Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Making a sudden break from the long, slow process of urban development, big towns tend to suddenly break away from the historic background that brought them into being and caused them to develop. This break with the past is one of the unfortunate consequences of the excessively rapid growth of urban centres. They tend to forget their origins, ignore their history and disregard their evolution down through the ages.

Thus any plan designed to stimulate a realization of the real personality, the genuine character of the city is highly beneficial, especially when it highlights those points that distinguish it from other places and stands as a milestone in its march to the future. Nothing solid can be built unless it is founded on the living, genuine and lasting features of the collective outlook bred by successive generations of ancestors. The late Prime Minister of Portugal, Salasar once said: “We are what we are—because we already were”—and this is an excellent synthesis of the situation.

The integration of the Portuguese pockets of Goa, Diu and Daman in 1961 halted all study and research on Indo-Portuguese relations which only became feasible after the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between India and Portugal in 1976. The revolution in Portugal in 1974 and the subsequent overthrow of the then government as well as the emergence of a new tendency among
the historians, opened up new vistas of thought. In tune with the emphasis by Indian scholars, the socio-economic aspects of the Portuguese interaction were taken up seriously. Original sources were then available in the Portuguese archives and libraries. Scholars have now taken up trade and commerce, urbanization, social and cultural interaction between the Portuguese and the people of Malabar coast seriously.

Historians impressed by the uniqueness of the European expansion have spent a great deal of time analyzing and describing the cultural dynamism which lay behind European thrust into the overseas world. Some hail the Asian trade contact of Europe as their unique great discovery forgetting the fact that the East had a longer and at least equally brilliant cultural tradition and civilization as that of the West. Euro-centric historians consider European expansion as a triumph and victory of European enterprise and ingenuity over Asia: they point out that none of the great centres of Asian civilization was able to mount an industrial revolution of its own, comparable to that which transformed Europe after 1800 and which gave to the west its decisive technical and military superiority. Ignored is the fact that the resources of these developments and inventions which they received were from their commercial contact with the East.

Malabar was famous for its commercial contact with the west and Fareast. The Mesopotamians, the Romans, the Assyrians and the Venetians were the frequent trade partners of Malabar. While the

Europeans were making their discovery of India, there was a flourishing trade with the Muslims in Malabar. From the European point of view it was a discovery, but from the point of view of Indian or Malabar historians it cannot be considered a discovery, for them, contact with Europe was only another trade contact. While studying Indo-Portuguese history modern historians have been divided along national and religious lines in their assessments and evaluations of the forces which motivated the overseas pioneers. In my research I have tried to investigate and reconstruct the administrative structure of overseas trade, the social, religious, cultural and economic impact on the Portuguese colonized port city of Cannanore in Malabar, describing how the Portuguese got Cannanore, how they maintained themselves there, how they contributed to the modernization, westernization and transformation of traditional cultures and modes of life of Cannanore and finally its urbanization.

1.2 Conceptual Frame of Urbanization

The term urban has been defined differently by different scholars. The term urban is derived from the Latin word urbs, meaning a city or urban population. Urbanisation comprises movement of people from small communities, concerned chiefly with agriculture, to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in management, manufacture, trade and other allied interests. According to sociologists, urbanisation is a process by which the increasing population of the country is attracted to settlement in cities

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which leading to a spatial connection of activities thus bringing about an effective change in the collective life of people as a result of the progressive development in the existing agricultural and industrial technology of the peasantry. Other sociologists define urbanisation “as a gradual complex process of movement of people from a rural settlement to an urban agglomeration and an effective change brought in its morphology and way of life as a result of its interdependent entities consisting of its ecological setting, technological advancement, economic development, political stability, social awareness and cultural growth.”

Urbanization had been a central phenomenon in the history of India, while remaining an agricultural country. Though there had been a flourishing trade in the coastal areas of India before colonization, there was no trace of urbanization in the modern sense. The traders came to port towns only for the import and export of commodities and they did not interfere in the political, economic or social affairs of a state or town. But the coming of the Portuguese changed the pattern of trade which until then had prevailed. The changes in character of urban centres under colonial rule were commensurate with the nature of the transition in the regional economy and society under imperial domination. They began to interfere in the internal affairs of the petty kingdoms: instead of

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establishing trade with the local traders and kings, their aim was to control the whole trade of the western coast. To attain this power and control they constructed forts and ports in their centres. This was the beginning of urbanization in the suburban localities of the fort which led to the formation of new towns and port towns.

Every town has its own history of development. Its growth depends on certain dynamical activities related to it. It can be commercial, social, political, economic and religious. Especially in the medieval period many cities and urban centres developed in association with ports, forts and temples. There was a strong association between religion, cultural life and towns in the process of urbanization. These phenomena had no exception in the formation of Cannanore town. Cannanore was a town developing into a port town and finally becoming a colonial town. The development of Cannanore from the level of town to the status of a colonial town was due to the arrival of the Portuguese. Urban growth in Cannanore during the Portuguese period is a new source of study for modern historiographers to work upon. In the following chapters an attempt has been made to interpret the Portuguese period in relation to the various aspects of urbanization such the factors involved, the obstructions experienced and the means and methods they devised.

1.3 Study of Urbanization

Study of the urban history is important theme of historians because it helps to assess the accumulation of capital and the degree of

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human success in modifying the physical environment. But the study of the urban centres had been done mostly on the post-industrial period and less in the pre-industrial period. The maritime activities evoked the development of ports and port towns in the coastal areas in the medieval period. The advent of the Portuguese caused urban development in Cannanore. Though Cannanore experienced the colonial hegemony of the three European powers – the Portuguese from 1498 to 1663, the Dutch from 1663 to 1775\(^8\) and the British from Ali Rajah in 1790 to 1947.\(^9\) – the Portuguese phase was very decisive and formative as far as its urban growth was concerned.

