CHAPTER III
THE PORTUGUESE AND THE URBAN PHENOMENA OF COCHIN

With the advent of the Portuguese, the area in and around the port of Cochin experienced an unprecedented urban process affecting both the native as well as the Portuguese segments of Cochin. This civic phenomena was further accelerated by the intensification of private as well as European trade in this port. However, it was the Portuguese part of Cochin, which was quick to react to this process. Though some elements of city life could be noticed in the Portuguese unit of Cochin as early as 1503, it became an organised urban unit with the establishment of the capital of Estado da India there in 1505. It was a turning point, making the administrative, ecclesiastical and naval-military institutions of the Portuguese Asia concentrate in this town. This coincided with high demographic growth and in 1527, Cochin was officially and juridically raised to the status of a city. The establishment of the Diocese of Cochin and houses as well as educational institutions for the various religious orders like the Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians in this city gave a new dimension to the urban growth. The culture, which grew up within the city-wall of Portuguese Cochin was linked more with the European world than with native Cochin. However, the elements of sophisticated urban life
introduced by the Portuguese in Santa Cruz slowly permeated into the already existing city of native Cochin. This chapter deals with the urban development experienced in Cochin after the advent of the Portuguese.

**A. The Urban Morphology of Cochin**

**I. The Manuel fort: The Initial Phase**

The history of Manual fort is linked with the specific portion of the port area and the land adjacent to it, which Pedro Alvarez Cabral received for the establishment of a Portuguese factory in 1500, from the king of Cochin,¹ who did it so to attract an ally to fight against Calicut and its political as well as economic suzerainty.² This geographical area extending from the mouth of Calvethy canal westward to the sea-shore formed the nucleus of Portuguese settlement. The need for the fortification of this area arose after the war which Calicut fought against Cochin for the expulsion of the Portuguese.³ In this war the Portuguese were routed and the king of Cochin was defeated had to take refuge in the Sanketam of Elankunnappuzha. When he was reinstated by Francisco d'Albuquerque, the first thing the king did was to give permission for the building of a fort for the Portuguese in their settlement and thus to protect them permanently from every possible future attacks. The native ruler not only granted the permission but also undertook the work at his own expense.⁴ The site for the fortification was selected at the spot where Duarte Pacheco had previously built a bulwark. Many natives and the Portuguese including Afonso Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque participated in the
Desenho de Lochins, Que fizeram à Jorge: Em 1504.
construction work. In Cochin, there existed no facilities for making an erection of stone and so a stronghold was constructed of large palisades and palm-trees, filled in with earth in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, mounted with ordnance, pointed towards the sea with a view to protecting the fleet. The responsibility of this fort was entrusted to João Pegas. It was inaugurated on November 1, 1503. After the religious functions officiated by the Dominican priest, Domingos de Sousa, the king of Cochin who came on an elephant with the escort of Nair soldiers, officially gave the name Manuel Fort to it, in honour of king Manuel of Portugal.

The first viceroy, Francisco Almeida who came to Cochin in 1505 with a view to making it the capital of the Estado da India, wanted to strengthen the fortress. Seeing the deficiency of the wooden fort, he tried to erect a stone fort. But as the king of Cochin was against such a move, the viceroy deliberately made the wooden frames to catch fire. Immediately he got the necessary permission from the king of Cochin to build a fire-proof stone fort. The king of Cochin conceded that this fort, which was strengthened with masonry walls as well as bastions and equipped with powerful cannons, to be a property only of the Portuguese. D. Alvaro de Noronha was made the captain of this re-built fort. This fortified part of Cochin was made the seat of the Portuguese Government in India, by Francisco Almeida.

Portuguese Cochin or the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin which evolved around the Manuel Fort continued to be the political capital of the Estado da India until it was transferred in 1530 from Cochin to Goa. Even after the
transfer of the political establishments, Cochin continued to be the commercial headquarters of the Portuguese India. With the addition of many political and ecclesiastical institutions, it became an important urban centre in the east and eventually a significant portion of the newly developed urban parts of Portuguese Cochin was also fortified.¹⁴

2. The Port of Cochin

The port of Cochin was outside the Portuguese city and was located in the territory of the king of Cochin by virtue of which he levied customs duties from the traders of the city of the Santa Cruz of Cochin. The Port, as a knot where ocean and inland transport-lines met and intervened, was situated in the raea between the present Mattancherry and Calvethy. The mouth of Calvethy river was a centre of hectic trade and it was then navigable for ships and Patemares.¹⁶ Though the land-routes were confined to a very limited geographical area - the present Mattancherry area, Fort Cochin and the region south of it - there was a very extensive and diverse network of water-routes, as we have already seen, which linked the port of Cochin with the socio-economic and human environment of the hinterland and with the exchange systems of other Malabar ports as well as of the overseas ports.

The wide river, which carried large volume of water of Periyar (actually it is not a river; but an outlet of the lagoons to the deep-sea), divided Cochin and Vaipin and connected the deep sea and the inland back-waters,¹⁷ served the purpose of a good harbour. This water-passage,
often known as the Cochin river gave good anchorage and safe shelter to the ships and vessels that came thither.\textsuperscript{18}

There were docks and jetties on the water-side off the Portuguese Cochin; but the \textit{casado} traders of Cochin were not allowed to take from their vessels beyond the weighing place of pepper into the free port area.\textsuperscript{19} It seems that this restriction on the free movement of vessels was placed with a view to preventing illegal transactions in the port area. At the same time, there was even a jetty in the city of Portuguese Cochin, constructed in 1590 for facilitating movements in the port which served also as a mini-port for the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{20} Many parts of the water-front which were not fortified were utilised by the \textit{casados} to despatch their vessels. As these outlets were utilised by the private traders to send ships without the permission and notice of Portuguese authorities, the \textit{casados} were, as reported by Conde de Vidigueira in 1599, strongly against the fortification of waterfront of Portuguese Cochin.\textsuperscript{21}

Thus it seems that the entire water-passage that separated Cochin from Vaipin was used as harbour and for the movement of vessels. But the nucleus of the port area was Calvethy where the principal transactions were conducted and the customs duties were levied.

3. Cochin de Cima

Cochin de Cima refers to the Native Cochin which was occupied by the king of Cochin as his seat together with the Pazhayannor temple, the settlement of the local people as well as the merchants with a market of their
own. In Cochin de Cima, a fort was constructed to commemorate the achievements of Duarte Pacheco over Zamorin and it came to be known as Castelo de Cima de Cochin. In 1507, D. Francisco Almeida appointed Luis Alvares with eight men to assist him, as the captain of Castelo de Cima de Cochin. This fort was situated near the "river" and even in 1550 it was well equipped with good artillery and munitions. Next to this fort was the church of Reis Magos, where the people who went for military service were given opportunities for general confession. Many Jews and Cristãos novos or new Christians lived in Cochin de Cima. As a reinforcing unit for the city of Cochin, the fort of native Cochin was always under able leadership. Because of the strategic importance of the fort, located near the royal residence of the native kings, noble and able men like Tristão de Sousa, Manuel Pereira Camelo, Antonio Rebelo were appointed as captains of the Castelo of the native cochin. Inspite of the Portuguese fort, Cochin de cima was predominantly non-European. Various merchant groups controlled the economic activities of this city.

4. The Location of the City of Santa Cruz

The portuguese city of Santa cruz of Cochin lay on a triangular tongue of land, that extended from the mouth of the Calvethy canal westward up to the sea-shore, southwards along the coast for about a mile and a half in length and one mile in breadth. (latitude being 9° 55, N and longitude 76° 15'E). It corresponds to the present day Fort Cochin; Livro das Cidades written in 1582 mentions that this city with the fortress was situated along the banks of the river (outlet of the lagoon into the sea) and was called Cochin de Baixo in
da Pimenta — Bazar — S Agostão — N S da graça
ampo de Iaós — N S da Esperança — S Sebastião — R
coulá — R de seda — Caixeiro — Pelourinho — Rua
adoupe — N S dagoadoupe

do Bispo — Misericordia — Camera — Casa do Bpô
direita — Sé — S Ber meu — Hospital

\textbf{D A}
CIDADE DE COCHIM — S Thome — Hospital dos pobres —

\textbf{D B}
Alcasarias — S D sos — Sapateiros — R de S Domingos
— S Paulo — N S da Piedade — S Lazaro — S. Franço
— S Barbora — N S dos Anjos — N. S da Guia
order to distinguish it from *Cochin de Cima*.

The plans and maps of the city of Cochin of the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth centuries show that a small narrow river called "*rio de estreito*" (which could be identified as Calvethy canal) flowed outside the city-wall in the south-east direction to the outlet of the lagoons and it separated the Portuguese Cochin from the native Cochin, "the locus of the port." As these plans suggest, the space between the two cities was initially lying waste. But Francois Pyrard de Laval noticed in the Seventeenth century continuous houses in the area as in suburbs.

The Cochin de Cima, which housed the very port as well as the Santa Cruz de Cochin developed simultaneously, eventhough the development of the latter was within the spatial boundaries of city-wall. The structure and functions of the port of Cochin determined the urban layout in both these cities. The various mercantile groups like the *Chetties*, *Konkanis*, Jews, Muslims, and St.Thomas Christians occupied particular portions of native Cochin adjacent to the port. Each of the streets on which they congregated was known after the faith or religion of the occupants. Even today this fact is evident in Mattancherry area where Cochin de Cima was situated, though the numerical strength of these communities and castes had undergone much change, thanks to a variety of reasons. Moreover, the degree of the involvement in the exchange systems of the port also determined the proximity of their habitations to the port.

