Chapter 4

PORTUGUESE TRADE IN CANNONORE

4.1 Introduction

The Medieval history of Malabar is almost synonymous with the activities of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who came to Malabar in search of spices and souls. Commercial interests were stimulated by the possibility of producing or procuring cheaply several goods that Europe lacked and which were thus very much in demand. They established their supremacy and controlled the region of Malabar independently for a long period with no intrusion from any other European powers. But later the commercial interest of the neighboring countries of Portugal swept away this first European power from the coast of Malabar.

4.2 Portuguese Exclusive Right on the Indian Ocean Regions

The Portuguese claimed exclusive right for navigating in the Indian Ocean regions. The Portuguese interested in maintaining the monopoly in the Indian Ocean regions asserted their exclusive right of passage. The King of Portugal right at the beginning of sixteenth century assumed a title “Senhor da Navigação e Conquista da Índia…”. Others interested in the Indian Ocean were constrained to take a pass from the Portuguese. This was extended to Indian rulers.
The Portuguese military order of Christ\textsuperscript{1} received ecclesiastical approval from Pope John XXII on 15 March 1319.\textsuperscript{2} The Portuguese Kings Edward and Affonso granted the jurisdiction over the conquered territories to the military order of Christ and its grand master, Infant Dom Henrique which was confirmed by Pope Eugene IV through his bull \textit{Esti Suscepti} issued on 9 January, 1442. The papal bull entitled \textit{Romanus Pontifex} issued by Pope Nicholas V on 8 January 1454 is a document of great significance on the basis of which the Portuguese argued for exclusive right for overseas possessions especially the Indian Ocean regions. The monopoly over the Indian Ocean regions claimed by the Portuguese was further buttressed by Pope Calixtus III through his bull \textit{Inter Caetera} issued on 13 March 1455 by which the Pope conceded to the order of Christ the spiritual jurisdiction over the areas conquered and to be conquered by the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{3}

The monopoly claimed by them in the light of the papal bulls and other legal presumptions prompted them to keep the entire Indian Ocean regions under their control through the introduction of passes and the establishment of well fortified fortresses in the strategic places.

\textsuperscript{1} The Military Order of Christ which got the papal approval in 1319 was the successor of the Military order of the Templars established in Jerusalem in 1119 to fight against the infidels. They settled in Tomar in Portugal in 1159. The aim of the Military Order of Christ was to play a significant role in the overseas and maritime expansion of Portugal with their headquarters at Tomar.


4.3 Trade in Cannanore.

Vasco da Gama on his way back to Lisbon visited Cannanore and started a friendly relationship with the king of Kolathunadu. Being dissatisfied with the unfriendly treatment of the Zamorin of Calicut, the Portuguese were happy to have trade engagement with the Kolathiri Raja. The mastery of Western Asian trade and the commercial hegemony of Calicut in the Indian Ocean acted as an impetus to the Portuguese to make a commercial contract with the Cannanore king. In the same manner the Kolathiri also desired to bring, with the support of the Portuguese, the Muslim merchants under his control, who had been determining the nature and pattern of trade in his kingdom for a long time.

In 1501, when Pedro Alvares Cabral reached Malabar, along the trade commodities, the rulers of Cochin and Cannanore sent ambassadors to Lisbon in order to reinforce the bonds of friendship and trade. In 1502 King Manuel appointed Vasco da Gama admiral. He made an agreement with Cannanore, whereby Portuguese undertook to purchase spices at a fixed price. In a historical document entitled “Governor General’s Regiment” issued by Dom Manuel, king of Portugal to Francisco de Almeida, the first governor general, on 5th March 1505, the king offered his friendship to the kings of Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon.

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Unbalanced interaction of trade prevailed throughout this period. The exports were always higher than the imports. Cannanore had considerable trade with other parts of the country and Persia. Castanheda referred that there were trade of spices, stones and drugs from Cannanore and Calicut to Soffala via Ethiopia.\(^6\) Mostly it used hinterland trade relations. The Arabian sea and the Valapattanam river provided excellent transport facility for trading and commercial purposes. Among the commodities exported from Cannanore, pepper figured prominent. The quality of the pepper from Cannanore was reputedly the best in Malabar\(^7\). The Portuguese preferred the Cannanore pepper most of the times except in times of high price against the agreement made with Ali Raja of Cannanore.\(^8\)

### 4.4 Fixation of Price

The entry of the Portuguese ships into the spice markets of Malabar made the prices shoot up and the merchants were reluctant to sell their commodities at the old price offered by the Portuguese. Hence Vasco da Gama found a solution by the fixation of the price of the commodities. The Portuguese, from the very beginning, took necessary measures to avoid the local traders and enter into direct relations with the kings on the western coast who, from the Portuguese point of view,

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\(^6\) «E a carregação que se fazia em Calicut despaciaria, droga e pedraria: que Calicut e Cananor estauão em costa, e podiase navegar para la pela sua costa de Calicub». Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses, Livro I, Capitolo I, Coimbra, 1924, p.7.

Castanheda refers Pêro da Covilha’s information on Malabar to the king of Portugal.

\(^7\) Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Diplomacy During the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (1500-1663), Delhi, 2008, p.158.

were the owners of the commodities, and had control of the growers. Hence, during his second visit, Vasco da Gama was well instructed by the king of Portugal to establish strong diplomatic relations with the raja of Cannanore and to try to fix the price of spices. Vasco da Gama, intent on concluding direct contracts of trade with the kings on the Malabar coast, arrived at Cannanore on 18 October 1502. He was given a royal welcome by the Kolathiriri raja who was greatly interested in cementing commercial ties with the Portuguese. The king might have received Vasco da Gama somewhere else near to Valapattanam because the residence of the king was in Chirakkal near Valapattanam. The exact place is unknown. The king made a special arrangement for Vasco da Gama. Known as serambi or extension house, he had this constructed and invited Vasco da Gama to meet him near the river shore. In his interview with the King of Cannanore on the following day, Vasco da Gama pressed the matter of fixing the prices of spices and other commodities. As far as the fixing of the prices of the spices was concerned the king could not make any promise to him because it was not he who decided the price, but the merchant community. The king refused to interfere as it was the business of the merchants to deal with it. The king told da Gama that he had nothing to do with this and that it was a matter which should be settled with the merchants who were the proprietors of the commodities. Vasco da Gama did not expect such a

9 Serambi means an extension house. In Cannanore there were serambis for the travelers to stay and take rest for short time.

10 Thome Lopes, “Navegação as Indias Orientaes”, in Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas que Vivem nos Dominions Portugueses ou thes são Visinhos, tomo.II, Nos.1,2, Lisboa, 1812,p.182 ; K.S. Mathew, “Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century”, in Indo-Portuguese History, Teotonio R de souza(ed.), New Delhi, p.2; K.S. Mathew, “Cannanore and the Portuguese-
reply from the king because he believed it was decision of the king. He was ignorant of the fact that the king was getting only a fixed amount of tax from trade. That was his profit from this commercial contract. Vasco da Gama took offence and left for Cochin. After discussing it with the merchants the king sent his emissary to Cochin to meet Vasco da Gama and invited him to Cannanore to discuss the terms. On January 3, 1503 he entered into an agreement with the merchants of Cannanore by fixing the price of a bhar (205.6kgs) of pepper at 210 panams. While accepting this agreement the merchants demanded that three-fourth of the payment should be made in cash and one-fourth in the form of copper.\(^\text{11}\) On his way back to Lisbon Vasco da Gama met the king of Cannanore and the king allowed him establish a factory in Cannanore for the purchase of pepper.

### 4.5 Establishment of a Factory at Cannanore

In 1501, Pedro Alvares Cabral left Gonçalo Gomes Ferreira as the Factor at Cannanore and laid the foundation for a factory there. Then Pai rodrigues, the Factor of Dom Alvaro who came to Malabar in the fleet of João da Nova in 1501 remained at Cannanore till the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1502\(^\text{12}\). After having dialogue and contract with the king of Cannanore Vasco da Gama established the factory there in 1503\(^\text{13}\). Subsequently, Francisco de Almeida, the Viceroy secured the

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\(^\text{13}\) *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.II, p.400.
permission from the king to construct a fortress and the work was started in 1505 and on completion it was named Fort St. Angelo.\textsuperscript{14}

Name of a few factors:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, since 1502
  \item Gonçalo Mendez, since 1509.
  \item Antonio Carvalho, till 1520
  \item Pero Bareto, since 1520.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{itemize}

\section{Monopoly of Trade}

As soon as the Portuguese fleet disembarked at the coast of Malabar, the Arabs feared for their own position. The Portuguese conquest of the seas attacked the very foundations of the Arab economic interests in the orient, destroying the power of the Arabs and Venice right up to the Mediterranean.

While the Portuguese trade affected the Arabs in India, it distracted the Venetian trade in the international market. Venice was the centre of international market until the Portuguese discoveries of India. They purchased the spices and other commodities at Alexandria, Beirut and Damascus.\textsuperscript{16} These oriental commodities were taken to various cities...

\textsuperscript{14} Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom.III, p.306.
\textsuperscript{16} K.S. Mathew, The First Mercantile battle in the Indian Ocean: The Afro-Asian front against the Portuguese (1508-1509), Instituto de Investigacao Cientifica Tropical, Lisboa,1985,p.182. Though the Venetians had rather friendly relations with the Portuguese till the discovery of the sea route to India, the Portuguese enterprise in the East was described by the contemporary Italian writers as the knell of the Venetian trade and consequently the ruin of the Venetian trade and consequently the ruin of the Venetian prosperity. João de
centres of Europe and the Venetians sold them at a higher price. Venice was the great middleman between the East and the West, between Asia and Europe, and she profited by the heavy dues that her position allowed her to charge.\textsuperscript{17} Her treatment and interaction were on the whole more humane than that of any other state, and she had her reward in a comparative immunity from rebellion and treason. But the arrival of the Portuguese on the Oriental market affected the commercial interests of Venice in Europe. The products of the Far East would now come to Europe by the cheaper and safer sea route round the Cape of Good Hope. This trade was in the hands of the Portuguese and they had no intention of permitting anyone else to share in it. In the years 1502-1505, the Venetians imported an average not more than one million pounds of spices a year. In the first large cargoes arrived in Portugal in the years 1503-1506, the Portuguese imported an average of about 23 million pounds of spices a year of which 88 percent was pepper.\textsuperscript{18} The average annual import of the two countries together in these years was a little less than the total Venetian imports before the discoveries of Cape route. This comparison also suggests that at least in the first few years the Portuguese were trying to disorganize the Alexandrian spice market rather than supplying the needs of Europe.\textsuperscript{19} But the Venetians continued their trade through Lisbon and they kept their monopoly of trade on silk

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\begin{itemize}
  \item A.J. Grant, A History of Europe from 1494 to 1610, London, 1964, p.66.
  \item William Brooks Greenlee, The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.xxxi.
  \item William Brooks Greenlee, The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.xxxii.
\end{itemize}
goods, gold brocade, silverware, leather goods, wax candles in which incense gums of the Orient were used and glass wares like mirrors and glass beads from Murano.\textsuperscript{20} Because of the threats from Turkey, Venice stood with the Portuguese and they were glad to see a European power in the Indian seas. Egypt and Persia also followed the policy of Venice due to the same political and commercial reason.