One of the most important factors for urbanization was agricultural production. A flourishing agriculture is an essential complimentary base for the rise of an urban structure.\(^10\) The agricultural goods produced in the hinterlands were brought to the ports for further transportation or export. Naturally the places where water transportation was easy, developed as urban centres. There the people gathered for the collection of spices, the middlemen emerged to give loans, the brokers and the agents of stayed for transaction. The town now had to meet the needs of the people and their families. They need shelters and houses, each religion its centres of worship, educational institutions for their children, hospitals, shops, markets, factories to

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8 The Dutch Company found the port at Cannanore uneconomic, hence they sanctioned the proposal for the sale of the St. Angelo fortress in a special letter on 3 August 1770. Accordingly the fort was sold to Arackal Adi Rajah for the sum of Rs.1,00,000 in 1775. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government: Dutch Record No.2, *Memoir Written in the Year 1781 A.D.* by Adriaan Moens, Madras, 1908, p.45.

9 The British captured the fort from Ali Rajah of Cannanore in 1790.

collect and store the purchased commodities, etc. The resulting populace would be the skilled ones in each in his field of endeavour. A further study of this process of urbanization in the colonial port town of Cannanore under the Portuguese together with the creation of a theoretical and systematic approach to this subject of study has been attempted as follows.

1.4 The Urban Centre

An urban centre can be defined in terms of economic variables (the prevalence of secondary and tertiary sectors of production), demographic attributes, political status and socio-cultural pattern of behaviour independent of sustenance activities. The concept of urban and rural areas has been developed from the way of life and activities of their inhabitants. The urban sections consist of those who are engaged, chiefly in transport, manufacturing, exchange of goods, or in educating the people or in managing the affairs of the state or in merely living in town, while the rural population includes those sections of the people who are spread over the country side, and are engaged in primary production. The characteristics of the cities have in general the same characteristics: defensive walls, density of housing, splendour of public buildings, a concentration of people, with the presence of a market.

According to Max Weber the city is “a settlement, the inhabitants of which live primarily of trade and commerce rather than

agriculture”.14 Rose Hum Lee defines cities as basically population-aggregates which are large, heterogeneous and densely settled within a limited area of land.15 According to Louis Wirth a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals16. Hudson defines city as a leading town, which has outstripped its regional or local rivals.17 Cities are distinguished from towns in terms of the size of inhabitants and structure of their population.18 Hence a city is any settlement where the majority of occupants are engaged in activities other than agricultural.19 The important features of an urban centre, where trade-commercial relations play a dominant role, are the following:

a) A market

b) A fortification

c) A court of its own and at least partially autonomous law

d) A related form of association, and

e) At least partial autonomy and autocephaly.20

Some cities are situated in proximity to a fort or a religious establishment while others emerge because of political considerations. According to the study of Gorden Childe an urban centre has different features. They are:

a) Dense population

b) Existence of non-food-producing specialist class, merchants, officials and priests, transport workers, craftsmen, who thrived on the surplus produced by the peasants.

c) The keeping of records and the development of associated sciences.

d) The community spirit among the urban dwellers and the emergence of public capital which could be devoted to the erection of monumental buildings and the sustaining of full time artists, and

e) Trade, which is the hallmark of urbanization.\(^{21}\)

The major inputs for the urban growth in the medieval period were: 1. Water transportation 2. Crossing of high ways and 3. Existence of pilgrim centres.

**1.4.1 Water Transportation**

In the ancient and medieval periods the movement of commodities was depended mainly on riverine transport. River played

an important role in the ancient and medieval period. Important as a means of transport for agricultural goods produced in the hills and valleys, it was the cheapest and easiest means of transportation. The hinterlands were normally connected with the seaports or the port towns and from there to other markets. The primary reasons for the location of cities were transportation. A break in transportation, even if it involves no more than a transfer of goods from one carrier to another, involved many equipments and facilities. That is why city formations appeared at the mouths or key points of the rivers, meeting points on hills and plains and other such areas.\(^{22}\)

### 1.4.2 Crossing of Highways.

Another input for the development of urban centres was where highways intersected. The Egyptian hieroglyph for a town is a cross within a circle symbolizing the two dominant functions of the town.\(^{23}\) The cross represents the meeting of routes at the market place while the circle stands for “the defensive walls. The cities took form as a by product of the activities of merchant caravans who established themselves along the sea coasts, on river banks, at confluences, at the junction points of the natural routes of communication. Each caravan constituted a market which exercised an attraction proportionate to its importance, on the surrounding country or made itself felt afar.”\(^{24}\) There were centres where the ancient roads and passes meet together. These centres became the markets for exchanging commodities brought

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from different hinterlands. It provided a better opportunity for the people to exchange their goods for another one which they needed. Hence they could sell the surplus commodities and items for the necessary goods. And these meeting corners of highways later developed as towns and new centres of markets.

1.4.3 Existence of Pilgrim Centres

The third and common feature of the urban growth is the presence of religious centres. Cities are situated in proximity to a religious establishment. People belong to different religions and faith. They worship gods and goddesses according to their belief. Among them some centres were more popular and famous. In some centres every year or on some special occasions they gather for worship. There are some other places where the devotees make visits every day. These centres need shops, food and accommodation for the devotees, water facilities etc. Various needs of the people of the localities should be met by the towns. The people who live depending on the markets and shops in the pilgrim centres require educational facilities for their children and hospitals to meet their needs of health.

Another factor which led to the development of the urban growth in the medieval period was the establishment of cantonments. Cannanore was the best example. People lived around the cantonment and the town developed in the neighbourhood of the military establishment. Cannanore was a port town during the Portuguese period, but later in the British period when they

established cantonment another kind of town emerged answering the needs of the people.

1.5 Theories of Urbanization

There are different theories regarding the emergence of cities. The brief analysis of the theories would be useful to discuss the urban development of Cannanore.

