Kerala had always been a deficit area for food grains but rich in cash crops, especially, the spices like pepper, ginger, cardamom etc., in addition to a number of other herbs and timber which had a steady demand in the medieval Western and Eastern emporia. The above-mentioned deficit-surplus pattern resulted, naturally, in a proliferation of markets, fairs and port towns in Kerala from the coastal areas to the interior. The network of these newly developed agricultural tracts and exchange centers i.e., the hinterland and the port necessitated effective managerial strategies for extracting surplus and the powerful among the territorial authorities asserted their position and established their right over the income from their territories. The rich hinterlands under control provided materials to the ports, thereby increasing the surplus, ultimately resulted in conquest of more hinterlands in the vicinity. Eventually, the newly emerged power centres of coastal belts began to assert hegemony over the inland kingdoms, thus trying to carve out independent states. This power assertion is what Immanuel Wallerstein explained as the State’s exercise of power not only within its jurisdiction but also beyond it. This may be licit (the rulers concerning transit over boundaries) or illicit (interference in the internal affairs of another state) and warfare was of course one of the mechanisms used for it\(^1\). Thus it is marked as a period of territorial conquests, maritime trade and emergence of numerous towns and cities.

During the period of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, the main nadus under the kingdom were Kolathunadu, Puraikizhanadu, Kurumporainadu, Ramavalanadu, Eralanadu, Valluvanadu, Kalkarainadu, Nanruzanadu, Venpolinadu, Kizhimalainadu, and Venad. These nadus developed from the power structure centralized on the

---

consolidation of the resources. The *Naduvazhis* normally came from the traditional ruling classes. They were known by the locality where their joint family originally situated, and these were known as the *Swaroopams*. In course of time all powers of the *nadus* were centralized in the *Swaroopams*. With the disintegration of the kingdom of the Perumals of Mahodayapuram, the *Naduvazhis* declared themselves as independent rulers. Thereafter, political fragmentation took place in Kerala and paved the way for the emergence of several *Swaroopams* and *Naduvazhis*. The major *swaroopams* of Kerala that came to political prominence after the fall of the second Cheras were the *Nediyiruppu*, whose chief later got the appellation the Zamorin, *Arangottu* (Valluvanad), *Perumpadappu* (whose chief later became the ruler of Cochin), *Trippapur* (Travancore), *Kurumbiyatiri* (Kurumbranad), *Puranattukara* (Kottayam), *Kolathiri* (Chirakkal), *Porlathiri* (Kadathanad), *Tarur* (Palakkad), *Pappukovil* (Beypore) and *ParappuKovil* (Parappanad). Though the ‘*Swaroopam*’ organization in pre-colonial Kerala was understood by early scholars in different ways as a royal household, a feudatory or even as a dynasty ruling over an ‘empire’, the new evidences had led some scholars to view the *Swaroopam* as a political authority in medieval Kerala, which was based on the organization of a large number of small territorial units over which a powerful matrilineal joint family exercise their political and judicial authority. Many of these local rulers competitively tried to keep the major maritime centers of exchange under their control. Their main intention was to bag a share of the gain from the trade, in order to ensure

---

4 For more details about the power structure of Swaroopams, see M.R. Raghava Varier, ‘State as a Swaroopam: An Introductory Essay’ in R. Champakalakshmi (et al.), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, (Thrissur, 2002), p.120.
resources for fulfilling their ambitions for territorial expansion. Earlier the coastal zones or the *Neital* regions were controlled by the authorities from their seats at the interior *Marutham* lands. But in course of time the scope of maritime trade increased and the coastal belt became a centre of economic attraction.

**Shifting of the Political Base of the Nediyiruppu Swaroopam to Calicut**

Calicut starts figuring in the political history of Malabar with the advent of the Zamorins. Therefore, the ups and downs in the fortunes of Calicut were closely interwoven with those of the Zamorins of the Calicut. It was the farsighted policies of the Zamorins that laid the foundation of the commercial prosperity of Calicut and consequently an enormous amount of money poured into the city by means of maritime commerce. The beginnings of the *Nediyiruppu Swaroopam* to which the Zamorin belong could be traced back to the days of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, for whom *Ernadu* functioned as an administrative district in north Kerala. The rulers of *Eralanadu* or *Ernadu*, who were the ancestors of the Zamorins, are mentioned in several records as *Ernadu Utayavar*, i.e., the lord of *Eralanadu* and their family seat was the *Nediyiruppu Swaroopam*. This *Nadu* lay to the south of *Ramavalanadu*. *Manavepala Manaviyan*, ruler of *Eralanadu* figures as one of the witnesses in the Jewish Copper Plates of Bhaskara Ravi Varman. This name appears also in a gift record of *Trichambaram* temple. This is suggestive of the singular

---

6 *Ramavalanadu* mentioned in a record of about 11th century A.D from *Tiruvannur* temple near Calicut can be identified with the modern place name of *Ramanattukara*, the southern boundary of modern Calicut district. But this *Nadu* disappeared after the Chera period as the rulers from the neighbouring *Eralanadu* moved into Calicut and carved out a big principality for themselves. See M.G.S Narayanan, ‘Consolidation of Agrarian Society – The Structure of Polity’, in P.J Cherian (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol.11, part 111, (Trivandrum, 1999), p.58.
position that the ruler of *Eralanadu* used to occupy in the political ladder of medieval Kerala. These powerful chieftains of *Eralanadu* are considered as the ancestors of Zamorins of Calicut\(^7\). The original seat of the *Nediyiruppu Swaroopam* was *Nediyiruppu*, a small village, near *Kondotty* in modern Malappuram district, from which they came to be known as *Nediyiruppu Swaroopam* in the middle ages. The *Keralolpathi* chronicle and the *Calicut Granthavari* refer to the story of two *Eradi* brothers named *Manichan* and *Vikkiran* who distinguished themselves in the fight against the Pandya invaders and were then awarded the territory of Calicut by the last Chera Perumal, who had embraced Islam and was leaving for a pilgrimage to Mecca. The last land grant and the grant of a broken sword and a broken conch with the instruction “die, kill and seize” might have inspired the brave *Eradis* to start their career\(^8\). There is a possibility that these accounts of *Keralolpathi* and *Calicut Granthavari* must have taken shape later legitimizing and justifying the linkage and deep ties that had evolved between the Zamorin and the Muslim merchants of Calicut.

