CHAPTER III

ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SOCIETY
ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY

The Kingdom of Calicut, its benevolent ruler, honest people and the biggest mart, so vividly described by Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, Ma Huan Abdurazzaq and Pyrard de Lavel were soon to become the arena of long drawn out blood bath with the landing of Vasco-da-Gama on 20th May 1498. The ‘discovery’ of the Cape of Good Hope was an evil day for the Mappilas. In the keen struggle for supremacy on the Eastern Seas Mappilas came out vanquished and never have they regained wealth and their glory.

Studies of Stephen Frederick Dale have brought to light the brunt of Western onslaughts, especially of the Portuguese, “this oldest community of South Asian subcontinent was destined to bear”. Scholar adds further, that “the arrival of Portuguese was destructive to the Malayali society as the destruction of the Mughal Empire was traumatic to North Indian Muslims”.

The Portuguese entry into the Indian waters was not motivated by the idea of trade profit alone. They in fact carried the vengeance of the cross on the crescent. A detailed analysis of the formative factors of Portuguese policy divulges the magnitude of the problem.

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1 Portuguese authors keep diverse opinion; Oliveira Martin, Historia de Portugal – 19th May 1498; Pinheiro Chagas, Historia de Portugal, 17th May 1498, Marse Stephans, Portugal and M.J. Gabriel de Saldanna, Historia de Goa 1925, gives as 20th May 1498, See, Ethel M. Pope, India in Portuguese Literature, AES, New Delhi, 1989, p.269.
4 Ibid., p.5.
Four main motives inspired the Portuguese people in chronological order, but in varying significance. 

1- The Crusading zeal against the Muslims
2- The Quest for Prester John.
3- The desire for Guinea Gold
4- The search for oriental spices.

During the 15th Century, Portugal was a united Kingdom virtually free from civil strife, whereas countries of Western Europe were either disturbed by foreign or civil wars – the Hundred years war, the war of Roses etc. or else they were preoccupied by the menace of the Turkish advance in the Balkans and in the Levant. Spaniards experienced a period of ruinous anarchy before the reign of Ferdinand, and Isabella and so they could not actively compete with the Portuguese. The capture of Ceuta, a flourishing Muslim empire of North Africa by the Portuguese in 1415 was motivated by their crusading zeal. It provided information for access to the Trans-Saharan gold trade, and to evade Muslim intermediaries of Barbary. Thus they diverted the gold trade of camel caravan of Western Sudan to marine traffic. There was great demand for Gold in Portugal during fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because

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5 Ashin Das Gupta maintains that 'It would be a mistake to think of this fighting (between Portuguese and the Arab/Native Merchants) in religious terms' – *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Delhi, 1967, p.8.
7 Ethel M. Pope, *op. cit.*, p.13 Introduction.
the other states had enjoyed the benefit of gold coins. This riddle which they had been facing since 1383 was solved only after they fetched gold from North Africa in 1457.

The mysterious legend of the Christian King Prester John in the Indies, who had 30,000 men on his table of Emerald with the grandeur of 12 Arch Bishops seated on the right and 20 on the left, had been very popular in Portugal. It was believed in Portugal, as elsewhere in Christendom, that "this mysterious priest king when once definitely located would prove an invaluable ally against the Muslim power, whether Turks, Egyptians, Arabs and Moors". The Portuguese expected to locate him somewhere in African region and to benefit them to fight against the moors from behind.

From 1452-1456, the Portuguese Crown got a series of Papal Bulls promulgated on request, which gave it the monopoly of conquest, conversion and commerce.

1- Dum Diversas. 18th June 1452.
2- Romanus Pontifex 8th Jan. 1455
3- Inter Caetera 13th March 1456.

In the first Bull the Pope authorized the King of Portugal to attack, conquer and subdue the Saracens, pagans, and other unbelievers who were inimical to Christ; to capture their goods and their territories, to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery.

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11 W.W. Hunter, Comments that 'for each of these three objects the Malabar Coast-Strip afforded free scope'. *A History of India, op.cit.*, p.95.
and to transfer their lands and properties to the king of the Portugal and his successors.

The second Bull Romanus Pontifex was even more specific and it is rightly termed the Charter of Portuguese imperialism. The Pope praises His apostolic zeal since 1419 as a true soldier of Christ and defender of the faith in eloquent terms especially for compelling the Saracens and other unbelievers to enter the fold of Church.

It specifically credits him with intention of circumnavigating Africa and thus making contacts by sea with the inhabitants of the Indies “who it is said honor the name of Christ” and in alliance with them strengthening the struggle against the Saracens and other enemies of faith. The prince is authorized to subdue and to convert Pagans (even if untainted by Muslim influence) who may be encountered in the region lying between Morocco and Indies. The crown of Portugal is thus given the monopoly of navigation, trade and fishing in the extensive maritime dominions.

Pope Nicolas decreed that, “Since this work is one which forwards the interest of God and Christendom, this monopoly does in fact apply not only to Ceuta and all the present Portuguese conquests but likewise to any that may be made in future”. The legitimacy of any measures taken by the crown of Portugal to safeguard this monopoly is explicitly recognized by the Pope. Portuguese were further given permission to trade with Saracens but prohibited from trade in arms with “the enemies of the Faith”.

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Prince Henry and his successors were authorized to build Churches, Monasteries and to send priests to administer the sacraments in those regions. Finally, “all other nations were strictly prohibited from infringing or interfering in any way with the Portuguese monopoly of discovery, conquest and commerce”\textsuperscript{14}. The importance of the last clause was underlined by the solemn proclamation of this Bull in Lisbon Cathedral on 5\textsuperscript{th} October 1455 in the original Latin and in Portuguese translation and before a congregation which included representatives of foreign communities in the Portuguese Capital – French, English Castilians, Galacians and Basquer – who had been specially summoned for the occasion\textsuperscript{15}.

It seems that Prince Henry’s household was in financial crisis. Barros informs us that during the siege of Ceuta, one of Henry’s captains Diogogomes told Martin Behaim of Nurenberg that prince Henry gained information of gold producing land from Moorish prisoners, which helped him to maintain his household by trading with them\textsuperscript{16}.

Development of slave trade helped to finance Portuguese Voyagers down the West Coast of Africa. The slaves were originally obtained by raiding the unarmed people of Tourages encampments and Negro villages. These raids on unarmed people were characterized as if they were knightly deeds by the court chronicler, Gomas Eanes de Zurara and was infact so regarded by the majority of his contemporaries.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, p.22.
\textsuperscript{15} C.R. Boxer, \textit{op.cit.}, p.22.
\textsuperscript{16} C.R. Boxer, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 24.
Later the slaves were obtained by barter from chief of Senagambia and upper Guinea, who were criminals, prisoners of war or victims of witchcraft\textsuperscript{17}.

Portuguese voyages down to the West African Coast after 1442 was undoubtedly influenced by their passion for Gold. Infact, they did not succeed in spotting the baffling source of West African and Sudanese gold, which was largely mined in the region of Bambuk, on the upper Senegal River, at Mali on upper Nigar and at Lohi on the upper reaches of Volta. This gold, mostly in the form of gold dust was originally taken by bearers through the kingdom of Mali and Ghana as far as Timbuktu. There it was traded to Arab and Moorish merchants who carried it by camel caravans across the Sahara to the Islamic states of North Africa, which were frequented by Jewish, Genoese and Venetian traders among others\textsuperscript{18}.

With the establishment of Portuguese factories in the coastal regions of Senagambia in the second half of the fifteenth century, a large part of the Trans-Saharan trade was diverted to the Portuguese ships. The construction of the port ‘Saint George of Mine’ in 1488 by the orders of Dom Joao II benefitted to the simultaneous tapping of Western Sudan gold trade and of the Gold Coast\textsuperscript{19}.

Infact for about a century (C.1450-1550) the Portuguese Caravans outnumbered Moorish Camel Caravans in the gold trade. This abundant supply of Guinea gold enabled Lisbon to strike their Cruzados which further helped them to

\textsuperscript{17} C.R. Boxer, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 24-25.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, p.28.
\textsuperscript{19} Boxer, \textit{op.cit.}, p.28.
import their necessities. It also put Portugal on the currency map of Europe. As estimated, between 1496-1521 an annual average of 1,70,000 dobras worth of gold was imported from St. George of Mine and some times it was more. Something like 1,50,000 Negro slaves were also secured by the Portuguese between 1450-1500 AD.

