Chapter II

ESTABLISHMENT DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC)

Historical Background of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)

This chapter deals with the early history of the Dutch East India Company and establishment of its foothold in Asia – particularly, the South Coromandel Coast. The Dutch had early contact with the native rulers in South Coromandel costal region and hinterland and established trading factories and ports in Pulicat, Sadras, Porto Novo, Devanampattinam, and Nagapattinam.

The enmity between Spain and Holland is one of the outstanding facts of European politics in the late sixteenth century. The country which we now know as Holland has grown out of those United Provinces of the Netherlands which revolted from the sovereignty of the king of Spain engaged in a struggle for national independence. It was a small country, and its internal resources were scanty. A large proportion of the national income was derived from the fisheries and the sea trade, and the Dutch vessels plied in large numbers throughout the waters of Western Europe; however, the shipping industry was more than a source of income, for its maintenance was essential to the security of the national existence.\(^1\) Holland could hope to withstand Spain only with the aid of strength at sea, and the success of her efforts depended on sea-power in the fullest meaning of the term – not merely a fleet on the water, but adequate numbers of vessels of all kinds, dockyards equipped for construction and repair, a steady supply of expert sailors and navigators, and the wealth necessary to employ these resources to the best advantage. The efficiency of the mercantile marine was thus a primary national interest.\(^2\)

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This national interest was threatened by the succession of the king of Spain to the Portuguese throne, because at this period Lisbon and the neighbouring seaports formed the principal market for the goods carried southwards by the Dutch. It was here that they sold most of the grain, timber and materials for building and equipping ships which they brought from the Baltic, as well as the salted fish and other produce of their own country; and it was here that they obtained goods to carry northwards on the return voyage, in particular the salt which was required for curing fish, and the spices and other Eastern goods for which Antwerp\(^3\) and, subsequently, Amsterdam were the principal distributing centres.\(^4\) The effective closure of the Portuguese seaports would therefore have entirely disorganised the fishing and shipping industries on which the existence of Holland depended, and it is at least doubtful whether in the conditions of the period, their vessels could have found adequate employment elsewhere in European waters. The common statement that the Dutch trade with Portugal was in fact closed is so far true that orders to that effect were issued from time to time; but the Portuguese were not enthusiastic in the Spanish cause, and in spite of prohibitions, they continued to trade with the Dutch, who on their side considered it sound policy to draw from the enemy’s country the money which they needed to fight them. The trade therefore continued, but it was subject to frequent interference: Dutch vessels in Portuguese waters were seized and impressed for naval service; merchants and seamen were arrested and handed over to the Inquisition; and the danger increased as time went on. The Dutch were thus compelled to face the possibility that their trade with Portugal might cease. Among the alternatives that offered the most hopeful prospect was the extension of their business to a wider area, and the establishment of direct commercial relations with countries where Spain and Portugal still enjoyed a practical monopoly. Such a

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project was in harmony with the new ideas which were spreading rapidly in Holland. The material resources of the country were increased greatly by the transfer of trade from Antwerp to Amsterdam, while a strong national spirit was developing, and enterprises which ten years earlier would have seemed to be impracticable quickly came to be regarded as reasonable commercial propositions.

The provinces of Holland and Zeeland (the remaining five being of hardly any importance in the present context), became the nucleus of a maritime federation which made the Netherlands the principal seafaring nation of the confiscation of their cargoes and ships by Philip II and the closure of the Iberian ports in 1585, 1595 and 1597 prompted the Dutch to search for the sources from which these goods came. It was about this time that Jan Huyghen van Linschoten returned to the Netherlands in 1592.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten had served as the secretary to the Portuguese archbishop of Goa from 1583 to 1592, after this emulative data had been thoroughly examined in the presence of Petrus Plancius (he was the company’s first map-maker) and all other merchants learned of Portuguese weaknesses. The Gompagnie van Verre was therefore speedily followed by others, later called

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* Guilder was the currency of the Netherlands from the 17th century.
voorcompagnieen, “precompanies”, for they were precursors of the great “United” Dutch East India Company.