The urban layout in the Portuguese Cochin was quite different. On the eastern tip of the city of Santa Cruz was located the weighing place of pepper, probably because of ist proximity to the port. Adjacent to it, stood
the monastery of St. Augustine. From east to north-west, along the water-side up to the sea-shore were located the important establishments in the city like the church of St. Sebastian, the fortress, the cathedral, the bishop's House, the hospital, and the church of St. Bartholomew. Misericordia and the Municipal Council hall were just behind the cathedral. The municipal jetty, constructed for facilitating the movement of vessels and goods in the port area was located on the side of the outlet of the lagoon into the sea, some hundred and sixty feet to the west of the weighing place of pepper.

The plans of the city suggest that there was on the eastern side over the rio de estreito a bridge connecting the fortified city with the kingdom of Cochin. The bridge as a symbol (it seems that the city gates must have been at the entrance of this bridge) of land route interactions not only provided the way to Cochin de Cima; but also to the outward expansion of the city. Thus, many Portuguese settlers, establishments, including churches of Nossa Senhora de Graça, St. Thomas and the leprosy centre St. Lazaros, grew up in the area outside the city walls.

Meanwhile, the urban process that started in the Portuguese Cochin began to expand northward across the river to Vaipin. The southern tip of Vaipin island which was soon incorporated into the intermediate zone of the urban Portuguese culture had a good number of Portuguese settlers, a church and Bishop's residence. As a result, the fortified city of Santa Cruz of Cochin (the core area) together with the southern tip of Vaipin and the north-western tip of land across rio de estreito" (intermediate zones) developed as a unit of urban environment which was entirely different and distinct from
the one that evolved in native Cochin. But this and separate pattern of urban development was in no way, it seems, completely watertight, but mutually supplementing and enriching because of the political umbrella of the king of Cochin and the interaction link provided by the bridge over the rio de estreito both of which tried incessantly to bring the two Cochins together.

5. The Establishment of the City of Cochin

The town of Santa Cruz of Cochin, the Portuguese settlement in Cochin, was raised to the juridical status of a city by the king of Portugal John III by a royal charter issued on March 12, 1527. It, being the abode of many of the Portuguese citizens and their families, was brought on par with the Portuguese city of Evora and was given all the privileges and rights attached to a city. When it was raised to the status of a city, Portuguese Cochin was given a new and unique status in the structure of the Estado da India and made to be administered not only by a captain alone; but by a council of aldermen elected from among the citizen. Seeing that the city of Cochin was an effective tool that could link the exchange system of Lisbon with that of Cochin port, all the rights and privileges granted to it were confirmed and re-confirmed successively by the later kings and viceroy's. Eventhough, the political establishments of the Estado da India were shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530, the original rights and privileges enjoyed by the city were kept up and confirmed by D. Sebastian, D. Philip and by the later viceroy's, as well. The Portuguese authorities saw to it that the various privileges and rights of the city were sufficiently safeguarded and protected on the
outbreak of any administrative deadlock. In 1551, the viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha asked the captains and other officials to respect the autonomy of the city of Cochin and not to encroach upon its privileges.43

6. Population

As urbanization refers to the process of an increasing concentration of people in cities, the demographic characteristics have to be analysed in order to understand the nature of the growth of the city of Cochin. Lazarus Nçrnberger who visited Cochin in 1517 wrote that in this city there were about 300 Portuguese houses.44 Besides this, there were many native Christians in the city. Thus, as mentioned by Pe.Sebastião Pires, the vicar of the church at Cochin, there were about 10,000 to 12,000 Christians in Cochin(probably including the vicinity of Cochin)in 1518.45 The presence of non-Christian elements was also equally considerable. As early as 1510, there were about 3000 Nairs in the city as daily wage workers in the service of the Portuguese. The movement of commodities and other works connected with the trade gave more employment opportunities to the local people which led to demographic increase.46

In 1525, there were 2220 men in Cochin in the military service.47 But it seems that the number of the soldiers always fluctuated. On 12th July 1527, Luis Martins from Portalegre wrote that there were only 1000 men in Cochin and the number of married people was only 160.48 Later with the flow of people from the mother country, the number of married people living in Cochin increased considerably. By 1542, there were altogether 15,000
Christians in Cochin (area) of whom more than 300 were casados, married and settled down in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin. By 1546, there 570 Portuguese residents in Cochin out of which 343 were married settlers. The number of the married Portuguese settlers rose to 500 by 1551. Large increase in the number of orphans and church institutions in the city indirectly hints that Cochin experienced a very high demographic growth during the period under survey. Thus, we read in 1584 that the Christians in Cochin numbered 15,000 of whom 10,000 were natives and the remaining 5,000 Portuguese. According to the report sent by the bishop of Cochin in 1598, there were besides children, 19,495 Christians who went to confession and communion in the city of Cochin. This shows that Cochin was densely populated. But the population of the city began to decrease considerably after 1611, when a good number of the casados shifted their base of activities from Cochin to Coromandel ports and elsewhere, because of the tensions in the hinterland and the consequent decrease in the flow of commodities from hinterland to the port of Cochin. The population of the city was reduced to one-third by the end of the second decade of seventeenth century. By 1630's, the number of casados in Cochin was about five hundred: three hundred whites and the rest natives (The refernce to native casados might include the mestiços or the married people of the mixed race). But the number of the soldados or the unmarried and the people of the other religious groups seem to have been much higher. At the time of Dutch conquest it was estimated that there were nine hundred old houses in the Portuguese quarter, though only 173 were actually inhabited. After the ousting of the Portuguese from the city, the size of the population was 8000
including 4000 *toepassen*.\(^58\) It corresponds almost to the information given in the Jesuit letters which say that after the Dutch conquest, there were five Franciscans and more than 10,000 catholics in the city of Cochin.\(^59\) Thus, there is every reason to believe that the urban population fluctuated, in its heyday, between 10,000 to 15,000 though the white element was considerably less. The city of Santa Cruz of Cochin was not an exclusively white settlement. The urban population included non-European elements like the Muslims, Hindus and native christians including St. Thomas Christians. There were about 200 married native Christians inside the city.\(^60\) Traders from Canara and Muslim merchants had shops in the city and formed component units of urban population.\(^61\) There were many other European traders and trade-agents in the city like the Italians and the Germans. The German presence in Cochin, who came to this city as soldiers and traders, was so great as to form a separate church for them.\(^62\)

**B. The Administrative Structure of the City**

As M.N. Pearson observed, there were four areas of authority during the Portuguese period: in financial matters, the *vedor* (later *conselho da Fazenda*); in religious matters the clerics; in legal matters, the High Court; and in local government the Municipal council. The Governor exercised appreciable control only over the first and assisted by the council of State, also had control over military matters and external relations.\(^63\) Above all, the city administration was entrusted to a popular body called *Senado da Camara* or Municipal council.\(^64\) From 1527 on, the administration of the city of Santa
Cruz of Cochin looked after by a Municipal council which permeated into every sphere of urban activities.

1. The Organisation and Structure of the Municipal System in Cochin

The Municipal authority was invested in two kinds of office-holders: 1. Those having voting rights 2. Those who had no voting rights. The first group comprised three or four vereadores (councillors or aldermen), two juizes ordinarios (justice of the peace or magistrates), the procurador (Municipal Attorney) and four mestres (the representatives of the working class guilds). These were collectively called the officials of the Municipality and they had voting rights in council meetings. The escrivão (clerk or secretary) though was not given voting rights, was often included in the officials of the Municipality. There were occasions when this term was loosely used to include subordinate Municipal officials like almotacels (market-inspectors) and the tesoureiro (treasurer). To the category of Municipal functionaries who did not have voting rights belonged the juiz dos orfãos (judge in charge of orphans and widows), the alferes (standard bearer), the porteiro (the door-keeper), the contador (accountant) and the veador das obras (foreman of works).

The municipal council was an elected body whose membership was exclusively restricted to married Portuguese male citizens. Not only casados but also resident fidalgos (noblemen) could vote for and sit in the Municipal council. The officials of the Municipal council were elected through a system of annual balloting from voter's lists which were drawn up every
three years in accordance with the procedure laid down in 1504. The council represented only the Portuguese settlers of the city. But in Cochin, there were occasions, when strangers and people with little known backgrounds took part in the elections. So, in 1616, D. Jeronimo d'Azevedo, the viceroy decreed that only virtuous people who were the inhabitants of Cochin and properly known in the city (to which people from the neighbourhood also could be added) should be included in the voters list.

The Municipal system in Cochin functioned in subordination to the king of Portugal, viceroy or governor and permission was sought from them on serious and important issues. Thus, the appointments to the posts like Meirinho dos Almotaseis, supervisor for ship-building, officer in charge of the mint, inspector for the cleanliness of the city, and writer for the judges were done by the council with the approval from these higher administrative heads. The king of Portugal D. Sebastian, on account of his great concern for the city of Cochin permitted in 1571 to construct a Municipal house for its meetings and for co-ordinating its administrative activities.