The wealth accumulated from the flourishing gold and slave trade empowered King Dom Joao to hunt for Prester John whose legend was deeply rooted his thoughts. Though their knowledge on the situation of this priest King's empire was ambiguous, the Portuguese were aware that it was somewhere beyond the River Nile; which was then regarded by learned Europeans as forming the boundary between Africa proper and 'Middle India'. They hoped first to get access to Prester John by way of the Senegal, the Gambia, the Niger and finally the Zaire (Congo) rivers, each of which they mistook as tributaries of the Nile. When they began to explore further South of West Coast of Africa, the possibility of circumnavigating this continent and the subsequent way to Prester John and India became more conceivable. It is also noticed that during the reign of Dom Joao II the quest for the Priest King was coupled with the quest for Asian as distinct from African spices.

The last quarter of the 15th Century (1480s) witnessed well planned navigational explorations intended to locate Prester John and spices. The attempt of Bartholomew Diaz, though he rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, didn't succeed in opening the route to India. The simultaneous efforts to find out overland

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20 Ibid., p.29.
21 C.R. Boxer, p.33.
routes were also in vain. An Arabic speaking Pedro Covilheo, left Lisbon in 1487 and reached the West Coast of India and visited Cannanore and Calicut in 1488\textsuperscript{22}. Thence he went to Persian Gulf and the Swahili coast of East Africa as far as South of Sofala. This audacious and explorative mission of 2 years enriched his knowledge of Indian Ocean trade in general and the spice trade in particular.

On his way back to Lisbon, at the end of 1490, at Cairo Covilheo came across a message from Dom Joao to proceed to the Kingdom of Prester John which was supposed to have been located in the highlands of Abyssinia. He forwarded a detailed report and proceeded to ‘Prester John’. Emperor Negus of Abyssinia honourably received him and there he was confined for 30 years till his death\textsuperscript{23}.

It is uncertain whether Covilheo’s report reached the King or not. If we assume that the report reached the King, perhaps it is one of the reasons why Vasco-da-Gama was ordered to go to Calicut, the most important port of Spice trade. Probably the report could not reach the King, this can be surmised from the surprised Vasco-da-Gama and his men experienced at the sight of the high degree of civilization attained by the Swahili cities of Mosambique, Mombasa and Malindi. In fact, it was by the direction of King of Malindi that Vasco-da-Gama diverted his voyage towards Calicut instead of Cambay\textsuperscript{24} as he had planned earlier. Further more, at Calicut Gama failed to distinguish between Hindu temple and Christian Church, which Covilheo might have surely reported\textsuperscript{25}. Finally Vasco-da-Gama gifted

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item C.R. Boxer, \textit{op cit}, pp.33-34.
\item K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p.31
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trumpery presents like, cloths, hats, brass utensils and beadsexpecting to barter with pepper and other spices, Covilhoe would certainly have reported that Pepper could be purchased with gold and silver.

Apparently, it shows that it was only after 1488 that the Portuguese King became seriously interested in tapping the Asian spice trade at its source. Till they had it from Venetians, who brought it from Egyptian and Syrian Muslim intermediaries. The possibility of diverting the spice route from overland to the Atlantic Ocean could have motivated the exploration of whole sea route by Henry the navigator.

In a jubilant letter to Ferdinand and Isabella written a couple of days after the return of the Da Gama’s ship to the Tagus in July 1499, King Manuel announced his decision to wrest by force the control of the spice trade in the Indian Ocean from the Muslims, with the aid of newly discovered Indian ‘Christians’. In his letter to Rome dated 28 August 1499, King Manuel described himself as ‘Lord of Guinea and of the conquest of navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India’.

These developments in Portugal show that Vasco-da-Gama’s landing at Calicut was the culmination of a long planned navigational policy aimed at the destruction of Saracens, Moors and any other community as may be encountered.

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26 Seeing this Zamorin asked “Did you come to Discover Stones or Men? If Men and your King is so great why did he not send a present”; R S Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550. London, 1899, p 80
27 C R Boxer, op cit., p 34
28 Ibid, pp 32-35
29 Castenheida, The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India (Kerr’s Collection of Voyages), Edinburg, 1811, Vol II, p 396
30 The ‘discovery’ of the Cape of Good Hope was evil day for the Moplas. In the keen struggle for supremacy on the Eastern Seas the Moplas came out vanquished and never since they attained their wealth and their glory – Hamid Ali ‘The Moplas’ in T K Gopalapanikkar, op cit., p 289
When a white skinned man of Gama's crew was passing through the streets of Calicut, a Spanish speaking Tunisian, named Bontaybo asked him, “what the devil has brought you here?” The reply was “We have come to seek Christians and Spices”. This again attests that their primary concern was Christians, which would again mean their bitter hatred of Muslims, reminiscent of the crusades.31

Vasco-da-Gama on his second meeting with the Zamorin insisted that all the Muslims be banished from the city, which the King refused to do.32 Thereupon 2 November 1498, his fleet commenced a furious bombardment of the city which was stopped only when it was pointed out to the Captain that the ships themselves were being damaged. The retaliation of the Zamorin’s guns was ineffective and Barros commented that “their shots came like Bowls”.33 While Vasco-da-Gama remained off Calicut there appeared a flotilla of 24 Calicut boats all laden with rice. The whole boats were seized with its 800 crew. “He ordered his men to cut off their hands, ears and noses. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with their staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, heaped one on top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire”. The Brahmin envoy of Zamorin with all the hands and ears that had been cut off was sent on shore in a small vessel which was not fired, with a palm leaf letter to the king, telling him to have

31 C.R. Boxer, op cit, p.37.
32 K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.51.
33 Quoted in O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, Bangalore, 1955, p.50.
curry made to eat of what his Brahmin brought him". This was 'tip of the ice berg' of the horrible Portuguese cruelty to Muslims. The succeeding Portuguese captains tried to rival one another in cruelty to the Muslims.

Some of the authentic historians of Kerala seem to have ignored the Portuguese national policy as stated in the Pappal Bulls and King's letters to neighboring rulers and they try to lighten the weight of Portuguese brutality. K.M. Panikkar observes that, "the Portuguese King couldn't have selected a worse officer, if he wanted to establish peaceful relations with the Indian rulers and carry on trade. Cabral had neither tact nor foresight. He had an overweening pride which suspected an insult in every innocent movement and was short tempered". But a careful student of History would be convinced that these personalities were mere embodiment of their national aspirations in vengeance against Muslims. If the aim of Portuguese entry into Indian waters as R.E. Miller has stated was "the drive for economic power, the control of the spice trade and the amassing of the wealth associated with the orient", how the burning of Hajj pilgrims even after extorting all their gold and valuables, and the massacre of 2000 Arabs at Pantalayani Kollam who were leaving the country could be justified.

The Zamorins of Calicut with their Muslim allies waged a desperate war against the Portuguese. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese have been well

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35 K.M. Panikkar, *op cit*, p.40
36 R.E. Miller, *op cit*, p.61
37 Vasco-da-Gama plundered a ship carrying Hajj pilgrims, which belonged to Shahantra Koya's (Calicut) brother, and set it on fire with the crew. He saw the women bringing their gold and jewels and holding up their babies to beg for mercy, Jane K.G. *Vasco-da-Gama and His Successors*, London, 1910, p 66
38 F.C. Danvers, *op cit*, I, p 116
described by Zayn-ud-din Ibn Ali\textsuperscript{39} (Senior). He witnessed the landing of the Portuguese in Malabar. He wrote on their atrocities:

They committed different kinds of outrages in Malabar Different kinds of violence and numerous mischiefs

Like taking people captives, plundering and burning their mosques.

Desecrating their Holy Book and violating the chastity of their women.

He comments:

Demolishing their cities enslaving the believers.

Adorning their women only for seducing them

Preventing Muslims from the Holy Haj pilgrimage. Canceling the journey to the best of the lands.

And killing the Hajjis and other believers with various types of tortures and different ways of mutilation.

He narrates:

Flogging and isolating those chanting the name of ‘Muhammed’ and abusing the Prophet without any scruples.

Taking the captives and putting them in narrow rooms like sheds for senseless cattle.

Ridiculing Islam and those Muslims who pass by them, and openly laughing at them\textsuperscript{40}.

\textsuperscript{39} He wrote a treatise \textit{Tahriz Ahl al-Iman ‘Ala Jihadi Abdadat al Sulban al Marghabat Fil Jinan al Munqidat Min-al Niran} (Incitement of believers on Fight Against the Worshippers of Cross; Attraction to Paradise and Rescue from Hell) – It comprises 173 couplets.