The nine prominent merchants in Amsterdam who formed the Gompagnie van Verre (Company for Far Distant Lands) on 12 March 1594, and with the aid of others, raised a capital of 290,000 guilders to finance this voyage. This opened a “company era” with the object of sending two fleets to Indonesia for spices. The first fleet commended by Cornelius Houtman was badly organised. Out of the four ships and 249 men, only three vessels and 89 men returned to Texel in 1597.

In 1600, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, advocate (Chancellor) of Holland and the most influential political figure of the time, persuaded the States of Holland to appoint a commission of five, which recommended union of all the companies on the basis of a national monopoly. Bitter contention arose immediately. Finally in March 1602, when Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, happened to be in Middleburg, the protagonists of union asked him to intervene. His influence, together with that of Van Oldenbarnevelt, brought agreement among the warring parties, and on 20 March 1602, the States-General passed a resolution by which the companies trading to the East Indies were amalgamated into one “United Netherlands Chartered East India Company” or Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC).

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The charter granted the company a monopoly of Dutch trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the straits of Magellan for twenty-one years,\textsuperscript{19} with authority to wage defensive war, negotiate treaties of peace and alliance, and build fortresses. The company, established with an initial capital of 6,500,000 guilders,\textsuperscript{20} was a union of six chambers (\textit{kamers})-Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen.

\textbf{Table - 1}

\textbf{Capital (guilders) of the Dutch East India Company*}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chamber</th>
<th>Subscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>3,674,915.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeeland</td>
<td>1,300,405.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft</td>
<td>4,69,400.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>173,000.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoorn</td>
<td>266,868.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkhuyzen</td>
<td>540,000.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,424,588.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plus share of States-General</td>
<td>25,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>f.6,449,588.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These \textit{kamers} speedily fell into a position analogous to that of six heirs having differing fractional interests in an undivided estate who go on managing the estate without ever having a real accounting with one another. The \textit{kamer} of Zeeland alone preserved some degree of independence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The company’s governing body of seventeen directors (Seventeen Lords, or Gentleman XVII), \textit{de Heeren XVII} sat alternately in Amsterdam, then twice in

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid}.p.71.  
Middleburg. The oligarchic tendencies latent in most Dutch institutions quickly asserted themselves; the company’s governing board soon reflected not only the dominance of Amsterdam but the steadily growing power of the regent class to which only the wealthiest merchants belonged. By confining effective voting rights to large shareholders, the company’s charter intensified these tendencies.21

Amsterdam could rightly claim to be the new Venice of the North. The city grew very fast and sponsored important institutions which greatly aided the expansion of trade: the Exchange Bank was established in 160922 and the Credit Bank of Amsterdam in 1614.23 The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, was not exclusively based in Amsterdam. But the great sales of Asian goods took place in Amsterdam, which thus became the major centre of the re-export business, the greatest source of Dutch wealth. (For details of the VOC organization in general, see Appendix A.)

**Establishment of Dutch (VOC) Supremacy in Asia**

Dutch East India Company’s one important aspect of this policy of “trade and war” paid handsome dividends. The monopoly clause which safeguarded the Company against competition from other Dutch nationals had no effect on other European powers, nor on the extensive native trade. Since these loopholes had to be closed to make the monopoly really effective, the Dutch relied heavily on their treaties with the native rulers. During a century-long tenure in South and Southeast Asia, the Portuguese had made themselves thoroughly hated by their ruthless tactics. The arrival of the Dutch had been welcomed in most parts of the East Indies, and many invoked their help against the oppressors. The demands made upon them,

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while salutary and promising, were so great that in most cases they were unable to comply. The Dutch, therefore, restricted their active support to those areas in which they were particularly interested.  