4.7 \textbf{The System of Cartazes}

The Portuguese claimed the right to license all Asiatic shipping to force it to pay customs dues at Portuguese ports and to issue it with a \textit{cartaz} or safe-conduct.\textsuperscript{21} When the Portuguese powers reached its zenith in Malabar coast, it enforced passes for native and other vessels to undertake journeys and trade by sea.\textsuperscript{22} The Moorish trade in Malabar was greatly jeopardized by this restriction.\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Cartaz} was in vogue in the Indian Ocean even before the arrival of the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{24} The Portuguese introduced it to maintain the commercial monopoly through

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item William Brooks Greenlee, \textit{The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India}, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.xxxii.
\item Initially the \textit{cartaz} was issued as a safe conduct during the struggle for naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Later it became a means for securing the royal monopoly in certain commodities, as a \textit{cartaz} was only issued on condition that the vessel was not carrying any of the forbidden merchandise. It then became little more than a device for taxing Asiatic shipping and obtaining revenue for the Portuguese crown. The Portuguese kings claimed that tax merchants and levied customs duties at the ports entry, they ruled the sea and also had the right to levy taxes on merchants who crossed their domain. Ref. Malyn Newitt (ed.), \textit{The First Portuguese Colonial Empire}, University of Exeter, 1986, pp.6-7.
\item The word \textit{cartaz} takes its origin from the Arabic word \textit{Cirtas or Qirtas} meaning paper or document. K.S. Mathew, \textit{Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century}, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p.266.
\item \textit{Cartaz} was nothing other than a safe-conduct issued by the Portuguese officers to vessels other than their own.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the expulsion of other merchants. By its implementation the Portuguese acquired perfect dominion over the Indian Ocean and the western coast of India. *Cartaz* had been considered only as a political symbol, but it was also an economic tool to control the power of trade and prevent the movement of ships from using the Red Sea- Venice route. It was a kind of license which the native traders had to acquire for their commercial movements. Its victims were the Arab merchants, native merchants and Zamorin’s men. The *cartazes* included the documents like the name of the vessel and of the captain, tonnage of the ship, the nature of the cargo, the port of embarkation as well as disembarkation, the approximate date of departure and the names of the writers and of the issuing authority were given along with the date of issue. Mention was made of the arms and ammunitions carried in the ship, and the items that were prohibited to be transported were also declared. The fee charged for the *cartaz* was only one *pardao* (13 *fanams*) per ship in 1535. At times an amount of five pardaos for each cartaz was charged from the parties concerned. It was one of the main sources of income to the fortress. In 1535 the annual revenue from the sale of the *cartazes* in Cannanore alone was 8,000 or 9,000 *cruzados*.

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28 MSS, Historical Archives of Goa, codex no.1043, fol.50.

29 MSS, Historical Archives of Goa, codex no. 3027, fol.21.

The Portuguese commercial policy was to keep the control of trade in their own hands. The Portuguese with a view of implementing strict monopoly, introduced the system of *cartazes* or passes.\(^\text{31}\) Those interested in sending their commodities from India were expected to purchase *cartazes*\(^\text{32}\) from the Portuguese officials and take the imports to the designated ports for the payment of taxes to the Portuguese. It was issued by the captain of the fortress or the factor of the respective factories and a book was kept to register the *cartazes* issued\(^\text{33}\). Lopo Soares, the governor of Portuguese India issued orders in 1518 that there should be a register in which all the cartazes issued from time to time could be entered and was to be shown to him whenever he desired to consult it.\(^\text{34}\)

\(^{31}\) Pyrard de Laval explained that “*Half of the fleet they (The Portuguese and the viceroy of Goa) send to the north as far as Diu or Cambaye and thereabouts to guard the coast and hold the power over the sea, and prevent anyone from sailing there without their passport. The other part they send south as far as Cape Camorin for the same purpose but principally to purge the seas of Malabar corsairs.*” (The Voyage to the East indies, I, p.439). Linchotten also mentioned about the pass system, “*Among these Malabars the white Mores do inhabite that beleive in Mahomet, and their greatest traffique is unto the redde sea, although they may not do it, neyther any Indian without the Portingalles passport, otherwise the Portingalles army finding them or any other Indian or nation at sea without a passport, would take them for a prize, as often times it happeneth that they bring shippes from Cambaia, Malabar or from the Ile of Sumatra, and other places that traffique to the red sea.*” (The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linchotten, I, p.67-68).

\(^{32}\) The word *cartaz* takes its origin from the Arabic word “*Qirtas*” meaning paper or document. Ref. Sebastião Rudolfo Dalgado, *Glossario Luso'Asiatico*, Vol.I, Coimbra, 1919, p.220. The *cartaz* could be defined as kind of a safe-conduct or passport issued by the maritime authorities in the East especially in the Indian Ocean, to the merchant ships so that they could navigate and enter the ports to load and unload without any trouble.


The writers of the factory prepared the *cartazes*\textsuperscript{35}. Issuing *cartazes* was a source of income for the issuing authority as well as the writers of the factory who received some fringe benefits. Normally the *cartazes* from the Cannanore port were issued by the Portuguese authorities with the recommendation and consent of the king of Cannanore.

Though some of the Indian merchants and kings accepted this obligation, there were more instances of violation than compliance. The Muslim merchants who had their age-old contacts with the West Asian regions, remonstrated against the high handedness of the Portuguese. They concurred with their counterparts in areas outside the Malabar coast and looked for a common front against the Portuguese. But the Portuguese stuck to their guns and warded off the others from entering into trade with the Malabar coast though there were cracks in the fabric.\textsuperscript{36} Indirectly it was a control over the Muslim merchants. The Portuguese never intended to destroy the trade but only aimed to control it. It had a regional effect especially in the Muslim trade centres like Calicut and Ormuz. It also helped to the development of the centres of trade with the Portuguese.

The passport was used mainly to control trade and to avoid piracy. It was very usual to have private trade together with the common. The employers of trade usually arranged commodities for themselves which could be sold at their risk. They accounted this as

\textsuperscript{35} *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.III, p.316.

their profit. The Portuguese wanted to avoid such corruptions of trade. But it was not easy to control such trade in trade.

The king of Cannanore presumably acknowledging the supremacy of the Portuguese over the Indian Ocean regions collected cartazes from the Portuguese to send his vessels laden with cargo to Cambay and Ormuz. Sometimes the number of vessels with cartazes swelled to ten per year. He was sometimes permitted to import horses\(^37\). Similarly the merchants of Cannanore too obtained cartazes from the Portuguese. Abu Baker Ali, the uncle of Ali Raja of Cannanore got cartazes from the Portuguese to send his ships with commodities to various parts of India and abroad and he himself instructed his people to continue this practice\(^38\). So the merchants of Cannanore followed it and in 1546 the Muslim merchants sending their ships to Mocha were found carrying cartazes from the Portuguese.\(^39\)

4.8 Institutions and Personnel related to Indo-Portuguese Trade:

4.8.1 Feitoria

Feitoria means factory. The Portuguese built factories in all their commercial centres when they started trade. The factories were used as the storehouses where they kept the merchandise bought. Until the time of loading in the ships the commodities were kept in the factories. The factories served as warehouses. A factory could be


defined as a commercial organization having an autonomous existence set up within the Portuguese empire or in the protectorate at the concession granted by the local ruler. In addition to being the office of the factor, the factory served as storage of the merchandise both brought from Portugal and that collected from Malabar with a view to sending them to Portugal. As the ships, dependant on the monsoon winds, had to depart for Portugal before the harvest season of pepper and ginger, these commodities were to be purchased between February and May in advance, and stored in the factories so that there would be enough cargo at the time of the arrival of ships in September or October. Similarly, the commodities brought from Portugal could not be sold out within the short period of the anchorage of the vessels and therefore they had to be stored in the factories. Hence the factory served the function of keeping the importing and exporting commodities. In Cannanore the factory was constructed in the campus of the residential area facing the bay of São Tiago (later, Mappila bay).

4.8.2 Feitor

The feitor or factor was the head of the feitoria. The factory was under the charge of a factor who had at his service writers, interpreters and other persons for the necessary works connected with the trade. At the end of every four years he had to submit the detailed account of his activities in the factory, and got the certificate of

40 K.S.Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century, Delhi, 1983, pp.89-91.
41 Gasper Correa, Landas da India, tomo. III, Lisboa, 1862,p.16
42 The word feitor is derived from the Latin word factor and directly from the Italian fattore.
43 Damião, Peres (ed.),Regimentos das Cazas das Indias e Mina, Coimbra, 1947, p.3
acquittance (carta de quitação). He was the commercial agent on behalf of the king. He was like an ambassador and he was considered as the viceroy of the crown. The feitor had the power to take decisions in matters of trade and commerce. He was the confidential agent to promote economic and administrative activities of all sorts of firm.

While the ships from Portugal came to the Malabar coast, the respective factors of the place received the letters and the statement regarding the cargo sent to the factory along with the commodities. Nobody was permitted to purchase spices from Malabar except through the factors and the other officials under him. At the time of loading the ships the factor was to see that a book of cargo (caderno de cargo) was prepared regarding the commodities loaded in each ship with the particulars of purchase.

4.8.3 Escrivães

The Escrivães were the clerks who assisted the feitor in the feitoria. Their primary function was to assist the feitor to buy, store and sell the merchandise.