Zayn-ud-din (junior) regards the arrival of Portuguese as a punishment of Allah.

They oppressed the Muslims, corrupted them and committed all kinds of ugly and infamous deeds, too bad to be described. The Portuguese scoffed at the Muslims and held them up to scorn. They ordered them about insolently, employed them to draw waters, bespattered them and spat upon their face and body. They prevented the Muslims from their journeys, especially their pilgrimage to Makkah. They plundered their properties, burnt their cities and mosques, seized their ships and trod down the Quran and other books under their feet and burnt them away. They violated the penetralia in mosques, instigated the Muslims by bribery to accept Christianity and prostrate before the cross. They adorned their own women with ornaments and fine cloths in order to allure the Muslim Women. They put to death Hajis and other Muslims with all kinds of cruelties and reviled publicly the Apostle of Allah. They held the Muslims captives binding them with heavy fetters and rushed them into the market to sell them as slaves, tormenting them at the time, with all kinds of punishment in order to get more profits. The Portuguese kept the Muslims in dark, dirty and stinking house. They beat the Muslims with shoes when they purified themselves with water after excretion. They tortured Muslims with fire, sold some and kept some as slaves and employed some of them for all kinds of hard labour without any compassion.\(^{41}\)

He continued,

The Portuguese after great preparation sailed to the port of Jazarat, Konkan, Malibar and the coast of Arabia, lay in wait for the ships of

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the Muslims and seized them. Thereby they amassed abundant wealth and acquired a large number of prisoners.\(^{42}\)

He comments,

How many a Muslim Woman of noble birth, they took as captives, and violated their honour to bring into world Christian children who would be enemies of the Faith of Allah and agents to cause affliction to the Muslims! How many Sayyids learned men and nobles they captured and tortured and put to death! How many Muslim men and women they converted Christianity! The tongues get weary of describing them, and hate to put them in words. May Allah chastise them very severely.\(^{43}\)

We have the same pathetic laments in *Fath-al-Mubin* by Qazi Muhammed, one of the leaders of the Mappilas in the 'holywar'\(^{44}\). Qazi Muhammed had been very actively involved in the Chaliyam battle of 1571 with the other Qazis, Sayyids and Yogis. He described how people came from far off lands to take part in the battle. He described that due to the Portuguese destruction of coastal settlements and the constant bombardments of Mappila centers, people began to walk along the mountains. But they walk in perpetual fear (of the Portuguese)\(^{45}\).

The Mappilas were so hard pressed that the leaders called for a Jihad-holy war. Zayn-ud-din says of his temptation to write the Tuhfat.

I therefore compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the cross; for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories

\(^{43}\) *Ibid.*
inhabited by the Muslims and also captured from among them a multitude whose number cannot be counted. They slaughtered a great number of the Muslim captives.\textsuperscript{46}

The war was fought between the Zamorin and his Muslim allies on one side, and the Portuguese and her allies from the dissident Malabar princes on the other side\textsuperscript{47}. While his Nayar forces were unbeatable on land, the navy chiefly manned by Muslims and led by the Kunjalis was invincible. When the Portuguese dominated the sea and checked the navigation of the Muslims, the resources of the Mappilas declined. Yet the idea of \textit{Jehad} and \textit{Shahid} rendered them bold and courageous.

\textit{Kottupalli Mala} a very popular song of the Mappilas’ gives an instance of Martyrdom of a man. The Hero is Kunhi Marakkar, the martyr of Mannath house of Veliyankode. The central theme of the song is that, the hero was sitting among his friends on a carpet just after his \textit{Nikkah} for the feast and nuptial union. Just then an old man came running and asked, “Is there anybody amongst you who wants to enter heaven and permanently reside there?”

He then described that at dusk on the previous day a Christian ship was seen in the sea, two of the sailors came ashore in a canoe caught hold of a Muslim maiden and took her to the ship. Anybody who save and bring her back will get heaven. There upon the bridegroom walked out of the \textit{Pandal} as if going to toilet. He went to his house to see his surprised mother, from whom he asked permission to court martyrdom, but was refused. He walked past, the mother fell unconscious, and he arranged a boatman to take him to the ship at night and wait for his signal not far.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin}, p.13.
\textsuperscript{47} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 67.
Thus he got on board the ship. A guard tried to stop him but was killed. He saw the white unbelievers heavily drunk and tried to find out the girl. After long search he found her, led her to the waiting boat and asked the boatman to take her ashore. Then he killed all the heavily drunken sailors.

Meanwhile the captain woke up and fought with him. Kunhimarakkar thus died the death of a Shahid. The Boatman and the girl witnessed his body being cut to seven pieces and being thrown into sea. His mutilated body was washed ashore, one piece appearing in Tanur beach, Kappat, Beypore, Calicut, Muttungal and Badagara. The place where his head reached was Kottupally. Then there is the description of how the chieftain of the Muslims of the place one day dreamt that severed head was in the river and it should be properly buried. Then the author goes on to narrate the typical 'Karamah' of a Shahid.

The tradition was so live among the Mappilas that in many places Jarams (Shrines) were erected when a holy man or leader of the community dreamt, some part of the Martyr's severed body appeared in the locality. This incident shows the response of the community for the call of martyrdom made by Zayn-ud-din and others and how it actually worked. This was one aspect of the total response of the community.

The Mappilas also tried to seek help from outside. They had the advantage of various foreign Muslim communities, settled as traders in Calicut. These were Indian Muslim traders and seafarers from Gujarat, Coromandal and Bengal, and many of the

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48 The Mala took its name from this Kottupally, also known as Albuhiha Rainamala (Garland of Wonderful Diamonds)
originally Hindu-Caste peoples of India from Gujarat through Malabar and Coromandal to Bengal who had been converted to Islam by the 14th century. 

Naturally these non-malabar communities were also eager to bring about the destruction of Portuguese on the sea. *Fath-al-Mubin* of Qazi Muhammed was meant for circulating among rulers of Iraq and Syria. “When they hear this (news of Zamorin’s war against the Portuguese) they would consider joining him in war ... especially in ‘Sham’ (Sysia) and Iraq. 

Among the Muslim rulers the Sultans of Bijapur and the Pasha of Egypt took active interest in joining hands with the Zamorins. That was why Zain-ud-din’s *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin* was dedicated “As a gift book to the most illustrious of Sultans, the most noble of monarchs, one who has made the holy war his chief consolation, and holds the elevation of the word of Allah by military expeditions as a precious ornament...... The mighty victorious and compassionate Sultan Ali Adil Shah (of Bijapur). It was from him that Albuquerque seized Goa in 1510 AD”.

The ruler of Gujarat had his own reasons to fight against the Portuguese. The trade of Gujaratis all over Asia was adversely affected by the Portuguese *Cartas*. From the time of emperor Akbar the Portuguese had friendly relations with Mughals which increased the hatred of Bijapur because of their enmity with Mughals. The diversion of spice trade caused loss of trade of his subjects and the Arab traders and huge revenue to the treasury.

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49 C.R. Boxer, *op cit*, p.45.
In 1509 the Zamorin’s naval alliance with Qansau-ul-Ghauri, Sultan of Egypt, and Sultan Muhmed Begarha of Gujar, ended in failure. After an initial victory the combined Egyptian and Indian fleet under the command of Amir Husain, the Khurdish governor of Jeddah was totally defeated in Gujarat harbour on February 3rd 1509 by Almeida. It was a treachery and Almeida’s secret alliance with Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu that weakened the Indo-Egyptian forces.

The arrival of Albuquerque as the new governor affected some change in the policy of the Portuguese towards the Malabar. His policy was making honourable peace with the Zamorin. The arrival of Marechal Dom Ferdinando Cutinho as the head of a new fleet from Portugal forced Albuquerque to make slight changes in his policy. When the Zamorin was engaged with his rebellious chief, he attacked Calicut on 3rd January 1510 and captured the jetty. Though Albuquerque discouraged Cutinho from attacking the palace of Zamorin, he defeated the palace guards and entered it, pillaged and looted causing damage and disgrace to the palace. His Nair Militia retaliated with valour and caused heavy loss to them. The Portuguese around 500 including Cutinho and other important officers were killed and even the governor was badly wounded.

Before the attack of palace, the Portuguese had sacked the Nakhuda Mithqal Cathedral Mosque of Calicut.