The *Erlathiri*, who was the chief of the *Nediyiruppu Swaroopam*, was cut off from the sea by the chiefs of *Parappanad* and *Polanad*. *Parappanad* extended from the *Kallayi* River in the north to the *Purapuzha* in the south. *Polanadu* lied between the *Korappuzha* in the north and the *Kallayi* River in the south. The *Eradi* of *Nediyiruppu* realized that the kingdoms near the sea were growing in wealth and strength on account of their trade with foreign countries. As the *Parappanad* chiefs were related by

---


Sambandham, the Erlathiri sought to extend his authority towards the sea through Polanadu, the fertile hinterland round Calicut. At first, he demanded only the Chullikkad⁹, or swampy region, at the mouth of the Kallayi River and adjoining Kozhikode Hill, which served as a land mark for ships approaching it¹⁰. But Porlathiri refused to give the region. This resulted in a long and bitter war between Porlathiri and Zamorin¹¹.

The Zamorin’s desire to get access to sea was generated by the intensification of sea-borne trade carried out by the Arab and Al-Karimi merchants linked with the Mamluk Egypt¹². The chief of the Nediyruppu Swaroopam realized that he could set up a strong state structure only with the profit coming from maritime trade, as the possibility of getting wealth from agrarian sector was meager in those days¹³. This was a time when the Al-Karimis engaged in the Red Sea area as commercial intermediaries of the Mamluks started coming increasingly to northern ports of Kerala. The predominant presence of the Jewish and the Christian traders in the southern port of Kulam Malay¹⁴.

---

⁹ In the Settlement Registers, this place is recorded as Chullikadu patanna placed under the ownership of Kizhakke Kovilakam Valiya Thamburatti. See Settlement Registers, Calicut Taluk, Kasbah Desom, No.35, Survey No.2, Sub Divisions 5, 9, 1905, p.6.
¹³ The supremacy of Calicut under the Zamorin dynasty as a powerful maritime state is referred by Prof. Arasaratnam on his discussion about the kingdoms where the fulcrum of power were well situated on the littoral rather than in the interior lands. For details see S.Arasaratnam, Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century, (New York, 1994), p.220.
prompted the Muslim merchants to move towards the northern ports of Kerala, particularly to Calicut and Cannanore\textsuperscript{15}. Meanwhile the natural port of Quilon that had made considerable progress with the support and encouragement of the *Venad Swaroopam*\textsuperscript{16}, started declining after the collapse of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram on the one hand and with the capture of Baghdad Caliphate (1258 A.D) by the Mongols on the other. Quilon which had prospered by its participation in the long distance movement of commodities between Abbassid Persia and T’ang China entered a dwindling phase with the collapse of Baghdad and the consequent interruption in this long-distance trade route. This commercial vacuum was made use of by the al-Karimi merchants of Cairo for opening a new trade route starting from the port of Calicut and terminating in Alexandria via Cambay, Aden and Cairo\textsuperscript{17}. It was against this background of the entrepreneurial activities of the Arab/Al-Karimi traders of Cairo, who were increasingly concentrating in the port of Calicut\textsuperscript{18} that the chief of the *Nediyruppu Swaroopam* wanted to occupy this port.

The chief of the *Nediyruppu Swaroopam* attacked the *Porlathiri* with a view to occupy Calicut. After several years of unsuccessful war, says *Keralolpathi*, the *Eradis* were able to bribe the *Porlathiri’s* wife, *Nalakattoottu Amma* and his secretary, *Menokki* and get the doors of the fort secretly opened from inside to let in the *Ernadu* warriors\textsuperscript{19}.

\textsuperscript{15} Pius Malekandathil, Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, The Portuguese and India*, (Munster, 1999), p.9.
The Porlathiri took refuge at Kolattiris kingdom, who settled him in Kadathanadu with 3000 Nairs. After the eviction of Porlathiri, the elder Eradi moved into Panniyankara the headquarters of Porlathiri, accepted the lady of the palace as his consort, and built a fort called Velapuram. This fort is now identified with a place on the northern bank of the Kallayi River, which also lies to the north-western part of the Zamorins’ new fort and palace complex, adjacent to Arabian Sea. With the defeat of Porlathiri the port of Calicut and the entire agrarian space scattered in the fertile kingdom of Polanadu, lying north to river Kallayi passed into the hands of the chief of Nediyiruppu Swaroopam. The desoms in Polanadu are seen listed in the Kozhikode Granthavari. In fact the conquest of Calicut enabled him to get access to the surplus acquiring from maritime trade and to transform it for his state formation ventures.

**Early Phase of Conquests: Creation of Spice-Hinterland to the Building of a State**

After having secured a permanent base for the exercise of power at a place that ensured regular flow of wealth from trade of Calicut and Ponnani ports, the Zamorin consolidated his political and commercial position in Kerala with the money and personal supplied by Al-Karimi merchants. With their help Zamorin conquered the neighbouring

---

20 *Kadathanadu* is a post Chera period ‘nadu’ geographically identified with the places around present Vadakara of Calicut district. The historical Kotakal River flows through this nadu.
25 Ponnani was always something of a second residence for the Zamorin.
principalities and amalgamated them for the process of making a territorial state centered on Calicut, besides making them the hinterlands for the procurement of spices.

Following the establishment of respectable resource base and necessary validation of power, the Zamorin embarked on a policy of territorial expansion southward and eastward. The port of Calicut needed spice-producing hinterland to ensure a regular supply of cargo for trade and to attract foreign merchants. Hence after having established his power base at Calicut, he started targeting at the most important spice producing areas lying in the vicinity. The rulers of Chaliyam, Parappukovil or Beypore, Parappanad, Vettatunad, Kurumbranad, and other chieftains in the vicinity of Calicut were the earliest to acknowledge his over lordship and to hand over fertile agrarian tracts to become the feeding centres for the exchange activities of the port of Calicut. Elated by these victories, the Zamorin continued his conquests and succeeded in extending his authority over Nilambur, Manjeri, Malappuram and Kottakkal, with a view of converting these places into spice-hinterland and feeding units for the trade of Calicut. The Zamorin succeeded also in bringing the powerful Kolathiri Raja under his control. The conquest of Kolathunad put the Zamorin in an advantageous position as far as his state formation ventures were concerned. The Kolathiri conferred upon the Zamorin certain ‘melkoyma’ rights over the famous temple of Taliparambu besides surrendering certain territories he had conquered from him by force. The rulers of Nedunganad and Talappilli also bowed their heads before him and recognized his suzerainty, besides allowing the resources of their land to be used for the Zamorin’s state building ventures.