The captain of Cochin, who was the most important officer in the fortress, was dissuaded by the viceroy in 1551 and 1585 from interfering in the activities of the Municipality. This was to safeguard the autonomy enjoyed by the Municipal body. The viceroy and the kings of Portugal always made it a point that the institutional and administrative autonomy of the Municipal council and the sanctity of its various privileges were well preserved and respected. Thus, in 1569 the viceroy D. Luis de Ataide asked
the captain-in-chief who arrived at Cochin not to upset the administrative set-up of Cochin by creating confusion to the soldiers and the residents.\textsuperscript{72}

Most of the functions of the Municipal council were related to public welfare activities. It laid out a road to the mandovi (mandapam or square from where food-materials were supplied) of food-materials with necessary permission from the viceroy, D.Duarte de Meneses.\textsuperscript{73} It had even taken up the responsibility of distributing rice through retail shops. Since rice was very scarce in this area, about 40,000 \textit{candis} of rice was brought every year from outside to Cochin. But, very often this was hoarded in the houses and stores of captains and influential persons of the city so that they could sell it at a higher place elsewhere.\textsuperscript{74} Hence the king of Portugal, D.Philip decreed in 1593 that rice should be sold only under the supervision of the Municipality of Cochin and for this fifteen retail shops were instituted.\textsuperscript{75}

The Municipality had to look into the cleanliness and tidiness of the city of Cochin\textsuperscript{76} and the problems of orphans.\textsuperscript{77} Even ship-building came under the preview of Municipality. The Municipal council elected a person to look after the construction of ships and another person for the collection of one per cent duty at the port of Cochin from every trader for the purpose of ship-building and maintaining the city clean and tidy.\textsuperscript{78}

The officials of the Municipality enjoyed several privileges including judicial immunities and received regular salaries.\textsuperscript{79} But if they did not perform or abstained from exercising the civic responsibilities, they were deprived of these privileges.\textsuperscript{80}
The income of the Municipality came mainly from the rents of the Municipal property including houses which were leased as shops and from the taxes it levied on variety of food stuffs and from fines. In order to tide over financial difficulties, one pardao each was collected from the Muslims and the people from Canara who put up shops in Cochin. In 1572, the viceroy assigned a portion of the revenue coming from the Department of Justice (which it collected by way of fines and other pecuniary punishments) for the general expenditure of the city of Cochin. There were occasions, when the Municipality decided to dispose of land in the city in order to raise funds. At times, the royal benevolence came to its rescue and in 1546 the king of Portugal sanctioned necessary funds for the activities of this city.

Thus, we find that the Municipal system that developed in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin was an autonomous, self-governing and to a great extent, self-financing body.

2. The Captain of Cochin

The function of the captain of Cochin, as the chief Portuguese official in the city, supplemented and complemented the activities of the Municipal council. The captain as the official representative of the various interests of Estado da India, was in charge of trade, diplomacy, maintenance of law and order, defence as well as war and peace. He lived in the fortress which was located on the border of the river of Cochin or the outlet of the lagoon into the sea.
The captains were assisted in the discharge of their duties by a number of functionaries like factor, beadle, scribes of the factory, store-keeper, treasurers, superintendent of the provisions, supervisor of the weighing place, judge, peons, constables, purveyors of the deceased, master of the dockyard, master of caulkers, master of coins, interpreters, guards of the ships and the river. They were all paid directly from the Portuguese treasury. 

There was clear-cut division between the administrative spheres of the captain of the city and the Municipal council. The responsibility of the local government was given to the Municipal council and the captains were asked to respect the autonomy and independent functioning of the Senado da Cámara. 

C. The Economic Activities in the City

The most vibrant economic activities of the city were related to trade and urban life. The key productive activities in the secondary sector were ship-building, minting of coins and building of houses.

1. Ship-building

As the Portuguese did not have sufficient ships for the carreira da India, vessels both for battles and long voyages in the east were constructed in Cochin. Large quantity of teak, angelins and other strong wood were floated down from the interior hinterland to Cochin for this purpose. The base for the shipyard of Cochin was laid when Duarte Pacheco, who in course of the preparation of war against the Zamorin of Calicut, sent the caravela of
João Serrão for repair and ordered the construction of small vessels for the naval encounter. Later in 1506, for the construction of a ship in Cochin, the mast of São Gabriel (the ship that had accompanied Vasco da Gama in his first voyage), was made use of. The shipyard of Cochin constructed the necessary vessels for the conquest of Goa and Diu.

The ship called "Saint Catherine of the Mount Sinai", which was constructed in Cochin during the period between 1511 and 1513 was said to have been with the capacity of eighty tonnes. Later, after having served its purpose in India it was sent to Portugal to Dona Beatriz, the daughter of king Manuel I. Meanwhile private Portuguese citizens also began to build vessels for their personal use. Thus, in 1509, Jorge Barreto the captain of Cochin took timber to Cochin for building a ship for his personal use.

Gaspar Correia makes mention of a ship that was built in Cochin and used in the maritime battle against the Sultan of Aden in 1516. Some of the vessels built in this city were sold to the indigenous merchants, as well. Manuel Godinho refers to the ships that had been built in Cochin and sold to the merchants of Surat. As Indian teak was preferable to European pine or oak, ship-building in the city received a momentum. One particular advantage of Cochin was that the local ruler helped the Portuguese to get the necessary timber. One of the important ships built in Cochin was "Santa Cruz" completed in 1527 and fully equipped with pieces of artillery. In 1545, João de Sepulveda took it to Lisbon as the principal vessel of the armada.
Meanwhile, with the increase of private trade, more individuals began to build ships in Cochin for their commercial use. As a result, from 1523 onwards, we hear that the wood for ship-building was becoming scarce in Cochin.\textsuperscript{102} The availability of timber for the construction of official vessels still fell in Cochin with the increasing number of concessions granted to private individuals in 1540's for ship-building and conducting voyages.\textsuperscript{103} The situation that arose during this phase of private trade was that most of the timber that came to Cochin from the hinterland was reserved and used for manufacturing vessels for the private individuals. Some of the timber was also taken to other ports for the same purpose. In 1558, when the scarcity of construction materials was acutely felt, the viceroy forbade the export of timber to any ports other than Cochin.\textsuperscript{104}

In view of the order of the viceroy issued in 1572, the "one per cent" duty levied from the port of Cochin was set apart for ship-building. Next year, the viceroy asked the Municipality to elect two officials: one for supervising the construction of ships and the other for collecting "one per cent" duties from the port for the sake of ship-building activities.\textsuperscript{105} For realising this amount, the latter official was empowered in 1573 to raise a fleet and to go out at night to find out the vessels that bypassed Cochin.\textsuperscript{106} The Municipality and the \textit{Estado da India} gave great importance to the ship-building activities as it was intimately related to trade, the basic economic activity of Cochin.

Mathias de Albuquerque, the viceroy reported to the king of Portugal that Cochin was a very suitable centre for building ships for the kingdom. In
1596 the king Philip ordered that at least two large vessels must be built in the city every year. The wish of the crown was again repeated in 1602 and Aires de Saldanha, the viceroy was asked to do the needful to encourage the ship-building activities of Cochin.

Meanwhile, with the decrease of Portuguese population and with the diminishing manufacture of Ships in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin, a process which began after the second decade of seventeenth century, the ship-building activities in native Cochin got much importance. In 1630, we find the Portuguese authorities trying to make contract with the king of Cochin for the construction of big vessels including galeons which could carry 60 pieces of artillery. Though timber was scarce in Cochin, the rich hinterland with abundant presence of teak and angelins, made available in the ship-building centres the timber at a rather reasonable price. Moreover, the Portuguese got lot of expertise and technical co-operation from the local people. Indian co-operation was essential and decisive at all stages, since although the master-shipwrights were Portuguese, the ordinary shipwrights, carpenters, and dockyard workers were nearly all Indians.

2. Minting of Coins

With the development of trade and commerce in Cochin, there was great demand for coins. So the Portuguese established a mint in this city in 1530 to issue coins. In 1532, the official in charge of the mint in Cochin was Fernando de Silva. Eventually copper coins, called bazarcus, were also issued from Cochin. It was in 1544 that the governor Martim Afonso de
Sousa ordered to mint copper coins or *bazarcus* in the city of Santa Cruz.\textsuperscript{113} The copper imported from Europe supplied the metal required for this minting. The process of minting could be carried out only by persons who had experience and knowledge about the details of the precious metals. Taking this fact into account, the king John III sent to Cochin João Gomes as the master of the coins in 1552.\textsuperscript{114}

In 1568, the viceroy Luiz de Ataide appointed Diogo Rodrigues Cavaco to be in charge of minting gold and silver coins (*xerafins*) in the city.\textsuperscript{115} Often, the Municipal council of Cochin elected the competent persons to mint coins in the city. Thus, in 1577, the Municipal council was permitted by the governor Antonio Munis Barreto to elect a competent person to issue coins called *bazarcus*.\textsuperscript{116}

The coins made in Cochin in the early part of the sixteenth century rarely had any special mark of the mint and so it is difficult to differentiate the existing species. But it is believed that they were marked with the cross of the order of Christ, predominant motif on the contemporary coinage of Portugal.\textsuperscript{117} During the time of the viceroy D.Luiz de Ataide improvement was made with the help of Diogo Rodrigues Cavaco in the quality of the coins by using gold and silver coins.\textsuperscript{118} We have a few details of coins from Cochin as shown below:
### The coins of Cochin in 1554

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of the Coins</th>
<th>Value of the coins in reais in 1554</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1554</td>
<td>Pardau de Ouro</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Xerafins</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fanão (in the factory)</td>
<td>21 2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cruzado de Ouro</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cruzado de Ouro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(During the governorship of Martim Afonso de Sousa)</td>
<td>426</td>
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We do not know whether the other coins that were in circulation in Cochin were minted in the city. The wide circulation of coins and money accelerated trade and monetisation of economy.

### 3. House Building

With the fast development of the city, house building thrived in Cochin. Large quantity of timber was carried down to the city from the hinterlands for this purpose. In Cochin, a good number of carpenters were engaged in the various activities of house building. There was a master carpenter to inspect the work. The masonry work was carried out under the guidance of a master-mason. Most of these houses were built with varandas on bungalow models.
Many auxiliary activities connected with trade and ship building received momentum in Cochin. The manufacture of sacks, ropes etc also flourished in the city. Cochin had even a gun-manufacturing factory which employed expert cannon-makers. The two Italian founders who deserted and joined Calicut in the first decade of the sixteenth century had been previously associated with this centre. Thus, the important productive activities that developed in Cochin in the secondary sector were subservient to and oriented towards its military and commercial interests.

D. The Social Life

With the growth of the city and its population, the social life in Cochin became complex. A new social milieu appeared in the city as a result of the mixed marriage and the mingling of Iberian and Indian elements, initiated by Afonso Albuquerque.