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53 K.M. Panikkar, op.cit., p.57.
54 K.M. Panikkar, Ibid, p.75.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid, p.76.
57 Shaykh Zain-ud-din, op.cit., p.58.
K.M. Panikkar comments on the setback suffered by Portuguese as “the pompous boast of Marechal (Cutinho) that he would bring back to his king the door of the Zamorin’s palace ended in the greatest disaster that overtook Portuguese arms in the East”\textsuperscript{58}.

Shayah Zain-ud-din mentioned that Portuguese attacked Ponnani and set on fire fifty ships anchored in the harbour and put to death seventy Muslims\textsuperscript{59}. Portuguese thence turned towards Goa and with the assistance of Timoja, the Governor of Vijayanagar attacked and occupied it. Adilshah immediately retaliated and succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Goa\textsuperscript{60}. Again after a stiff battle Albuquerque occupied Goa in October. 1510 and fortifications were made. This cut off the last hope of help from Deccan to the Mappilas.

By this time the policy of blockade, designed to destroy the commerce of Calicut proved a failure. Albuquerque wrote to the king of Portugal it was a vain endeavor to guard Calicut in such a way to cut off it’s supplies “because there is much rice in the land, the Dharmapatanam and Cannanore will always supply it in large quantities and this cannot be stopped except by stopping the navigation of Cannanore\textsuperscript{61}.

Realising the failure of the policy of blockade Albuquerque began to press the Zamorin to enter into a treaty. It included the permission to build a fortress in Calicut

\textsuperscript{58} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p.76.
\textsuperscript{59} Shaykh Zain-ud-din, \textit{op cit.}, p.58.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid}, p.59.
\textsuperscript{61} Torre de Tompo, “Corpo Chronologico” p.1, Maco-13 document 106 letter, dated 30\textsuperscript{th} November 1513, quoted in K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op.cit.}, p.82.
which was to be garrisoned by Portuguese soldiers. Realizing the hidden agenda of
the Portuguese the Zamorin rejected the offer. There up on Albuquerque intrigued
with the heir apparent of Calicut and succeeded in poisoning the ruling Zamorin.
Later Albuquerque confessed his heinous crime in his letter to the King of Portugal. “I
hold it for certain that the Nambiadiri slain the Zamorin with poison and that in a
peace treaty. I will come to an agreement with him”62.

The negotiations under Dom Gracia de Noronha with the new Zamorin
concluded in a favorable treaty on 24th December 1513. According to the treaty,
Portuguese got permission to build a fort near Calicut. Also the subjects of Zamorin
were permitted to voyage in four ships to the ports of Jeddah and Aden with the
passes (Self-conducts) issued by the Portuguese. Infact “the grant of a site at Calicut
to build a fortress was a great blunder” as O.K. Namibiar commented; “It lowered the
military prestige of the Zamorin, strategically, it was a fatal concession”63. Naturally
this aroused resentment among Moorish Merchants. This feeling can be observed in
the words of the author of Akbar-i-Muhabat, “the King of Calicut rolled up the carpet
of destruction and pursued the path of friendship with the Feringies”64.

After the Portuguese completed the fortifications, they began to violate the
treaty. They forbade the voyage of Indian ships to Arabian coast laden with ginger
and pepper and established monopoly over this trade. They even tried to trap

62 Ibid.
63 O.K. Nambiar, op cit, pp.91-92.
64 Nawab Muhabat Khan, ‘Akbar-i-Muhabat’, in Elliot and Dowson quoted by K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.88.
Zamorin in their fort on the pretext of presenting him some valuable gift. Thanks to
the virtue of a good Portuguese Soldier, who gave the signal of danger to the
Zamorin, it saved him from the treachery. This awkward treaty continued till 1522,
the death of the Zamorin who concluded it. Meanwhile, Portuguese with
sophisticated preparation marched from Goa to Jeddah; fortunately the presence of
Amir Salman of Rum saved the port from Portuguese assault.

The atrocities of Portuguese on the seas have already been referred. The
Portuguese were also responsible for unmentionable atrocities on the sea. The
Ferengi ships alone did not keep the peace. The Muhammadan ships were the special
objects of their fury. Every ship had to carry safe-conduct issued by the Portuguese.
But even with cartas they were not safe. The Portuguese seamen demanded heavy
bribes and bakshish and otherwise ships would be looted and burnt.

The abortive effort of Portuguese to harm the life of Zamorin in 1517
reopened the hostility between Calicut and the Portuguese. The Muslims of
Fandarina(Panthalayani Kollam) also turned hostile to the Portuguese. A combined
operation with small corvettes were made in 1523 (930 AH) by the Mappilas of
Pantalayani Janba (Chambra), Tuirwarankad (Tirurangadi) Barburankad
(Parappanangadi) and other places, when they captured ten small ships of Portuguese.
The next year a civil war broke out between Jews and Muslims in Kodungallur and a
joined effort was made by the Muslims of Calicut and neighbouring towns, who with

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65 Shaykh Zain-ud-din, op.cit., pp. 63-64.
66 Ibid., p.64.
a fleet of hundred small vessels marched to Kodungallur, causing the expulsion of Jews and Christians who also suffered loss.\(^{68}\)

The situation in Calicut further worsened. Zamorin’s Nair Force and Muslims besieged the Calicut factory in 1525, Jao De Lima defended the enemy. Zain-ud-din says, “Muslims from various towns went to Calicut in great numbers for the Holy war in the way of Allah.”\(^{69}\) When the provisions exhausted, the Portuguese escaped to the sea and the fort was destroyed. Negotiations were in progress but the Portuguese failed to get the fortress rebuilt and was forced to withdraw from Calicut who in turn renewed their naval wars with Zamorin.\(^{70}\)

Lope Vaz de Sampayo was appointed as the new Governor after the death of Henrique de Meneses in 1526. Realising the strategic importance of Beypore River, he was keen to set up a fortress in Chaliyam. He started negotiations with the Raja of Tanur and the weak Zamorin was forced to give permission and the fortress with a strong garrison was erected at Chaliyam in 1529.\(^{71}\) This fort was built using the materials and tombstone taken from the nearby ancient Jama’at mosque.\(^{72}\)

The Mappilas fought bravely as Albuquerque himself noted “better than any other people he had ever seen”. But in the face of the formidable enemy more was needed than courage. The Mappilas shared no military tradition. They were good

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\(^{68}\) Shaykh Zain-ud-din, *op cit*, p.65.

\(^{69}\) *Ibid*, p.66.


\(^{72}\) When the Chaliyam fort was finally captured in 1571 by the Zamorin and his Mappila allies, the war that followed is the central theme of *Fath-al-Mubin* (Complete Victory), the building materials of the fort was returned to the Mappilas for rebuilding the Jama’at Mosque, “Which the Portguese had destroyed in building their fort”, W. Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *op cit*, p. 333.
sailors who lacked experience and preparation for sustained naval fights. Also they lacked a strong leadership until the appearance of Kunjalis. They had no territory of their own except that of Ali Raja of Cannanore\textsuperscript{73}, whose opposition was made ineffective by his position within the range of Portuguese Canon. Finally, the Mappilas were subject to the whims of the Zamorin, who dispensed the funds and equipments and controlled the aid of the Nayars.

The Portuguese on the other hand possessed superior firearms, skill in naval action, leadership and unity. They could have the co-operation of rival Rajas who resented Zamorin’s pretensions. They had also the advantage of network of forts at Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon. This provided a safe heaven for their ships and cut off Mappila financial resources necessary for a prolonged war. The establishment of Goa consolidated Portuguese arms in an almost unshakable position\textsuperscript{74}.

By the beginning of 16\textsuperscript{th} century the Mappila resistance took a unified form under the command of Kunjali Marakkars. They were originally a community of Cochin Mappilas, who were compelled to move to Ponnani following Portuguese oppression of Muslims in Cochin and the Cochin Rajas friendship with the Portuguese\textsuperscript{75}. When the Portuguese built the Cochin fort, Kunjali Marakkar finally settled in Ponnani and continued his trading activities. Portuguese atrocities on Muslims and their foul deeds persuaded Kunj Ali and his brother Ibrahim to offer

\textsuperscript{73} The ruling family also known as Arakkal House. The only Muslim royal family in Kerala. They became economically progress and politically independent the Kolathiris of Kolathnad. The ruler also known as Ali Raja, K.K. N. Kurup, \textit{The Ali Rajas of Cannanore}, University of Calicut, 2002, pp.16-18.