28 K.V.Krishna Ayyar, The Zamorins of Calicut, p.121.
29 Ibid., p.113.
Realizing that *Mamamkam* the pan-Kerala assembly held once in every twelve years at *Tirunavai*\(^{30}\) had got a major role to play in thrusting power over other chieftains and rulers, the Zamorin wanted to capture *Tirunavai*. The ruler of *Valluvanad*, who used to preside over *Mamamkam*\(^{31}\), had been exercising enormous amount of influence and political control over the affairs of Kerala naturally became the next target for the Zamorin’s attack. Moreover the Zamorin feared that *Ponnani* at the mouth of River *Perar* was a natural harbour and could have been a rival to Calicut in trade. Small vessels could go from *Ponnani* up to *Tirunavai* through the river. However by defeating the ruler of *Valluvanad* the Zamorin was able to transform the fertile tracts of *Tirunavai* located on the banks of *Bharatapuruzha* as hinterland for the trade of Calicut. Above all he secured the privilege to preside the *Mamamkam* festival held at *Tirunavai*\(^{32}\). The neighbouring rulers of *Valluvanad*, who sought the protection of the Zamorin against the raja of *Valluvanad*, also became happy at this development, at least in the initial phase. In the entire process of subjugating the *Valluvanad* ruler and in grabbing the presiding function of *Mamamkam* from him, the Zamorin was supported by the money and personnel supplied

---

\(^{30}\) *Mamamkam* was an ancient river festival of Kerala like that of the *Kumbhamela* of Prayag. As the festival was held in the year called *Mahamaga*, one of the twelve years of the lesser *Brahaspata* cycle, it came to be known as the *Mamakam*, which became *Mamamkam* in Malayalam. It was believed that at this particular day the saved water of river Ganga would reach Barathapuruzha. The festival was inaugurated by the *Rakshapurusha* or the protector of four *Kalakams*. During the period of Perumals, the position of *Rakshapurusha* was adorned by the Perumals. After the decline of Cheras, it was transferred to *Valluvakonathiri*. The *naduvazhis* of the then Kerala looked at the status of *Rakshapurusha* as a great recognition and respect. For further details see, K.V.Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp.89-108.; William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, vol.I, (NewDelhi,1989), pp.164.; M.G.S. Narayanan, *Calicut: The City Truth Revisited*, pp.154-159.; N.M Nambuthiri(ed.), *Mamamkam Rekhakal*, Kozhikode Granthavari, No.2, (Sukapuram, 2005), pp.142-145.


by the Arab and Al-Karimi merchants. At last the Zamorin occupied in triumph and assumed the unique position of the rakshapurusha or the ‘protector of Mamamkam’. By this the Zamorin was making his power and prestige increasingly felt before the innumerable chieftains and rulers of medieval Kerala, almost converting himself as the symbol of pan-Kerala political power. But, the Valluvanad Naduvazhi and his men were not ready to recognize Zamorin as the rakshapurusha of Mamamkam and they continued their resistance for a protracted period of time. The next Mamamkam festival was conducted under Zamorin as the rakshapurusha.

Territorial Expansions on the Eve of Portuguese Arrival

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Zamorin consolidated his political and commercial positions in Malabar. The Al-Karimi merchants rendered their full support to the Zamorin rulers because they wanted to augment and increase the power and influence of the Zamorin, as the empowered Zamorin would not only ensure their own trade but would also increase territory of the state from which they could draw the spice products. They therefore, encouraged him in Zamorin’s campaigns against neighbouring rajas and provided him with money and soldiers, besides equipping with arms and vessels. Having established bases in the northern part of Malabar, Muslim traders moved southward along with the political expansion of the Zamorins power, in an attempt to control the commerce of central and southern Kerala. Meanwhile the

Perumpadappu Swaroopam, looking for a place outside the orbit of the Zamorins conquest, shifted its residence in 1405 from Cranganore to Cochin, which had by this time emerged as an important port as a result of the great geo-physical changes occurred because of the flood in the River Periyar in 1341 A.D. Even though the Raja of Cochin did not have much to boast in terms of territory, the economic growth of Cochin depended greatly on the rich pepper producing hinterland located in the neighboring areas which very soon invited Zamorin’s interference. He was very much anxious about the Cochin’s hectic commercial contacts with the Ming China and the Arab world that supplied enough capital required for the establishment of a maritime state centered at Cochin. By this time, the Zamorin had conquered Koduvayur and Palakkad. So his next aim was to conquer the city of Cochin, which he attacked in the end of the fifteenth century. One of the conditions imposed by the Zamorin upon the vanquished king of Perumpadappu Swaroopam for restoring the throne was that the Nazarenes (St Thomas Christians) should be driven out from Cochin denying them right to participate in its trade, which in turn should be conferred upon the Muslim traders of Calicut. This move was a part of the stratagem to control and limit the port activities at Cochin. He also demanded the conversion of this port into a Muslim trade centre. The ruler of Cochin was forced to accept the supremacy of the Zamorin, as a result of which the former was prevented from thatching his palace with tiles and from minting coins, which indeed were denial of rights of sovereignty. In the subsequent agreement, the ruler of Cochin agreed to give an annual tribute to the Zamorin, including a certain number of elephants. The agreement also

demanded that pepper from Cochin was to be traded at the Calicut port only. Thus the 
Zamorin directly interfered into rights and privileges of the state that was gradually 
Taking shape in Cochin. Whenever the raja of Cochin tried to get rid of the authority of 
the Zamorin, he was beaten back, humiliated and hurt. Therefore the raja of Cochin 
waited for a friendly ally who would make him strong enough to fight against the 
Zamorin who deprived him of his royal prerogatives.

**Europeans Enter the Indian Ocean**

In the fifteenth century reports about the fabulous wealth of India and the imaginary accounts of the realm of Prester John\(^37\) fired the imagination of Christian nations, notably of the Portuguese, and served as a stimulus for their great voyages of discovery. Besides, when the Muslim traders, whose enterprise had filled Europe with eastern luxuries, were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, the flow of eastern products into Western Europe was interrupted, and this was another reason for the search for a sea route to the East\(^38\). This search ended with the anchoring of Portuguese ships, under the leadership of Vasco-da-Gama in the vicinity of Calicut on 20\(^{th}\) May 1498. The advent of the Portuguese, in the city of Calicut made them accessible to the gateway of Asia. The Portuguese rivalry in commerce as well as in religion against the Muslims compelled the Zamorin to interfere in their dealings and maintain the law of his country and safeguard the interests of his subjects. Such confrontations against the Portuguese continued over a century, finally resulting in the total disintegration of the Zamorin’s kingdom.

---


We have seen earlier how Calicut pursued a policy of encouraging trade with foreign countries. In fact, it was this uniform policy that was followed by the successive Zamorins, which was more responsible for the affluence of the port of Calicut than its advantageous natural location. It was to such a port that Vasco-da- Gama came with his ships and submitted his request to the Zamorin for permission to trade. Needless to say, the request was readily granted. They called the ruler of the city of Calicut as the Camorij\textsuperscript{39}, which is usually anglicized as the Zamorin. Although the reception given to Vasco-da-Gama by the Zamorin was cordial, to the Arabs in the city, this meant an interruption of long established trade connections. They remonstrated, in vain, with the Zamorin on the new alliance and made bold to suggest that they would leave Calicut for good, thus bringing about the commercial starvation of the port.