According to the economic theories of urban origin, there are two closely interrelated interpretations: 1. Market, which interprets the city as the centre created by a region, to focus its internal processes of exchange, and 2. Mercantile, where the city is considered the product of long-distance trade. 26 Fernand Braudel explains the economic interpretation of the cities: “The prevailing human order in the Mediterranean has been one dictated primarily by towns and communications, subordinating everything else to their needs. Agriculture, even on a very modest scale, is dictated by and directed towards the town.” 27 James Jacob, another exponent of the economic origins of cities claims the case which she epitomizes as ‘cities first, rural development later’. 28 According to her rural development came due to the emergence of cities. In this interpretation agricultural intensification is taken as a consequence of city growth and not vice versa.


Another group explains the development of the cities through Hydraulic theories. They speak of environmental bases to urbanism and give importance to environmental themes like the character of soil and climate which makes the surplus production possible and easy. According to them due to progress in agriculture, possibly related to irrigation, surplus accrued which was the foundation of all changes which are subsumed in the concept of urbanization.

The third group considers city as a stronghold or as a military centre. The city wall and the fortifications constituted a symbol of the domination of the rest of the land by those living within the walls: these architectural features constituted an institutional expression of power. It is true that some settlements were from the beginning defensive strong points and, accordingly, the close agglomeration and the institutional organization, which are inevitably part of elaborate communal defences, possibly played a role in the emergence of towns. “War fare has made a significant contribution to the intensification of urban development by inducing a concentration of settlement for purposes of defence and by stimulating craft specialization”.

Another group considers religion the critical institution of the city and argue for a sacred basis to the town. Religion is made an

effective force for creating new loyalties and for providing higher social solidarity. The ideas and institutions of medieval period where the Church played a dominant role affected the structure of cities and the development of the organs of their cultural life.\textsuperscript{34} The priests, in their role of ensuring the safety and security of the people - not by walls against physical enemies, but by rites against the menaces of the nature – became the first specialised sector of the population. The sacerdotal elite in this way operated as disposers of surplus produce brought as offerings. The dominance of the sacred territory brought people to it and bound them to it, so that actual physical agglomeration took place.\textsuperscript{35} It has to be said that religion played a significant part in that process of transformation which brought cities into being.

1.6 Development of the Port Town

Another phenomenon of the urban growth was emergence of the Port towns. Port towns or port cities are those cities where the port becomes the dynamic force and the central organizing principle.\textsuperscript{36} Port cities integrate their hinterlands and forelands in dynamic union, giving birth to urban communities of a very special character and atmosphere.\textsuperscript{37} Frank Broeze compares port city to “the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Lewis Mumford, \textit{The City in History}, London, 1975, pp.413ff.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Harold Carter, \textit{An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography}, London, 1983, p.8.
\end{itemize}
bride of the sea” because of her existential relation with the sea.\textsuperscript{38} The main economic base for the non-local market of a port city is its port.\textsuperscript{39} The specialised function of the port determines the character, structure and functioning of the port-city –settlements. It has its settlement apart from the surrounding region and these determine the physical, economic and social configuration of the settlement.\textsuperscript{40} The port cities are comparable to those other specialised settlements which arise when particular specialised functions are called for, such as mining cities, ceremonial cities and caravan cities. The port city has its own specific characteristics derived from the maritime functions of exchange, enterprise and transport. The colonisers created the port-cities symbols and immediate instruments of their grand colonial design in Asia.

There are some related concepts of port cities, such as port, entreport, hinterland, umland and foreland which help us to understand better the phenomena of port towns.

\subsection*{1.6.1 Port}

A port is the place of contact where goods and people as well as cultures are transferred between land and maritime space. It is basically an economic entity. A port is a spot where ocean and inland

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\textsuperscript{38} Frank Broeze,(ed.), \textit{Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from 16th to 20th Centuries}, Australia, 1989, p.4.

\textsuperscript{39} Frank Broeze,(ed.), \textit{Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from 16th to 20th Centuries}, Australia, 1989, p.11.

\textsuperscript{40} Peter Reeves, Kenneth McPherson and Frank Broeze, \textit{Port Cities: The Conceptual Problems}, A paper presented in the Australian Historical Association, Sydney, 1982, pp.3-5.
\end{flushleft}
transport lines meet and intervene. According to Atiya H. Kidwai, the site of a port means the area of land on which the port exists and water or harbour on which it depends for its existence. There is difference between a port and a harbour. While a harbour is a physical space, port is essentially an economic entity. A harbour is a sheltered area of deep water. Some degree of shelter, natural or artificial, is essential for port development. The origin and development of a port depends on many cultural and physical factors.

1.6.2 Entreport

An entreport is essentially a trans-shipment point where transfer of goods and passengers takes place from ship to ship. Its location and growth is dictated by the geographical layout of long distance shipping routes.

45 K. Dharmasena, *Colombo, Gateway and Oceanic Hub of Shipping*, in *Bridges of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from 16th to 20th Centuries*, Australia, p.152.
1.6.3 Hinterland

A hinterland is an organised and developed land space which is connected with a port by means of transport lines and which receive or ship goods through that port. A port does not necessarily have exclusive claim to any part of its hinterland, but an inland area may be the hinterland for several ports. The port is the window of the hinterland to the sea as well as a window from the sea to the land. In other words the hinterland is a centre from where the port receives the commodities for export to the foreland and to where the port provides the imported goods from foreland for sale. “The centre supplies goods and services to the hinterland and offers jobs, shopping, and cultural attractions to the commuters or migrants from the hinterland. The hinterland, on the other hand, provides oriented goods, like food, textiles, minerals, and timber products, and it furnishes works to central place jobs.” Thus the port does the work of a mediator between hinterland and foreland. While referring to the historiography of hinterland, Atiya Habeeb Kidwai uses the following definitions of various types of hinterland:

a) Immediate hinterland – It is the port area and the port town itself.

b) Primary hinterland – It is the place where the port exerts a commanding role.