\textsuperscript{74} R.E. Miller, \textit{op.cit.} p.68.
their service and ships to the Zamorin in his fight against the Portuguese. This invited the fury of Portuguese and they attacked Ponnani, the naval station and arsenal of Zamorin and stormed it. Meanwhile, Zamorin launched an attack, and Muslims of Cochin naturally helped him. The Zamorin had persuaded, Ismail Marakkar, the head of the Muhammedan community to issue orders to his men not to import rice to Cochin from the Carnatic Coast. This shows that Marakkars were the leaders of the community of Muslims of Cochin as ‘Koya of Calicut’ or Shahbandra Koya under the Zamorins. It seems that, it was after the attack of Henrique de Meneses on Ponnani in 1524 and on Pantalayani Kollam which was a strong hold of Kunjalis that the Marakkars appeared as the spearhead of Mappila resistance.

The origin of the name ‘Marakkar’ is explained in many ways. But it never seems sensible that ‘Marakkar’ originated from the Arabic Markab (Canoe) or Tunisian word Martaba (Sailors). Anyone related to sea or ship was called Marakkan. When Muhammed joined the service of Zamorin, he was conferred the title of ‘Kunj Ali’ the (beloved). Miller’s derivation shows the title as ‘Kunjali’ means dear Ali, the Navigator or Sir Ali Navigator. If the Kunjalis are described merely as the naval chieftains of the Zamorins, their role as the ‘defenders’ of Islam against Portuguese atrocities would have become incomplete. Since many of them

75 Shykh Zayn-ud-din narrates; In 1524, Ahmad Marakkar his brother Kunj Ali Marakkar, their uncle Muhammed Ali Marakkar and other dependants felt the desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Kashi (Cochi) for Kalikut.
76 O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op cit, p.98.
77 K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.60.
78 W. Logan, op cit, p.325.
80 O.K. Nambiar, op cit, p.98.
81 R.E. Miller, op cit, p.68.
had names of *lelams* attached with families it is assumed that they were descendants of rich merchants who contracted marriage alliance with important families in Malabar.\(^\text{82}\) This would explain the source of their influence from Gujarat to Ceylon towards the end of sixteenth century.\(^\text{83}\) Instead of the direct fight in the tradition of ‘Caverpada’ (Suicide Squad), the Kunjalis used the tactics of ‘Hit and Run’. They used the *Ghurabs* that could sail in deep and shallow waters alike and smaller boats for operation.

It is said that Kunjali second assumed the office after the death of Kutti Ahmad Marakkar. So it can be assumed that Kutti Ahmad was the first ‘Kunjali’ and it was a title. Kunjali first might have lived up to 1538. In fact, there were three more who were conferred the title of ‘Kunjali’ in succession.

Third among them Pattu Marakkar, assumed the office after the destruction of the Chaliyam fort in 1571 and the fourth Kunjali succeeded him in 1595. This helps us to believe that it was after the death of Kutti Ahmed Marakkar that the Zamorin conferred on his naval captain the title of ‘Kunjali’.

It was under the first Kunjali that the dreaded Kutti Ali terrorized Portuguese shipping, and “over two years he practically cut off all connection between Cochin and Goa”. Panikkar refers to the damage done by Kutti Ali on Portuguese trade. Their tactics was unique. They would wait close to the shore silently for the arrival of enemy’s ships. The men stationed on the top of the hills would give signs and they

\(^{82}\) P K Muhammed Kunhi, *op cit*, p 93

\(^{83}\) From the description of their operation in Ceylon places like Puttalam, Kotta and Vidala were as familiar to them as Calicut or Ponnani – *Ibid*, p 94, O K Nambiar, *The Kunjalis, Admirals of Calicut*, Bombay, 1963, pp 81-96
would dash with their small boats. War-Paros\textsuperscript{84} like bloodhounds get on board the
ship and kill as many as possible. And if they can’t hold the enemy then they would
retreat to shallow waters. They would also give protection to ships in high seas under
the cover of ‘battle’. In 1523, Kutti Ali thus helped 200 ships to come safely to
Calicut, 8 ships laden with Pepper were sent to the Red Sea escorted by 40 other
ships. Kutti Ali and his younger brother could do it before the very eyes of the
Portuguese. This strong protection of Marakkar enabled Calicut to carry on her trade
with West Asia, though often interrupted\textsuperscript{85}.

The Muslim traders in Ceylon also suffered at the hands of Portuguese much
the same way as the Muslims of Malabar. Zamorins under the leadership of the
Kunjalis tried to destroy Portuguese influence in Ceylon and interfered in Ceylonese
politics\textsuperscript{86}, on behalf of the brother of the ruling King, Maydunna who was an avowed
enemy of Portuguese. This naval engagement between the Portuguese and the
Kunjalis in Ceylon continued till 1538. The Zamorins navy under Pachi Marakkar,
Kunjali Marakkar and Ali Ibrahim Marakkar fought with Martin Affonsa de Souza at
Vidulai. When the battle came to an end, “800 dead Muslims covered the battlefield
and the whole camp with its rich booty fell into the Portuguese hands, including 400
Cannon, 2000 muskets and many other weapons and 22 War-Paros\textsuperscript{87}. Even the
Zamorin’s state parasol, which he had sent to Maydunna as royal gift, reached to the
dynastic enemy, the Raja of Cochin to whom victorious Admiral de Souza presented
it as a gift\textsuperscript{88}.

\textsuperscript{84}Built by Kutti Ali, Fast boats rowed by 30 to 40 armed men. Which could be navigated even in
\textsuperscript{85}O.K. Nambar, Ibid
\textsuperscript{86}Between Bhuwenka Bahu reigning King and his brother Maydunna; see O.K. Nambar, Portuguese
pirates and Indian Seamen, op.cit., pp.98-129.
\textsuperscript{87}D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, Bangalore, 1989, Vol. 1, pp.119-120.
\textsuperscript{88}O.K. Nambar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op.cit., p.122.
Victory in Vidulai was so important for Portugal that, “it was extolled all over Europe”\textsuperscript{89}. It was during the operation at Puttalam that Ali Ibrahim and Kunjali-I were killed. Kunjali’s death is shrouded in mystery. Some say “that they were done to death by secret orders of Maydunna and others that they were killed by the villagers in consequence of their overbearing conduct towards them”\textsuperscript{90}. Different versions are recorded of this incident, O.K. Nambiar quotes P.E. Pieris\textsuperscript{91} who after the narration of this incident added that “the truth will never be known”. This faded the interests of Zamorin in Ceylon and further he never sent any expeditions to Ceylon\textsuperscript{92}.

The Zamorin then tried to get the help of the Ottoman emperor Sulaiman. A navy under Sidi Ali Reis entered Indian water, but his effort was in failure; Earlier Gujarat had obtained Egyptian assistance under Sulaiman Pasha\textsuperscript{93} in 1538, which was also ineffective due to various reasons. This coalition against Portuguese is referred by O.K. Nambiar as the Indo-Egyptian axis\textsuperscript{94}. However, this axis failed to check the rising Portuguese mastery on the Indian Ocean. The Indian partners of the axis lacked the solidarity in their plan and tactics.

The withdrawal of Egyptians from Indian seas and fifteen years of continuous naval engagements had drained Zamorin’s resources. Four of his fleets had been sunk and trade of Calicut began to fade.

\textsuperscript{89} O.K. Nambiar, *Kunjalis, the Admirals of Calicut*, op cit, p.93.
\textsuperscript{90} O.K. Nambiar, *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, op cit, p.128.
\textsuperscript{91} Author of *Ceylon in the Portuguese Era*
\textsuperscript{92} O.K. Nambiar, *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, op cit, p.128.
\textsuperscript{93} Qazi Muhammed, *Fath-al-Mubin*, op cit, p.247.
\textsuperscript{94} O.K. Nambiar, *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, op cit, pp.135-140.
Above all the foundation of Chaliyam fort disturbed the trade and communications. Its strategical position as noted “was like a pistol held at Zamorins throat”\textsuperscript{95}, the fought had carried the sophisticated artillery and garrison which forced Zamorin to negotiate for a peace treaty. Chinnakutty Ali a relation of Kunjali II proceeded to Goa with the proposals of Zamorin. Viceroy, Gracia de Noronha warmly received Chinna Ali. Thus the treaty was signed at Ponnani on 1\textsuperscript{st} January 1540\textsuperscript{96}. According to this treaty it was obligatory to Zamorin that the Pepper and Ginger of Calicut can be exchanged only to the Portuguese. He also agreed to accept Portuguese cartas for Moorish ships. By this agreement the Zamorin availed a settled income from Portuguese trade without any risk, and it revived the trade of Calicut\textsuperscript{97}.