The policy of mixed marriage was encouraged by the Portuguese authority on two reasons: On the one hand because of the hazards and long duration of the voyages only very few women came to India. On the other hand, as the supply of men from Portugal could not always be depended upon, it was decided by the Portuguese leadership headed by Albuquerque to bring into existence a body of Eurasians to whom could be entrusted the defence of the Estado da India. Afonso Albuquerque made his Portuguese men to marry Indian woman. Horses, land and houses were allotted to them to encourage this mingling. In the letter of Antonio Real written to the king of Portugal, reference is made to the marriage of Portuguese men with
the native captive women. But Afonso Albuquerque wished the marriage of the Portuguese to be limited to women of Aryan origin. He stressed that he did not want his men to marry the dark-skinned women of Malabar. In the city of Cochin, the majority of women whom the Portuguese married seems to have been converts from Muslims. The Muslim links, thus acquired through marriage, helped some Portuguese citizens to develop an easy network of private trade, as we shall see later. The number of Christians swelled in Cochin as a result of these inter-marriages and they formed a class by themselves and were called Topaz. The policy of inter-marriage brought out not only a new element called Eurasian community in the urban society of Cochin, but also helped the Portuguese to penetrate into the indigenous world through the links of their native wives.

The policy of conversion followed by the Portuguese effected an upward mobility in the social ladder and structure of the urban society. The low caste people by their conversion to Christianity, the religion of the ruling class, seemed to enjoy high social status. Even higher officials of the native rulers also embraced Christianity during the initial period. The most notable among them was the Are1 of Cochin (the Araya and the chief port officer of the king of Cochin) got converted to Christianity with 1000 members of his clan and took the name of Antony Real in 1510. Most of the newly converted were women and merchants. Some members of the relatively higher castes like Panikkars and nairs also turned out to be Christians. Conversion was presented as a condition for the native women to get married to Portuguese men. In order to curb prostitution and promiscous
life, the Portuguese tried to restrict the relation of their men with only those women who were converts. Many women, as result, sought baptism so as to be able to marry Portuguese soldiers. In 1514, in the city of Cochin, about one hundred women including those from Muslims, nair, Canarese, Gujaratis and Brahmin origin got converted to Christianity.

1. Social Stratification

Though the Portuguese society in Cochin was caste-free, the differentiation on the basis of blood, profession and religion made it stratified. In the ladder of the urban society of Cochin, the clergy seems to have taken the topmost position. There was some kind of gradation among them; 1. The higher clergy or the religious groups which was exclusively European and denied admission to Indian as well as Eurasian candidates. 2. The lower clergy or the secular priests. Down below them came the nobles. Among them as the Italian Jesuit Pe. Alexander Valignano testifies, the European born Portuguese (reinoes) were better placed than those born in India of Portuguese parents (casticos or indiaticos). Though those born of Portuguese and Indian parents (mesticos) could also be nobles, they held the last position. The third estate or common people were again divided into casados and soldados. The casados were those men who married after having reached India and who were allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders. The soldados were soldiers or those unmarried group who were liable for military service until they died, married, deserted or were incapacitated by wounds or diseases. The
ownership of wealth was again used as a criterion to stratify the position of the casados.

The rank of the common people in this ladder differed on the basis of profession, as well. The new converts to Christianity were ranked after the *mesticos*. The last stratum of the society was occupied by the non-Christians among whom the lower castes were put in the last position. It seems that this stratification of the urban society was mapped on to the settlement pattern and that the social status determined the intra-city location. A careful and detailed study of the plan of Cochin attests and reinforces Gideon Sjoberg's view on the pre-industrial city, as an urban centre where the central area is occupied by the elite while the disadvantaged members of the city ran out toward the periphery (the south-west tip of Vaipin island and the north-western track of land lying across the *rio de estreito*) and the poorest as well as the outcastes in the suburbs.\textsuperscript{140}

### 2. Education

The first school in Cochin was started in 1510 by Afonso Albuquerque. He employed a teacher to instruct the children in 1512. There were about 100 youngmen including the children of the Panikkars and nobles.\textsuperscript{141} The first teachers were selected from the married Portuguese men residing in Cochin. In 1512 Afonso Alvarez was made the teacher for sixteen native students and arrangements were made for the provision of one *fardo* (sack) of rice for every eight day for them.\textsuperscript{142} In 1514, the new teacher Ruy Pereira received thirty three cruzados and four *fanões* for three months for
imparting education to 29 students. Thus, there was an increase of thirteen students within two years.

The educational policy of Afonso Albuquerque suffered a setback during the time of his immediate successor Lopo Soares de Albergaria. In 1518, Friar Antonius de Loureiro wrote to the king of Portugal, "in the city of Cochin, there used to be a school where the children were taught. At present there is none. May your Highness provide for one as it is a service to God" The request of the religiousmen was accepted and in 1521 the new governor D.Duarte de Meneses re-established the old educational structure. In November 1521 for the education of the youngsters and orphans, about 200 primers (cartilhas), five biography of saints and four prayer books were sent from Cochin to Goa.

The Franciscans started a Seminary or a centre of higher learning for the candidates to priesthood in Cochin. This seminary, though its actual date of foundation is unknown, was in existence in 1527 as evidenced from the letter of Friar Gonçalo de Lamego. There were only 5 clerics in that year. The Mestiços or the sons of the Portuguese men from Indian women were admitted to the seminary for the first time in 1530. The Franciscan superiors of Portugal objected to their admission; but this practice continued. As the number of the candidates increased a new Friary-cum-seminary which could accommodate 50 to 60 members was erected in 1580 with the money raised from sources other than padroado. In the seminary of St. Antony of Cochin, the Portuguese professors gave courses on arts and philosophy. In 1585,
Frei Antonio do Rosario was the professor of Philosophy. Later in the Seventeenth century, much importance was given to the improvement of the seminary education with a view to having better priests.

St. Francis Xavier came to Cochin in 1543 and again in 1544 and 1545 he visited the city. The citizens together with the vicar of Cochin, Pedro Gonçalves requested him to start a college in the city for the education of their children. Balthasar Gago, a member of the Jesuit order, was sent as superior for this purpose. In the beginning, the students were taught to read and write and were given lessons in Latin language. It seems that the higher levels of learning were incorporated into the Jesuit educational system of Cochin with the advent of professor Francisco in 1548. The Madre de Deus church of Cochin that originally belonged to the sodality was given to the Jesuits for setting up the college in 1550. Though the sodality members protested against this move and got back the church in 1552, it was finally to be given to the Jesuits for the running of the college in 1557 thanks to the intervention of king John III. This college later came to be called Madre de Deus college and it had 300 students (it seems that either all or most of them were Seminarians) in 1558. As distinct from modern college, it was a residential institution. This college was a three storeyed building and had 23 spacious apartments. It was situated on the south-west of the present Bishop’s house, facing the sea-shore. Madre de Deus eventually became the main seminary and head of all the colleges and houses in the Malabar province of Jesuit order or south India. Arts, Humanities and Theology were taught to the aspirants for priesthood.
As a new method of teaching, in this college of Madre de Deus theatrical presentations were being staged. Padre Amador Correia and Padre Francisco Lopes took the lead in presenting theatrical pieces in Cochin.\textsuperscript{157} The short plays like the "Auto de Santo Aleixo" (written by Padre Sebastian Pires) and "Auto da Muita Dolorosa Morte e Paixão de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo" (written by Padre Francisco Vaz) were staged by the Jesuits under the auspice of the Madre de Deus.\textsuperscript{158}

3. Misericordia (House of Mercy)

The Misericordia founded in Portugal in 1498 was to assist the old, the disabled, the sick and the weaker sections among those involved in the overseas expansion.\textsuperscript{159} The first Misericordia in India appeared in Cochin in 1527, two years before erecting one in Goa.\textsuperscript{160} The Misericordias were established in centres where there were hospitals and they began to render help to hospital services and the poor.\textsuperscript{161} In a letter written in 1527 from Cochin, the member of the House of Mercy refers to the various functions of Misericordia, such as absolution of the dying, help to the orphans, the sick and the poor.\textsuperscript{162} The members of the Misericordia made regular visits to the sick in hospital and the poor in prisons bestowing love and care on them. They used to give rather honorable burial to the poor deceased, dowries to the poor young ladies, alms to the poor, supported the destitute and the abandoned children.\textsuperscript{163} The Misericordia of Cochin received in 1554 thirty pardaus per month for the marriage of orphans.\textsuperscript{164} In 1574 as per the budget of the Estado da India, an amount of 9000 reis per month was set apart to
*Misericordia* for the help of poor.¹⁶⁵ It shows that after a period of twenty nine years, the priority was shifted from the marriage of the orphans to the financial help of the poor. By the end of sixteenth century, this amount increased to 120,000 reis.¹⁶⁶

The *Misericordia* in Cochin also undertook the responsibility of contacting the relatives in Portugal where the dead one originally had come from. Thus, the House of Mercy of Cochin contacted the *Misericordia* of Porto to find out the mother (living in Travassos) of one Antonio Jorge who died in Cochin and handed over ten or eleven thousand *reals* to her.¹⁶⁷ If it did not find out the legitimate heir, the money was reverted to its favour and used for the maintenance of the orphans and the poor.¹⁶⁸

In 1612, the *Misericordia* of Cochin obtained many privileges from D.Philip II (of Portugal).¹⁶⁹ With the royal privileges and with the accumulation of the bequests and legacies of the individuals, it eventually became an institution with much economic significance. It seems that the *Misericordia* of Cochin received government money for safe deposits and advanced loans to the *Estado da India* in times of necessity. Thus, the contribution of one per cent made by the Municipality of Cochin for relieving the burden of the Portuguese government was kept in the casa da *Santa Misericordia* of the city in 1572.¹⁷⁰ In 1605, when Martin Afonso de Castro's armada was sent to defend Malacca, the *casa da Misericordia* of Cochin was asked for a loan well in excess of the already taken amount of 19,000 *xeralfins*.¹⁷¹ The bishop of Cochin pledged, in the *Misericordia* of
this city, the silver vessels of church in order to defend it from the European invador\textsuperscript{172}; but they were later restored to the diocese, because of the firm stand taken by the citizens of Cochin.\textsuperscript{173}