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c) Secondary hinterland – From here a majority of commodities and traffic are directed to the main port.

d) Advantage hinterland – It is the region which has more influence in times of competition with other ports.

e) Commodity hinterland - It is the port which deals with particular commodities only.49

In many parts of India, the operations of hinterland were linked with overseas trade which formed an integrated part of commercial activities.50 The hinterland is also conceived as the area from which city draws the material for the construction of the buildings, homes, factories, and streets. In recent literature hinterland is considered economic rather than a geographical region.

1.6.4 Umland

It is distinct from the hinterland. An umland refers to an area in the immediate vicinity of the port city with which it is possible to maintain residential links.51

1.6.5 Foreland

Foreland refers to major overseas markets to which hinterland products are carried and the places from which goods are imported for


consumption and further distribution throughout the hinterland. Foreland is generally defined as those areas of the overseas world with which the port city is immediately linked through its shipping, trade and passenger traffic.\textsuperscript{52} The port cities can properly be understood only in terms of their hinterland-foreland matrix.\textsuperscript{53} Taken together these concepts may give us a wider theoretical framework and help us to have a comprehensive approach to the urban phenomenon experienced in Cannanore from 1498 to 1663.

Cannanore was the typical example of the port town. The port towns are normally located in the river shore or the sea side. These towns were looking at the sea where numerous people lived depending on the port towns. They were engaged in cleaning the ports, ships and factories; some were engaged in collecting and loading commodities. These items were stored in the factories for the next loading. There were people in the port towns who worked for the collection, storing and keeping the commodities. They lived around the port town. The port towns had a habitation segment away from the port where there was a residential area for the people, merchants and the business middlemen. There was an area for business. These two habitation segments constitute the port towns in the medieval period.


1.7 Colonial Port Town

Cities were first created by the exercise of power by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus and provide services, in one geographically defined society. Followed by this other settlements may have been planted within that society as a means of furthering political control and both creating or expropriating a surplus. The colonisers who founded cities outside their continent intended bringing goods which were not available in their own land: these products were largely agricultural and grown most often in tropical lands.

The requirements of colonisation demanded many unequivocally urban functions. Among these the pre-eminent was the necessity of a port to export colonial goods and import European wares. The colonisers established themselves with the help of a port. As a result governmental centres and garrisons became necessary and this led to an increase in the density of urban life as numerous suppliers, retailers and craftsmen arrived to serve such institutions according to the need of the colonial society.

Later the colonisers used the cities to extend further the boundaries of their society, by transportation, initially shipping, to incorporate other territories and peoples overseas. Thus colonial city, as a cultural artefact, becomes an instrument of colonization. It is


further explained as a spearhead of economic, social, cultural and political penetration, following which the structural organisation and reorganisation of the colonised society or territory takes place.\textsuperscript{56}

The following are the unique features of the colonial city:

**Power**

It can be political, social or economic. Power is reserved principally to the hands of a non-indigenous minority. The rights of the coloniser are either nil or very restricted.

**The superiority of the minority**

The coloniser though they were minority in number, is superior in terms of military, technological and economic resources and as a result in social organisation.

**Difference between the coloniser and the colonised**

The colonised majority are racially, culturally and religiously different from the colonists who are culturally European and religiously Christian.\textsuperscript{57}

There are other features: the emergence of new settlement as separate from but close to the existing one, the relative absence of females and of European women, the consequent creation of mixed race population, the presence of bachelor chummery, male troops, high


rates of veneral diseases, the special provision of hospitals, vast areas of space laid out for recreational clubs and the like are unique features of colonial port cities. Even church and other social and charitable institutions are made instruments of colonisation and social control. In short, colonial cities are those extractive and parasitical urban centres created by the colonists in order to serve their interests.

The Colonial Port Town came into being with the arrival of the Portuguese. It is linked to the arrival of the Europeans in India especially in Malabar. Cannanore had been a port for many years for the Vijayanagara empire to conduct their horse trade from Arabia. Colonial Port town was the centre of extraction of surplus commodities from inside and a store house for the commodities. There were agents in the colonial port towns, foreign factories, middle men, dwibhashis\textsuperscript{58} etc. Another peculiarity of a Portuguese colonial port town is the existence of churches and monasteries.\textsuperscript{59} There were friars in every fleet to administer to the religious needs of the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{60} They established churches for the service of the Portuguese people.\textsuperscript{61} The local people who received the Catholic faith were not allowed to stay in the fortress after sunset. Only the Portuguese were allowed to live in

\textsuperscript{58} Dwibhashi is a local linguist. He did the work of a translator between buyer and seller. He was able to manage the language of both.

\textsuperscript{59} It is very clear that the Portuguese came to the orient not only for spices but also for souls. They had the padroado privileges. Hence they reached India with the missionaries. The first missionaries who came to Cannanore were Franciscans. Joy L. Pachuau, \textit{Responses to the Portuguese Missionary Methods In India In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries}, in Portuguese Presence in India during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries edited by Yogesh Sharma and José Leal Ferreira, Viva Books, New Delhi, 2008, p.58.


\textsuperscript{61} Pedro Alvaras Cabral established the first church in Cannanore for the service of the Portuguese in the honour of Immaculate Conception.
the fort at night due to security reasons. Hence there started an urban settlement alongside the fortress. Every colonial port town had a suburban locality. In the case of Cannanore there was a suburban city known as Bernassery. It is still existing with the presence of Portuguese descendants.

Usually the ships reached the western coast of India during February and March and returned in the months of September and October. But the products were ready in different times according to the season of each item. For example the pepper used to be ready for sale from January to March. But the ship could travel towards west only in October depending on the monsoon. Until that time they stored the commodities in factories. In the same manner, when the ships arrived from foreign countries they brought items for sale and exchange which were in demand in the colonial centres. Sometimes they might not be able to sell all items before their return. So these unsold items had been stored in the store houses and factories for the future. And the elephants did the work of carrying things to the fort and ships. People were appointed in order to look after the elephants.