Despite Arab protests, the Zamorin continued to afford the Portuguese all the normal facilities given to foreign traders. The real intention behind the reception given to Gama and his fellowmen by the Zamorin was the impression he got from the appearance of the Portuguese men, particularly their rich attire, that he could acquire bullions from these newcomers which in turn would help him to mobilize tools for maintaining his sovereignty. For this he dreamt of developing trade transactions with them. But the expectations of the Zamorin got darkened when he saw the inability of Gama and his fellowmen to pay the custom duties and the price of goods they had taken from Calicut in gold and moreover the gifts containing four cloaks of Scarlet cloth, six hats, four branches of coral, twelve almasares, a box with seven brass vessels, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil and a cask of honey sent by the king of Portugal to Zamorin also put him on

It was Pedro Alvarez Cabral who came to Calicut in 1500 AD made a successful attempt in establishing a diplomatic relation with Calicut by signing a treaty of peace and commerce. The Zamorin offered them a good house in the port town of Calicut and gave a Guajarati merchant to instruct them in the customs and manners of the country. Aires Correa, the chief factor of the Portuguese fleet set up the first European factory in this house, and a flag of Portugal with the national emblem was hoisted in the house. The Zamorin signed two copies of the treaty, one on silver plate with gold stamp and the other on copper plate with his brass stamp. The former was to be taken to the king of Portugal and the latter to be kept in the factory at Calicut. But this treaty was no longer able to keep in practice due to the tricks played by Arab merchants of Calicut. This paved way for the conflict between the Portuguese and the Arabs and city became an arena of open conflicts between them. Being in mood of arrogance and tactless behaviour Cabral seized an Arab vessel lying in the port of Calicut. The Arabs stormed the Portuguese establishment in retaliation. Many of the Portuguese perished. Three of those who managed to escape hid themselves in a haystack, where they were discovered by a friendly Muslim called Khoja Bequy (Koya Pakki), who hid them in his harem. Cabral

---

40 Ibid., p.54.
44 Ibid.
appealed to the Zamorin for compensation but failed to get any. So he seized ten of the Zamorin’s ships, destroyed some other vessels and bombarded the city from the sea, damaging many houses on the sea shore. He killed hundreds of Nayars and Mappilas in Calicut and Panthalayani, the nearby Muslim trade centre. Then Cabral used the policy of getting into friendship with the enemies of Calicut, i.e. Cochin and Cannanore. Thus it opened a period of wars of reprisal which lasted for over a century. The plundering of a richly laden ship of Calicut standing off the port and the looting and burning of another ship of Calicut sailing near Cannanore which contained very valuable jewels and three silver astronomical navigating instruments, that the Zamorin had imported from the island of Saponim, by Joao-da-Nova, who came after Cabral, effected the city’s name and fame of what Abder Razzak remarked as “a perfectly secure harbour”.

A Period of Politico-Commercial Imbroglio

The second visit of Gama to Calicut proceeded with the brutal attack on a ship of pilgrims returning from Mecca to Calicut. Back to Calicut Gama asked the king to banish all the Middle Eastern Muslim settlement at Calicut if he wanted peace and bombarded the city from sea. Later these confrontations were relinquished with a diplomatic move initiated by the new Portuguese viceroy Alfonzo de Albuquerque. He obtained the permission to open a new factory and fortress at Calicut by signing a peace

---

47 K.S.Mathew, op.cit., pp.183-84.
48 O.K.Nambiar, Ibid., p.34.
51 Ibid., p.214.
treaty with the then Zamorin in 1513 AD\textsuperscript{52}. The provisions of the treaty included the monopolistic right of the Portuguese captain at Calicut to issue permits or *Cartazes* to all vessels calling at the port except those from Cochin and Cannanore and the obligation of the Zamorin to supply to the Portuguese all the spices and drugs his land produced at prices prevailing at Cochin and Cannanore. There were two other terms in the treaty which allowed the trial of natives and the Portuguese guilty of crimes against each other by their respective tribunals, and about the responsibility of the Portuguese to help the Zamorin in his fight against the rulers of Cochin and Cannanore. Thus with the signing of a peace treaty, the mighty power of Calicut was converted temporarily into a feeding satellite political unit for the Portuguese state that was slowly emerging into a perceptible territorial entity. This treaty gradually distorted the prosperity of the Arab traders in Calicut and their withdrawal to other flourishing ports of West coasts of India\textsuperscript{53} eventually affected the trading activities of local *Mappilas* adversely as they had been commercially linked with the Arabs.

As timber was cheap in Calicut, because of the accessibility to Nilambur forests through the river route of *Chaliyar*, they began to build up ships in the vicinity of the port town of Calicut\textsuperscript{54}. The European fortress and factory continued to be there on the sea shore at the port town till 1525, when the Portuguese abandoned them on account of constant troubles. Thus Calicut remained as a political appendage of Portuguese State up to a period of twelve years. (1513-1525 AD). The subsequent decline of the house of

\textsuperscript{54} K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, p.89.
Kunjhalis, the great commander of Zamorin’s navy\textsuperscript{55} weakened the power of the Zamorin and facilitated the processes by which other European powers like the Dutch and the English could easily enter the Malabar Coast.

The year 1604 witnessed the accession of a new Zamorin and the appearance of the Dutch in Indian waters\textsuperscript{56}. The Dutch Admiral Vander Hagen landed on 11\textsuperscript{th} November 1604 and shortly afterwards entered into an agreement with the Zamorin\textsuperscript{57}. By this treaty the Dutch were permitted to open a factory at Ponnani and Calicut and in 1608 another Dutch fleet of thirteen ships came before Calicut under the commander, Veerhoven. A new contract was the signed on 13\textsuperscript{th} October 1608. Accordingly the Dutch were allowed to trade with Calicut. Another treaty was signed between the Dutch and the Zamorin in 1610 by which the Dutch agreed to pay two percent of the value of their export and import goods to the Zamorin\textsuperscript{58}. The Dutch were given permission to build a factory at Calicut in 1625. In 1626 again a treaty was signed and it stipulated that all pepper and ginger grown in the region would be supplied to the Dutch at affixed price, and that no export or import duties would be levied from the country\textsuperscript{59}. But the pre-occupation of the Dutch with Java did not give them sufficient opportunity to develop a trade at Calicut during the first half of the seventeenth century. Admiral Van Goens signed another treaty in 1662 with Zamorin for the exclusive right to purchase pepper at Calicut at the

\textsuperscript{55} For more details about Kunjhal Marakkar, see K.K.N. Kurup and K.M. Mathew, \textit{Native Resistance Against the Portuguese – A Saga of Kunjhal Marakkar}, (Calicut, 2000). Also see K.J.John, ‘Kunjhal Marakkars: Myth and Reality’, in \textit{Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 58\textsuperscript{th} session}, (Bangalore, 1997), pp.268-269.