4. Hospital and Medical Assistances

In the early days of Portugese settlement, medical facilities were provided to them by the king of Cochin. The native physicians healed the wounded soldiers (involved in the war with Calicut), with hot coconut oil and lime juice.\textsuperscript{174} The first hospital in Cochin was founded by D.Francisco de Almeida on January 21, 1505.\textsuperscript{175} As verified by \textit{Ensaio de Iconografia das cidades do ultramar}, the hospital, erected on the rectangular shape, was parallel to the "rio" (the outlet to the sea). In later years, there appeared another medical centre called the "hospital of the poor" and it was situated a bit away from the fortress; but amidst the settlement of the ordinary folk.\textsuperscript{176} From as early as 1512, various types of remedies and medicines were available in the pharmacy of Cochin.\textsuperscript{177}

Right from the very beginning, the hospital of Cochin was provided with surgeon, physician and health worker.\textsuperscript{178} The surgeons were, atleast in some rare cases, appointed by the king of Portugal. Thus, the \textit{Chancelaria} of D.John III shows that Manuel Duarte who was working as surgeon in Cochin for three years,\textsuperscript{179} and Simão da Rosa who was sent to Cochin for a period of four years,\textsuperscript{180} were appointed by royal orders.

The administration of the hospital service was entrusted to \textit{provedores}. The factors or the \textit{almoxarifes} gave them the necessary equipments and
medicines. In 1512, the *provider* (purveyor) of hospital of Cochin received from the *almoxarife* Alvaro Lopes, the wine required for the sick. The hospital was provided with bed and other necessary items. It seems that the diet administered to the sick was good. It included bread, chicken, eggs, lentils, olive oil, wine etc.

For the maintenance of the hospital of Cochin, Afonso Albuquerque gave twenty two *cruzados*. Later, 180 *paras* of wheat and one *fardo* of sugar were given by the *almoxarife* to the *provedores* of hospital. There were cases when the penalties and the money paid to the *Justiça* in criminal and civil cases were offered for the running of the hospitals. In the letter sent to Pedro Vaz, the captain of Cochin, D.John III asked him to hand over the money received by way of penalties and fines for the purpose of hospital services. Later, for the better administration of the hospital, it was entrusted to the *Misericordia* in 1541-42. But the hospital was running in a poor condition and the transfer of administration to the *Misericordia* did not improve the situation. In 1548, St.Francis Xavier writes about the dilapidated condition of the hospital. But the crown had deep concern for this medical institution. In 1554, the hospital of Cochin was given 300,000 *reals* for its administration. This seems to have been utilised for the routine activities of the hospital. But no concrete steps were taken to protect the building and the hospital of Cochin had to be closed down in 1564. However, it was only a transient phase in its history. The Jesuits, with the help of the wife of captain of Cochin, built a new edifice with a *varanda*. The House of *Misericordia* was located next to the hospital giving help to
the sick and the infirm.  

According to Figueiredo Falcão, an amount of 600,000 *reals* was set apart for the hospital of Cochin, by the end of sixteenth century. But eventually the financial help given to this hospital began to decrease considerably. By 1630's it was reduced to fifty per cent. Antonio Bocarro mentions it to be only 300,000 *reals*.

Leprosy had been a common sickness in Cochin, as was observed by Ralph Fitch. The Portuguese built a leprosy asylum called *Lazaretto* which was outside the walls of the city.

5. Prison

Prison was another institution to which the helping hands of the *Misericordia* were extended. The prison of Cochin was situated on the side of the "*rio*" (outlet of the lagoon into the sea) and was modelled on the prison of Lisbon. There were persons who had been in this prison for five or six years. According to Pyrard de Laval, the prison of Cochin had two divisions: the upper part was occupied by the sick and those who were put in the irons. Usually the upper prison was set apart for those who would give money to the jailer. The lower level was occupied by ordinary Portuguese, Indians, Christians, Muhammedans and all other non-Christian groups. The prison of Cochin as seen by Pyrard de Laval in 1608 was a filthy and overcrowded one. The conveniences were minimum and the prisoners had to perform all their natural needs one after another in vessels which being kept there till their removal in the evening, made the
atmosphere infectious. Everybody had to lie side ways because of lack of space in the overcrowded prison. However, some slaves and paupers were employed to refresh the prisoners with a large fan. Every Portuguese was given a demy tangua while others were given, once a day, some cooked rice, fish and water. There was an elderly person among the prisoners who commanded the obedience of the rest and acted as a kind of judge over them. This judge received a fee from everyone admitted to prison and half of it went to the jailer. It was his duty to maintain the lamp before the image of blessed virgin Mary and to make arrangements for sunday Masses. 

Pyrard de Laval while describing the prison of Cochin further writes: "It (prison of Cochin) is built in the form of a large and lofty square tower, and high above, in the middle of the floor, is a square hole, like a very trap or the hatches of a ship, which is closed and locked; there they let down the prisoners in a scale or wooden table, which they lower with a rope and draw up again by a pully. It is six or seven fathoms in depth, like a well, and below there is no door, but only a large square window in the wall of an arm and a half's length in thickness to admit some light. This hole or window is trellised with thick, square cut bars of iron through which you can pass a two-pound loaf of bread and through which the gaoler does pass whatever he gives to the prisoners. This prison is verily the most frightful and cruel one that exists in the world." 

Later in 1610, because of the overcrowding of the prison, Viceroy D.Lourenço de Tavora permitted the Municipality of Cochin to build another prison. Moreover, for its construction, the city of Cochin was asked
to raise the necessary funds.

6. Prostitution

The institution of prostitution emerged as a necessary evil of the social structure of Portuguese India. As the Portuguese came to India unaccompanied by their women, illegitimate relations with the native women became common.

A good number of women of Cochin exploited this situation to reap profits. Gradually prostitution became legalized. Viceroy D.Francisco de Almeida by an order of 1506 decreed that the women whom the Portuguese kept as concubines should be set free and that those women who wanted to stay on with the Portuguese were to live in the house of a newly converted lady by name Beatriz. The Portuguese were not allowed to keep private mistresses at home and they had to come to this house of prostitution for their sexual needs. The rate was fixed at three caixas (Kashu) each.

Several mothers made a profitable business by selling their virgin daughters into prostitution. D.Almeida, under threat of severe punishment forbade it and he even ordered priests to convert attractive women with a view to eradicating promiscuity. The result was that the women converts multiplied rapidly. Afonso de Albuquerque made strict rules in selecting and maintaining prostitutes in consideration of health of his men. Though the prostitutes were converted to Christianity, their relatives still lived as Hindus and Muslims. These non-Christian relatives visited and co-habited
with these prostitutes frequently and many problems affecting the faith and health of the Portuguese cropped up.\textsuperscript{202} Hence the viceroy ordered strict separation between the Christian population and the non-Christian groups.\textsuperscript{203} It is here to be specially noted that the institution of prostitution with the diverse problems connected with the health and faith of the Portuguese played a rather important role, at least in the initial phase, in separating Portuguese Cochin as a separate urban entity from native Cochin.

Even in the later days, prostitution thrived in Cochin mainly due to the presence of large number of unmarried men in the city. Even the married Portuguese also were said to have drifted, some times, into immoral life. The viceroy, D.Afonso de Noronha ordered in 1551 that the unmarried women of native Cochin should be prevented from coming over to the married men of Portuguese Cochin.\textsuperscript{204} Similarly in 1556, the governor, Francisco Barreto issued an order to the officials of the Municipality of Cochin to drive away all those, including the married Portuguese settlers, who were leading immoral life.\textsuperscript{205}

\textbf{E. The Ecclesiastical Institutions}

The city life in Cochin was greatly influenced by the various church institutions. The Portuguese were given by the papal bulls the sole right to sail the sea, conquer the new lands that had been discovered or would be discovered on the condition that in these places they would build churches, monasteries and other religious establishments and would send missionaries.\textsuperscript{206}
The religious and ecclesiastical matters in these territories occupied by the Portuguese came to be administered by a new system of royal patronage called *Padroado*. The king of Portugal, being the perpetual administrator of the Order of Christ, enjoyed patronage over the dioceses, religious orders and held right of presenting prelates and other persons to vacant monasteries of all orders.\(^{207}\) In the initial phase, this royal power was limited to sending chaplain for the *armadas*.\(^ {208}\)

The first ecclesiastical institution in the Portuguese settlement of Cochin was an oratory, the place of which was later in 1503 taken over by the church of St. Bartholomew (used by the German soldiers). It was located near the old wooden fortress.\(^{209}\) Afonso Albuquerque, in 1509, collected money from the noble men for the construction works of the new church in the city.\(^{210}\) It seems that this money was not properly utilized. So he himself complained in October 1514 to the king of Portugal that on coming to Cochin, after two years of his absence from the city, he found that nothing was done. "There was neither stone nor money".\(^{211}\) But some months later, the construction work was resumed. In December 1514, Frei Domingos wrote to D. Manuel that the new church would be the principal church in the city which, when completed, would have three naves with crosses, three *capelas* with arches and a bell-tower.\(^{212}\)

1. **The Order of St. Francis**

The first Franciscan group came to Cochin in 1500 along with the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral. Four of them remained in Cochin while the
superior of the group, Frei Henrique Alvares de Coimbra went back to Lisbon. During the time of Afonso Albuquerque, the Franciscan activities did not get much encouragement and there were less members of this order in Cochin. In 1517, the situation changed and 13 Franciscans came to India to start houses in Cochin and Goa. The superior who accompanied this group came to be called *comissario*, a designation which was in use till 1542. The franciscan monasteries in India formed a comissary under the province of Portugal.