4.8.4 Vedores da fazenda

They were the controllers of exchequer. They were the high ranking functionaries and they were responsible for financial audit. The Vedor de fazenda was the finance controller. He must be a man of good conduct, accredited for a good conscience. He was also a man of

44 Fortunato de Almeida, Historia de Portugal, tom. III, Coimbra, 1925, p.563.
45 K.S. Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century, Manohar, Delhi, 1983,p.271.
46 Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque,tom.III, pp.300, 302, 305.
47 K.S. Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century, Manohar, Delhi, 1983.pp.97-98
honour and respect. He had under his charge the supervision of finances of the king especially in the overseas territories. Everything needed for the upkeep of the Portuguese trade was under the supervision of the controller of finances.

4.8.5 Almoxarifes dos mantimentos.

They were the purveyors of supplies. They were in charge of victuals. The Almoxarifes dos mantimentos were subordinate to the factors and a specialized agency. They were also responsible for victualling the garrisons and the ships in transit, and sometimes for payment of wages.48

4.8.6 Almoxarifes dos almazens.

They were also specialized agencies and apparently subordinate to the factors. They were responsible for providing arms, ammunition and navigational equipment.49 In the factory at Cannanore one and the same person looked after both the duties of Almoxarifes dos mantimentos and Almoxarifes dos almazens. Thus Lopo Alvares performed both the functions in Cannanore.

4.8.7 Capitão

He is the captain and head of the civil and military administrations. The staff of the feitoria was subjected to the authority

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48 It comes from the word almushrif in Arabic and denotes the officer supervising the revenues. K.S. Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p.271

49 There were almoxarifes in charge of victuals (mantimentos) for the Portuguese officials on the Malabar coast and also those in charge of the store (armazens) in general. Hence there were almoxarifes de mantimentos and almoxarifes de armazens.
of the capitão. He is the commander but he was not supposed to interfere directly in the management of the finances.  

### 4.8.8 Provedor de defuntos

He was the executor or liquidator of the property of the deceased. He was assisted by a clerk and they were obliged to collect and settle the possessions of the deceased and to remit the proceeds to their respective heirs. They took the allowed official commission due to themselves. Usually these assets were invested in trade and also for paying the debts and loans of the State. Every ship and garrison had a provedor de defuntos (purveyor of the deceased). Almost all the factories had a hospital attached to them for the Portuguese residents and the mariners and a provedor (purveyor) in charge of the hospital. In certain cases the provedor de defuntos played the role also of the purveyor of the hospital as in the case of Diogo Fernandes in 1510 in Cannanore.  

### 4.8.9 Governador or Vice-Rei

He was the head of the administration. The Viceroy occupied the highest rank. As a representative of the King of Portugal, he entered into commercial treaties with the local rulers. All the officials dealing with finances were accountable to him. He was surrounded by a small court and by some departments of the central administration. He was given all the necessary powers regarding the purchase and sale of the commodities and the cargo of the ships.

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50 Capitão does not signify that he is the captain of the ship. The captain of the armada or fleet is capitão-mor de mar or capitão-mor.  
51 *Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.VI, p.398.  
52 *Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.II, p.271.
The Portuguese king appointed the first Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, on the Malabar coast in 1505\textsuperscript{53}. In the beginning the Viceroy were staying in Cannanore and later they shifted their residence to Cochin. The office and residence of the Vicerroys are still preserved in St.Angelo’s Fort.

4.8.10 Other Officials

There were other officials like the constable (\textit{condestabre}) and usher (\textit{meirinho}) in the fortress at Cannanore\textsuperscript{54}. A few Nairs were appointed in the factory to look after the elephants used in the shipyard (\textit{ribeira}) and to work for the loading and other trade activities\textsuperscript{55}. In addition to this, a person in charge of weighing the commodities with his assistants (\textit{jangadas}) was also included among the employees in the factory and fortress\textsuperscript{56}. Another important post in a factory was that of a treasurer. There were two treasurers – one for spices and the other for cash and other commodities. But in Cannanore the same person performed both the duties as treasurer of cash, spices and other commodities. Thus in 1509 Diogo Perreira occupied this post in Cannanore\textsuperscript{57}. In certain cases the same duty was entrusted to the Factor himself and therefore in Cannanore at times there was no separate treasurer\textsuperscript{58}. For the sake of having trade


\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque},tom.VI,pp.393, 399, 226.


\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque},tom.IV,pp.201-202.

\textsuperscript{58} Simão Botelho,\textit{Tombo do Estado da Índia}, pp.29,38.
relations with the local people the Portuguese factories had to employ interpreters. Joam Carc served as the interpreter in the factory at Cannanore in 1510.\(^{59}\)

**4.8.11 Vedoria da Fazenda.**

It means Superintendence of Finances. It was a department of Central Administration working under the Vice-Rei.

**4.8.12 Alfandegas**

It means customs posts. It was used to collect the customs. There were indigenous customs-houses in all the export centres on the Malabar coast such as Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Quilon to collect duties from the commodities purchased by the Portuguese and the other foreign merchants. Vasco da Gama when fixed the prices in January 3, 1503 consented to give a certain percentage as customs-duties on every *bhar* (166.3 kgs) of pepper purchased by the Portuguese\(^{60}\).

**4.8.13 Mandado and Mandados Gerais**

It means an order or warrant. When it was merely a question of determining an extraordinary expenditure, such as a payment or an occasional delivery of money or goods, the order was issued by the governor or commander or factor in the written form and it was known as mandando. And there were instructions of a generic or permanent nature amounting to regulations, and they were known as mandados gerais (general warrants).

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\(^{59}\) *Cartas da Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.VI, p.407.


They were the official records of transaction effected in the receipts and expenditure ledger which was kept in the double entry system. Usually the clerk or liquidator or any other official who dealt with moneys or goods had to maintain these records of transaction.\(^{61}\)

4.9 Commodities of Trade

From the time of João da Nova onwards, who came to India in 1501, Cannanore was made the first and the last port of call in India for the vessels of Correira da India\(^{62}\). Eventually this port was emerging as an important commercial centre for the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean region.

The German trader Peter Holzschuher, who came along with Afonso and Francisco Albuquerque to Cannanore in 1503 gave a detailed description of the market conditions of Malabar of this period. He mentioned that the Mecca ships used to bring to this port yearly an amount of 1,00,00 ducats per year in the pre-Portuguese days for trade transactions. This gives some idea of the volume of commercial transactions conducted in those days. His further reference to the hectic ongoing west Asian trade with Cannanore at

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the time he visited it, attests to the fact that the commercial intervention of the Portuguese did not initially cut off the traditional Levantine route totally. Peter Holzschuher refers to pepper, ginger and wild cinnamon collected from Cannanore costing 15 carat gold coin called *panam*.\(^{63}\) In 1504, the price of a *bhar* of pepper was 160 *panam* and a *bhar* of ginger was 60 *panam* in Cannanore port. Compared to Cochin, Quilon and Calicut the pepper in Kolathunadu was cheaper, even though it was marginal.\(^{64}\)

The commodities of trade were different in Malabar. The main commodities were, without doubt, spices like pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, and coffee.\(^{65}\) The other commodities of trade were tamarind, areca, jaggery, coconuts, coconut oil, coir, myrobalan etc. Lazarus Nurnberger, a German merchant financier of the Portugal, who reached Cannanore on 20\(^{th}\) November 1517, wrote about ginger, pepper, cardamom, cotton and cassinia fistula which were available in Cannanore.\(^{66}\) Besides the spices, diamonds and other rare items of the Orient, exotic animals were taken from Malabar to various parts of Europe. The Portuguese imported Indian elephants for the king of Portugal. Cardamom was considered as the most important export from

\(^{63}\) 18 *panams* formed one Portuguese *cruzado*.

\(^{64}\) In Cochin the price was 161 *panams*; in Quilon it was 160.5 *panams* and in Calicut the price for a *bhar* of pepper was 180 *panams*. Ref. Pius Malekandathil, “The Maritime Trade of Cannanore and the Global Commercial Revolution in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in Cannanore in the Maritime History of India, M.O.Koshy (ed.), Kannur, 2002, p.45.


\(^{66}\) K.S. Mathew, Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany, Manohar, Delhi,1997, p.12.
Cannanore. There was an abundant supply of cardamom from the kingdom of Cannanore. As is mentioned by Duarte Barbosa, the plantation area of cardamom was mainly from Cannanore to Calicut. Cardamom was sufficiently cultivated in the forests and mountainous regions of Mysore.\footnote{Garcia da Orta, \textit{Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia}, Vol.I, Lisboa, Impressa Nacional, 1891, p.189.} Ginger was an important product of trade in the port of Cannanore, but compared to the land of Calicut, the ginger from Cannanore was inferior and smaller. Ginger was transported in large quantities to Europe from Cannanore. Ginger from Cannanore was called as \textit{gengibre dely} by the Portuguese.\footnote{Garcia da Orta, \textit{Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia}, Vol.II, Lisboa, Impressa Nacional, 1891, p.11. Gasper Corrêa explained clearly its operation and motives in the following words: "…e diante um grande terreiro ( na Fortaleza de Cananor, mandada fazer por D.Francisco de Almeida) em que se concertava o gengibre com barro pera a carga, porque sem assy ser barrado entrava nelle o bicho que lhe fazia muyto dano, e o barro o conserva e faz mais forte em sua perfeição pera sempre." \textit{Gengibre dely} means the Ginger of Eli (gengibre de Eli). Since it was growing in the kingdom of Eli the Portuguese called it \textit{gengibre dely}.} Another important product was pepper. Portuguese exported large amount of black pepper and the major part of it was loaded from Malabar.\footnote{Velayudhan Panikkassery, \textit{Charithrathinte Prabhathakiranangal}, Current books, Kottayam, 2001, p.63.} The pepper produced in Cannanore was of high quality but it was smaller in quantity.\footnote{Garcia da Orta, \textit{Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia}, Vol.II, Lisboa, Impressa Nacional, 1891, p.254. Duarte Barbosa also mentioned that the pepper from Cannanore was not enough for the Portuguese. (non \textit{he muyta}…).} Hence the Portuguese collected the rest from Cochin, Quilon and Calicut. It is also mentioned that the pepper was mainly produced in the nearby mountain ranges. Palm trees were the most plentiful things in the kingdom of Cannanore. The coconuts were also sent out of the country. They were also used for regional trade. Cannanore was also important in exporting dried areca. Large amount of dried areca were exported
from Cannanore port.\textsuperscript{71} The German merchant financier Jorg Imhof wrote on 2\textsuperscript{nd} January 1528 that he purchased pearls and rings with emerald from Cannanore.\textsuperscript{72} It is believed that Cannanore was also a centre for trade of pearls and other precious stones.