Another important factor of the colonial port town was the establishment of religious institutions like Santa Casa da Misericordia to meet the charitable demands of the poor people, centres of catechism for the newly baptized Christians, Confraternity of Chagas.

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62 It was founded to assist the old, the sick, the disabled and the weaker sections in the society among those involved in the overseas expansion. Ref. K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Delhi, 1983, p.222.

63 *Confraria das Chagas* was a religious community of men doing religious and charitable services. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II, 1.8-10 ; II,22-73.
educational institutions for the children etc. Educational institutions were established for teaching the children to read and write. The poor students of the land were given food and other necessary things by the Portuguese and the teachers were paid by the colonial government.

Hospitals were established for the health service. And most of the mariners were bachelors. They left their wives and children in their own land and most of them did not and could not go back to their mother countries. So recreational clubs were established to meet the social needs of the mariners in the colonial port towns. All these were only a later development of the colonial port towns. Thus various institutions were established to meet the requirements of proliferation of population which had resulted in the coastal towns of Malabar.

1.8 Review of Literature

The study of the history of the Portuguese presence in India is an important topic for many research scholars. Portugal is the first European country which came to India in search of spices and souls. But the attraction and profit of trade with India tempted many European powers to trade with the subcontinent. The Portuguese were very particular in writing and keeping documents and details of their trade and other matters. So, many research scholars were attracted to the study of Indo-Portuguese relations, but they neglected areas like the importance of Cannanore in the Portuguese period. The Portuguese were very successful in Cannanore and many times Cannanore became a centre which consoled the Portuguese when they were unable to

64 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, Tom.I,pp.44-45.
65 Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, Tom.VII,pp.190-191; ANTT, CC, I-23-5; I-23-133.
accumulate enough commodities of trade for Lisbon. But there was negligence on the part of the scholars regarding the Portuguese history of Cannanore. There were several studies on the centres like Goa, Cochin and Calicut. But there were not enough studies on the Portuguese Cannanore on the part of the historians especially in the socio-economic spheres. It seems pertinent here to review some of the works which are related to the subject under study.

The Portuguese in India written in two volumes (Vol.I from 1481-1571 and Vol. II from 1571-1894) by F.C. Danvers (1883-1906)\textsuperscript{66}, The Portuguese Sea-born Empire, 1415-1825 by C.R.Boxer\textsuperscript{67}, and The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India: 1497-1550 written by R.S.Whiteway\textsuperscript{68}, give some information about Cannanore. These are standard works for Portuguese Asia, but the developments in Cannanore are mentioned only a random.

The Portuguese phase in Kerala history is dealt with in several standard works like History of Kerala by K.P. Padmanabha Menon\textsuperscript{69}, Medieval Kerala by P.K.S. Raja\textsuperscript{70} and A Survey of Kerala History by A. Sreedhara Menon\textsuperscript{71}. They treat this phase in a very superficial way without making critical study of the Portuguese sources. A highly esteemed work on the Portuguese in Malabar was produced by

\textsuperscript{71} A. Sreedhara Menon, \textit{A Survey of Kerala History}, Kottayam 1967.
K.M. Panikkar first under the title Malabar and the Portuguese\textsuperscript{72} and later incorporated into the History of Kerala 1498-1801\textsuperscript{73}. Though it is a very good work, it is mostly political and administrative history rather than economic history. Another significant work on the economic history of Portuguese Malabar is Twilight of the Pepper Empire by A.R. Disney\textsuperscript{74}. But this work dwells only on the trade of the seventeenth century. They deal with the economic history of whole Malabar but they do not go deep into the economic life of Cannanore.

Regarding specific work as some aspect of Cannanore, Genevive Bouchon made an attempt in Regent of the Sea, Cannanore’s Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528 to reconstruct the history of pre-colonial Cannanore based on European source materials. She concentrated on the Mammalies of Cannanore and the period she covered was only up to 1528.\textsuperscript{75} It was mainly a study of the powerful chief of the maritime merchants in Malabar. This scholarly monograph throws light on the hitherto unknown aspects of the Portuguese expansion as well as on the origins of the Islamic community in Malabar. This work is limited to a short period and did not discuss the socio-economic aspects of Cannanore. It is a meticulous treatise on various aspects of commercial interactions and conflicts between the Portuguese and the local rulers.

\textsuperscript{72} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{Malabar and the Portuguese}, Bombay, 1929.
\textsuperscript{73} K.M. Panikkar, \textit{A History of Kerala 1498-1801}, Annamalainagar, 1960.
\textsuperscript{74} A.R. Disney, \textit{Twilight of Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in South West India in the early Seventeenth Century}, Cambridge, 1978.
K.S. Mathew has made a pioneering attempt in the history of Portuguese trade in his Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century.\textsuperscript{76} An original source based investigation has been done in this innovative work as part of Indo-Portuguese economic interactions in the emerging world of commercial capitalism. This work deals with the Portuguese expansion in Malabar as a whole and confines itself to a period from 1500 to 1530. He talks about the trade in Cannanore in general and for a short period. Joy Varkey has submitted his pre-doctoral dissertation titled “Cannanore on the Malabar Coast and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1600.”\textsuperscript{77} But this work is mainly based on the secondary sources.

The fourth endeavour is Cannanore in the Maritime History of India from M.O. Koshy. He edited the papers presented in the seminar organized by Kannur University in 2001.\textsuperscript{78} It presents a few remarkable studies like K.S. Mathew’s “Cannanore and the Portuguese- A Case Study of Urban Growth in the Sixteenth Century”, and Pius Malekandathil’s “Maritime Trade of Cannanore and the Global Commercial Revolution in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”. This work deals with some aspects of Cannanore in general and it handles the colonial period from the Portuguese till the Independence. It is a long discussion of a variety of matters related to Cannanore. Besides these, there is a movement on the part of Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IRISH) with its establishment in

\textsuperscript{76} K.S.Mathew, \textit{Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century}, Manohar, Delhi, 1983.