The Franciscans started the construction of St. Antony's Friary and St. Francis Assisi church in 1518 which were completed in 1522. This new church was almost entirely of wood. The monastery of the Friary was a storeyed building with the dormitory below. There were 14 cells with the windows facing the sea. The Friary had a school and a seminary attached to it. The king of Portugal used to send necessary books for the library of the Franciscan seminary. Among the Franciscans of Cochin, Frei Lourenço de Gois (who became superior in 1536) was significantly famous because of his association with the mint of Cochin and his efforts to convert the king of Tanore. In 1583, Frei Andre de Santa Maria was elected as custodian. He came to Cochin and called the chapter in 1584 with a view to electing the superior and the councillors. It was mainly because of the efforts of the Franciscans that the veneration of St. Antony assumed greater importance in Kerala. The fisherfolk of Cochin began to offer coconuts, candles and oil to the images of the saint.
The maintenance of the franciscan Friary was done by the crown and with the private contributions and gifts which it received from the believers.\textsuperscript{220} The restoration works of the monastery-building of the Franciscans were carried out in 1580 with the royal support. Moreover the community used to receive wine and oil from Portugal for its sustenance.\textsuperscript{221} By 1630's there were twenty Friars in the monastery of St. Francis and they received an amount of 50 \textit{xerafins} for their maintenance.\textsuperscript{222}

The Friary-cum-seminary in Cochin gathered greater significance in the further development of the Franciscan mission. In 1633 this house became the head of a custody or vice-province to which the Franciscans in South India, including the Friaries of Cranganore, Quilon, and Ceylon belonged.\textsuperscript{223}

\textbf{2. The Dominicans}

In 1503, about five monks of the Dominican order came to Cochin with Afonso Albuquerque.\textsuperscript{224} It was one among them, Frei Rodrigo Homem, who made the sermon on the occasion of the blessing of the church of St. Bartholomew in 1503.\textsuperscript{225} From the letter of Padre Sebastian Pires, the vicar general of India, it becomes evident that a Dominican monk called mestre João was exercising spiritual functions in Cochin and that he was a great master of theology.\textsuperscript{226}

The attempts of the Dominicans to move on to Cochin as an organized group were delayed due to the objection of the bishop of Goa and of the \textit{Padroado} authorities. It was only in 1551 that they managed to establish a
house in Cochin. The first superior of this monastery was Padre Frei Simão. A monk of this house called Frei Andre de Santa Maria complains to his provincial in his letter of 25th February 1557 about the laxity seen among the members of this congregation. Reference was also made to the monks, who leaving the spiritual duties concentrated on visiting the Muslims, the native kings and the viceroy. Along with the temporality and worldliness, one could also notice that the spirituality of this order was considerably vibrant as evident from the fact that the first bishop of Cochin, D.Jorge Temudo was selected from the Dominican order.

The Dominican monastery of Cochin, besides receiving the regular supply of wine and oil from Portugal also got from the governor Antonio Moniz Barreto in 1574 one hundred quintals of cinnamon coming from Ceylon. In 1621, there were 18 priests and 13 Brothers in this community of Cochin. By 1630's the number of the Friars in this religious house varied between 25 and 30 for whose sustenance twenty candis of wheat, twenty candis of rice, two barrels of wine and six cantaras of oil were supplied from Portugal.

3. The Jesuit Order

Diogo de Gouveia, the Rector of the college of Saint Barbara of Paris communicated in 1539 to king John III that this institute was training a group of youngsters who would be very apt persons to convert the gentiles. He also pointed out that this new order was quite different from other mendicant orders. Accordingly the Portuguese crown contacted D.Pedro de Mascarenho,
the ambassador in Rome to get some Jesuit missionaries to come to India. The first and the foremost among them, St. Francis Xavier, came to Cochin in 1542. His subsequent visits to this city eventually made it the centre of Jesuit activities in the south. On the request made by the city-dwellers of Cochin to Francis Xavier, a college was implanted on the existing church of Madre de Deus for the education of their children and it came to be called Madre de Deus college.

In Cochin, between 1541 and 1560 there were 65 Jesuits, most of whom later went to other parts of India. The office-bearers of the Madre de Deus for the period from 1557-1559 were as follows: Pe. Belchior Nunes Barreto (rector), Pe. Francisco Lopes (priest) Pe. Francisco Peres (priest), Pe. Henrique Henrique (priest and compiler of Malayalam vocabulary), Br. Bernard Rodrigues (professor), Br. Gaspar Soeiro (procurator), Rui Mendes (in charge of the church) and Estevão de Ataide (in charge of the house). The priests had the responsibility of looking into the formation of the seminarians.

According to Antonio Bocarro, the church of St. Paul and the Jesuit college of Madre de Deus received 1500 pardaus of gold and rent from the island of Divar of Goa for sustenance. The total amount, thus received was 1800 xeralfins. Besides this, the Jesuits received another thousand xeralfins. The various documents of the Cartório dos Jesuitas say that the Jesuits of Cochin had villages of Assolona, Velly and Ambelly of Goa as their property and that they were enjoying the rent from these villages for years. In 1602, the Jesuit house of Cochin was raised to the status of vice-province
and in 1605 it was made the independent Malabar province under which was brought the famous Madurai and other missions of the south.\textsuperscript{242}

In 1600 there were about 48 Jesuits out of which twenty three were in Cochin. In 1610 there were 133 Jesuits of whom 66 were in Cochin. The Jesuits preferred, as bishop Roz S.J. complained, to work in Cochin rather than elsewhere, since life in Cochin was more comfortable and no other language than Portuguese was needed.\textsuperscript{243} In 1621, the number of the Jesuits in Cochin was as follows: Besides the provincial and rector, there were twenty priests, fifteen seminarians and thirteen Brothers. For the maintenance of them, the king of Portugal used to give them in 1620's 1600 \textit{xerafins}. Moreover, the Jesuits of Cochin had other source of income like the rents from the island of Divar in Goa, from the island of Vaipin and some other parts within the kingdom of Cochin.\textsuperscript{244}

4. The Augustinians

The Augustinians who came to India in 1572 were the fourth religious order to be established in Cochin.\textsuperscript{245} The church and the monastery of St.Augustine was located near the weighing place of pepper.\textsuperscript{246} In 1621, there were four Augustinian priests and two brothers for whose maintenance they received eighteen \textit{xerafins} from thirty shops and rents from the coconut palms of 'castelo' (in native Cochin) and of some other parts of the kingdom of Cochin.\textsuperscript{247} By 1630's the number of Augustinian Friars varied between 12 and 15 and they received 500 \textit{xerafins} from the king of Portugal for maintenance.\textsuperscript{248}
All of these Friars, except the Franciscans who admitted some mesticos, were Europeans. In 1626, among the six religious who came to India as members of the Jesuit, Dominican, Augustinian and Franciscan orders, two were Italians, one was a French and the remaining monks were from Portugal. The natives were denied admission to these orders saying that Indians were inclined to wrong doing and were animated by base instincts.

5. The Bishopric of Cochin and the Cathedral of Santa Cruz

The erection of the diocese of Cochin became inevitable as the bishop of Goa had difficulties in governing the distant region of Malabar. Demands for a bishop and the for monks of various religious orders were raised for "teaching religion to the newly converted and for effective pastoral work." Cochin was taken as the centre of this bishopric because of the importance of this city as the seat of a king, as a harbour of great importance as well as a centre of the large number of new Christians and because of the great distance from Goa. The new diocese of Cochin was created by Pope Paul IV by the bull Pro Excellenti of 4th February, 1558. The already existing diocese of Goa was made the Archdiocese and the diocese of Cochin along with Malacca was made suffragans or subordinate dioceses to it. The bishopric of Cochin comprised the entire southern region of India that extended from Cannanore in the northwest, to Bengal in the north-east and outside India included Burma as well as Ceylon. Though the bishopric was erected in 1558, the first bishop D.Jorge Temudo could assume the office only in 1559. Dom Henrique de Tavora, his successor,
was a participant in the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and carried out the administration of the diocese according to the spirit of the council.\textsuperscript{257}

Along with the erection of the bishopric, the church of Santa Cruz was elevated to the level of the Cathedral church. The king of Portugal had to provide for the bishop of Cochin, a dean, an archdeacon, cantors, schoolmaster, treasurer and twelve canons of the chapter and twelve prebendaries. The Pope ordered that the king of Portugal should pay 500 *ducates* to the bishop, 100 *ducates* to the dean, 75 to each one of the cantors as well as prebendaries and 50 *ducates* to each of the canons.\textsuperscript{258}

Being the patron of the ecclesiastical activities in India, the crown of Portugal extended monetary help to the cathedral and the bishopric of Cochin. Thus, in 1566, D. Sebastian issued order for giving a 100,000 *reals* each year for six years for the construction of the cathedral of Cochin.\textsuperscript{259} By the end of the sixteenth century, the various office-bearers of the cathedral received 580,000 *reals*. Moreover an additional amount of 180,000 *reals* was allotted for the construction of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{260} By 1630's, the bishop of Cochin used to receive 900,000 *reals* which was equivalent to 3000 *xerfins*. Out of this 800,000 *reals* formed the annual salary for the bishop and the remaining 100,000 *reals* were paid to provizor and the vicar-general. Besides this, the various prominent office-bearers of the cathedral received 3600 *xerfins*. The others like the sub-treasurer, the choir, the assistant priest, master of the chapel, the gate-keeper, the organist as well as the sacristian got 776 *xerfins* 3 *tangas* and 26 *reals*.\textsuperscript{261}
The cathedral, besides being a place of worship acted both as an integrating link for the city-dwellers as well as a venue for incorporating the city of Cochin into the socio-political milieu of Portugal. Thus, it provided a venue to the citizens of Cochin to express their allegiance to D.Philip II of Spain when he became the king of Portugal. The bishop of Cochin, the prelates of the various religious orders, the prince of Cochin and the several top officials of the king of Cochin who were present for the function of expressing allegiance to the new king of Portugal were the chief factors in the integrating process.