### 4.9.1 Commodities of Export

A large variety of commodities were exported from the port of Cannanore during the sixteenth century, though the greater part of the exports consisted of pepper, ginger, cinnamon and cardamom. Drawing on the available documents, a list of the commodities exported to Portugal from Cannanore is given below:

#### a) Pepper

The main item of Cannanore’s export trade was spice and among them pepper occupied the first. Normally pepper was collected after the middle of January. It was cultivated throughout Malabar from Cannanore to Cape Comorin and was taken to the nearest ports for export. Compared to Cochin and Quilon, pepper in Kolathunadu was cheaper\textsuperscript{73}. The Portuguese collected pepper from different ports of Malabar. Cannanore was the last port before leaving for Lisbon. The greatest volume of pepper taken up to then from Malabar ports to Lisbon was in 1513 (1050249 kgs) and in 1514 (1070865 kgs)\textsuperscript{74}. For want of evidence we cannot separate from Cannanore’s share of the amount. In 1587


\textsuperscript{72} K.S. Mathew, \textit{Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany}, Manohar, Delhi, 1997, p.11.


\textsuperscript{74} Pius Malekandathil, \textit{Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India: 1500-1600}, Heidelberg, 1988, p.274.
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Wolfmuller, the chief collection agent of the Fuggers of Germany, loaded 160 candil pepper into the St. Alberto ship at Cannanore and also stocked 628 quintals in the warehouse.\(^{75}\)

b) Ginger

Another commodity exported from Cannanore was ginger. There were two kinds of ginger, namely, *beledi ginger* and *de ly ginger*. The ginger that grew in the area between Mount Deli and Cannanore was called *deli ginger*. *Beledi ginger*, which grew in the vicinity of Calicut and the interior of Cannanore was considered better than the *deli ginger*. A conserve made of ginger and sugar was a Portuguese delicacy a sort of pickle. The factor at Cannanore managed to purchase only 597.38 kgs of ginger in conserve during the period between 1503 and 1505\(^{76}\). The cargo of 1530 had only 472.13 kgs of ginger in conserve.

c) Cinnamon

Cinnamon or canela was also an important item of export from the Cannanore port to Lisbon. Between 1506 and 1512, 5721.3 kgs of cinnamon were exported from the port of Cannanore. Between 1513 and 1516 it was 1681.15 kgs\(^{77}\).

d) Cardamom

It was one of the commodities that was in great demand in Europe. There were two kinds of cardamoms, big and small. It grew

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\(^{77}\) ANTT, *Chancellaria de D.João III*, Livro 23 fl.34.
mostly in the area between Cannanore and Chale near Calicut. The export from Malabar in 1505 included 228.68 kgs of cardamom among other commodities. About 1159 kgs of cardamom were collected in the factory at Cannanore in the period between 1504 and 1505 to be sent to Portugal. Gonçalo Mendes, the factor of Calicut, while in Cannanore stocked 3502.48 kgs of cardamom in the factory between September 1508 and December 1512\(^78\).

e) Mirabolan

Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, the factor of Cannanore stocked 4781.55 kgs of Mirabolans between 1503 and 1505 for the Portuguese trade\(^79\).

f) Canafistula

Canafistula had great medicinal value\(^80\). It is the seed of a certain tree found in India in the area between Cannanore and Diu. The cargo of 1517 included 681.9 kgs of it among the other commodities\(^81\).

g) Indigo

It was another item of export, though it was only a small one. The factor at Cannanore had stocked 1218 kgs of Indigo between 1503 and 1505. In 1506 and in 1507 its export was 955.38 kgs and between 1507 and 1509 it rose to 8755.00 kgs\(^82\).

\(^{78}\) ANTT, Chancellaria de Dom Manuel, I, Livro.36, fl.13; Livro.38, fl.125-126.
\(^{79}\) ANTT, Chancellaria de Dom Manuel, I, Livro.36, fl.fl.13.
\(^{80}\) Garcia de Orta, Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India, vol.I, p.86.
\(^{81}\) ANTT, Nucleo Antigo, no.804.
\(^{82}\) ANTT, Chancellaria de Dom Manuel, I, Livro.3, fl.46; livro.39, fl.13.
h) **Brazil wood**

It is a tree similar to red sandal wood in colour. The fleet of Vasco da Gama took 62950.8 kgs of Brazil wood from Cannanore, Quilon and Cochin 1503 to Portugal and in 1513 the Portuguese exported 1101.64 kgs of Brazil wood.\(^\text{83}\)

i) **Spikenard**

Spikenard grew in the vicinity Mount Eli. It was exported to Portugal from Cannanore with other commodities.\(^\text{84}\)

j) **Tamarind**

It too had medicinal value. The factor at Cannanore collected 2726.21 kgs of tamarind between 1503 and 1505\(^\text{85}\).

k) **Coconut, Copra, Coconut oil and Coir**

Coconuts grew in plenty in the region between Cannanore and Vizhinjam in the South. Copra (dried coconut), coconut oil and coir in addition to coconuts constituted a valuable merchandise in the early part of the sixteenth century. For their ship building activities the Portuguese wanted coir in great quantity, which they used to obtain from the Muslim merchants of Cannanore\(^\text{86}\). The factor at Cannanore

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purchased 24993 coconuts, 1213.5 kgs of copra, 194239.6 kgs of coconut oil and 163797 kgs of coir between 1506 and 1512\textsuperscript{87}.

l) Areca nut

The Portuguese took part in the trade of arecanut too. The factor at Cannanore purchased 4538.9kgs of arecanut during the period between 1508 and 1512\textsuperscript{88}.

m) Stones and Pearls

A vast variety of precious stones were purchased from Malabar coast and exported Portugal in the sixteenth century. The factor of Cannanore collected 1194 gems and 29 ounces of rubies in the period between 1508 and 1512\textsuperscript{89}.

n) Ivory

Both for the sake of transcoastal trade to be taken directly to Portugal, great quantities of ivory were purchased by the Portuguese. The factor at Cannanore had purchased 2843 kgs between 1506 and 1512\textsuperscript{90}.

o) Elephants

In addition to the commodities listed above, occasionally elephants were also exported from Cannanore to Portugal. An elephant was exported from Cannanore in 1510 to Lisbon\textsuperscript{91}.

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\textsuperscript{87} Tome Pires, \textit{Suma Oriental}, p.83.
\textsuperscript{89} ANTT, \textit{Chancellaria de Dom Manuel}, I, Livro.38,fls.125-126
\textsuperscript{91} Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom. VI, p.412.
p) Horse Trade

Cannanore port was very famous in the trade of horses at the beginning of Portuguese trade. It was one of the ports through which the kings of Vijayanagara imported horses from Arabia, Syria and Turkey.92 The Pepper coast of Malabar was subject to the Hindu kingdom of the Vijayanagara empire and had no link with the Mughal empire93. Hence Cannanore was one of the peaceful port for the Vijayanagara empire. The king of Cannanore got 25 ducats for every horse imported into his port and later taken to Vijayanagara94. King Krishnadevaraya was very keen on getting the best horses in large numbers for his trusted Nayaks. *Amuktamalyada*, attributed to him, contains interesting information on this subject95. His interest in importing horses can be seen from the reports of the contemporary Portuguese writers. Fernão Nuniz writes that the king encouraged the import of horses even by paying the full amount for the tails of those horses that had died on board. He caused horses to be brought from Ormuz and Aden into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses whatever they asked. Sources repeated in amazement the length the Vijayanagara king went to get his

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92 Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Diplomacy during the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (1500-1663), Delhi, 2008, p. 156.


95 “Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attach to yourself by providing them with villages and descent dwellings in the city, by providing them daily audience, presents and allowing descent profits….Keep the horse and elephant stables with care; you should never entrust their management to your subordinates…” A. Rangaswami Saraswati, “Political Maxims of the Emperor Poet, Krishnadevaraya, *The Journal of Indian History*, VI, 1925, pp 61-88.
Portuguese Trade in Cannanore

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horses. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand pardaos, and of those that died on the way at sea they brought him the tail only, he paid for it just as if it had been alive\textsuperscript{96}. Often the king of Cannanore took permission from the Portuguese authorities to send ten or more ships to Cambay and Ormuz to bring horses\textsuperscript{97}. The king wrote to Portugal in 1516 that horses from Gujarat and ropes from Ormuz came to Cannanore in abundance\textsuperscript{98}.

Later the Portuguese changed the port from Cannanore to Goa which adversely affected the major source of income to the Kolathiri Raja. It created a dislike to the Raja and expressed it by writing the complaint to the king Dom Manuel but that did not have any result.

q) Slaves

The Portuguese exported to Portugal not only commodities but also slaves either captured from the ships in the Indian Ocean or purchased as slaves. The factor of Cannanore got forty-nine slaves between 1508 and 1512\textsuperscript{99}. Twenty-four slaves were sent from Cochin in 1510 to the queen of Portugal and probably a few others from Cannanore\textsuperscript{100}. The store keeper at Cannanore sold five white slaves to Pokkarachan, a Muslim merchant in 1512 for 150 pardaos. The

\textsuperscript{96} David Lopes, \textit{Chronica dos Reis de Bismaga}, Lisboa, 1897, p.13; Robert Swell, \textit{A Forgotten Empire}, New Delhi, 1970, p. 294.

\textsuperscript{97} ANTT, Nucleo Antigo, no.891, \textit{Documentos Orientais}, Letter of governor of Cannanore to King Manuel.

\textsuperscript{98} João de Souza, \textit{Vestigios da Lingua Arabica em Portugal ou lexicon Etymologico das Palavras e Nomes Portugueses que tem Origem Arabica}, Lisbon, 1789, p.81.

\textsuperscript{99} ANTT, \textit{Chancellaria de Dom Manuel}, I, Livro.38,f1s.125-126

\textsuperscript{100} Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom. VI, p.412.
officials of the ships were allowed to take with them a certain number of slaves from India in addition to the merchandise they were entitled to have\textsuperscript{101}. The number of slaves, an officer was allowed to take depended on his status.