\textsuperscript{56} K.V.Krishna Ayyar, \textit{The Zamorins of Calicut}, p.201.


\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., See the appendix no.1 for the terms of the treaty of 1610, pp.66-67.

\textsuperscript{59} Om Prakash, \textit{The New Cambridge History of India, European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India}, (Cambridge, 1998), p.94.
prevailing market price. The conquest of Cochin by the Dutch and the subsequent conflicts between the Zamorin and the Dutch did not provide a convenient atmosphere for the Dutch trade at Calicut. A definite peace between the Zamorin and the Dutch was reached in 1717. The Dutch were given the right to trade in the territories of Calicut. But they could not have any permanent establishment in Calicut as the demands put forward by them were not always acceptable to the Zamorin. However they continued to collect pepper and necessary commodities.

The Dutch, unlike the Portuguese faced keen trade competition from the English, the Danes, and the French. The Zamorin rulers with their aim of maintaining the trade of Calicut in the age of Dutch dominance used the opportunities provided by European competition in Malabar very brilliantly. French came to Calicut in 1669. Francois Martin, the Director General of ‘The French Royal Company’ (La Campaigns Royale does Indes) in Pondicherry sent Arbault to open a French “loge” or counter at Calicut in 1701. Negotiations between the Zamorin and the French commenced in 1705 resulted in the establishment of a French settlement at Calicut. The Danes who had established themselves on the east coast of India with their chief settlement at Tranquebar in 1618 came to Calicut and opened a small agency for the purchase of pepper. But they could establish a factory at Calicut only in 1751. The English also found it necessary to have

---

60 Series Files 1, Vol No. LXXII, B. No. 39, Sl. No. 6, Treaties and Engagements between the Zamorin and the Dutch, 1717.
commercial relations with Calicut. It was Captain Keeling who arrived at Calicut in 1615, the first Englishman with the intention of trade, met the Zamorin and secured the permission for trade and a treaty was also signed between them. Pepper and cardamom were the principal items of attraction for the English at Calicut. The virtual protection which the Dutch had assumed over Cochin made a lasting friendship between the Zamorin and the Dutch impossible and a conflict inevitable. The growing influence of the Dutch over Cochin made the Zamorin to give permission to the English, who were the main commercial rivals of the Dutch, for establishing a factory at Calicut in 1664. The English were not slow to provoke hostilities between the Dutch and the Zamorin and supplied arms and ammunitions to the Zamorin from the factory of Calicut. Being impressed by this the Zamorin came to an understanding in 1699 with the English factory at Calicut authorizing them to deduct 25% of the duty on pepper exported. Thus a truce for twelve years was concluded between the Dutch and the Zamorin and the Dutch handed over Chettuvai to the Zamorin and agreed to pay the expenses of the war.

The Changing Political Scenario

The Dutch resolved to avoid occasions that would strain their relations with the Zamorin of Calicut. At the same time they were sceptical of the activities of the Zamorin.

---

64 The text of this treaty is given in Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumals or Cochin, its Past and its Present*, (New Delhi, 1990), p.177.
66 A Report of a Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay appointed to inspect the state and condition of the Province of Malabar in 1792-1793, Vol.1, (Madras, 1861), p.22.
68 Collection of Old Records, *Copy of the treaty on a gold plate* (copied in 1902), Selected Records, Sl.No.11, Manuscript in Malayalam Language.
Their resident at *Ponnani* watched the stratagems of the court. But the hostilities of the Zamorin against the Dutch received a new impetus when new Zamorin (1746 – 1758 AD) ascended the throne. He was highly displeased with the Dutch of peace with Travancore, an expanding state under Marthanda Varma. He was provoked by the neutrality of the Dutch at the time of the unchecked expansion of Travancore under Marthanda Varma. Being defeated by Travancoreans, and deserted by the Dutch, the Cochin Raja send a Jew, Ezekiel Rabbi to Calicut to negotiate an alliance with his age-long foe. Taking the advantage of the situation, Zamorin agreed to help him. Thus getting Cochin under him temporally, his next attempt was to bring the Dutch under this league against the Travancore. So he promised to restore the lands he had occupied and even agreed to give 2000 Candies of pepper every year if they would join the confederacy. But Dutch refused it due to the fear of MarthandaVarma. The Successful resistance of Travancoreans compelled the Calicut Nair soldiers to retire. On the other side, Raja of Cochin concluded a treaty of friendship with Travancore Raja against the Zamorins on January 22, 1757, thus once again threatening the ambitions of the State of Calicut. In the meanwhile, Zamorin captured a series of territories of Cochin, which were on the pockets, such as *Pappinivattum, Matilakam, Pulikkara, Inamakkal, Mullurkara* etc. But the amazing thing is that, the Zamorin, who was throughout the victor, had concluded a peace treaty with the Dutch on March 6th 1758, by which Zamorin agreed to give up the territories conquered and also to pay rupees sixty five thousand as war indemnity. It may be the impending invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali and the attempt of Travancore to establish

---

70 Francis Day, op.cit., p.134.
71 M.O.Koshy, op.cit., p.129; K.V.Krishna Ayyar, op.cit., p.222.
supremacy in Kerala made the Zamorin to remain in peace and friendship with the Dutch. He felt that the attack from these quarters was more hazardous than the European trading company. Thus the Zamorin rulers, who favoured the entry of the Dutch into Kerala with their desire to oust the Portuguese found themselves being entrenched and overwhelmed by the colonial schemes of the Dutch.