\textsuperscript{77} Joy Varkey, \textit{Cannanore on the Malabar Coast and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1600}, Pondicherry University, 1990.

\textsuperscript{78} M.O. Koshy (ed.), \textit{Cannanore in the Maritime History of India}, Kannur University, 2002.
2004 at Nirmalagiri, Cannanore, to learn deeply the indigenous history. Winds of Spices was an outcome of this interest based the international seminar conducted by IRISH. It is a collection of the essays on Portuguese establishments in medieval India with special reference to Cannanore. Hence there appears a need for the detailed Portuguese history of Cannanore today. There are also other books written on Cannanore and the Ali Rajas: noteworthy among them is the work of Sathyan Edakkadu in the vernacular language on the fort history of Cannanore. It is a praiseworthy attempt though it did not have the strong basis of the primary sources. Another one is K.K.N Kurup’s Ali Rajas of Cannanore. It too talks only about the Ali Rajas and he talks about their dealings with the Portuguese. The latest attempt is the unpublished research work done by Binu M.J. on The Ali Rajas of Cannanore. It is an innovative attempt by making use of the European sources on the Dutch period, not the Portuguese, of Cannanore. Though there are many works on the administrative history of the Portuguese in Malabar and Goa in general, only a few deals with the socio-economic history of Malabar. In fact nothing is available which directly speaks about the social and economic life of Cannanore. So I felt we would be a big neglectful of the Portuguese and Cannanore if we did not unveil their historical relationship on the socio-economic

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field. This is an attempt to fill the vacuum of the socio-economic history of Cannanore.

1.9 Survey of Sources

The methodology employed in this study is primarily analytical and descriptive. The basic data for the study have been collected from the sources available in the archives and libraries in Europe and India. These sources are found in several European languages like Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and English. Among them some are historical narratives, while others belong to the category of travelogues, diaries, chronicles and reports.

The earliest general works which give some account of Cannanore after the arrival of the Portuguese are The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires\(^83\) written before 1515 and The Book of Duarte Barbosa (1515)\(^84\). The various accounts regarding The Voyage of Cabral\(^85\) and the Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque\(^86\) help one to reconstruct a bit of initial history of the Lusitanians in Cannanore. But the general works like Lendas da India\(^87\) written by Gasper Correa in the sixteenth century (in four volumes and each volume divided into two parts), Historia do


\(^85\) They are compiled by William Brooks Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives*, Reprint, Nendeln/ Liechtenstein, 1967.

\(^86\) Raymando Antonio de Bulhão pato (ed.), *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as Elucidam*, 7 vols., Lisboa, 1884-1935.

Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses\textsuperscript{88} written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d.1559) around 1552, Da Asia\textsuperscript{89} of João de Barros written in 1552 (Decadas I-IV), Da Asia\textsuperscript{90} of Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) written by 1602 (Decadas IV-XII) which serves as mine of information about the developments in Cannanore.

The important archives and libraries I consulted in various countries in connection with my research are the following:

**1.9.1 Archives and Libraries in Portugal**

*a) Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa*

**Corpo Cronologico:** This rich collection is an important source on trade and viceregal affairs. It is grouped into three parts, consisting of a variety of documents including the original correspondences of the Viceroys of India, letters from the factories of Cannanore, Cochin and Goa as well as those of the kings of Cannanore, Merchants of Malabar and exchequer papers.\textsuperscript{91} The collection covers the period from 1161 to 1699, containing 82,902 documents divided into the maços (bundles) in chronological order without regard for subject or area.

\textsuperscript{88} Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, 4 vols., Coimbra, 1924-1933.


\textsuperscript{91} One can find original documents of diversified nature such as, receipts, letters of the viceroys and governors, instructions given to the ambassadors and other officers, letters from the factories of Cannanore, Cochin, Goa etc., correspondence of the pastors of the church in India, orders of the King to his officials of the India House, letters of the King of Cochin and Cannanore and merchants of the Malabar coast and various other papers.
Cartas de Vicereis e Governadores da Índia e de outras Pessoas para El Rei: (The letters from the Viceroy's and Governors of India and other persons to the King): It is another collection in the archives of Torre do Tombo which provides information for the period from 1504 to 1657. It contains about 190 original documents dealing mainly with the correspondence between India and Portugal.

Gavetas (Drawers): This collection contains about 5274 original letters from Europe and overseas, grants, wills and diplomatic agreements ranging from 12th to 16th centuries. The documents pertaining to Indo-Portuguese affairs have already been published. 92

Collecção de São Lourenço: It consists of 5 volumes of which the first volume contains letters to António d’Ataide and Dom João III and the volumes II and V include letters to Dom João de Castro and his son Dom Alvaro. The first three volumes are published while the remaining two are preserved in the archives in manuscript form. This collection gives a lot of information about the trade and general situation especially of Cannanore during the period between 1545-1548.

Nucleo Antigo: It contains registers of the Casa da India in Lisbon as well as records of the factories on the Malabar coast giving details about the cargo exported from Malabar ports.

Collecção de S.Vicente: This collection contains mainly original letters, copies, and minutes of sixteenth century. It runs into 26 volumes out of which volumes XIV and XXIV are useful for the present study.

92 These three volumes are published in the series of As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo. 11 vols., Lisbon, 1960-1975.
Leis: Livro do Registo de Leis e Regimentos de Dom Manuel: It consists of many royal orders issued by Dom Manuel as well as many legislations made regarding the overseas posts like those of a factor, or of commander of a fleet etc.

Chancellarias: The copies of all state papers including the royal orders and correspondences are preserved in the books of chancery or livros de Chancellarias. The books of the chancery are divided into three different sections: doações (grants), privilegios (privileges) and perdões (pardons). The Chancellarias of Dom Manuel (1495-1521), of Dom João III (1521-1557 and of Dom Sebastião are consulted.