4.10 Details of the Export from Cannanore

Table 4.1. Details of the export from Cannanore

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1503-1505</td>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>3401.64 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>75120.47 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cloves</td>
<td>6043.79 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cardamom</td>
<td>1159.04 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>1217.93 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirabolan</td>
<td>4781.56 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamarind</td>
<td>2674.59 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zerumbet</td>
<td>932.79 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calemo Aromatico</td>
<td>524.59 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>217.63 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erva Lombrigueira</td>
<td>195.00 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Myrrh</td>
<td>590.16 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>\textbf{96859.55 kgs}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual Average (3 years)</td>
<td>32286.52 kgs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1506-1512  | Pepper      | 470649.00    |
|            | Ginger      | 580507.37    |

\textsuperscript{101} Regimentos das Casas da India e Mina, pp.134-135.
### Portuguese Trade in Cannanore

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon</td>
<td>5721.3 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloves</td>
<td>493.86 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardamom</td>
<td>3502.46 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coir</td>
<td>163797.00 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>24993 nos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>327.87 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut oil</td>
<td>196463.00 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca nut</td>
<td>4538.9 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>3591.81 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>1732.38 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric</td>
<td>1164.35 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brasil-wood</td>
<td>12877.87 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erva Lombrigueira</td>
<td>6608.20 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sealing wax</td>
<td>78591.37 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory</td>
<td>2848.36 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benzoin</td>
<td>2612.3 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutmeg</td>
<td>2359.00 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandal</td>
<td>2882.38 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zedoary</td>
<td>1178.69 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canafistula</td>
<td>568.85 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calemo Aromatico</td>
<td>204.9 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirabolans</td>
<td>545.00 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian silk</td>
<td>935.66 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarind</td>
<td>217.63 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turbit</td>
<td>130.73 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>49 nos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Portuguese Trade in Cannanore

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galanga</td>
<td>27.87 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubebs</td>
<td>5.33 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1545082.4 kgs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual Average (5 years) 386270.6 kgs

#### 1513-1516

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>20370.9 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>243840.97 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon</td>
<td>1681.15 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutmeg</td>
<td>2098.77 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incense</td>
<td>13877.46 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sealing wax</td>
<td>16170.49 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>2027.87 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil-wood</td>
<td>822.13 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300689.74 kgs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual Average (4 years) 75172.44 kgs

#### 1516-1517 (January to January)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>50005.32 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coir</td>
<td>78699.16 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon</td>
<td>3835.25 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>521.73 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>133061.46 kgs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual Average (one year) 133061.46 kgs

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102 ANTT, Chancellaria de D. Manuel (1495-1521), Livro 36, fl.13; Livro 38 fl.125-126; Livro 37, fl.92; ANTT, Chancellaria de D. João III, Livro 23, fl.34. For further details refer K.S. Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, pp.246-248.
During the period between 1535 and 1570, the documentary evidence for Malabar’s spice trade with Lisbon is very scarce. From the scanty references one may find the years 1547 and 1548 as significant, when the pepper export from Malabar to Portugal was 1910138 kgs and 1249941 kgs respectively. For want of evidence it is difficult to assess the contribution of Cannanore to this figure. However, Kolathiri in his letter of 1545 mentions that in the past Cannanore was supplying annually about 2000 and 3000 quintals of ginger for Lisbon-bound vessels in exchange of copper. His letter makes us believe that Cannanore, which was an important feeding centre for the Lisbon-bound Carreira da India, ceased to be so by 1540s with the intensification of trade through Cannanore-the Maldives-Red Sea-Venice route and the consequent revival of the Mediterranean trade. With the revival of the spice trade in Venice, and against the general background of economic crisis, the crown was facing, the royal Portuguese factory at Antwerp - which was the centre for the distribution of spices in the north Europe- was closed down in 1549.

4.11 Commodities of Import to Cannanore

In 1513 Afonso de Albuquerque requested the king of Portugal to send coral, copper, quick silver, vermilion, velvet, carpets, rose-water, and cloth of various kinds as they needed for the exchange of commodities. Copper and coins occupied the first place among the imports. Regarding

104 ANTT, Collecção de São Lourenço, tomo.III, doc.130. Letter of the Kolathiri to Martim Afonso de Souza
105 Fortunato de Almeida, Historia de Portugal, III, Coimbra, 1922, p.564.
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the imports to Cannanore port only scanty information is available. In the year 1507, quick silver (11813.12 kgs), copper (28852.45 kgs) and vermilion (14659.43 kgs) were imported to the factor at Cannanore 107.

The major part of the imports into Malabar was for copper which was given in part payment for the purchase of pepper and was sent to other parts of India for sale. It is quite justifiable to say that on an average 209836 kgs of copper were imported in the first decade and later over 314754 kgs of copper. The other commodities were gold, silver, coral, saffron, alumstone, rose-water, lead, vermilion, quicksilver, textiles of various kinds and opium. They collected the commodities of exchange from various parts of Europe and sent them to Malabar as they had practically nothing of their own to exchange for the commodities they wanted to purchase. So, with these items that they got from other countries the Portuguese came to India, and took in the necessary volume of diverse commodities from here, transporting them to Lisbon. The various German as well as the Italian merchants purchased these items and took them to different parts of Europe while the Portuguese got either the profit on such deals or collected taxes and other stipulated amounts from the various merchants for the commodities. Hence, we may say that the Portuguese trade was mostly a transit trade.

4.12 Minting of Coins

The exchange of trade goods was mainly with the transfer of money. Crusados were an important currency used by the Portuguese. 108 And they also used Indian fanams for the daily transactions.

107 ANTT, Chancellaria de Dom Manuel, I, Livro 3,fl.35 and livro 6,fl.86.
108 There are many references in Corpo Cronologico regarding the payment. The Portuguese mainly used crusades for the transactions. There are references of
There were three types of coins in circulation towards the end of the 15th century. They were:

a) Good coins which were current at their face value,

b) Poor coins which were current at the rate of the good metal the coins contained, and

c) Bad coins which were not counted as currency at all.\(^{109}\)

The standard Portuguese money of account was called as the *real* and the early copper coins of Goa were called as *leals*. Four *leals* were worth five *reals*. *Bazarucos* was a local copper coinage used by the Portuguese. Five *bazarucos* were equal to six *reals*.\(^{110}\) Every fleet that arrived on the Malabar coast imported more and more coins of various denominations such as cruzados, xerafins, Bazarucos, São Tomas and so on.\(^{111}\) The custom of exchanging money for the payment of goods bought from Malabar gradually developed the system of money economy. Portuguese trade in Malabar accelerated the monetization of


\(^{111}\) *Xerafins* or *xerafim* is an ancient coin in the Portuguese India worth five *tangas* or 300 *reis*. The Perso-Arabic coin *ashrafi* was the forerunner of the *xerafim* during the Portuguese period; *fanam* or *fanão* is an ancient small coin either of silver or gold that was in vogue in South India, especially Malabar. It came from the Malayalam word *panam* which in turn originated from the Sanskrit *pan* meaning purchase or change; *Rial* or *real* is the singular form of *reis*, which meant a Portuguese coin. 1000 *reis* make an *escudo* in Portugal. During the sixteenth century 60 *reis* made a *tanga*. K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the sixteenth Century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, pp.271,284,289.
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The important coins used during the Portuguese period were the following:

- Crusados: 390.00 reis or 18 panams
- Dinheiro: 4.88 reis
- Ducat: 390.00 reis
- Panam: 20.53 reis
- Cas or cashe (copper): 1.37 reis
- Ashrafi (xerafim): 380.00 reis
- Barganins: 28.02 reis
- Chare (silver): 1.37 reis

The silver coin chare\textsuperscript{114} and the copper coin cashe\textsuperscript{115} were used in Cannanore as in Calicut, Quilon and Cochin. In these maritime trade centres, copper had in those days, especially in the first decade of the sixteenth century, more or less the same value as silver - with slight variance - a fact which also attests to the high demand for copper in Kerala. Cannanore had experienced the highest demand for copper

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\textsuperscript{112} Cartas do Afonso de Albuquerque, tom.III, p.199; Antonio Nunez, Livro dos Pesos da Índia, E assy Medidas e Mohedas, p.62; ANTT, Nucleo Antigo, no.911,913; ANTT, CC. I-18-10, I-19-111. 19 Panams made a crusado.100 reis made an Escudo. There were a few other coins used such as Manuel (gold coin), Espera and half Espera (silver) and Leal (copper) which were used by Afonso de Albuquerque. Portuguese was another gold coin brought from Portugal to the Malabar coast.


\textsuperscript{114} One panam was 15 chare.

\textsuperscript{115} 15 cashe constituted one panam.
where a *farasol*\(^{116}\) of copper was 45 *panams*, whereas in Quilon it was only 36 *panams*\(^{117}\). It is against this background one has to view the flow of copper to Malabar ports from the copper mines of Alps region and upper Hungary through the German intermediaries.

### 4.13 Mode of payment

The mode of payment for the commodities purchased varied from time to time and port to port. First it was agreed with the king of Cannanore that the payment of pepper would be made three-fourth in cash and one-fourth in copper. Later they changed it so that at least half of the price of pepper purchased from Cannanore was paid in commodities and only half in cash\(^{118}\). It cannot be affirmed with certainty if payment for other commodities was made in the same manner as for pepper.

### 4.14 Weights and Measures of Trade in Cannanore

#### 4.14.1 Weights

The Indian weight *bhar* which was written by the writers of sixteenth century in different ways such as *baar*\(^{119}\), *bacar*\(^{120}\) and *bahar*\(^{121}\) varied from place to place on the Malabar coast. In Cannanore 1 *bhar* is equal to 205.63 kilo grams and 1 *Faraçola* is equal to 10.28 kilo grams\(^{122}\).

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116 *Farasol* is one fourth of a Portuguese quintal
121 ANTT, *Nucleo Antigo*, no.705.
4.14.2 Measures

- Tenganim: 1.4 litres
- Bornym: 22.4 litres

16 canadas made a bornym. 11 tenganim was equal to 1 para.\(^{123}\)

4.15 Merchants of Cannanore

4.15.1 Local Merchants of Cannanore

It was not easy for the Portuguese traders to collect the commodities without the help of local merchant communities. The local merchants contacted the peasantry producing pepper, ginger, cardamom and commodities in the hinterlands and supplied them with every day necessities such as rice, cloth and so on, on condition that the spices should be delivered to them at the time of harvest.\(^{124}\) In certain case, the local merchants received payment in advance from the Portuguese for a definite volume of commodities to be delivered at the factory.\(^{125}\) But the Portuguese did not have sufficient commodities to supply the needs of the local people and had not enough time required for an exchange on account of their dependence on the monsoon for navigation. For instance, though the merchants of Cannanore were able to supply 7000 quintals (367213 kgs) of ginger, the Portuguese officials were able to purchase only 4000 quintals (209836 kgs) for lack of money in the year 1513.\(^{126}\) Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to the king of

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\(^{123}\) Antonio Nunez, *Livro dos Pesos da Ymdia, E assy Medidas e Mohedas*, p.62. *Para* is a local means for measuring the paddy and spices.