Even after the purchase of Cartas issued by Portuguese Governor, they exhorted large amount of money by force. Kunjali II opposed the cartas system and gave protection to the Malabar ships. He also began attacking Portuguese ships. The use of guerilla warfare proved great harm to the Portuguese trade. He also got the support of commander of Cannanore navy\textsuperscript{98}. Portuguese were now forced to make huge convoy for the movement of their ships.

The new Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa, who was one of the worst Portuguese Governors in India, witnessed the plundering of wealthiest temples, including Cancheevaram (Kanjeepuram) in South India. His aggressive acts were performed by the orders of the Portugal King\textsuperscript{99}. His ugly hands also stretched towards Cannanore, the foremost ally of Portuguese in India. Batisto de Sousa, an

\textsuperscript{95} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p.114.
\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Ibid}, p.118.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Ibid}, pp.119-120.
\textsuperscript{98} \textit{Ibid}, p.128.
agent sent by the Governor to extort money from the Rajah of Chirakkal, killed Abu Bakr Ali, a nephew of the Great Mammali Marakkar. There after the enraged Cannanore opened fire on Portuguese. Infact the coming of Jao-de-Castro in 1545 restored peace with Cannanore. However, his Governorship witnessed rigorous Portuguese religious policy, by which they persuaded mass conversion in their dominant area. Even they converted the Raja of Tanur, who reconverted to his religion when he did not find the expected benefits.

The disputes between the Raja of Cochin, and the Pepper King – Raja of Vadakkumkur, who had controlled the pepper produced in his vicinity, provided a chance to the Portuguese. The Portuguese aggression on Vadakkumkur in 1550 and the killing of the Raja enraged the people. They vigorously retaliated and the captain Francisco de Silva himself was put to death. Vadakkumkur Raja was a feudatory of the Zamorin, so he joined with his feudatories and actively interfered with Cochin-Portuguese alliance.

The Portuguese possessed large fleet of twenty under Santomayor, yet Kunjali II continued his depredations. This enraged the Viceroy (Dom Luiz de Atyade Conte-de-Atouqueria) who sent Martino Alfonse de Miranda in 1569 with a large fleet of 36 vessels. This again proved unsuccessful, while Kunjali made deadly attacks on them. An abortive operation was also conducted in the next year.

99 Ibid, pp.121-122.
100 Shaykh Zain-ud-din also mentions the murder of Kunj Sufi the father of Adhiraya or Aliraya, op cit , p.76.
101 K.M. Panikkar, op cit , pp.124-125.
The disgruntled situation forced the Portuguese to resort to unscrupulous attack on the coastal towns. Dom Dingo de Meneses in charge of Malabar squadron with 40 vessels began to burn, pillage and massacre mercilessly the people of the coastal areas which came under his hands. Pantalayani Kollam, Tirokode (Tikkodi) and Ponnani had suffered heavily.

The Portuguese became a synonym of cruelty. They had all the unknown savage ways of killing and torturing the victims as described in Tahriz, Tuhfa and Fath-al-Mubin, especially in places where they had fortresses. In Cannanore a lady was paraded in the street carrying the dead body of her husband. She was related to the Arakkal royal family. This roused the mob and the natives under Ali Raja. The local population Hindus and Muslims besieged the fort. It was in the year of 1564. Paulo De Gama with a well-armed fleet from Goa marched to reinforce the Portuguese force at Cannanore. However, when he reached at Bhatkal, Kunjali II attacked the fleet and Gama was forced to return. It was followed by another strong reinforcement under Dom Mascaren who had arrived for engagement with Kunjali. He also had the bitter experience from the admiral of Zamorin. Yet another fleet under Luiz de Mello was sent against Kunjali. But, at Mangalore he engaged in ‘piracy’, conducted naval raids on Utkal in Mangalore and forgot his duty. Finally he was attacked by 13 Calicut ships and was defeated. When he returned to Goa, he was imprisoned on charge of failure of his duty. Thus the situation of Portuguese was in threat; Caesar Frederick noticed that they were afraid to sail “except under a convoy of big ships”.

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103 A detailed description the Portuguese onslaught had made in this work.
The situation in the second half of the 16th century, was well analysed by the celebrated author O.K. Nambiar, who came to the conclusion that it as “an interesting phase in the development of our national spirit”.

He further added that, “It was fast assuming the character of a national war for the recovery of India’s Sea-trade”\(^{106}\).

The rising national spirit as noticed by Mappila authority.

The inhabitants Budfatan, Tirurkad, Fandarina and other places ‘took steps’ to get ready small corvetters and implements of war and set out on their voyage without taking passes from the Portuguese and fought against them. In the middle of Ramzan 974/1567 the inhabitants of Fannan, Fandarina and others started from Fannan with a fleet of 12 corvettes and captured opposite to Fannan a merchant vessel of the Portuguese that sailed from Bangala carrying rice and sugar. On Saturday 8th Jamad al Akhira 976 AH/1568, the inhabitants of Fannan and Fandarina and others who owned corvetters formed such a coalition. Kutti Bokar (Kutti Pokker) was one among them. They captured off Shaliyat (Chaliyam) a big barsha (Carracka) which started from Koshi (Kochi) with great preparations, carrying nearly one thousand brave men, their allies, and servants, besides a vast store of merchandise. In the course of the engagement fire broke out in the barsha and it was burnt\(^{107}\).

In the subsequent operations, Portuguese suffered irrecoverable loss. These episodes demonstrate the firm determination of the Malabaris to expel the Portuguese from Indian waters. Infact in 1570 these operations gave birth to a serious

\(^{106}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{107}\text{Shaykh Zayn-ud-din, op.cit., p.82-84.}\)
anti-Portuguese confederation, including the Zamorin of Calicut, Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmad Nagar and Ali Adilshah of Bijapur. Even the king of Achen was a part of the alliance. The target of attack was divided, accordingly, in 1570 Adil Shah besieged Goa and the Nizam Shah engaged Chawl and Chaliyam by the Zamorin. The Queen of Gersoppa attacked Honavar and Chieftains also put into the fray against the Portuguese.

Perceiving the plight of Muslims Ali Raja, the Cannanore Sultan induced the Sultan of Bijapur Ali Adil Shah to declare a combined holy war against Portuguese.

Zamorin’s naval captain Kuttipokker with a fleet of 21 ships, 1000 soldiers armed with matchlocks were sent to Chawl to assist Nizamal-ul-Mulk. The presence of dreadful Portuguese fleet did not unnerve the ‘admiral’, who landed his men and material secretly in night. He fought valiantly for twenty days, though finally got an upper hand, after inflicting much damage as he could and fled one night. Later he attacked fort at Mangalore. On his return voyage from Cannanore he encountered with large Portuguese fleet of fifty gulletis under Dio De Menezes. This confrontation determined his life, who fell fighting lion heartedly.

Chaliyam Battle

Besiege of the Chaliyam by Zamorin was proved to be a total war for the Mappilas and the Merchant Prince. A call for Jehad (holywar) was made by the

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108 The Sultan of Ahmad Nagar between 1565-1588.
109 In 1510 Goa was conquered by Portuguese from Ali Adil Shah, Grandfather of Ali Adil Shah II.
110 O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen. op cit, p.152; K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.132.
111 Shykh-Zain-ud-din, op cit, p.85.
112 K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.133.
religious leaders and Tuhfat itself was meant for this purpose. “Men came like ants from far off places” says the author of Fath-al-Mubin, “the carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers and laboureres with what all arms and provisions they could carry”¹¹³ Zayn-ud-din depicts that, “the people of Baranur, Tanur and Baraburangad (Parappanangadi) joined in large numbers at night on 24/25 of Safar 979 /1571 AD, the battle began the next morning between the Muslims and the Portuguese. The Muslims burnt the houses situated outside the fort and the churches, and destroyed the fortifications built of mud. On the side of Muslims only three suffered martyrdom while a large number of Portuguese were killed. The enemy took refuge in the solid fort built of stone, and settled themselves there”¹¹⁴.

Trenches were dug and barricades were raised. The fort was blockaded by the Muslims and Nair soldiers of Zamorin. The occupants were reduced to starvation till “they took of eating dogs and carcasses”. Thus they came out of the fort everyday, large bodies of their servants, both male and female, who were not molested by the besiegers. The Yogis, Pandits, Sayyids, Qazis and Mashaikehr recited sacred books. And the Zamorin daily visited the besieging forces and inspected the trenches. The Portuguese supply from Cannanore and Cochin were cut off at Chaliyam.