In 1609 the Seventeen Lords appointed their first governor-general, Pieter Boath, who was to be the head of a Council of the Indies consisting of five members. The directors had no intention of giving too much authority to a single person, and all decisions had to be made in Council. In order to coordinate all commercial activities, two important offices were also created: a director-general of trade and a bookkeeper-general. The director of the company instructed to acquire “a convenient place and, for our contentment, a fort, which shall serve as a rendezvous for our whole Indian navigation”. The man who did most in this respect was Jan Pieterszoon Coen. At the age of thirteen, he was sent to Rome to learn the art of book-keeping and the fine points of trade by serving his apprenticeship with a Dutch firm there. He returned after seven years and was then employed by the chamber of Hoorn, his birthplace, as an assistant-merchant in the Dutch East India Company.  

On his first voyage he witnessed the massacre of Admiral Verhoef with thirty of his men by the Bandanese, who had been incited to this deed by vague promises that the English would help them to get rid of the Dutch. Upon his return to Holland, Coen submitted a report about conditions in the Indies and what, in his opinion, should be done to improve matters. His views must have impressed the directors because they promoted him to chief-merchant and put him in command of two ships, with which he arrived at Bantam in February 1613. As instructed, he  

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25 Ibid.
proceeded to the Moluccas, which had thus far been the focal point of most of the Company’s activities. En route, he stopped at Jacatra (Batavia), where the first governor-general Pieter Both\textsuperscript{29} had obtained permission to build a warehouse the year before. This permission had been granted by Widjaja Krama, who claimed to be the independent ruler of Jacatra (Batavia) but who was actually in liege to Bantam. On this occasion, Coen foresaw that Jacatra (Batavia) might be a good place to establish a rendezvous and headquarters, provided they build a stronghold there to guard their merchandise and where colonies (Dutch) should be planted to be no longer at the mercy of the perfidious Muslims (at Bantam). The need for a headquarters had been paramount ever since the Company had extended its sphere of interest from the Persian Gulf to Japan.\textsuperscript{30}

**Batavia as Administrative Centre**

Batavia as the headquarters of the VOC outside Europe lay on the northwest coast of the island of Java, near the important indigenous trading city of Bantam. Batavia was established by the conquest of the Sundanese port city of Jacarta in December 1618 under the command of Coen. In one sense, Coen’s independent and decisive action in conquering the weak kingdom of Jacarta in the name of the Company became emblematic of the governance of the VOC. The “man on the spot” theory of imperialism does contain a kernel of truth for the power relations between the Company government in Batavia and the Heren XVII.\textsuperscript{31} All the VOC establishments in Asia (thus including that at the Cape of Good Hope) were subjected to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia. At the same time, Batavia was the most important and, for a while during the seventeenth century, the only


\textsuperscript{31} Kerry R. Ward, “*The Bounds of Bondage*: Forced Migration from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope during the Dutch East India Company era, c.1652-1795”, Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 2002, UMI, Print, p.44.
harbour of arrival and departure for ships from Europe. Communications between the directors in the Dutch Republic and the various establishments was also carried on principally via the Governor-General and Council and its administrative machinery.

The direct shipping link and the correspondence between patria and the establishments in India which this brought in its wake did not represent a fundamental infringement to the position of Batavia as the head office of the VOC in Asia. Batavia remained the centre for administration and bookkeeping. Furthermore, the Governor-General and Council in Batavia continued to forward copies of correspondence with all its subordinate VOC establishments to the directors at home, including the letters exchanged with Coromandel, Ceylon, Canton and Bengal. The central role of Batavia in the Asian business is not only made obvious by the financial administration, but also quite clearly indicated in the personnel administration as well. The pay office kept the number of staff throughout the whole of the Asian business up-to-date and, for this purpose, was annually supplied with the requisite information by the establishments. Every year after 1689, a complete list of the Company personnel in Asia was sent home in duplicate. Batavia was also the seat of the highest law court in Asia.32