\(^{124}\) ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice-reis da India*, no.95.

\(^{125}\) *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.III, p.257.

\(^{126}\) *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom.III, p.49.
Portugal in 1514 that he should send more cash rather than copper and other commodities to facilitate the trade. The local merchants supplied the commodities on credit to the Portuguese and thus proved to be very useful to the Portuguese trade. The subjects of the local kings who sided with the Portuguese, were, in fact, allowed the right to trade with a Portuguese permit. Much of the trade thus allowed was naturally in Muslim hands. Muhammad Ali, the great Muslim merchant of Cannanore, was at first trading with a Portuguese permit. He supplied rice to the Portuguese in large quantity. The Muslim merchants of Cannanore, namely, Mamale, Mohammed Ali and Pokkarachan used to deliver merchandise on credit at the Portuguese factory.

One of the most important services rendered to the Portuguese by the local merchants consisted in supplying commodities on credit. Sometimes these merchants supplied commodities on the guarantee of the Kings on the Malabar coast. This practice continued also in the late sixteenth century when the Portuguese capital, meant for trade began to dwindle. The local merchants after receiving an advance from the Portuguese captain or the factor of the respective ports, collected commodities from the cultivators and stored them in their own

127 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom.I, pp.329-330
128 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom.I, p.268.
131 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom.VI, p.421.
132 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, tom I, Lisboa, p.268
133 Archivo Geral de Simancas, Secretarias Provinciales Cod.,1571, fls.20-21.
godowns and delivered them to the Portuguese at the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal.134

Apart from supplying commodities on credit, the local merchants advanced loans to the Portuguese officials in charge of the Indian affairs.135 According to the report given by Lourenço Moreno in 1513, the Portuguese had taken a loan of 10,000 pardaos from the Malabar coast.136 Khoja Shams-ud-din of the province of Gilan137, who had his base in Cannanore after 1543, is reported to have given a loan of 750,000 pardaos of gold to the Portuguese governor.138 He had great treasure in Cannanore and was taken in confidence by the Portuguese governor139, and the latter personally went to meet the former at his palace in Cannanore to collect a huge amount in loan from him140. In fact, there were several people who had their doubts about this loan and so during the tenure of the office of João de Castro enquiry was made into the matter141.

Most of the local merchants acted as the contractors to the Portuguese and contacted the cultivators directly by going from place to another; giving rice, cloth and cash with a view to getting pepper,
ginger and so on at the time of harvest. They took cotton textiles from Cambay to Malabar coast to exchange for the commodities available there\textsuperscript{142}. In certain cases they themselves stored the merchandise after receiving the advance from the Portuguese officials and delivered them at the time of loading the ships bound for Portugal\textsuperscript{143}. These merchants presumably collected the commodities from the cultivators at whatever price they succeeded in finalizing and then delivered them to the Portuguese factories at the price fixed in advance. Therefore, the local merchants tried to derive the maximum profit by purchasing the commodities at the cheapest price possible from the cultivators and selling them to the Portuguese at the stipulated rate. Since, in many a case these merchants exchanged goods such as textiles, rice and so on for the spices, they had opportunity to increase the rate of their profit.

The local merchants, especially the resourceful ones, did not confine themselves to supplying commodities only to the Portuguese. They also conducted trade with other parts of the world with the knowledge of the Portuguese. A great merchant Khoja-Shams-ud-din, had his commercial establishments in Arabia and Persia. He received the \textit{cartazes} from the Portuguese to send his cargo ships to Mecca and Ormuz\textsuperscript{144}. In 1543 he sent three ships with commodities to Mecca and the Persian Gulf area\textsuperscript{145}. He had his brother Abdul Jabbar in Arabia and there were great trading houses in the Red Sea area. It was in this way that the spices reached Cairo and the marts of the Mediterranean, and

\textsuperscript{142} ANTT, \textit{Cartas dos Viceres da India}, No.95
\textsuperscript{143} ANTT, \textit{Collecção de São Lourenço}, tom.II, fls.378-379.
\textsuperscript{144} Gasper Correa, \textit{Lendas da India}, tom.iv, part I, Lisboa,1864, p.341.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{As Gavetas de Torre do Tombo}, tom. III, Lisbon, 1963, p.205.
finally the various parts of the continent. Thus Khoja Shams-ud-din had a large network of international trade besides being one of the most important merchants of India collaborating with the Portuguese. It is held by a number of historians that Indian spices were available in Cairo, Alexandria, Antioch and Beirut in the in the forty’s of the sixteenth century\(^{146}\). Probably, the revival of the Levantine trade in the period after 1540 may be explained in the light of the activities of the local merchants like Khoja Shams-ud-din and the difficulty the Portuguese had to withhold permits to those merchants to whom they were greatly indebted.

In fact the freedom granted to the influential local merchants to conduct trade with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea areas helped the Portuguese to a great extent. These merchants acted also as spies collecting information for the Portuguese. The details regarding the movements of the Turks passed on to the Portuguese through Khoja Shams-ud-din were of paramount importance and enabled the Portuguese to be ready to face the threat\(^{147}\). He had a great number of spies all over and collected information from the various parts in India and passed it on to the Portuguese at the right time.

It seems that on account of a number of problems inherent to the organization of Portuguese trade with India, it was impossible for them to avoid the local merchants. The officials in touch with the local conditions in India placed two suggestions in order to realize the target. One, the Portuguese merchant should go from cultivator to cultivator


\(^{147}\) ANTT, *Corpo Chronologico*, part I, 78-108.
supplying rice, clothes and other things of daily need in exchange of pepper, ginger and so on. This would take a long time and had to be done before the arrival of the ships that could not afford to wait in the ports more than three to four months as the sailing depended on the monsoon winds\textsuperscript{148}. But the Portuguese did not import these things to India and if at all they were to follow this, they would have to purchase them from various parts of India and take to those areas from where pepper and similar commodities were to be purchased directly from the cultivators. They brought mainly copper and cash to India and the mode of payment in copper and cash to the cultivators for the commodities they supplied was not at all welcome or profitable to the cultivators, because they had no means of taking copper to places like Cambay where it could be easily sold\textsuperscript{149}. Again they would fall prey to the local merchants. Therefore, the cultivators preferred local merchants who would supply goods of daily consumption in exchange of their products.

The other alternative would have been the availability of cash to purchase commodities at the harvesting time and during the short time between the arrival of the ships and their departure but the Portuguese did not bring enough cash for quick transaction. The harvesting time did not coincide with the arrival of the ships from Portugal. If they had had enough resources, they could have purchased the commodities at the harvesting time and stored them until the arrival of the ships. But the financial position and other conditions were not in their favour and


\textsuperscript{149} Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (ed.), \textit{Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque,}, tom. I, Lisboa, 1903, p. 330
so they depended on the local resourceful merchants who purchased the merchandise from the cultivators and stored them for the Portuguese. Another factor was the unreliability of the government officials of Portuguese India who would take and sell such stored commodities to Cambay. Purchasing and storing in advance tempted them to make private profit at the expense of the state\textsuperscript{150}.

The inevitability of resorting to the local merchants springs from another source too. In certain cases the great merchants kept the cultivators and retail merchants away from direct contact with the Portuguese by spreading frightening rumors about the foreigners. They were told that the Portuguese officials would cheat by taking extra weight while purchasing the commodities if they directly sold to them, and similarly they would pay very badly. It was also said that they would maltreat the cultivators and consider them slaves. These and several other rumors prevented the cultivators from being directly in touch with the Portuguese. Since such a direct contact was rendered impossible, they had to rely on the local merchants\textsuperscript{151}.

It may be concluded that the position of the local merchants did not suffer any lasting damage with the arrival of the Portuguese on the Indian scene, either in internal or external trade. On the contrary they flourished by extending their commercial enterprises to a wider spectrum like their trade in copper, other goods in demand by the Portuguese and sending commodities to various distant places under

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\end{flushend}
the security provided by the system of *cartazes*. Thus the non-producing elements got an opportunity to establish their sway between the two extremes of production, namely, the cultivator and the consumer, and finally to exploit the producers. Ironically, this situation thrived mainly because of the Portuguese’s own organization of trade with India.

### 4.15.2 Arakkal Ali Rajas of Cannanore

The Ali Rajas of Cannanore played a prominent role in the maritime history of Malabar in the European period. They became very prominent during the Portuguese period. The Ali Rajas belonged to the Muslim Arakkal family and in the beginning they were only the dependents of the sovereign king of Kolathiri.152 Because of their economic prosperity, political influence and power of trade the Ali Rajas gradually became independent of the sovereignty of the Kolathiris.153 They kept a strong trade relationship with the Europeans and the Arabs. The Ali Rajas were ruling the Laksha deep islands and many of the western traders approached them to start commercial contacts with them.

In the beginning the Ali Rajas was in harmony with the Portuguese. The Portuguese was maintaining a friendly relation with the Kolathiri Raja and because of that the Arakkal family too followed the same pattern. In 1504 the Portuguese constructed a fortress and colony in Cannanore. The Arakkal family had their palace only a gunshot distance away from the St. Angelo fort of the Portuguese. The

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relation between the Arakkal family and the Portuguese was not always smooth. An incident that broke the friendship between the Portuguese and the Ali Rajas in Cannanore, was when Valiya Hassan, a close relative and a captain of the Ali Raja, who did not like the commercial monopoly of the Portuguese in Cannanore, attacked several Portuguese vessels in the Laksha deep sea. The Portuguese complained to king Kolathiri but it was to no purpose. The Portuguese then captured Valiya Hassan with the permission of Kolathiri and imprisoned him in the Cannanore fort. The Arakkal Rajas pleaded for him to the Portuguese through their King but it was in vain. Valiya Hassan was executed by the order of the Portuguese governor Dom Henrique Meneses. It aroused Muslim opposition against the Portuguese for a long time. Later they maintained the peace with the Portuguese.