**Mysorean Interlude: A Period of Resistance and Decadence**

As Krishna Ayyar remarks, the downfall of the Zamorins was not brought about by his European enemies or by his Kerala foes, but by the Mysoreans. When Hyder Ali became a powerful force subduing the Marathas and the English forces thus forging into the Carnatic region; in Malabar, Zamorin was engaged in warfare with the Raja of Cochin and the Dutch. At the same time Zamorin also decided to attack the Raja of Palakkad in order to expand his sway, and thereby to enlarge the geographical limits of his expanding state. But the Raja of Palakkad tried to counter Zamorin with the help of Hyder Ali, who was the then Faujdar of Dindigal. Thus Hyder Ali came in the scene and invaded the Zamorin’s dominions in 1732 AD. Till 1756 the Mysorean conqueror invaded his territories as many as five times. Realizing that this turbulent situation will lead to chaos inside the state, Zamorin tried to negotiate with the Mysore army by promising to pay 12 lakhs rupees as war indemnity. He also agreed to give back the territories of Palakkad Raja which was formerly occupied by him. As a corollary, the Zamorin rescued his state from an impending attack which would be an intimidator to his

---

72 K.V.Krishna Ayyar, op.cit., p.224.
74 M.O.Koshy, op.cit., p.114.
suzerainty\textsuperscript{75}. The most interesting fact is that this indemnity was never paid by the Zamorin. Thus Hyder, now the master of Mysore, got an opportunity to jump upon the Kerala politics holding the collection of indemnity as a pretext for invading the Malabar country in 1765 AD. Here onwards we can see the Hyder Ali, on the one side advancing with his campaigns in Malabar and on the other side Zamorin, who is struggling to retain his suzerainty in the then political imbroglio. Hyder Ali started invading provinces from the north of Carnatic region to the south and finally ended up in the northern province of Kerala. During this time a battle ensued between Kolathiri and Ali Raja, gave Hyder an opportunity once again to interfere and he decided to attack the kingdom of Calicut\textsuperscript{76}. At this time the rivalry between the English and the French also gathered in strength in Malabar. All these circumstances made the hinterlands of Calicut being infested with all sorts of disturbances which adversely affected the commercial transactions of the Zamorin’s state thus putting on pressure the economic system of the state.

In spite of having a Cavalry and Infantry which is usually considered as an important part of state’s machinery, Zamorin could not match the valor of Hyder’s army, who were well organized and experienced with their inroads in Carnatic and Deccan. In fact the absence of a permanent army later paved the way for his weakness, as his army known as \textit{Ernatt Muppathinayiram} and \textit{Kozhikkottu Pathinayiram} were only the rented Nair militia of vassal chieftains and Naduvazhis. As per the \textit{Vella’s Chronicle} it is apparent that Zamorin had increased the taxes in order to collect the pledged price money

\textsuperscript{75} N.M.Nambuthiri, \textit{Samutiri Charitratile Kaanapurangal}, (mal), (Sukapuram, 1987), p.130.

\textsuperscript{76} Lewin B.Bowring, \textit{Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and the Struggle with the Mussalman Powers of the South}, (New Delhi, 1997), pp.44, 45.
for Hyder Ali. Prior to this, we saw the Zamorin entering into a truce with the Dutch and giving war indemnity to them also. These circumstances indicate that he was entangled in a tough economic situation, which questioned the very existence of his statehood. Eventually, on 20 April 1766, the Zamorin helplessly surrendered to Venkat Rao Berky, the commander of Hyder Ali’s army. However, Eralapad, the heir apparent refuted the Zamorin’s act of surrender. Realizing that his image was shattered and his suzerainty smeared with blemish, the Zamorin burnt his palace with fire and committed suicide. As a result, the entire kingdom of the Zamorin went into the hands of Hyder Ali. The Dutch commissioner at Calicut also accepted the leadership of Hyder Ali. He appointed Raza Ali as military governor and Madanna as civil administrator of Calicut and made Calicut as the centre of governance and went to Coimbatore. In the absence of Hyder Ali, attempts were started to restore the lost fame of the kingdom under the new Zamorin and he sought the help of the Maratha regime. Though he took a diplomatic move against Hyder Ali by proclaiming the assistance he got from the French, he failed to put obstacles on the way of Hyder Ali who crossed the Wayanad Ghats and arrived at Calicut. Hyder’s seizure of Calicut town and the remaining palaces in 1774 eventually resulted in the expansion of the Mysore state on the debris of the shattered kingdom of the Zamorin.

In AD 1782, after Hyder Ali’s death, the political condition of Calicut again got changed. Now the Eralapad with the help of the Nair soldiers and the English army under Major Abington ousted the Mysoreans from Calicut and this new friendship

---

77 N.M.Nambuthiri, op.cit., pp.124-133.
enthroned the Zamorin on the political seat of Calicut. When Tipu Sultan came to Malabar in 1782 for the first time the Zamorin and the English were having good relationship. The English forces under Colonel Fullarton captured the Mysore fort in Palakkad and gave it to Zamorin, which strengthened the relationship between the English and the Zamorin\textsuperscript{79}. However, in 1784, the Mangalore treaty became a negative force for this relationship\textsuperscript{80}. As a result, the East India Company gave their dominions of Malabar to Tipu, and recognized his suzerainty. In this way, under the leadership of Ashed Beg Khan Malabar once again came under Mysore rule\textsuperscript{81}. Tipu realized that Calicut port can be served as a maritime outlet for his expanding empire with the land-locked capital-Mysore\textsuperscript{82}. His stratagems thus contained a desire to build up strong navy and merchant ships for strengthening the economic and defense affairs of his state. Nonetheless, he extremely skillfully decided to shift his seat of governance of Malabar from Calicut to a more strategic location and found a place named Mammili Paramba (current day Feroke) near to Nallur\textsuperscript{83} which is only a few miles away from Calicut on the banks of River Chaliyar. This place facilitated proper governance of not only coastal regions, but also inland provinces. It was his foresight to seat his throne in such a place in order for his sight to reach in all directions. As a symbol of his power and visual gaze, he

\textsuperscript{79} K.V.Krishna Ayyar, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{81} William Logan, \textit{A Collection of Treaties}, p.XXVIII; \textit{A Report of a Joint Commission}, P.40.
\textsuperscript{82} A letter of Joao Travares de Almeida, Governor General of Portuguese India, dated March 28\textsuperscript{th} 1776 says about Hyder Ali’s intention to build a number of ships at Calicut, Honavar, Basrur and Mangalore. Some French documents related to Tipu’s expedition to France suggest that ship-building have made a considerable leeway in Mysorean dominions in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. See George M.Moraes, \textit{Mangalore: A Historical Sketch}, (New Delhi, 1991), p.55; M.P.Sridharan, \textit{Papers on French Colonial Rule in India}, p.64.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Settlement Registers, Ernadu Taluk, Nallur Desom}, No.36, 1904-05.
constructed a fort there\textsuperscript{84} and made it his capital under the name \textit{Ferokiabadd}, which means ‘place or city designed for administrative purpose’. This new centre of power exercise was made as an annex of his dream kingdom “Sultanat-i-Khudadad”\textsuperscript{85}.