Besides the Santa Cruz cathedral, there came up several churches in Cochin. Sieur de Rennefort says that there were 23 churches in Portuguese Cochin and its suburbs during the seventeenth century. This fact is further testified by the list of churches given in the Descripsão de Cochin and by the plans of Cochin given in the Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades do Ultramar. The names of these churches were: St.Bartholomew's church (which was initially used by the German mercenaries in Portuguese army), St.Sebastian's church, St.Augustine's church, church of our Lady of Guadelpoe, church of our Lady of protection, St.Paul's church, St.Dominic's church, church of our Lady of Pity, church of our Lady of Guide, St.Francis Assisi's church, St.Barbara's church, church of our Lady of Good Voyage and the church of our Lady of Anunciation. These were within the walls of the city. Outside the city, but within the urban and ecclesiastical orbit of Cochin existed the church of our Lady of Grace, St.Lazarus church, church of our Lady of hope, church of St.Luis, St.John's church, St.Thomas church,
Couch in einfacher an der Nordseite und im Falle Stadt in der nach Nordwesten nicht dem Flusse gelassen wo es wurde in Holland.
church of St. Lawrence de Castelo.\textsuperscript{264} It seems that some of these were only \textit{capelas}. However, the multiplicity of the churches as seen in the urban layout made the settlement distribution more church-centered and transformed the urban network of the city into a multi-church complex.

6. \textbf{Inquisition}

From 1533 onwards, many new Christians began to flee from Portugal as their life there had become precarious and came to India in search of greater security and tolerance as well as to take advantage of the new opportunities for trade and commerce. A good many of them reached Cochin, which had emerged as a major trading centre in the Portuguese empire. On reaching Cochin, these new Christians developed a commercial network in the Indian Ocean with the help of the Jews of native Cochin.\textsuperscript{265} The association with the native Jews of Cochin helped them to revive their old faith and practices. In 1540, Dinis de Azevedo wrote from this city to D. John III about the vibrant mercantile activities of the newly converted Jews.\textsuperscript{266} Immediately their judaizing activities came to the notice of Portuguese authorities who wanted to establish a branch of Inquisition in Cochin to purge them of semitic influence. St. Francis Xavier was one among the first to write to the king of Portugal to set up the inquisition in India. In 1546, he wrote to John III from Amboina "...in order to make the people who live in India into good Christians, (it is necessary) for your Majesty to send out the Holy Inquisition, for there are many here who live according to Mosaic law or who are of the Moorish sect,.... And as they are many and spread out among
all the fortresses, many preachers as well as Holy Inquisition are required. 

Luis de Panamo, the inquisitor of Sicily alluded in 1598 to the existence of an inquisitional tribunal working in Cochin from 1560 for the trial of the new-Christians or the newly converted Jews of the city. In fact, the process against the new Christians of Cochin began in 1557, when the Jesuit priest D.Gonçalo da Silveira began an enquiry into the judaizing group of the new Christians. The pretext for the inquisitional proceedings against the new Christians was the appearance of blasphemous and provocative written words on the stand on which the Holy Sacrament was placed in the church of Santa Cruz in Cochin on 30th April, 1557, the feast day of Corpus Christi (Eucharist). This writing evidently condemned the basic christian dogmas and was signed as "the tribes of Israel". It was followed by a similar writing found in the offertory box of the church of the Dominican monastery of Cochin. The matter was taken very seriously and the suspicion fell on the new Christians. Consequently most of the new Christians of Cochin were imprisoned by about 1557, almost three years before the official establishment of the Inquisition in India(1560). Immediately with their arrest an inquisitional court was set up in Cochin. It was presided over by Pero Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochin and he conducted the proceedings with the help of the Jesuit priests like Pe.D.Gonçalo da Silveira, Pe.Belchior Carneiro, the Franciscan monk Friar Lopo as well as the Dominican monk Friar Nicolau do Rosario. The notary was Francisco Fernandes. On the arrival of D.Jorge Temudo, the first bishop of Cochin, in 1559, the inquisitional proceedings were begun to be presided over by
him, instead of the vicar of Cochin.274

Diogo do Couto275 and several documents of the Inquisitional proceedings of Lisboa (housed in the archives of Torre do Tombo) give reference to the various stages of enquiries and trials conducted for the new Christians of Cochin as well as the punishments meted out to them276. As a part of this inquiry, the tribunal questioned the concerned persons, their relatives and slaves and collected detailed report about the accused.277 Almost 20 new Christians were arrested and tried in this court of inquisition during this period before 1560. Among them figured Jácome de Olivares,278 Leonor Caldeira, her son, Simão Nunes and daughter Clara Caldeira,279 Manuel and Maria Rodrigues,280 Luis Rodrigues281 etc., who were actively involved in the trade of Cochin. Many of these new Christians were arrested and punished for interacting with the Jews of native Cochin, taking part in their rituals as well as ceremonies and for contributing to the construction of a new synagogue (Kadavumbhagam synagogue built during the period between 1539 and 1549-1550). Thus, Jácome de Olivares was accused of going to the house of Isaac do Cairo (a prominent Jew of native Cochin) and participating in the ceremonies of Purim. There they were said to have aided in the stoning of crucifix in the manner in which it was done by the Jews. He was also accused of having given donations for the construction of a new synagogue in Cochin de Cima (Kadavumbhagam synagogue).282 He was also said to have pronounced blasphemous words similar to those which appeared on the stand of Holy Sacrament in the church of Santa Cruz in Cochin.283 Diogo Soares was tried in the Inquisitional
tribunal for not eating the flesh of the pig and observing saturday celebrations, for which he was accused of deviation from the faith. Some were accused of blasphemy while others for disrespect to faith and articles of faith. All the new-Christians, whose genuineness of faith and belief were questioned in one or another way were arrested and brought before the inquisitional tribunal of Cochin. After having tried them in Cochin, they were taken to Goa for further interrogations. Later they were taken to the Inquisition of Lisbon, where "auto da-fe" was carried out (in the Praça da Ribeira in Lisbon) and the accused were punished according to the gravity of their offences. Only one among them, Leonor Caldeira, the oldest of the group, was exempted from punishment.

The economic result of this inquisitional process was that almost all the new Christian traders of Cochin, as in the case of Jácome de Olivares (who had been a prominent trader of Cochin) who was sent to the prison of Lisbon in 1560 and had been in prison for four long years, lost all the fortune. It was taken from the accused at the very beginning. Moreover, the prisoners had to pay for the costs of their own trials and support themselves, while it was going on, which again drained their resources. The accused were to wear the penitentiary habit and were to be instructed in "Things of the Faith" in prison. Jácome Olivares and his wife were to go with penitentiary habits, in the mornings to the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Graça and in the evenings to the college of the Doctrine of the Faith (in Lisbon) in order to hear Masses and services. Along with the economic losses, these accused had to undergo the public humiliation by wearing the penitentiary garb as
well as by taking part in the "auto-da-fe".

Thus, the existence of various ecclesiastical institutions in Cochin shows that religion was a major force in the urban life of Cochin. The urban phenomena in Cochin, with a self-governing Municipal system, a diverse but complex social pattern, a system of productive operations oriented towards port-life and ship-building and a network of ecclesiastical institutions acting as cohesive and integrating forces in the city, was unique but vibrant. The economic role and functions of the Portuguese city of Cochin got added momentum and diverse dimensions in its urban frame-work. the urban entity of Cochin did not constrain itself within the limits of the city-wall; but went out to relate the Indian Ocean economy with the exchange systems of the ports and nodal points of other parts of the world.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99; Francisco de Albuquerque and Afonso Albuquerque were said to have divided the work among themselves in order to finish it early. Walter de Gray Birch, *The Commentaries...,* pp.6-7.
16. K.L. Bernard, *History of Fort Cochin*, pp.5-9. This fact is testified and confirmed in the interview with the local people.
17. This actually is not a river; but only an outlet of the great system of lagoons and back-waters which extend along this part of the coast. In Portuguese literature, this outlet was labelled as a river.
19. According to the order issued by the Governor Francisco Barreto on 23rd March 1556, those who acted against this direction had to pay 100 pardaus each time. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc.21, p.34.

20. Ibid., doc.56, p.87.


22. A.M. Mundadan, "Town of Cochin and the Portuguese", in II Seminario Internacional da Historia Indo Portuguesa, Actas, Lisboa, 1985, p.251; K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, p.XIII.


24. Gaspar Correa, Lendas, tom.I, cap.X, p.738. Henceforth the appointment to the fort of native Cochin was done by the viceroy and governors subject to the confirmation from Portugal.


29. ANTT, Chancelaria de D.Sebastião e D.Henrique, livro-17, fol.49" Capitania do Castelo de Cima de Cochin: Carta á Antonio Rebelo", Lisboa., 5 de Março de 1566.


33. Francois Pyrard de Laval, op.cit., p.427. This area between the two Cochin roughly reminds us of the idea of "open-space" mentioned by Jane Jacobs, which was deliberately kept empty as a space of separation. See Jane Jacobs, Economy of Cities, New York, 1969, p.23; Harold Carter, An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, London, 1983, p.6.

34. Each of these communities used to live together in cluster. This settlement pattern of native Cochin did not undergo much change, over time.

36. Ibid., pp 414-416.

37. Ibid., Antonio Bocarro, op. cit., p. 198.


40. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc. 1, pp. 1-3.


42. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc. 6, p. 18; doc. 24, p. 38; doc. 43, p. 60; doc. 70, p. 104, doc. 81, p. 120, doc. 82, p. 122.

43. Ibid., doc. 9, p. 22.


46. Ibid., p. 117.

47. "Lembranças de Cousas da India", (Lembranças d'algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaqua e assy outras partes da Imdea) in Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa ed. by Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, pp. 10-11.

48. ANTT, Gavetas, 15, Maço 17, doc. 19.


51. The Letter of the viceroy written to the king dated 16-1-1551 in ANTT, Corpo Chronologico, II, Maço 242, doc. 44.


54. AHU, Caixas da India, Caixa 2, doc. 107, The letter of the city council of Cochin sent to Philip II of Portugal giving account of the economic condition of Cochin dated 21-12-1613; HAG, Livro das Monções, No. 12 (1613-1617), fols. 254-280, dated March 1617.

55. Antonio Bocarro, op. cit., p. 199.
56. The size of population of the Portuguese soldiers in the fort depended on the season. It was the greatest during the period of the south-west Monsoon from June to September, for during this time the strong off shore winds prevented patrolling along the western Indian coastline. M.N. Pearson, Coastal Western India, p.42.

57. This was the estimation of 1670. See for details, H.K. 's Jacob (ed.), De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701, De Memories en instructies betreffende het commandement Malabar van de Verenigde Ost Indische Compagnie, The Hague, 1976, p.iii-liii.

58. Sanjay Subrahmanyan, "Cochin in Decline, 1600-1650; Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India", in Roderich Ptak, Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), Stuttgart, 1987, p.84.


60. Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas, p.71; Antonio Bocarro, op. cit., p.199.

61. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc. 14, p.27.


64. M.N. Pearson, Coastal Western India, p.52.


66. M.N. Pearson, Coastal Western India, pp.52-53.


68. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc. 80, pp.119-20.


70. Ibid., doc. 38, pp.53-54.

71. Ibid., doc. 9, p.22; doc. 52, pp.71-72.

72. Ibid., doc. 30, pp.44-45.

73. Ibid., doc. 55, pp.86.

74. Ibid., doc. 63, pp.95-96.

75. Ibid., doc. 59, pp.90-91; doc. 61, p.93; doc. 63, pp.95-96.

76. In 1551, the Municipal council of Cochin employed the inspectors for maintaining tidiness in the city. Ibid., doc. 10, p.23.

77. In 1575, the Municipality appointed two judges to safeguard the interests of the orphans. Ibid., doc. 45, p.62.

78. Ibid., doc. 33, pp.47-48.
82. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, *Emergence of Cochin*, doc.14,p.27.
88. Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do *Estado da India*", pp.18-21; *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas*, p.72; Antonio Bocarro, *op cit.*, pp.199-201.
89. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, *Emergence of Cochin*, doc.9, p.22.
103. For details on this theme, see the discussion on voyages in chapter IV, below.

108. HAG, *Livros das Monções*, No.7(1600-1603), fols.113-115, Royal letter sent to Aires de Saldanha, dated 7-2-1602.


114. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D João III*, liv.68, fol.42v "Carta à João Gomes mestre da moeda de Cochin", Lisboa, 4-3-1552.


120. For detailed description of the living houses in the city, see Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*, p.199.


124. Mathias Mundadan says that the melting foundry was situated in an enclosure constructed as an annex of the fort and located in the Calvethy area of the city. Mathias Mundadan, "The Town of Cochin and the Portuguese", in *II Seminario International da Historia Indo-Portuguesa Actas*, Lisboa,1985,p.261;See also G.V.Scammell "Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in Asia in the Sixteenth Century", in *Modern Asian Studies*, 14, I, Cambridge, 1984, p.3.
125. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815*, London, 1975, pp.63-69. In the beginning women were not allowed to come to India. When some women surreptitiously made a voyage, Vasco da Gama punished them severely. R.S. Whiteway, *op. cit.*, p.20. It was only during the time of the Regent Catherine of Austria (1557-1562) that women and that too some orphan girls were sent to India so that they could find husbands, Josef Wicki "The Portuguese Padroado in India in the Sixteenth Century and Francis Xavier", in Hambye E.R. and Perumalil H.C., (ed.), *Christianity in India*, Allepey, 1972 p.47.


130. This link with the Muslim relatives helped the *casados* later to collect commodities for their trade and develop the commerce which the Portuguese authorities often called "illegal". A detailed discussion on this, is given in chapter IV below.


136. This kind of division among the clergy was testified by Visscher's account. See Visscher's Letter sent from Malabar, in K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol.II, p.38.


142. Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões*, doc.65, p.159; On 16th July, 1512 the provision was raised to one and a half fardo rice. *Ibid.*, doc.66, p.160.


145. *Ibid.*, doc.194, pp.419-421. The primer or the *cartilha* found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa has got the following contents:

- The art for learning how to read.
- The prayer "Our Father" in Latin and native language.
- The prayer "Hail Mary" in Latin and native language.
- The "Creed" in Latin and native language.
- The "Confession" of Holy Mass.
- The prayers before and after the meals.
- The articles of faith made by the apostles and the commandments of the church.
- The sacrament of the Holy mother church, mortal sins and venial sins and the way of absolution.
- The seven mortal sins.

See, BNL, *Fundo Geral*, Cod.No. 3837, "Cartilha para ensinar a ler".


158. These theatrical pieces having connections with the Jesuits of Coimbra were popularised in Kerala by Fr. Sebastião Pires and Fr. Francisco Vaz. See, Luis Francisco Rebelo, *Historia do Teatro Portugues, Lisboa*, 1968, p.39.


166. Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contem toda a Fazenda e Real Patrimonio dos Reinos de Portugal, India e Ilhas Adjacentes e outras Particularidades*, Lisboa, 1859, p.109.


185. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D João III*, liv.9, fol.21v, "Capitania de Cochim Carta á Pedro Vaz", Palmela, 24-3-1531.

186. A. Meersman, "Notes on the Charitable Institutions the Portuguese Established in India", p.96.

187. Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões*, vol.IV, doc.6, p.27.

188. Simão Botelho, O Tombo do Estado, pp.22-23.


193. William Foster(ed.), *Early Travels in India, 1583-1613*, New Delhi, 1985, p.44.


198. *Ibid.*, pp.431-432. The French equivalent of this demy *tangua* was *5 sols*. But the value of this coin was such that it was sufficient for one's daily sustenance, during this period. Tavernier writes: while the Portuguese held Cochin, one could live better with *5 sols* than under the Dutch with *10 sols*. V.Ball(ed.), *Travels in India by Jean Baptista Tavernier*, vol.I, New Delhi, 1977, p.194.


204. K.S.Mathew and Azfal Ahmad, Emergence of Cochin, doc.16, p.29.

205. Ibid., doc.19, p.32.

206. Josef Wicki, "The Portuguese Padroado in India in the Sixteenth Century and Francis Xavier", in Christianity in India, p.49.


209. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, op cit., liv IV, cap.XIII, p.893; Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, Cartas......tom II, p.157. See also the plans of Cochin given in Luis da Silveira, Ensaio de Iconografia, vol.III, pp.414-416. It seems that the German soldiers used this church only initially, when they formed a considerable portion of the Portuguese fighting force.


220. F.Felix Lopes, "Os Franciscanos no Orient Portugues de 1584 á 1590", in studia, Lisboa, 1962, p.44.


232. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 6, doc.142, dated 2-7-1621, fol.9.
244. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 6, doc.142, dated 2-7-1621, fol.8.
247. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 6, doc.142, dated 2-7-1621, fol.10.
249 AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 9, doc.17, dated 3-2-1626, fol.1.
252. ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India*, doc.34 "parecer dos letrados sobre negocio dos Christãos da India".
262. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, *Emergence of Cochin*, doc.5, p.11.


271. The New Christians like Jácome de Olivares, Luis Rodrigues etc of Cochin were arrested in Malacca in 1557, on orders of Pero Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochin, as they were implicated in the inquiry conducted by D.Gonçalo da Silveira. See. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo 5265 de Jácome de Olivares, fol.123; Processo 12292 de Luis Rodrigues, fol. 100; José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "From Setubal to the Sublime Porte: The Wanderings of Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochin, 1540-1571", in Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Kenneth McPherson(ed.), *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol.II, California, 1995, pp.97-98.

272. It was in 1560 that the Inquisition of Goa took official shape. In 1560, D.Gaspar de Leão Pereira, the former canon of Evora and tutor of Cardinal Henrique, came to Goa as the Archbishop. He was accompanied by two lay inquisitors from Portugal and these three, with the Archbishop as the president, founded the Inquisition of Goa. Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, vol.I, Lisboa, 1930, p.35.


276. For the inquisitional proceedings connected with the New Christians of Cochin, see ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo Nos. 5265; 12292; 4656; 7246; 7296; 10096. About 20 New Christians including 9 women and 11 men were accused of going back to Judaism.

277. For example, see the processo of Leonar Caldeira. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo No, 7246 de Leonar Caldeira de 1557, fols.11-12.

279. For details about the matriarchal family of Leonar Caldeira, see ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo No.7296 de Leonar Caldeira, fols. 4;29-33; 37-41 Ana Cannas da Cunha, op. cit., pp.222-223.


282. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo, No. 7296, fol.77v; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo No.12292 de Luis Rodrigues de 1557, fols.50-85; Processo No.6369 de Maria Nunes de 1557, fols55-56 and 65-65; There were three chief synagogues in Cochin: The *Kadavumbhagam synagogue* (situated near the sea), the *Thekkumbhagam synagogue* (used by the black Jews) and the *Kochangadi synagogue* built in the seventeenth century, especially after the arrival of the Castilhan Jews. For details see, K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol.II, pp.527-528.


286. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo No.7246, fols.12; 138-139.

