem das fortaleza da Índia, vol.1, 1568, fl. 65.} For the students who studied in various schools, food, clothing and
other helps were offered by the king of Portugal. In colleges like Cochin the children were also initiated to sciences.

Syriac language had a great fascination for the St. Thomas Christians. Therefore the Jesuits were well aware of the fact that the St. Thomas Christians could not be pleased if Syriac language was omitted from the curriculum. Besides, to encourage the study of Syriac, a seminary as well as a press was established in Rome. In the Jesuit seminary at Cranganore there was a very good library, the structure of which was superior to many libraries in Europe. In 1622, a Syriac dictionary and Syriac grammar books were published in Rome.

V. 5. 13. Art and Architecture

European style of houses emerged in Cochin. Each house had a courtyard and a separate garden in the midst of which it was built. The houses were surrounded by high walls that it was not possible to peep from one house to the other. In the islands near Cochin, the Portuguese built many summer resorts where they could come and take rest.

Cochin had magnificent buildings such as Churches and seminaries. The college of Cochin, which was a three storeyed building, had almost thirty apartments. It was surrounded by very strong walls. Many churches were adorned with lofty steeples. The cathedral church and the Jesuit church were examples of this style of Architecture. European type of bells also adorned these churches. Some Churches

360 Simão Botelho, “O Tombo do Estado da India” in Subsidios Para a História da India Portugueza Publicados de Ordem da Classe de Siencias Moraes, Politicas e Bellas-Letras da Academia Real das sciencias de Lisboa e sob a Direcção de Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, Lisboa, MDCCCLXVIII, pp. 27, 28.
363 ibid., pp. 603, 632.
364 ibid., p. 632.
were beautified with pillars in double rows. Cathedral Church, churches of the
convents of Austin Friars and the Dominicans were constructed in this fashion.""
The façade of the Old St. Thomas Cathedral at Palai built in Portuguese Style.
of Our Lady of Life in Mattancherry were some of the Churches in Malabar in which Manueline style of Architecture was prevalent.

Besides, the Churches of the St. Thomas Christians had no images inside the churches except the crosses. But now their churches were adorned with the images of Christ, Our Lady and those of saints. All these show the impact of the Portuguese in Malabar.

The palace of the king of Cochin was built near the temple in Mattancherry in the European fashion with bricks and mortar. It was with spacious and lofty apartments. Cochin was very famous for crafts on wood. In Cochin beautiful ships were made. Besides, handsome chists and drawers were made in Malabar with timber. Another area of the influence of Portuguese art in Malabar was the decorative art. This was mainly seen in church art. So many ivory artifacts were made in churches including different images. This decorative art found place in religious circles.

In the processions conducted in the church whether penitential or ordinary, the tableaus were used. In a procession organized by the Augustinians in Cochin, the tableau of Jesus carrying cross was presented.

V. 5. 14. Music and Theatre

In churches there were official choirs and the Portuguese paid the boys of the choirs. Besides, to encourage the liturgical music, an organist was also employed who was paid by the Portuguese.

372 ibid., p. 143.
373 Frei Paulo de Trindade, op. cit., p. 333.
374 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 632.
Archbishop Menezis during his visit in Carturte in 1599 brought some singers and the choir from Cochin for solemnising the offices of the Holy week. It was with a view to showing the richness of the music of the Roman church.\(^{379}\)

The people of Malabar were very well versed in composing songs about what happened in the immediate past. The St. Thomas Christians composed a song in their mode, in praise of the Synod of Diamper, Archbishop Menezis and his activities in Malabar. The children used to sing it in all places where the Archbishop visited.\(^{380}\) Another development in music was the singing in polyphony.\(^{381}\) The Portuguese introduced it in Malabar.

Imitating the European plays different plays came into being in Malabar. One among them was *Pasch* which was a passion play presented especially on Good Friday depicting the events from the Condemnation of Jesus to death till the death on the cross. In this Passion play there were 14 *paschs* (scenes). It was presented with the help of doles moving on thread and also at times a few actors. Because of the nature of the presentation, people used to cry and faint. Such *paschs* were held in churches like Parur, Venduruthy, Vaipin and so on. As it was like tableau, and was without dialogues, it did not get much popularity.\(^{382}\) To repair for this another play developed. It was called *Chavittunadakom*. It is said to have been developed in Malabar as a result of Europeanisation, even before the synod of Diamper. The earliest *Chavittunadakom* was on the History of Charlemagne. Though it developed first on the coastal areas of Cochin and Cranganore, after the Synod of Diamper, together with the Romanisation, it spread to the interior areas of Malabar. It became very popular and was presented on Christmas, Easter, Parish festivals, and marriages.\(^{383}\) After the Synod of Diamper, it developed as a substitute for *kooth* and *koodiyattam*.\(^{384}\)

---

\(^{379}\) Antônio de Gouveia, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

\(^{380}\) *ibid.*, p. 187

\(^{381}\) Costa, M.G. da, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 46.