Documentos Oriinais (Oriental Documents): Nucleo Antigo no.891 correspondence of the sixteenth century written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. There are a few letters from Calicut and the Kolathiri written in Arabic. 93

b) Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa

Another major repository of documents on Luso-Indian affairs is the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (the Overseas Historical Archives). It contains many documents relating to the administrative affairs of the Portuguese colonies. Though it includes a few documents of the sixteenth century is an excellent source for the seventeenth century. All the documents are categorized in geographical areas and in chronological order.

93 A few of them have been published by João de Sousa: Vestigios da lingua Arábica em Portugal ou Lexicon Etymologico das Palavras, e Nomes Portugueses, que tem origem Arabica, Lisbon, 1789. For the extract of a few of these papers, ref. Stephen Weston, Remains of Arabic in the Spanish and Portuguese Languages, London, 1810.
c) **Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.**

The National Library of Lisbon, besides the vast collection many rare unpublished works, has a special reservado section, containing primary sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The section of reservados includes Fundo Geral (general sources), Collecção Pombalina (Pombaline Collections) and the Manuscriptos (Manuscripts).

d) **Biblioteca da Ajuda**

Another store house of precious manuscripts belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the Ajuda palace library. It contains documents related to administration (Cartas das Governadores da India, Africa e Brazil), Jesuits (Jesuitas na Asia), the Council of India (Conselho da India) and the treasury (Conselho da Fazenda).\(^{94}\)

e) **Biblioteca de Sociedade de Geografia, Lisboa**

The Library of the Geographical Society has a collection of manuscripts and rare books classified as Reservados (reserved). The material is catalogued according to subject, title and author.

f) **Biblioteca Publica e Archivo Distrital de Evora**

The public Library and District Archives of Evora contain many documents directly related to the economic and religious life of the Estado da India. The manuscript copy of the Livro do Estado da India Oriental by Antonio Bocarro is found here.

g) **Centro de Historia de Além Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.**

The library of the Centre of Overseas History in the new University of Lisbon has a rich collection of rare books and photostat copies of some primary sources.

h) **Biblioteca de Universidade de Lisboa.**

The University library of Lisbon had a few books regarding the Indo-Portuguese history of the Malabar coast. Besides these archives, I have visited many libraries in Portugal such as Biblioteca de Universidade Catholica, Biblioteca de Seminario Maior de Olivais, Biblioteca de Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca de Universidade de Lusofona and Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Lisboa in connection with the collection of data.

1.9.2 **Archives and Libraries in Madrid**

The National Library in Madrid, Spain has many documents pertaining to our topic. There are a number of manuscripts both in Portuguese and Spanish that shed light on the Portuguese trade on the Malabar coast.

1.9.3 **Archives and Libraries in Rome**

The Syriac documents preserved in the Fondo Siriaco of the Vatican Library give corroborative information on the early days of Portuguese establishment in Cannanore and other places. Fondo Siriaco No. 204, gives the details about the Portuguese in Cannanore and Cochin. Almost all the Syrian documents are published by J.S. Assemanus under the title Biblioteca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana. The manuscripts are of the period after 1542 and are more relevant for a study on the social history than on trade.
1.9.4 The British Library in London

The famous British library contains the manuscripts, documents and a large collection of rare books and maps relevant for this study. Several Portuguese manuscripts are preserved in the collections called, Cottonian, Egerton, Lansdown, Sloane and Additionals. No.197 in the Sloane collection is the Livro de Estado da India written by Resende Barreto.

1.9.5 The Archives and Libraries in India

a) Goa Historical Archives, Panaji

It is actually the continuation of the Torre do Tombo Estado da India established in 1596 to house the ancient records of the former state of India. Since 1961, it is called Historical Archives of Goa. The most important collection of our study ids the Monções do Reino (books of Monsoon) which is also the largest collection among the documents, extending over 456 folio- books and covering the period from 1568 to 1914. It contains letters, reports, instructions etc received at Goa every year from Portugal in the monsoon of June to September and the replies sent from Goa during the months of December and March. The register of books containing the copies of letters, orders, and instructions received from Portugal were filed together with the name “Monsoon of that year”. Lot of information about Malabar and particularly about Cannanore are scattered through all the volumes and pertaining portion of this collection is consulted for this study.

b) The Indo-Portuguese Archives in Cochin.

The Portuguese Padroado Archives and Museum in Cochin Bishop’s house contains the maps and records of the 18th and 19th century Kerala. For the present study only very few relevant documents are available there.

c) The Library of the Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IRISH), Nirmalagiri.

IRISH archives and library contains a large collection of Indo-Portuguese documents, journals, rare books, micro films and the photocopies of the primary sources relevant to the subject of research.

Besides these archival repositories, the personal library of Prof. K. S. Mathew where I could work for a long time, which has got a large collection of rare books and photocopies of many primary and secondary sources, the Tamilnadu State Archives, Madras, Kerala State Archives, Ernakulam, Pondicherry University library, Nirmalagiri College library are also consulted in India in connection with the collection of data.

1.10 Chapterisation

The first chapter, being an attempt to analyse the conceptual frame and various theories of urbanisation. It also reviews the available works and studies related to the topic and explains the central purpose of this study. A mention is made about the method of the study.

The second chapter deals with the general condition of Cannanore before the arrival of the Portuguese. It also tries to explain the then existing kingdom of Kolathunad in Cannanore and the
powerful muslim local power, the Arackal Ali Raja. The Arackal rulers participated in maritime trade and made much profit. The trade in palm dates was their monopoly for a long time as it was an essential diet during Ramzan. It discusses the trade activities existed in Cannanore before the emergence of the Portuguese power. It deals with the definition and geographical extent of the Cannanore kingdom, as well as social, political and economic conditions of the region prior to the arrival of the Portuguese on the scene, so as to serve as a background for further discussions on the subject. This chapter in its entirety tries to give a background of the arrival of the Portuguese in Cannanore.