The elaborate network of roads made by Tipu Sultan in Malabar in order to organize his provinces turned beneficial for Calicut. He became instrumental in changing the small pathway that had been earlier used to travel from Wayanad to Calicut, to a major roadway. The roads made by Tipu are popularly known as Gun roads. These roads included Calicut to Ferok, Malappuram to Tamarassery, Ferok to Chaathamangalam, Ferok to Coimbatore, and Chaliyam to Chettuva. Thus Ferok served as a junction linking the other major roads with the highway between Calicut and Ferok\textsuperscript{86}. Further, with the establishment of warehouses in Calicut, Quilandy, Badagara and Ferok by Tipu revitalized Calicut as a trade centre to some extent. The changing spatial dynamics was continued with the introduction of land assessment and revenue system by the Mysorean rulers in Malabar. Many social reform measures adopted in order to strengthen the state, based mainly on Islamic principles. He severely criticized various social practices prevalent in the then society\textsuperscript{87}. These changes laid the basis for the future developments which took place in the socio-cultural environment of Malabar in general and Calicut in

\textsuperscript{84} A sketch of this fort prepared by the colonial authorities is found attached to a set of correspondence letters written between the Collector of Malabar and the Agents of the Andrew and Company on the issue of Quit Rent. From this sketch we can see that the fort is built in the style of other European Forts in India. The strategic location of the fort is well illustrated in the sketch; \textit{R.Dis Files, 1879, Bundle No.11, Serial No.59, File No.77 dated 25-09-1879}.


\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Routes in the Madras Presidency}, Madras, October 1879, Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chennai, pp.60-62.

particular. The further development of urban elements in the socio-economic and cultural environment of Calicut town was very much influenced by the measures adopted by Tipu.

**Making of a City: Tools and Channels**

With the singular motive to develop Calicut port into an international market and trade centre, the Zamorin rulers declared it as a free port where even ships not bound for it could freely take in fresh water and provisions. The policy attracted the merchants from various countries and thus it became the melting pot of various cultures including Greeks, Romans, Persians, Chinese, Arabs, and Egyptians along with the indigenous groups like Gujaratis, *Marakkars* and the *Chettis*. The territorial annexations and the occupation of rich hinterlands poured enormous wealth to the city. Meanwhile, Calicut came into contact with the ports of Ormuz, Aden, Jeddah, Cairo, Alexandria and other ports on the North Africa, Red sea and Mediterranean. Gold and Silver available on the African coast were brought to Calicut in the form of payment of spices. This made the Zamorin of Calicut as the richest ruler of Coastal Western India. On the other hand it led to the monetization of economy as well. Different coins like the gold coin *panam*, the silver coin *taram* and the copper coin *kas* circulated in Calicut as monetary medium of exchange. With the entry of coins, money circulation in limited degree started becoming a phenomenon of the market. A new class represented by the Muslim merchants started depending increasingly on transactions through the medium of money and they became relatively more prominent than the traditional aristocrats or the landed magnates whose strength remained in their land-holdings. Because of the enormous amount of authority given by the money power, these Muslim merchants turned out to be the most preferred
elements in the evolving city of Calicut. However the landed aristocracy was not left aside. They were incorporated into the political system of the Zamorin by assigning several land-centered jobs and responsibilities to them. The legends told in the Keralolpathi about a Chetty named Ambaresan and the story of a merchant from Mascot who later named as Kozhikode Koya\textsuperscript{88}, intentionally attempts to highlight the Zamorin as an honest ruler but at the same time it accounted for the spread of the glory and fame of Calicut across the world through the various mercantile networks. Several titles assumed by the Zamorins after the accession, constructed an image of a sovereign ruler and the circulatory citation of the title acted as a mechanism imprinting his authority over the land space from the mountain to the sea. The city also witnessed elaborate functions of rituals and royal ceremonies like ‘Ariyittuvazhcha’ or the investiture ceremony and royal processions like ‘Pallimaradi Ezhunnallikkal’. The celebrations were continued on the occasions of Taippuyam, Onam and Vishu in great pomp and glory. The institution of the Revathi Pattathanam attracted many scholars to the city and Zamorin welcomed them to the venue at Tali temple with great respect and honour\textsuperscript{89}. The patronage given by them to Sanskrit language made the city a centre of learning. The Vedic study centres or Chalas at Chalappuram is an example for this. The capture of Tali Siva temple from the Porlathiri and making it an important temple and educational and cultural centre of the city shows the scrupulous efforts of a ruling house to make their capital city a visual symbol of their power and sovereignty. Various travellers who visited the city in those glorious days carried with them to their homelands and to other far-distant places, an enormous account of what they saw and experienced at the city of Calicut and the city’s

\textsuperscript{88} Extract from ‘Keralolpathi Granthavari-The Age of Kings’, in Kunhali. V. (ed.), op.cit., pp.11-12.

\textsuperscript{89} For more details see K.V.Krishna Ayyar, The Zamorins of Calicut, pp.287-302.
reputation went in every nook and corner of the world which ultimately brought many explorers, merchants, and scholars in search of their fortunes in the city of Calicut. The city thus always experienced the presence of a floating population of various castes, creed, cultures and languages. *Kokilasandesam* written during the middle of fifteenth century by *Uddanta* describes the prosperity of Calicut in a beautiful stanza, which can be rendered as follows:

“It was because the maiden daughter of the sea resided in this city that the goddess brought ships carrying precious stones from different islands to Calicut, pushing them with her waves…”

Early records of Zamorin family mentions about the existence of a fortress and a palace situated at the present commercial locality of *Mittayi theruvu*. In settlement records this space is recorded as *Kottaparamba* or the “Fort ground”. A thorough study based on *Vastusastra* has been made Prof. N.M.Nambuthiri on this Fort-Palace complex. It argues that the entire city was very formally planned and constructed according to the traditional principles of medieval *Vastu silpa* texts. So naturally the question arises that when the city planning was done? Who prepared the master plan? Obviously one can directly point to the fact of the presence of scholars like *Chennas Narayanan Nambuthiri* who wrote the *Thanthrasamuchayam*, a treatise on traditional architecture and engineering techniques, in the court of Zamorin. But the recent studies

---

question the ambiguity of the *Pathinettarakavikal* or the eighteen and a half scholars who adorned the court. Perhaps the vast trade and diplomatic relations with the other parts of the world might have provided the Zamorin the technical knowledge for constructing the city in a traditional way. Some recent assumptions on the shape and structure of Calicut city during the Zamorins period is purely based on toponomical studies and survey records. So actually it should be corroborated with some archaeological evidences but unfortunately at present it is an impossible task since the area to be excavated lies in the midst of the city with many newly built structures.