In order to play a central role in the maritime traffic, Batavia was also provided with the requisite infrastructure such as shipyards, warehouses and a workmen’s quarter. No new ships were built in Batavia, but a lot of maintenance and repair work on the ships had to be carried out there and the facilities needed for this were located on the Island of on rust, which lay just off the coast of Batavia.33

(For details of VOC Organization in Asia, see Appendix-B)

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There was no doubt about the amazing maritime strength of the Dutch. The Dutch had become the carriers of a brisk maritime trade in Asia. Once they launched their Asian ventures, they could dwarf Portuguese endeavours immediately. In the period from 1600 to 1609, the Dutch sent 74 ships to Asia, the Portuguese only 24 and the British 9. The Dutch maintained this lead vigorously. Of the 344 European ships which sailed to Asia from 1600 to 1630, there were 194 Dutch ships. Factories were established at many points and a new sea route was discovered in the “roaring 40s”, where swift west winds took the Dutch ships cross the Southern part of the Indian Ocean so that they could reach Indonesia without touching India.  

Western Coast of India

The Dutch East India Company establishment in the north India, the proper trading factory at Surat, took the Dutch much longer to achieve. It was not that the Gujarat cloth was of lesser importance in the Dutch trade with South-East Asia; but the Portuguese political influence in the imperial court of the Mughals was also such as to make it hazardous for the protestant trading companies to enter into regular and extensive commercial transactions at the Mughal port without proper diplomatic safeguards. With the death of Van Deynsen in Surat in 1607, the first Dutch attempt to reach the western coast of India came to an abortive end. However, in 1614, when the Mughal authorities in Surat found themselves engaged in a naval war with the Portuguese, an invitation to come and claim the goods left by Van Deynsen was issued to the Dutch factory at Masulipatnam. Although an agent was sent to Surat in the following year, it was only with the appointment of Pieter Van den Broecke as an official envoy of the Batavia government that a permanent factory was opened in

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Gujarat (1617). By this time the Dutch policy against the Portuguese commercial empire in the Indies had crystallized into a definite plan. This was nothing less than the capture and destruction of the major strongholds controlling the trade routes.

**VOC IN COROMANDEL COAST**

**Initial Phase 1605–1616**

In 1603, the United East India Company of the Netherlands sent a fleet to the east under Admiral Steven van der Haghen. In February 1605, the yacht *Delft*, one of the fifteen ships in van der Haghens’s fleet, sailed from Achin under the command of Paulus van Soldt and arrived at Masulipatnam in the spring of the same year. With the help of a Jewish resident of Golconda named Assalan, van Soldt soon secured for the Dutch the right to trade at Masulipatnam, and several employees of the Company, with Pieter Ysaacx as the chief, were left by van Soldt at Masulipatnam to organise the Company’s trade there.

In 1606, van Soldt made a second voyage to Coromandel from Bantam in the *Delft*. It was during this voyage that the Dutch first came into contact with the South Coromandel port of Pulicat, the future seat of the Company’s chief factory on the coast. Negotiations for opening trade there was broken off after it had made some progress, because the Dutch suspected a conspiracy between the local people and the Portuguese. Sailing further north, the *Delft* came to the port of Petapuli or Nizampatam in Golconda, where an agreement was concluded with the local governor. The Dutch were granted freedom of trade at Petapuli, the toll being fixed at 4% for both import and export, and the Company established its first factory on

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the coast. Van Soldt next went to Masulipatnam, where he found the Company’s men involved in a conflict with the local governor, who demanded a toll of about 12% on an average. To settle this vexatious question, van Soldt and under-factor Pieter Willemsz went on a mission to the court of Golconda and there, with the Mirjumla’s help, secured a farman* from the king in August 1606, fixing the toll at 4% for both import and export throughout the kingdom of Golconda. Further, as an exceptional favour, the Dutch were exempted from the cbbop-dalali, i.e. stamp duty on cloth, which came to about 12% and had to be paid by all other traders including the king’s subjects. Fortified by the royal farman, the Dutch now established a factory at Masulipatnam. An invidious trade privilege, giving a foreign monopolistic company an obvious advantage in competition even with local merchants, was thus secured in the earliest stage of the Dutch activities on the coast.40