Later there was a continuous war between the Portuguese and the Ali Rajas which started in 1570 and lasted three years. The Arakkal family got the support and assistance of the Bijapur Sultan Ali Adil Shah. But the final victory was in favour of the Portuguese. The Arakkal family did continue their trade but had to obtain passes or cartaz from the Portuguese.

4.16 Foreign Merchant Financiers

The Portuguese king did not have sufficient money in order to purchase goods and spices outright. However they wanted to keep their monopoly of trade in the Indian peninsula. In order to guarantee their ownership of the new sea route to India they had find other measures to

purchase from the agents and their rulers in India, so they found a solution with the help of rich financiers from Germany and Italy.\textsuperscript{157} Many Italian and German financiers took an active part in the Indo-Portuguese trade in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Their participation in the Portuguese overseas trade was of great importance for the Portuguese crown since commodities and money needed for trade were not readily available in Portugal. They paid in cash or copper which are needed to pay for the goods. Indian commodities, especially pepper, were purchased against the part-payment of pepper. They were allowed to have their private trade in jewels, diamonds and precious stones. Both Italian and German merchant financiers played a very significant role in the trade conducted by the Portuguese with India.

In 1505, the expedition to India was a pan European one, in which the principal bankers and merchants from Italy and Germany took active part: besides the crown ships, the German-Italian merchant syndicates sent three vessels São Jeronimo, São Rafael and São Leonardo with Balthasar Sprenger and Hans Mayer as their factors to India along with the Viceroy Francisco Almeida. The capital invested by the Italians and the Germans was about 65,400 cruzados. The six vessels of the pan European venture carried about 20,000 quintals of pepper to Lisbon from the ports of Malabar, out of which the share of Cannanore was 2600 quintals. The Germans after paying a 30\% share to the crown got 8,960 quintals, which on sale at 20 cruzados per quintal fetched 179,200 cruzados. However the capital invested was

only 36,000 cruzados and the difference is 143,000 cruzados, which shows that the profit bagged by them was 397.7%\textsuperscript{158}. The Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Quirini estimated in 1506 that about 25,000 to 30,000 quintals of spices, out of which two-thirds was pepper, were exported annually from the pepper ports of Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon to Lisbon for distribution in Europe.

### 4.17 Local Employers

Many people were employed in Portuguese settlements. Some of them were employed in ships as frecheiros (bow men) and grumetes (ship boys).\textsuperscript{159} Similarly, some Nairs were serving as guards in the factory. Several other posts like interpreters, persons to see the weighing of the commodities in the factory were filled by the local people. Their help was necessary for the Portuguese to construct vessels in Cannanore. In 1514, they built a ship in the Cannanore port.\textsuperscript{160}

### 4.18 Salary of the Staff in the Cannanore Fortress

#### Table 4.2. Salary of the staff in the Cannanore fortress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>400,000 reis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feitor (factor)</td>
<td>100,000 reis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>30,000 reis\textsuperscript{161}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{158} Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Munster, 1999, pp48-52.

\textsuperscript{159} *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom. V, pp.496,498.

\textsuperscript{160} *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tom. I, p.303.

\textsuperscript{161} Subsidies para a Historia da India Portugueza, livro.II, fl.34,35,Lisboa, 1868, pp.28-30
4.19 Hinterlands of Cannanore

The hinterlands of Cannanore were the main centres of production of spices and other goods from where the commercial products were taken to the sea ports for export, and the traders bought them from the agents who were very active in the sea ports. Malabar during the Portuguese period gave prime importance to the production of spices, perfumes, woods and precious stones. The hinterlands of Malabar had a variety of birds and animals, especially peacocks and elephants. Madayi was a prosperous port even before the arrival of the Portuguese. The kingdom of Kolathunadu had a network of four rivers: in the north there are rivers Ezhimala and Kavai and in the south, rivers Taliparamba and Valapattanam. The riverbeds of Kolathunadu was rich and prosperous. Traders brought products from hinterlands using this river network transportation.

4.20 Riverine Trade

Water communication was the important means of trade during the ancient and medieval period of India. It was the same for Malabar too. Malabar is highly blessed with the water transportation and communication. Its water resources consisted of lagoons or backwaters of Valapattanam and Madayi and a number of rivers and rivulets. Transportation from the eastern mountainous region to the west was

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made easy and cheap by a system of rivers which drain the forests. The
traders made use of the rivers to bring downhill the produce from the
mountains and hinterlands to the port for export.

It has many rivers like Neelam river, Valapatanam river,
Ancharakandi river, Thaliparamba river, Tellicherry river etc near to
Cannanore town. Among these Valapatanam river played a great role in
the trade between India and Portuguese.\textsuperscript{165} It discharges more water to
the sea than any other rivers in the Cannanore region.\textsuperscript{166} In the south
bank of the river in Valapattanam Kolathiri built a fort with the help of
European engineers and he controlled the trade well. The remnants of
the fort are still there preserved by the archeological department.

The water transport was the easiest and cheapest means during
the Indo-Portuguese period. And it was the main means of transporting
the commodities. It is normal that the foreign traders selected to settle
in the riversides for the easy transport of their commodities so that they
can have a control over the trade.

Other important means of transport were canals and backwaters.
But in the case of Cannanore, it was less. The famous Sultan canal at
Ezhimala was constructed only after the Portuguese period.

\textbf{4.21 The land Routes}

The existing land routes also had a remarkable role in the
transportation and communication between the port and the hinterland.
The perimeters of Cannanore’s hinterland went beyond the political

\textsuperscript{165} S. Mohammed Husyan Nainar, \textit{Arab Geographers Knowledge of South India},
Madras, 1942, p. 29.
boundary of Kolathunadu and hence overlapped the territories of Vijayanagar. There were two interstate land routes, one passed through Periah Ghat and north Wynad and the other passed through Permabadi and the territory of Coorg. Both roads linked the port of Cannanore with Vijayanagar. There were also roads linking Cannanore with Valapattanam, where the palace of Kolathiri was situated, and the Town of Thaliparamba that was another centre for meeting Vijayanagar merchants.\textsuperscript{167}

4.22 Liberalization of Indo-Portuguese Trade

The official renouncement of royal monopoly over spices and the liberalization of Indo-Portuguese trade in 1570 ushered in a new commercial situation in India favored the concentration of capital in the private hands in an unprecedented degree. This liberal atmosphere facilitated the Portuguese \textit{casados} to extend their trade networks and to carve out larger commercial space in the Indian ocean region for the expression of their private initiatives. In turn, it was followed by the accumulation of wealth in their own settlements and their consequent conversion into fabulous urban centers, without letting it flow to their mother country.\textsuperscript{168}

4.23 Parallel Trade of Mamales

Till 1515 the spice port of Cannanore was operating only within the Lisbon centered axis.\textsuperscript{169} However, the greatest serious challenge to

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the Portuguese move to close the maritime space for the trade of traditional Red Sea-Venice route came from the Mamale of Cannanore. He developed a parallel commercial network outside the Lusitanian control systems by keeping Maldives as the base of diversion. The commodities of South Asia began to move to Red Sea through the straits of Karaidu and Haddumati (opposite the ports of Sumatra) via Maldives, a route which bypassed all the control mechanisms of the Portuguese. By establishing hold over Maldives, Mamale of Cannanore controlled this route, which ushered in parallel links of circulation\(^{170}\). In fact it was the Cannanore-Maldives commercial axis, which made the movement of commodities from the Indian Ocean world to the Mediterranean world possible. Eventually, two circuits began to operate: on the one side there was the Cannanore-Maldives-Red Sea route linked with Venice, which though was feeble in the initial phase became a strong stream of commerce by the end of 1530s. On the other side, there was the Atlantic-oriented strand comprising Cannanore-Cochin-Lisbon axis, which was relatively more widely linked with international circulation of commodities\(^{171}\).

Till the end of the fifteenth century, the Muslims, chiefly Al-Karim merchants, held a sort of monopoly over the spice trade to the centres of trade like Cairo, Aleppo, Alexandria, Damascus, Beirut etc. The spices of the subcontinent of India taken to the Mediterranean ports were made available at Venice from where merchants took them


to the various parts of Europe. Before the arrival of the Portuguese the main merchants in the land of Malabar were Moors and the local people who are efficient in trade assisted them. Usually the Nairs were the leaders among those who accompanied the Moors. The Moors were very efficient both in trade and accounting. But sometimes there were Nairs as their secretaries who were better accountants than the Moors.\textsuperscript{172} When the Portuguese arrived in Malabar they found three classes of Mohammedan merchants there:

a) the seafaring Arabs.

b) Moors of Mecca. They were also called Egyptians. They engaged in the trade relations of the Indian ocean especially in the west coast of India.

c) Mappilas or Moplas. They were the native people of Malabar. Their ancestors had originally belonged to the lower castes but who had been converted to Muslim faith.\textsuperscript{173}

In Malabar there were local powerful leaders or heads who usually assisted the king and supported him by providing enough soldiers and money in times of need. They were considered as chief lords and they had a strong influence on the king regarding important matters of decision and trade. In Cannanore the chief lords of this kind were the Iruvanad Nambiar and Cheranchery Kurup.\textsuperscript{174} But during the

\textsuperscript{173} In an anonymous narrative about the voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral, the author has mentioned about the friendly dealings between the Portuguese and the Moors. William Brooks Greenlee, The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, Hakluyt Society, London, 1938, p.70.
\textsuperscript{174} K.M. Malabar and the Portuguese, Bombay, Kitab Mahal, 1929, p.8.
Portuguese period in Cannanore there were many Muslim merchants having powerful control on trade. The leader among them was Khwaja Shams-ud-din Giloni of Cannanore.\textsuperscript{175} His timely assistance both by cash and commodities was a great support for the Portuguese financially in particular.