\(^{383}\) *ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

\(^{384}\) Both these were indigenous art. The Synod of Diamper forbade the Christians from participating in such pagan feasts and presentations. Then a substitute for the same was needed. *ibid.*, p. 82.
Thus as a result of the contacts with the Portuguese, new forms of Arts, plays, music and other presentations developed in Malabar.

V. 5. 15. Food Habits

Rice remained to be the staple food of the people of Malabar. But at times, Captains and influential persons of Cochin used to hoard the rice for the sake of selling it at a high price. Besides, rice was not so easily available in all parts of Malabar. Therefore the hoarding resulted in artificial scarcity for the food materials. But the Viceroy used to take punitive measures against such hoarders. 385

There were changes in the food habit of the superior castes in Malabar. We find that, Governor of Calicut, a nair who used to govern Calicut in the absence of the Zamorin, was not reluctant to eat anything other than the flesh of the cow and oxen. Now he would eat anything. 386 The nairs were vegetarians. Now due to the contact with the Europeans, the attitude of some of them changed.

Though the St. Thomas Christians never ate beef on account of their respect for the traditions of the Hindus of the land, there was a change in their attitude due to their interaction with the Portuguese. The St. Thomas Christians, during the visit of Archbishop Menezis, made all kinds of arrangements and support to those who were with the Archbishop to kill a cow for their food. 387 Thus one of the age-old traditions of St. Thomas Christians was broken. Along with it, the communal harmony and respect for the culture of others also disappeared at least from some of the people of Malabar.

386 François Pyrard of Laval, op. cit., p. 367.
387 António de Gouveia, op. cit., p. 217.
The Portuguese also introduced new food items like cakes, bolo, bread, biscuits, cutlets, and stew.\textsuperscript{388} The European food items became popular at least in areas where the Portuguese had many contacts.

V. 5. 16. Disrespect for Indigenous Traditions

Though the killing of the cow was very offensive to the Hindus, the Portuguese continued it. One such occasion was the visit of the Archbishop Menezis in Angamaly after the Synod of Diamper. Those who accompanied the Archbishop wanted to eat beef. With the help of some of the native Christians they killed one behind the Church in Angamaly. This enraged the Brahmins and other Hindus of the land. Immediately they took the case to the King of Mangatte (Alengad) who called the two kings of Angamaly together with their Brahmin Governors and the council wanted to punish the culprits. But due to the problems that would create in the relationship between these kings and the Portuguese, it was judged to be a false accusation of the Hindus. Anyway, with this the Archbishop ordered his followers never to kill cows.\textsuperscript{389}

V. 5. 17. Changes in the Traditions of the Land

Usually the kings' courts were adorned with people from higher caste. At the time Portuguese reached Malabar, the Brahmins used to serve the court of the Zamorin. But by the third decade of the seventeenth century, as reported by Pietro del Lavalle, there was a young Portuguese serving in the palace of the king of Calicut. Though he had maintained his Portuguese name and religion, he was in dress and customs like an India and he spoke Indian language.\textsuperscript{390}

One of the great changes that occurred in Malabar due to the interaction with the Portuguese was in the right to tile houses. According to the custom of the land only a few kings in Malabar and some of the pagodas were allowed to tile the roofs.

\textsuperscript{388} Fr. John Pallath O.C.D., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 351.
\textsuperscript{389} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{390} Edward Grey, ed., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 366.
At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the king of Cochin was not allowed to tile his palace on account of his subjection to the Zamorin. On 15 August 1600 the Portuguese viceroy ordered the residents of the city of Cochin to tile the roofs of their houses. Even in Calicut during the first half of the seventeenth century we see that some of the houses of the servants of the king were tiled. This was a great change that happened.

Lavalle also reported that though in public kings like the Zamorin used to keep a distance as part of the caste regulations so that there might not be any pollution, in private the Zamorin used to be very cordial to the Portuguese. On such private encounters with the Portuguese, the Zamorin did not observe caste distinctions. There were occasions when the Zamorin ate and drank wine, which was forbidden by the custom of his religion, in the company of the Portuguese.

The king of Porca in his effort to win the war against the Queen of Vadekkenkur, on the advice of a Cassanar used flag marked with a cross. It achieved him victory over the Queen of Vadekkenkur. During the Portuguese period, there arose a lot of stories regarding the miraculous power attached to Christianity.