For some time, the two factories at Masulipatnam and Petapuli, administered by Pieter Ysaacx and Dirk van Leeuwen respectively, were independent of each other, although consultations regarding commercial matters were quite frequent. In 160741, the mutual independence of the two factories was abolished and it was laid down that the head of each factory would preside in turn for a month over the Company’s affairs in Coromandel. A further important change took place in 1608 when, by a decision of the General Council at Bantam, Pieter Ysaacx, the chief factor at Masulipatnam, was made the “General Head over both the places”, Petapuli being placed under the authority of Masulipatnam, despite the strong disapproval of the local factors. This was an early manifestation of a tendency towards control, an obvious necessity if a common trade policy was to be followed along the entire coast.42

* Grant, permission.
Meanwhile, the situation at Masulipatnam had not been very easy for the Dutch. Extortionate demands of the local officials and their desire for the monopolistic exploitation of the local market – familiar phenomena in the 17th century trade history of India – were at the root of the trouble. As the price for the ratification of the royal farman, the local governor Sidappa forced the Company to lend him 3000 pagodas without interest. Hardly had he paid back the amount when, in 1607, he seized all the merchandise on board the Groote Sonne, worth about 100,000 florins and demanded a fresh loan of 20,000 pagodas as the condition for releasing the cargo. Eventually Pieter Ysaacx had to grant a loan of 8,000 pagodas and also to concede the demand that in future all duty-free goods imported by the Dutch would be sold exclusively to the local governor and the shahbandar*. These troubles help up the Company’s trade for three valuable months. Besides, only a fraction of the fresh loan granted to the governor was ever recovered, because the local governorship was farmed out to another person next year.43

Before long, the new havaldar Pylappa44, encouraged by the example of his predecessor, asked for a sizeable loan from the Dutch and when this was refused, demanded that the Company pay stamp duty from which it had been specifically exempted by the royal farman. Eventually, chief factor van Wesick went to Golconda to place his complaints before the king. But through Pylappa’s machinations, he had to come back in January 1610, leaving the question of stamp duties unsettled.

At Petapuli, conditions were less uncongenial than at Masulipatnam. But there, again, the local governor exercised an exclusive control over trade in a manner which severely restricted the Company’s activities. The bulk of the red cloth, which

* Head of a group of foreign merchants at a port, generally a port official.
43 Ibid. p.17.
constituted the chief attraction of the Petapuli trade, was purchased by the *havaldar* on the plea that he had to supply every year 1000 pieces of this particular variety of cloth to the king, who sent them to the Shah of Persia for the use of the latter’s army. The famous Tambreve chay-roots were also a monopoly of the local governor. For the bulk of their trade at Petapuli, the Dutch had to enter into contracts with the *havaldar* himself or secure his express permission for dealing with local merchants, some of whom could trade with the company only in secret. In 1609, the *havaldar*, imitating the ways of his Masulipatnam colleague, demanded 4,000 pagodas as “gate-money”, that is, additional toll on the Company’s purchases which came from outside the town, but the offer of a present soon pacified him.\(^{45}\)

**VOC in South Coromandel Coast**

Simultaneously with their efforts to consolidate their position in Golconda, the Dutch were looking for new trade prospects in the South Coromandel. The great demand for Pulicat cloth in the Spice Islands was the chief reason for this venture\(^{46}\). True, the Company did profitably secure quantities of Pulicat pintadoes through Khwaza Soheyder, their middleman at Petapuli, but it was evident that a direct contact with the source of supply would considerably augment the profits. The establishment of trading posts in the Hindu territory would also render the Company less dependent on the favours of the Golconda *havaldars*, and a factory at centrally situated Pulicat would enable the Company to exploit fully the commercial opportunities both in the North and the South Coromandel.