During the siege, the Portuguese sent messenger to Zamorin and pleaded for peace offering to surrender some of big cannons kept in the fort and to indemnify amply for expenses incurred in the war. But Zamorin refused and when the situation became dangerous, they “offered to surrender the fort and all that it contained and the

¹¹³ Fath-al-Mubin, op cil
¹¹⁴ Shykh Zain-ud-din, op cil , p.87; K.M. Panikkar, op cil , p.133.
cannon”. Accepting it Zamorin provided “safe passage to them who marched out at midnight. On 10th Jamad ‘al akhir’ the fort was razed and not one stone was left. The materials were returned to Mappils for rebuilding the ancient Jama’at mosque which the Portuguese had destroyed.

Ultimately the victory came to the part of Zamorin and Mappilas for which “he had directed all his strength, for forty years to expel the Portuguese from this ‘post’, and succeeded only in 1571”. The Portuguese had hoped to keep the fort as a pistol at the throat of Zamorin, the same strategy which had proved successful at Cochin. But the combined efforts and firm determination by the Nairs and Muslims shattered the dreams of the early colonizers in Malabar. “With their expulsion from Chaliyam, the Portuguese effort to control Malabar came to an end”, as commented by the author of Malabar and the Portuguese.

The Portuguese retaliated for the Chaliyam defeat with fire and sword along the Malabar coast; ships were destroyed, the crew were killed, settlements were bombarded and the cities were reduced to ashes. In 1572 Portuguese force from Goa landed at Parappanangadi. The whole town including mosque and temple were reduced to ashes. The port towns in the vicinity of Calicut like Tikodi, Kupakad and Ponnani were exposed to savages attacks of the Portuguese. In 1577 Portuguese pirates captured fifty Arab ships which used to bring rice from Tulunad with nearly

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115 George De Castro, 80 year old Captain who surrendered the fort, later executed in the market place at Goa in charge of surrendering the fort. O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op cit, p.153.
117 K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p.114.
118 Ibid, pp.134-35
119 K.M. Panikkar, op cit, p. 134.
3000 men, some of whom were put to death. This adversely affected the trade of Muslims\(^{120}\). It was then that the leader of Calicut compelled to seek an alliance with the Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1578 AD\(^{121}\). In the same year Portuguese initiated negotiations with the Zamorin, which ended in failure due to their demand for building a fort at Ponnani. The fear of Portuguese onslaught incited the Zamorin to send his own envoy to Goa, which also ended in failure\(^{122}\).

Kunjali warned the Zamorin against his intention to allie with the Portuguese as he felt that a Portuguese fort at Ponnani would be a constant menace to him and to his strategies. Realising the situation he obtained Zamorin’s permission to erect a fort at the mouth of Kotta River\(^{123}\). The Portuguese resorted to aggression and they disturbed the import of rice to Calicut and neighbouring towns. It caused terrible famine in 1582-83 which was never been affected earlier\(^{124}\).

The weak Zamorin had concluded a treaty with the Portuguese and permitted to build a fort at Ponnani. The treaty benefited the release of prisoners from either side\(^{125}\). The establishment of Puthupattanam fort and dockyard helped Kunjali to act as a powerful feudatory of Zamorin\(^{126}\) and more vigilant in his operations against the Portuguese. However after the death of Kunjali III\(^{rd}\) in 1586 the relation between Zamorin and Muhammed Kunjali Marakkar IV was estranged, and economically the rising of new towns under feudatories and the newly emerged aristocracy aroused

\(^{120}\) Shykh Zain-ud-din, \textit{op cit}, p.89.
\(^{122}\) Shykh Zain-ud-din, \textit{op cit}, p. 93.
\(^{123}\) The new town came to known as Puthupattanam (New Town)
\(^{124}\) Shykh Zain-ud-din, \textit{op cit}, p 93
\(^{125}\) Ibid
\(^{126}\) K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p. 186.
doubts in the mind of Zamorin. The actions of Kunjali IV further attested it. He acted without consultations with his overlord and efforts were done to protect himself against both Portuguese and the Zamorin by strengthening the fortifications of Kotta.\(^{127}\)

Kunjalis continued their resistance by capturing all the Portuguese ships on the sea. In 1586 on the Coromandel coast Portuguese suffered a great disaster from the hands of Kutti Moosa (Khwaji Mussa) \(^{128}\) for over two years Portuguese navigation was practically interrupted on the Malabar Coast. A new Portuguese fleet of 20 fustas under Andre Furtado de Mondosa confronted with Kutti Moosa. Though the Mappilas fought gallantly, the Portuguese held upper hand and fleet of Kutti Moosa was completely destroyed. He was later able to set up a naval base in Mannar in Ceylon with the help of the ruler of Jafna. Thence Kunjali himself resorted to fight with the Portuguese and inflicted crushing defeat on them.\(^{129}\)

The situation forced Portuguese to conclude peace with the Zamorin in 1591 at Ponnani. Even if this treaty did not last, it destroyed the Zamoin-Marakkar axis and it was reflected in the communal harmony that existed between Hindus and Muslims for centuries. In the changed circumstances Kunjali began to act independently. Thereupon the Zamorin took the help of Portuguese to humble the pride of the overgrown subject.\(^{130}\)


\(^{128}\) K.M. Panikkar, *op cit.,* p. 139.


\(^{130}\) *Ibid*
Though Zamorin had entered into an alliance with the Portuguese, the power and prestige enjoyed by Kunjali among Hindus and Muslims had left him in dilemma. He thought that the declaration of war against his own admiral would arouse the northern chieftain in revolt against the royal authority. Moreover the presence of Dutch power in Indian Seas, who were the bitter opponents of the Portuguese, would give a chance of new alliance with the admiral and the disgruntled Raja of Cochin. Further negotiations between the Zamorin and Luis de Gama failed, and Portuguese declared Zamorin as their enemy. They strengthened the blockade in the mouth of River Kotta under Dom Ferdinent De Noronha to cut reinforcement to Kunjali. O.K. Nambiar is of the view that “Zamorin’s diplomacy was aimed at overawing Kunjali to obedience by the threat of Portuguese alliance”. He adds further that, “force of circumstance was favorable to the reconciliation between them”. The stumbling block however, was “the pride of an ancient dynasty and the arrogance of a brave but upstart vassal.”

Offensive actions of Kunjali like cutting the tale of Zamorins’ elephant and ill treatment on Aryan (Ariole) Prabha Kartha, a feudatory of the sovereign had annoyed him. Padre Antonio had played his ugly role in estranging the Zamorin and his admiral. He also persuaded the King to an agreement with the Portuguese Viceroy.

By this agreement and after three months long preparation for the siege, the joint forces of Portuguese and Zamorin decided to attack the Puthupattanam fort on

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131 O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op.cit, pp.161-162.
132 Ibid., p.163.
133 Ibid.
134 Ibid., pp.163-164.
5th March 1599. The Zamorin's force proceeded on land while the Portuguese under Louis de Silva stationed on the riverfront. The naval force of Kunjali was engaged in high seas and also it was impossible to get them back due to the tight blockade in the river mouth. The galliots, under Captain Kutti Amu, however, offered valiant attack on the Portuguese blockade and they captured some of the vessels. The allies suffered a defeat, the commander De Silva De Francis Peryera and Major Leyna fell one after the other in front of the skillful firings of the musketeers of admiral Kunjali. A large number of the Portuguese were drowned, though land side fighting under Belchier Ferreira, with Nair forces, succeeded in taking the Palisade at one point and they destroyed houses, damaged mosque and killed 500 men of Kunjali. The death of De Silva De Francis Peryera and Major Leyna proved the greatest disgrace the Portuguese received in Asia. The failure was due to the lack of co-ordination between military and naval force.

This victory of Kunjali over the Allies increased his prestige. He caught the imagination of the people and the princes and lords began to have an eye upon his success. He had helped Rani Thirumala Devi of Ullal in her fight against Banga Raja of Manglore and with the Portuguese. And she had sent him 3000 bags of rice to the fort and promised further help. The Nayak of Madura was ready to give asylum to Kunjali and to build a fort for him at Rameshwar.