The commercial activities of the Portuguese in the Asian waters were intimately linked with the emergence of Mamale as a decisive figure in the developments of Cannanore and Maldives.\textsuperscript{176} Mamale was a great merchant who helped the Portuguese in the matter of trade in Cannanore.\textsuperscript{177} Similarly, Mohammed Aly and Pokkarachan were also merchants from Cannanore who extended considerable help to the Portuguese. Khaja Shams-ud-din was the most important merchant in the forties of the sixteenth century with whom the Portuguese had cordial relations. They considered it significant to enter into friendly relations with him. So they exempted him from paying customs duties for his vessels in all ports under their control. The king of Portugal also gave instructions to his officials in India to take this matter into consideration. The Governor with his retinue visited him at his palatial residence at Cannanore\textsuperscript{178}. When the Portuguese approached him for a loan to conduct trade in 1543, Shams-ud-din gave two

\begin{thebibliography}{1}
\bibitem{177} Genevieve Bouchon, \textit{Regent of the Sea, Cannanore’s Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528}, Translated by Louise Shackley, Delhi ,1988, pp.88-90, 105.
\bibitem{178} Gasper Correa, \textit{Lendas da India}, tom.iv, part I, Lisboa,1864, p.403.
\end{thebibliography}
generous loans of five thousand and ten thousand *pardaos* each through Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa. Portuguese records described him as the greatest vassal of the Portuguese king and their relationship remained cordial. All these merchants were from the Muslim community.

### 4.24 Nature of Trade

The nature of the Portuguese trade was a kind of redistributive enterprise. It means that the great variety of the trade goods was not produced by the Portuguese but they were handling or exchanging the goods between different countries. It was mainly based on the theory of collection and redistribution. They used the already established routes and ports for their trade. But the Portuguese had well established authority on the sea power because they kept a huge global network on the Mediterranean trading world with the ancient Asian trade, in the Atlantic with Brazilian trade and had control over the Indian and Pacific oceans. Thus they laid the foundations of the modern world economy which for a long time they could not continue. That is why there was not much development in Portugal even after their monopoly of trade throughout the whole world, for more than hundred years.

#### 4.24.1 From Free Marketing system to Controlled Marketing System.

Before the arrival of Portuguese trade market was open to everybody. Hence we see the presence of Venetian and Muslims merchants in the Malabar coasts especially in Calicut. Portuguese entry into the maritime network of the Indian Ocean had challenged the traditional commercial practices based on the principles of free market.
They established control of trade in the Indian Ocean in order to keep its monopoly. Those who wanted to have trade in Indian Ocean has to get permission from the Portuguese authorities.

### 4.24.2 From the Consumption Oriented Production to Market Oriented Production.

The *market oriented type of production* became very common after the arrival of the Portuguese.\(^{179}\) The commodities were in great demand in Europe. It created a strong need for the commodities of export. And most of the traders acted as intermediaries because they were transporting commercial goods to other countries also in order to gain a high amount of profit. The market oriented economy created great interest among the local producers in order to cultivate more so that they also can earn more.

### 4.25 Structure of Commerce

The Portuguese followed a well established structure of trade. The centre of the Portuguese commercial organization was the *feitoria* (factory) which is headed by a *feitor* who was assisted by one or more *escrivães* (clerks).\(^ {180}\) Normally their primary function was to buy, store and sell merchandise. Not only that they often engaged in the colonial activities and supported the navigational, social and missionary activities. They also engaged contacts and contracts with the local rulers. On smaller ships the captains also acted as factors.

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4.26 Mode of Trade

In Malabar it was the Muslim merchants from Aden and Ormuz and the port of the East African coast like Mogadishu, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Sofla and Malindi, dominated the trade when the Portuguese arrived there. They engaged smooth trade with the kings of Malabar especially Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. The Muslim Arab merchants purchased the goods like Indian cotton textiles, rice, iron, sugar and spices like pepper, ginger and cinnamon in exchange of goods which they carried from their land or other trade centers such as gold, silver, copper, rosewater, velvet, saffron, vermilion, mercury, horses etc. It was mainly a kind of barter system of trade because not money but the goods were the primary means of exchange. So when the Portuguese came to the land of Malabar they had the difficulty to find and provide the goods which were in need of the people of Malabar. That is the reason for issuing new coinage by the Portuguese; for example Afonso de Albuquerque issued a new coinage in 1551 immediately after his conquest of Malacca.181

4.27 The First Mercantile Battle

The Portuguese earned a lot of enemies when they came to the field of trade. The mercantile communities who were severely affected by the Portuguese presence in the Oriental markets were mainly the Moors and the Venice. Sultan of Cairo did many attempts to avoid the Portuguese from the mercantile field. He decided to take serious steps against Portuguese.182 The fleet consisting of two thousand men under

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182 The Sultan sent Frei Maurus despanha, a member of the Franciscan mendicant order, residing in Jerusalem, to the Pope asking him to do
Amir Hussain proceeded from Red Sea to the destination of Diu. On the way Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, with the men of Gujarat, Bijapur, Ahmed Nagar and Calicut joined with them and moved to Chaul where they met with the Portuguese fleet under Dom Lourenço de Brito, the valiant son of Francisco de Almeida. The battle took place in January 1508 and the Portuguese fleet were utterly defeated by the fleet of Malik Ayaz. The death of Dom Lourenço de Brito wounded the mind his father Francisco de Almeida to take revenge against the Moorish fleet at any cost.

Francisco de Almeida was in Cannanore and took upon the challenge and moved to the north from Cannanore on 12th December 1508, with 19 vessels consisting of 1200 men among whom where there were 400 men from Malabar. The Portuguese fleet utterly defeated the fleet of Amir Hussain consisting of the Egyptians, Venetians and the soldiers of Zamorin and Malik Ayaz on 2nd February and Malik Ayaz sought for peace on 3rd February 1509.

needful to dissuade the Portuguese from continuing their commercial activities in the East. He made it clear that if the Portuguese did not stop sending ships to India, he would destroy the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ and the Monastery of Mount Sinai together with the Church. João de Barros, *Da Asia*, Decada II, part I, p.181.


Fig. 4.1. Cannanore Fortress, on the occasion of the first battle, July 1507

Fig. 4.2. Cannanore Fortress, on the occasion of the first battle, August 1507
4.28 The Reasons for the Success of the Portuguese Trade with India

The Portuguese became successful in trade after the initial problems with the Indian merchants and kings. They could attain monopoly over the Indian trade with the Europeans for a long time, until the arrival of other European countries. Important reasons for success in the Oriental trade were the following:

a) The establishment of factories and continuous trade with the Indian merchants.

b) The confidence of power they created among the local kings.

c) The superiority of the Portuguese ships and the practical experience of their captains and navigators.

d) The greater efficiency of their artillery making the future control of the India seas possible.

e) The lower cost of transportation of spices compared to the Arab merchants.

f) The availability of European commodities creating a demand for the exchange of these commodities in the Indian market.

g) The timely production of properly cultivated and saleable spice.

h) The development of better trade conditions.
i) The gradual elimination of intermediate expense of exchange.\textsuperscript{187}

j) The establishment of fortress and permanent administration.

\subsection*{4.29 Conclusion}

When the Portuguese landed at Cannanore it was a flourishing centre of trade with the Moorish merchants on good terms with everyone. Vasco de Gama with his people visited Cannanore for trade when they were not able to have enough trade with Calicut or Cochin. Their first visit was quite satisfactory because they could collect enough commodities of trade on their way back to Lisbon. The cooperation of the king and local merchants of Cannanore stimulated the Portuguese to continue their trade link with the Kingdom of Cannanore. It was the humble beginning of Cannanore’s economic trade link with Portuguese.

But the trade relation with the Cannanore king was not so easy for the Portuguese because of the existing trade contact with the Moorish merchants. The Portuguese had to compete with the Arabs for trade because for several years they had carried on trade and commerce with the natives of Cannanore as peaceful traders. It was not easy for the Portuguese to break down and replace their strong bond of union. As Danvers recorded, there were only two methods open to the Portuguese for the accomplishment of the their full trade with Cannanore: the first one was by successful competition and the other

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\textsuperscript{187} William Brooks Greenlee, \textit{The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India}, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.xxxiv.
\end{flushright}
was by force. The Portuguese opted for the second to dispossess the Muslim merchants from Cannanore. It was quite easy for the Portuguese to possess the trade monopoly from the Arabs because there was not much resistance to the Portuguese from the local king. The king of Cannanore was a rival of Zamorin of Calicut. In Calicut the Portuguese had strong resistance from Zamorin because he had good relations with the Arab merchants. The trade with the Arabs and Moors was a source of considerable profit to Zamorin of Calicut. Hence the Portuguese did not get the easy access in Calicut they had got in Cannanore.

Not much by way of progress could be seen in the Portuguese trade out of Cannanore. One cause was the cheating of the Portuguese merchants through smuggling and other illegal trade transactions. The Muslims were chained by the introduction of Cartazes which was actually intended to control the private trade. Trade lost its significance as an open market trade. Certain commodities like pepper, cinnamon, timber, cloves and iron were forbidden for private trade. The smuggling of forbidden commodities were carried out to different destinations in Asia under the pretext of taking them to Portuguese fortresses. The smugglers bought spices at a higher price so that they could get better conditioned spices. The most prominent route of the illegal traders from Cannanore was through the Maldives islands where they were

189 Pius Malekandathil, Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, Manohar, Delhi, 2001, p.222.
used to sending commodities to Mecca. The illegal trade transactions highly affected trade in the port of Cannanore.

The emergence of Goa as a new trade centre in 1530 and the availability of commercial goods from the hinterlands of Goa in the region of Canara and Vijayanagara prompted the Portuguese to shift their commercial port from Cannanore to Goa. The Portuguese had cordial relationship with the native kings of Canara region. The hinterlands of Goa were rich compared to that of Cannanore. They could easily continue the horse trade and other commercial contracts with the king of Vijayanagara from a Goan port. The Goan port was much better and safer than the port of Cannanore.

Cannanore was only a filling centre for the Portuguese, meaning a centre for taking a break or filling the rest of the ship with the commodities collected in the factory of Cannanore fort. Normally the Portuguese loaded the ship from Cochin and on the way to Lisbon they passed through the port of Cannanore. The king of Kolathunad could not provide sufficient quantity of commodities to the Portuguese carreiras on time. The Portuguese too could not fill their factories with the trade goods. Ginger, pepper and cardamom were the main products available from the hinterlands of Cannanore and even that too was not sufficient to fill the carreiras. The Portuguese did not leave the Cannanore fort because it was their military strategic point and it was reserved as a halt between Goa and Cochin, two important trade centres for the Portuguese.

The lucrative trade of the Portuguese in the Orient attracted the attention of the Dutch for a long time. They wanted to become involved in the Oriental trade of spices. The Dutch sent fifteen expeditions to the East from April 1595 to May 1601 in search of an opportunity to get their own centre of trade in the Orient. Their gradual intrusion into the Portuguese pockets of Malabar led to the diminishing trade of the Portuguese.