In 1608, the yachts *Arent* and *Valck* of Admiral Verhoeff’s fleet, sent to the coast under the command of Jacob de Bitter, were driven by contrary winds to

Tegenapatam (Devanampattinam) in Gingee territory.\textsuperscript{47} The local governor of Devanampattinam invited the Dutch to open trade there, but as de Bitter was not authorised to accept such offers, he could only promise to refer the matter to Admiral Verhoeff. De Bitter returned to Devanampattinam in November 1608 and within a few days a Dutch mission to Gingee\textsuperscript{48} secured from the Nayak a Cowle permitting the Dutch to re-build the fallen Portuguese fortress at Devanampattinam and fixing the import and export duties at 4%. The provisions required for the factory and all gold imported by the Company were exempted from duty.

The Devanampattinam fort, granted to the Dutch, was found uninhabitable and the Company decided instead to open its factory at the neighbouring township of Tierepopelier (Tirupapuliyur)\textsuperscript{49}. Pieter Bourgonj\textsuperscript{50}e was appointed chief of the new factory. The “great Aya”, Tiruvengalayya was the Nayak’s chief minister, guaranteed in writing that the painters, weavers and merchants along the entire Gingee coast would be free to deal with the Dutch without paying any tolls\textsuperscript{51}. The new factory, situated so far from the northern establishments, enjoyed a position of complete independence, a fact which was resented by the northern factories\textsuperscript{*}.

Soon after the establishment of the Tirupapuliyur factory, the Dutch came into conflict with the “great Aya” who “borrowed” for a time some labourers working for the Company and practically kept them under arrest, thus holding up the work of the factory. The labourers were eventually allowed to return, but the

\textsuperscript{47} Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal 1500-1700, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1990, p.197.
\textsuperscript{49} Indu Banga, ed., Ports and Their Hinterlands in India, 1700-1950, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1992, p.82.
\textsuperscript{50} George Masselman, The Cradle of Colonialism, Yale, Yale University Press, 1963, p.256.
\textsuperscript{51} C. S. Srinivasachari, History of Gingee and its Rulers, Annamalai Nagar, Annamali University, 1943, p.116.

* Originally a commercial agent, the executive head of a factory.
Aya persisted in his refusal to let the Dutch continue the work of constructing a fort on the plea that the Carnatic king might object to it. In the spring of 1610, the Tirupapuliyur factories received instructions from Bantam to seek a renewal of the contract with the Nayak and strengthen the defences. Accordingly the contract was renewed on 29 March 1610 and a building constructed for the safe-keeping of ammunition and merchandise. The toll payable by the Company was now reduced to 2% for both export and import and the “great Aya” undertook to force all weavers and painters to keep their contracts with the Dutch. More important still, the Portuguese and all other European nations were excluded from the Devanampattinam area, and the Aya promised to help the Company against its enemies. The Dutch were also given the right to trade at Porto Novo to the south of Pondicherry. The Company, on its side, promised to supply the Aya at cost price all commodities from lands under its control. The Aya and the Nayak also reserved the right to buy sulphur from the Dutch before all other merchants\textsuperscript{52}.

Indian ships sailing with passes from the chief factory of Tirupapuliyur were to be allowed to go by the Dutch and the chief factor would be practically obliged to grant passes if the Aya wanted them for his own purpose. The contract is significant for more than one reason: it indicates the increasing interest of the chiefs and nobles in trade as also their power to reduce the rigours of the passport system enforced much more rigidly in the days of Portuguese ascendancy.

It further indicates the willingness of Indian authorities to help a foreign company in enforcing the observance of contracts which were not by themselves a continuous incentive to production. A second Dutch mission to Gingee returned with a letter from the Nayak to the “Duke of Holland” promising scrupulous

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.p.118.
observance of the contract and requesting that ships be sent regularly to Devanampattinam.