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136 K.M. Panikkar, op cit., p 142.
137 O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op cit., p. 177.
The newly appointed commander Andre Furtado entered in a new agreement with the Zamorin on 16th December 1599. They prepared the plan of action to reduce the Puthupattanam fort. Kunjali realising that he could be destroyed if he fails to get reinforcement from outside. He resorted to attract all Muslims under his banner. He adopted the title of "The Defender of the faithful" and styled himself as the "expeller of the Portuguese" to explore the imagination of Muslim world from Cairo to Cambay and from Cannanore to Calicut, but it was in vain. He expected helping hand from Ali Raja of Cannanore. He Sent messages to the Muslims of Ponnani and other wealthy merchants. All these efforts proved a failure.

A graphic description of agreement between Furtado and the Zamorin at Kochi, ancestral home of the Kunjalis, has been provided by Faria D' Souza. But he did not give the details on the "fate to be meted out to Kunjali on his capture while the number of baskets and shovels the Zamorin had engaged himself to supply for the siege is mentioned". It is said that Kunjali had only 800 Muslims, whereas there were 1200 Portuguese assisted by 12,000 Nayars of Zamorin, and some more from Cochin. The battle that followed was bitter and formed a glorious chapter in the history of Mappilas but it was too risky for Kunjali. Since he was surrounded by enemies on land and sea Kunjali opened negotiations. Faria writes that;

he sent word to offer to capitulate on condition that his life and those of all the Moors should be spared and that he, the Zamorin should come to the gates of the fortress to receive his surrender.

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139 Ibid., p.179.
It was Kunjali’s decision that he would not surrender to any but the Zamorin, because Zamorin was his king and if had offended his majesty he would now ask his pardon. But the Portuguese were his enemy. So he came out of the fort with 250 of his men to surrender to the Zamorin. The moment he left the fort, the treacherous Portuguese under Belchior rushed to the fort and ransacked the stockades, houses and ships that were in or about it. This deceitful act infuriated the Nair soldiers of Zamorin. Thereupon Kunjali retired to the fort.\footnote{Ibid, pp 182-183}

On further negotiations Kunjali got assurance from Zamorin to spare his life and of 250 men with him. De-Couto narrates the episode.

In the extremity of want Kunjali sent envoys to the Zamorin heartily beseeching him to have mercy upon him and inquiring whether if he should deliver himself up, the Zamorin would promise to spare the lives of him and his followers, this the Zamorin conceded and the agreement was ratified by the Olas of the parties.\footnote{De-Couto, The Decadas (Extracts) quoted in O K Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op cit. p 184}

When the Captain Furtado informed about this and Zamorin requested for its confirmation, he replied that, “His highness should act as he proposed and that he was quite satisfied.”\footnote{Ibid}

The lapse of several days for Kunjali’s surrender made Furtado impatient and he threatened with an assault. Finally mutual understanding between the Zamorin and the admiral of Calicut agreed to the surrender on 16\textsuperscript{th} March 1600 AD. On that day the Southern gate of the citadel was opened and Kunjali came out with the gallant

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{140} Ibid, pp 182-183
\item \textsuperscript{141} De-Couto, The Decadas (Extracts) quoted in O K Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op cit. p 184
\item \textsuperscript{142} Ibid
\end{itemize}
remnants of the garrison with his sword in hand, points lowered and delivered it to Zamorin in token of submission. The Portuguese Captain (Andre Furtado) advanced and seized him. In fact this Portuguese treachery was against the code of submission of the Nair Soldiers, so they revolted and endeavored to release Kunjali from Furtado. The Portuguese took him to their camp and Zamorin overpowered the revolt with great difficulty. The allies, Furtado and Zamorin made ceremonial entry into the fort in hand in hand. The fort was sacked. Captain Furtado reduced the fort, bazars and mosque into ashes\textsuperscript{143}.

The History of the admirals did carry “not a single instance of a Kunjali or his relation surrendering to the Feringhee”\textsuperscript{144}. After all, Kunjali IV made his final submission before his overlord whom he had defied once.

The Zamorin gave Furtado a gold leaf on “the terms of treaty of friendship was inscribed” O.K. Nambiar commented on it; “that was the end of Kotta and the eclipse of an intrepid naval tradition and surely as that was the end of the prestige and glory of Calicut”\textsuperscript{145}.

Later, he and his forty men who surrendered were taken to Goa and after the trial was made in ‘Cambra Presidialo’, it declared the sentence that “Kunjali was to be beheaded and his body to be quartered”.

Thus a special scaffold was erected in the large square in front of the Viceroy’s Palace for their execution. The whole citizens of Goa poured in unending

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., pp.185-188.
\textsuperscript{144} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p.144.
streams to the square. Kunjali was led to scaffold. He conducted himself with “great
dignity and courage, which won the respect of his pitiless foe”. The execution went
on for several days and all forty persons whom the Zamorin had handed over were put
to death. “Kunjali’s body was quartered and exhibited on the beach at Bader and
Panjim. His head was salted and conveyed to Cannanore, there to be stuck on a
standard for a terror to the Moors”\textsuperscript{146}.

The valiant confrontation of Kunjali Marakkars “the Admirals of Calicut”
against Portuguese had echoed in the words of K.M. Panikkar.

No doubt that the lives of these chiefs reflect glory and honor on all
Malabar; for their achievements against the naval tyranny of the
Portuguese form indeed a great chapter in the history of Malabar\textsuperscript{147}.

The emotional shock of defeat and the serious economic deterioration were
accompanied by problems arising from the aggressive religious policy of the
Portuguese. In his letter to Captain Cabral, the King of Portugal had instructed him
that all the Moors who do not accept the law of faith, and forbid commerce and
exchange should be killed with fire and sword and fierce war against them should be
carried on\textsuperscript{148}.

To effect his policy large number of priests and other religious workers
accompanied the Portuguese military and administrators. Infact this large number
often created serious difficulties of finance and morale. Danvers note that in 1635

\textsuperscript{145} O.K. Nambiar, Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen, op.cit., p.188.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., pp.189-199.
\textsuperscript{147} K.M Panikkar, op.cit, p.146
two-thirds of the Portuguese in Goa were Church related (Sacerdotal). In 1632, 1000 out of 1500 Portuguese soldiers became monks after arrival at Goa, because of better prospective\textsuperscript{149}.

Right of private trade and the great privileges of the Church were the two distinguishing characteristics of the Portuguese system\textsuperscript{150}. At times notably during the period of Arch Bishop De Menezes, who became Arch Bishop of Goa in 1595 and served as Governor "between 1607-1609 AD, the ecclesiastical establishment was also in effective control of the political policy and activity\textsuperscript{151}.

At the same time the Portuguese attitude towards Hindus differed due to economic considerations. The Hindu rulers were their source of supply for Pepper. Zain-ud-din complains that, the Franks entertained "antipathy and hatred only towards the Muslims and to their creed alone, evincing no dislike towards the Nayars and "other Pagans of similar description". At the same time the Church did not look upon Hindus as different from Muslims and it realised that it was to the Hindu community that it must look for its growth. The work of proselytization was therefore carried forward energetically in Goa, where thousands were baptized. Finally, a royal decree forbade the practice of Hinduism in the Portuguese domain and commanded the destruction of idols. The policy became so rigorous that by 1561 Goa and its surrounding Islands were almost converted\textsuperscript{152} during the Viceroyalty of Dom Constantine de Braganza (1558-61). The exodus of the Hindus from Goa to the

\textsuperscript{150} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p.176.
\textsuperscript{151} R.E. Miller, \textit{op cit}, p.72
\textsuperscript{152} R.S. Whiteway, \textit{op cit}, pp.60-66, summarises the religious policy in Goa; C.R. Boxer, \textit{The op cit.}, pp 70-72, refers to the complaint of the Bishop of Ceuta, Lisbon, Tangier, Angara, Portalegre Camego and Algera to the Crown in February 1563 on the abuses in the missionary field.
mainland reached such alarming proportions that his immediate successor had to give specific assurance of security to the Hindus of Goa.

_Economic retrogression, estrangement from Hindus, bitterness against Christians and a new militancy was the result of continued Portuguese hostility to Muslims. Each of these was passed forward in some measure into modern times, shaping both Muslims (Mappila) history and present attitudes._

The Economic retrogression had a severe effect upon the community and produced radical changes in this situation. As R.E. Miller commented;

_The Portuguese domination compelled them to turn inward from the profitable seaward commerce in search for new avenues of economic well being. But there they found the land all but totally occupied by the Hindu landlords and their lessees. The Mappilas did not have adequate resources or initiative to work their way out of the predicament. It is here that we must find the starting point for the communities' later poverty, ignorance and inwardness_.

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153 R.E. Miller, _op cit_, p. 75.