The aforesaid studies say that the traditional city had a big bazaar from the western wall of the royal fort to the sea shore. The fort was one mile in circumference. The area between the present day Palayam Road in the south, Mananchira Maidan (ground) in the north, Oyitti Road in the west and the Cannanore Road in the east was occupied by the fort which contained the palace of the Zamorin and some religious and secular institutions. At present there are no relics or stone walls or early buildings in the city representing the old fort, but only the place name exist. New palaces were constructed when the number of the members of the Zamorin’s family increased. These new palaces were situated to the south-east of Calicut. The city and its nearby places were accommodated with the offices of various bureaucrats or the chief feudatories of the Zamorin. They include Punnathur Raja, Tirumanasseri Nambiatiri, Kuthiravattathu Nayar, Venganad Nambidi, Manakulam Raja, Azhvanchery Tamprakkal, Eliyangad Raja,

---

Chitanore Raja, Tirunavaye Vadhyar, Thammi Panikkar, Kodenchery Adhyan and Mangatt Achan. The administration of the city was controlled by Kozhikode Thalachennor, the Mayor of the city. It was the duty of the Thalachennor to look after the law and order of the town. He was helped by the permanent military groups of the Zamorins, the ‘Ernad Muppathinayiram’ and ‘Polanad Pathinayiram’. Their Nair soldiers were called as ‘Lokar’95. The trade at the seaport was controlled by a Muslim officer called the Kozhikode Koya or the ‘Shah Bandar Koya’. The ‘Shah Bandar’, which translates literally into “port-master” in Persian, was the second most important official in most South-East Asian polities after the ruler96. He was skilled at various languages and knew a great deal about the cultures and customs of the foreign merchants who descended on his port. His sole purpose was to attract, manage and promulgate trade on behalf of the state for which he worked. Therefore, the office of ‘Shah Bandar Koya’ served as an important institution which functioned as per the stratagems designed by the Zamorin rulers for strengthening their emerging state structure centered at Calicut. When a ship reached the port, the Koya along with another officer called ‘Farakan’ would take a list of the goods and fix its prices97. He enjoyed all the privileges and dignities of a Nair chief, jurisdiction over all the Muslims residing in the bazaar, the right to receive small presents from the Ezhavas, the Kammalans and the Mukkuvas whenever the Zamorin conferred any honours on them on ceremonial occasions. In the words of Ma Huan “On the day settled for valuing the cargo, the silk goods, more especially the Khinkis are first

97 Ibid.
inspected and valued, which when decided on, all present join hands, whereupon the broker will say the fixed price of the goods and it cannot be altered in any way”98. The accounts of the daily transactions were kept by these brokers and Ma Huan appreciates the ability of the brokers to make calculations using their toes and fingers instead of the help of an abacus. He also certifies that they never went wrong in their reckonings99.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited the Zamorin in 1442 says that security and justice were so firmly established in the city, that the most wealthy merchants brought thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload and unhesitatingly send into the markets and bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods100. The promotional activities at the port were continued with great offers in order to attract more trading groups to Calicut. When a sale was effected, the officers levied a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part; if they were not sold, they made no charges on them. According to Ibn Batuta, the Moroccan globe trotter (1342-1347), all places in Malabar except at Calicut, it was the custom that whenever a ship is wrecked all that was taken from it belonged to the treasury. But at Calicut it was retained by its owners and for that reason Calicut has become a flourishing city101. The security of the Calicut port and its exemplary organization thus meant that the Zamorins were able to exercise their influence over the entire country and the city became famous as the “city of honesty” in the distant world.

99 Ibid.
The Zamorin with his conquests of the entire northern and central Kerala including Cochin was moving towards a pan-Kerala stature on the eve of the Portuguese arrival. However the Portuguese applied brakes and checks to his expansionist move and the efforts made by the Zamorin to repulse the Portuguese’ political and commercial moves resulted in Calicut, being confronted with a phase of crisis in resource mobilization. The Zamorin’s attempt to oust the Portuguese from Kerala soil and thereby to regain his lost strength and pre eminence by joining hands with the Dutch did not meet with success. The Dutch behaved just as another European power clamoring group that wanted to keep the indigenous ruler in perpetual political paralysis. The Mysorean invasions added more radical changes to the state’s structure and finally brought about its complete declination as a state entity. Still the later Zamorin rulers tried hard to maintain their supremacy in the political arena of the then Kerala. Their continuous raids to the territories of Cochin made the Raja of Cochin to sought help from the English. Several correspondences passed between them and became successful in blocking the raids to a certain extent. But on the other hand, it provided ample opportunities for the English to grab the political power from the native rulers. The Cochin rulers also got the help of Travancore against the Zamorins. So, the political atmosphere of Calicut became more and more chaotic and gave way to the rising up of more enemies to confront with. It was only the English, finally emerged successful in ousting out the Zamorin rulers from the clutches of their political power. Thus it was not only the European penetration or the

103 Series Files 1, Vol. No. XXXII A, B. No. 16, Sl. No. 340, Various letters and correspondences between the Raja of Cochin and the East India Company officials on issue of Zamorin’s interference at Cochin.
Mysorean invasion or the subsequent decline of trade at Calicut which brought about the decline of Calicut, but it was the result of the friction occurred by a combination of pressure asserted by all these forces in the politico-commercial scenario of Calicut kingdom.

Generally, it is hard to observe the form of a powerful state in Malabar, only certain state fragments existed. Nevertheless, in a changing social and political milieu, the Zamorins employed various tools and devices for the manifestation of their pan-Kerala state structure and Calicut was benefitted by this in its way to the urban growth. Being the capital city of this ruling house, Calicut became a centre of all administrative, socio-economic and cultural activities which brought about a thorough change in the spatial patterns of the city. At the same time the continuous wars and conflicts created a lot of chaos inside the city, destroying some parts and many times the city was rebuild. The changing urban morphology and spatial patterns of Calicut in the initial stages are well illustrated in the next chapter. It was the trade potential that made Calicut to emerge as a state structure but with the European penetration, the fortunes of maritime trade shifted from Calicut to Cochin and by the eighteenth century, the growth of Alleppy port under Travancore State shifted the balance of trade from Malabar to Southern Kerala. This impacted the later developments of Calicut in a negative way. The absence of a strong power structure to coordinate and retrieve the losing pre-eminence of the city put it into a sleeping mode. The siege of Seringapattanam and the subsequent treaty of 1792

\[^{105}\] Luis de Camoes, a Portuguese poet, describes the political supremacy exercised by the Zamorins among the other rulers of Malabar and considers Calicut as a separate kingdom of independent status in his poem *Os Lusiadas*, See Luis de Camoes, *Os Lusiadas*, Canto VII, in Ethel M. Pope, *India in Portuguese Literature*, (New Delhi, 1989), pp.50-52.
between the English and Tipu Sultan marked the end of the sway of the Mysore over Malabar. There began an era of colonial paramountcy in the history of Malabar and the city of Calicut once again became the centre of administration and power exercise, but under a colonial regime.