The year 1610 witnessed another important landmark in the career of the Dutch Company in Coromandel. Plans to open trade with Pulicat, which had failed in 1606, were now once more taken up in earnest. The Cowle eventually granted by the Carnatic king\textsuperscript{53} (the Vijayanagara areas of South Arcot, Vellore, Chandragiri were called the Carnatic region) closely resembled the one secured for Devanampattinam: it conferred on the Company the right to construct a stone warehouse at Pulicat for merchandise and ammunition, fixed the duties at 2\% for both import and export and required the Company to supply at cost price any article ordered by the king from territories under its control.

In May 1610, Maertssen and Fontaine went on a mission to Vellore at the king’s request for further negotiations\textsuperscript{54}. At the Carnatic capital, the Company’s representatives were accorded a regal reception; but due to the machination of some Portuguese missionaries, matters did not proceed smoothly, and it was only after considerable manoeuvring that the Dutch could induce the king Venkata II to stick to his earlier decision and let them establish a factory at Pulicat. Hans Marcelis was now appointed chief factor at Pulicat\textsuperscript{55}, with four other employees to assist him.

The conflict with the local officials, already a familiar phenomenon in north Coromandel, complicated matters for the Dutch at Pulicat as well. For a while, Indian traders were forbidden to have any dealings with them and the factory was besieged by soldiers. One night Marcelis and his subordinates were thrashed by the


\textsuperscript{54} S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, \textit{Ancient India and South Indian History & Culture: Papers on Indian History and Culture; India to A.D. 1300}, Poona, Oriental Book Agency, 1941, pp.309-310.

\textsuperscript{55} Gijs Kruijtzer, \textit{Xenophobia in Seventeenth-Century India}, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2009, p.64.
shahbandar’s men and the factory was plundered by the local people. The Dutch themselves were apparently responsible for these troubles to some extent and they tried to seek the help of Pulicat Kondamma⁵⁶, the shahbandar’s mother, by giving her presents. But the king, vexed by the reports of troubles, asked Kondamma to bring her son and the Dutch representatives to Vellore.

The second Dutch mission to Vellore had to wait long before it was granted audience on 30 August 1610, when the king promised to redress the Company’s grievances by appointing a new shahbandar. Meanwhile Portuguese emissaries were active at the Vellore court and the king was somewhat swayed by their plea that the trade of San Thome would suffer if the Dutch were allowed to trade at Pulicat. The Company’s representatives, however, turned down the king’s request that the Dutch should abandon Pulicat and establish their factory at some other place, and their firmness eventually defeated the Portuguese machinations. Furthermore, the toll at Pulicat was reduced from 2% to 1½% and the neighbouring village of Averipaque [Kaveripak] was granted to the Company.

Soon afterwards, important changes were introduced in the organization of the coast factories. It had been felt for some time that the relations between the northern and southern factories were dangerously loose, especially in view of the oppressive ways of the local officers and the constant threat from the Portuguese. As a way out of this problem, the Council of the Indies at Bantam decided on 3 December 1610 to unify the administration of the four factories into one directorate. Van Wesick, who had succeeded Pieter Ysaacx as the chief of the northern factories earlier in the year, was appointed the first director⁵⁷ of the coast factories and ordered

⁵⁶ K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Madras, University of Madras, 1946, pp.326-327.
to take up his residence at Pulicat, which now became the Company headquarters (hoofdkantoor) in Coromandel.

The yacht *Hasewindt*, which had arrived from Europe with the news of the twelve years' truce\(^58\), was sent from Bantam to Coromandel under the command of Wemmer van Berchem with detailed instructions regarding the proposed changes in administration. Further, as an economy measure, the Petapuli establishment was to be curtailed as far as practicable, if not altogether abandoned. With the appointment in 1610 of one director at the head of the Coromandel factories, the initial period of organisation came to an end.