The third chapter analyses the urban phenomena of Cannanore with the arrival of the first European power. It examines the circumstances in which the Portuguese were compelled to land in Cannanore and the reasons why Cannanore was opted as the base for Portuguese trade. An attempt is made to illustrate the port-hinterland relations of Cannanore in the context of Portuguese trade in the sixteenth century and to examine the important hinterlands that supplied spices and other commodities to the port of Cannanore and where they were located. The hinterlands of Kolathunadu formed a major geo-economic region that supplied agricultural and forest products, especially spices like pepper and ginger, to the port of Cannanore for overseas export. Cannanore was the nearest friendly port of the Vijayanagara empire through which they conducted overseas trade. Horse trade was one of the chief trade between the Vijayanagara empire and Hormuz in West Asia. They imported horses from Hormuz and Aden in West Asia and in return exported precious stones and diamonds. Vijayanagara kings mostly preferred the port of Cannanore for overseas trade. It discusses
how the presence of the Portuguese affected the existing structure of the kingdom of Kolathunadu, the development of trade and urbanisation of the kingdom due to the phenomenon of trade. It tries to discuss when Cannanore emerged as a port and how far did the emergence of the new port affect the existing economic and social life of Cannanore. It also describes the network of transportation based on river routes and land routes between the port and the hinterland.

The fourth chapter deals with the strategies and policies of the Portuguese in matters of trade. The Portuguese had showed great interest in the trade with Cannanore as the demand for the Eastern spices in the European markets was quite considerable. So Estado da India decided to have direct and organised commercial activities with Cannanore. To promote and achieve their desired end, factory and fortress were established by the Portuguese with the consent of the Raja of Kolathunadu. Later the charm of pepper and ginger available from the hinterlands of Cannanore led to the acquisition of trading post in Cannanore. The economic development of Cannanore through trade is discussed here. This chapter also treats the important features of the Indo-Portuguese trade during the period between 1498 and 1663 in Cannanore. A mention is made about the reasons why the Portuguese crown was compelled to make the local money lenders in trade and the degree of involvement of the local agents in the commercial activities of Cannanore. It also tries to see who were the principal pepper producers and what were the important land routes that connected the hinterland with the port of Cannanore. It traces the principal riverine-routes that were used by the Portuguese. It studies the Indo-Portuguese trade in Cannanore at the dawn of the sixteenth century so as to
Chapter 1 examine the change that took place with the passage of time till 1663. The ways and means of trade, the policies of trade, commodities of trade, hinterland relations, conflicts and competitions in trade and their role in developing the city of Cannanore as the major trade centre are discussed in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the socio-cultural dynamics of Cannanore is discussed. The change in the society, cultural impact of the Portuguese in Cannanore and vice versa came under the discussion. Various European urban institutions which brought out far reaching of socio-economic changes, were transplanted to Cannanore. Special attention is given to see how the social life in Cannanore was and how the urban society was stratified. The important social, religious, educational and charitable institutions, the churches, hospitals, Santa Casa da Misericordia, Botica, Confraternity of Chagas and other welfare institutions in Cannanore are examined. It is equally important to examine the important ecclesiastical institutions in Cannanore and see how far did the activities of the missionaries affect the socio-religious life of the city. It studies how did the urban development cause for the significant changes in the socio-economic structure of the Cannanore society. Urban life and flow of people from villages and hinterlands to the port town of Cannanore were boosted up by the Portuguese trade. Export and import in the port and ship building gave employment to the worker.

This chapter deals with the study of the location of the St. Angelo Fort and the institutions inside. The Portuguese built St. Angelo Fort in the initial stage of their expansion. It is one of the earliest monuments of the Portuguese military structure in India that still remains almost intact. It was constructed to defend the Portuguese possessions and facilitate
commercial activities. After a brief discussion of the political and military context of the establishment of the fort at Cannanore, there is a study of the economic and social and architectural aspects of the St. Angelo’s fort. The facilities available in the fortress were relatively modest, yet sufficient to meet the military requirements. This chapter examines the strategic importance of the fort of St. Angelo in Cannanore and the role of the fort in the urbanisation of Cannanore. The life in the fortress and the institutions established in the fortress are discussed here.

The last chapter is the conclusion. Here there is an examination of the impact of the Portuguese presence in Cannanore. The socio-economic changes that happened and still alive in Cannanore can be traced back to the Portuguese period. The development of the port city, establishment of factory and fortress and other institutions, change in the lifestyle of the people due to the influence of trade and its relational activities, economic development of the people in and around of the port town and the hinterlands, increase in the production of spices and other commercial commodities, emerging of the new Christian community as the part of the expansion and existential policy of the Portuguese are the result of the arrival of the Portuguese in Cannanore.

Competition and rivalry with the Dutch and the English, and conflicts with Mappila merchants had adversely affected the Portuguese commercial ventures in Cannanore. Portuguese diplomatic relations with Cannanore and the international rivalries for oriental goods have been studied in their proper perspective. In this chapter my research findings are presented and necessary suggestions for future research have been proposed for the future researchers of Cannanore.
Bibliography has been divided into three parts. The first part first gives the details of the primary sources in manuscript form. The second part provides information about the primary sources which are printed and travel accounts too are discussed here. In the third part a list of modern sources consulted by me is provided.

**Sailors’ Song**

*Valiant Portuguese,*  
*Conquer of the Sea,*  
*The Land is small*  
*For Victory.*

*The winds already know*  
*Your flags unfurled,*  
*With triumphs great*  
*Throughout the world.*  
*They sigh with desire*  
*To take you o’er the Sea-*  
*The land is small*  
*For Victory.*

*The Heavens beckon,*  
*The Ocean too.*  
*Set sail for Fame*  
*Who would honour you;*  
*Behold, you are called*  
*To discover the Sea;*  
*The Land is small*  
*For Victory.*

*Father Antonio de Sousa (1591-1625).*