The forces of Malabar who traditionally made use of bows, arrows, etc now became disciplined like the forces of Europe and they began to employ musquets and great cannons. They became so experts in the use of modern weapons that each one was skilled in repairing their guns and arranging them.

V. 5. 18. The Portuguese Clergy in Malabar

There was discord between the bishops of Cochin and Angamaly on the jurisdiction of both of them. The discord reached such an extent that it generated much scandal for the people including the Christians as well as the non-Christians. It
was created by a situation by which the Christians of St. Thomas were brought under the Padroado by which there was to be clear demarcation of ecclesiastical territories. One of the solutions given to it by the king of Portugal was to look after the souls of the Latins and Syrians separately.396

The relationship between the members of various orders and congregations became very bad. The king of Portugal was informed of the rivalry between the Jesuits and the Augustinians in India. This really resulted in scandal to the public as well as in the selfishness of each religious order.397 The Dominicans also began their work in Serra. The Dominicans supported the Archdeacon of the St. Thomas Christians in the conflict between the Archdeacon and the Archbishop of Cranganore. This resulted in tension between the Jesuits and the Dominicans and through an order of the king of Portugal the Dominicans were asked to keep away from Malabar and communication with the Archdeacon.398 Then the Discalceated (barefooted) Carmelites appeared in Malabar. The Portuguese were not happy with this, as the Carmelites were sent from Rome ignoring the propaganda right of the Portuguese king. Therefore we can see letters asking the king of Portugal to expulse the Carmelites from India.399 Frey Joseph the Santa Maria, the Carmelite Descalços, presented document from Rome appointing him as the Governor and administrator of the Malabar Christians.400 The Jesuits on account of their privileged position in Malabar and the Padroado rights always gained favour from the king of Portugal.

At times there were problems in the religious orders themselves. By 1634, there originated differences among the Portuguese Dominicans and the native Dominicans in India and the latter was in favour of a separate Province for the natives and the former against it. The decision of the king was in favour of the Portuguese

395 Baldaeus, Philip, op. cit., p. 644.
397 A. N. T. T., Coleção de S. Vicente, vol. 19, fol. 50, dated 3 March 1622.
399 A. N. T. T., Documentos Remetidos da Índia, Tomo II, Livro 42, Doc. 20, dated 29 November 1637, fl. 15.
Naturally these kinds of differences affected the activity of the whole Order in the respective regions.

V. 5. 19. Mixed Race

There were mixed marriages in Malabar. As a result of the mixed marriages, different classes of mixed races originated. The married Portuguese were called Cazados and the single Portuguese were called Soldados. The Children born of the Portuguese men and Indian women were called Mestiços and the children of the Mestiços were called casticos.

Some of the natives of Cochin had already entered the religious orders. For example P. Fr. Manuel da Conceição was the son of a Portuguese Casado who reached India after the marriage. He received the habit of the Franciscans and took profession.

In course of time, the religious atmosphere of the mixed races began to be complicated. Therefore the Portuguese extended their missionary activity to the children of the Portuguese and mestiços. They were quite large in number.

Because of the efforts of the Portuguese missionaries about nineteen Chinese came to Cochin to be baptised here. After baptism they remained to be rich and honourable.

V. 5. 20. Development of Vernacular Languages

There were sincere efforts on the part of some of the Portuguese to learn Malayalam, the language of the people. At the end of the sixteenth century we find

---

401 A. N. T. T., Documentos Remetidos da Índia, Tomo II, Livro 32, Doc. 97, dated 17 February 1635, fl. 226.
402 Philip Baldaeus, op. cit., p. 608.
missionaries like Francisco Roz preaching to the people of Malabar in Malayalam. He accompanied the Archbishop during his visit in Malabar.\textsuperscript{405}

In the seminary at Vaipicota, the languages like Malayalam and Syriac were taught. The Jesuit missionaries took interest to learn these languages and teach them in the very seminary.\textsuperscript{406} This helped the development of Malayalam language. In Rome a seminary was established to teach Syriac language. In 1622 a Syriac dictionary and a few Syriac grammar books were published in Rome. The Dutch traveller Baldaeus attested that he saw many books of Malabar language printed in Portuguese characters. It was for the purpose of teaching catechism.\textsuperscript{407} Many Malabareans also became well versed in Portuguese languages. There were many \textit{paravas} in Malabar who used to speak Portuguese as fluent as in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{408}

\textbf{V. 5. 21. Changes in the Dress Code}

When Archbishop visited the Christians in Tevalecare, after the Synod, he found that the priests of that land were having long hairs and they did not have a crown as the priests used to have. They moved around like lay people with swords and shields, entering into trade and living with women and children. The Archbishop ordered the priests to cut their hair and to wear crown like the other priests.\textsuperscript{409}

The people of Malabar used neat dress.\textsuperscript{410} The provincial councils instructed the Christians to wear distinguishing dress so that the Christians could be recognised from the non-Christians.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{405} Antonio de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{407} Philip Baldaeus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 631.
\textsuperscript{408} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 631.
\textsuperscript{409} António de Gouveia, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{410} M.G. da Costa, ed., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 46.
\end{flushright}
V. 5. 22. Historical Documents

The Portuguese, in the pretext of cleaning the St. Thomas Christians from heresy burned a lot of books. During the visit of Archbishop, after the Synod, he burned a lot of books kept in the St. George Church of Coricolangare. In the same way the Portuguese burnt many indigenous books even without examining their content. This was a terrible loss to the history of Malabar.\footnote{António de Gouveia, op. cit., p. 250.}

At the same time several Portuguese documents came into being. Later on in the absence of the indigenous literature, the Portuguese documents served as valuable source for the reconstruction of the history of Malabar.

V. 5. 23. Padroado

_Padroado_ or Patronage is a right, which is acquired by the legitimate titles of foundation and dotation.\footnote{Rev. Fre Angelicus, _Appendix to the Portuguese Patronage of the Oriente_, Madras, 1859, p. 5, 6.} The king of Portugal obtained right over the churches of newly discovered land. It was first established in Malabar with the erection of the diocese of Cochin. But it was extended to the St. Thomas Christians with the death of Mar Abraham. Among the St. Thomas Christians it ended with the Carmalites who were appointed bishops by the Propaganda fide.

V. 5. 24. Fruits and Plants Brought by the Portuguese

Jambo (Eugenia Jambolana) was brought by the Portuguese from Malacca.\footnote{P.A. Tiele, _op. cit._, vol. II, p. 29.} The Portuguese spread the cultivation of pineapple, papaya, tapioca, cashew nuts and so on in Malabar.\footnote{Fr. John Pallath O. C. D., _op. cit._, pp. 351, 352.}
V. 5. 25. Breaking up of Portuguese Power in India

All other merchant communities were fed up with the Portuguese, as they exerted much control in the Indian Ocean trade. Therefore, they were ready to accommodate any rival company of the Portuguese. In Calicut actually, the merchants were very friendly with the French traders.415

The Portuguese began to lose their possessions one by one in Malabar. In 1661 the Dutch became the masters of Quilon.416 Cranganore also fell to the Dutch in 1662.417 One of the most important factors that led to the disruption of Portuguese power in Malabar was Protestantism. Various Popes by way of several bulls had bestowed upon the Portuguese absolute power in the Eastern Seas.418 Therefore it was impossible for any catholic powers in Europe to fight against the Portuguese, as it would be against the Papal Bulls. The Dutch, on account of being Protestant Christianity was not obliged to respect the Papal Bulls. Therefore they could attack the Portuguese who were ardent Catholics.

In 1663 when the Dutch conquered the city of Cochin, the Portuguese handed over the keys of the city of Cochin to the Dutch General. According to the articles of surrender, the Franciscans had the liberty of the exercise of their religion under state protection, and the Portuguese priests had liberty to carry along with them the images, relics, and Church ornaments that belonged to them.419 With the fall of Cochin to the Portuguese, the Portuguese missionaries were compelled to quit Cochin. Only two Franciscans were allowed to continue in Cochin.420 The Jesuits were the worst sufferers. Their college in Cochin was completely destroyed by the Dutch.421 They demolished many churches and buildings in Cochin that belonged to the Portuguese missionaries.422

415 François Pyrand of Laval, _op. cit._, p. 367.
416 Philip Baldaeus, _op. cit._, p. 630.
417 Fr. Achilles Meersman, _Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans in India 1713-1833_, Lisboa, 1972, p. 6.
418 K. M. Panikkar, _op. cit._, p. 56
419 Baldaeus, Philip, _op. cit._, pp. 635.
420 Fr. Achilles Meersman, _op. cit._, p. 6.
422 Philip Baldaeus, _op. cit._, p. 635.
Thus this period is dominated by fervent missionary activity and Latinisation through various Synods and Councils that resulted in dissatisfaction and stiff resistance on certain occasions. The colonial attitude of the missionaries especially the Portuguese Jesuits took the St. Thomas Christians to the fission dividing the society vertically into two with the oath of Coonan Cross. The various non-Christian sects continued to be severe enemies of the Portuguese. The Portuguese attempt to isolate the Christians from the socio-cultural background in which they lived found great success during this period. Even special residences were devised in certain areas for the Christians to avoid all kinds of communication between the Christians and the non-Christians.