In June 1612, the Pulicat factory was sacked by the Portuguese, soon after Wemmer van Berchem assumed charge as the director of the coast factories. A few months later some employees or the Company returned to Pulicat,\(^59\) encouraged by its leading citizens. In October 1612, van Berchem led a mission to the Carnatic capital, as a result of which a new Cowle was granted by the king on 12 December 1612. The chief feature of this agreement was an undertaking on part of the king to complete the new castle started by the Dutch at Pulicat at the expense of Queen Bayama the owner of the town, on condition that the Company should equally share the possession with him. Besides, the toll for Pulicat was fixed at 1% for import and 2% for export, and the Dutch were authorised to freely damage the Portuguese anywhere in the king's territories. The king also promised to send his brother-in-law Narpa-raja with several thousand soldiers to besiege San Thome, while the Dutch attacked the stronghold by sea. Nothing tangible, however, resulted from this project.


Further to ensure the security of Pulicat, van Berchem went on a mission to the court of Jagga-raja, the feudatory overlord of the Pulicat region. There he found two Brahmin emissaries from San Thome sent to secure the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat and it was only with great difficulty that van Berchem could induce Jagga-raja to confirm the Cowle. The Portuguese agents were also busy at other neighbouring courts in an effort to frustrate the completion of the Pulicat fort and actually succeeded in winning over several local chiefs to their side.

The construction of the fort at Queen Bayama’s\(^60\) cost was proceeding very slowly and van Berchem therefore decided to complete the work at the Company’s expense, partly from a desire to evade the obligation to share the fort with the king. The fort, completed in 1613, was named Geldria, probably after van Berchem’s native province, Gelderland. There was, however, more than one opinion at the time regarding its utility, and some felt that it was maintained at great expense and to little profit\(^61\). Hardly had the fort Geldria been completed, it was faced with a serious danger. Jagga-raja’s brother, Eti-raja, who had been won over to the side of the Portuguese, appeared before Pulicat with six to seven hundred men in July 1613, bent on destroying the Dutch fort. The Carnatic king, in response to an appeal from van Berchem, promised every help to the Company and ordered Eti-raja to withdraw his troops on pain of severe punishment. Eti-raja still attacked Pulicat and was twice beaten back by the Dutch with the shahbandar’s help. Eventually, through the mediation of the king’s emissaries, he was reconciled with the Company, but van Berchem put little faith in his professions.

The Company’s trade in South Coromandel was severely affected by the prolonged civil war, which ensued on the death of King Venkata II in October 1614. His nephew and chosen successor, Sriranga II, was overthrown and subsequently murdered by Venkata’s brother-in-law, Jagga-raja, who put his putative nephew on the throne. One Yacama Nayak supported by the Nayak of Tanjore, took up the cause of Sriranga’s son, Ramadeva, while the Nayaks of Madura, Muttuvirappa and Nayak of Gingee Krishnappa, joined the side of Jagga-raja. Pulicat was repeatedly overrun by the rival parties, and the Dutch followed a policy of strict neutrality, always admitting into the town the most powerful contestant, provided no harm was done to the citizens. Throughout the Carnatic kingdom, trade came almost to a standstill as a result of the war.

Meanwhile, the coast factories went through some important administrative changes. Hans de Haze, appointed “visitadeur” in 1613 to visit all the factories, castles and establishments of the Company, arrived at Masulipatnam in November 1614 and quickly carried through a number of much-needed reforms in the administration of the Coromandel Directorate. Among other things, he had to deal with the question of abandoning the Tirupapuliyur factory, recommended by the Bantam Council. In view of the Company’s limited capital, de Haze was in favour of abandoning the factory. Besides, the cargo procured at Tirupapuliyur was more easily available at Pulicat; and Masulipatnam, as compared to Tirupapuliyur, offered some 33% more by way of profit on the sale of the Company’s merchandise. The great Aya’s insatiable greed for presents and the heavy annual toll of about 2200 rials were further factors to be considered. But as the cloth supply at Pulicat was badly

62 Ibid. p.35.
affected by the war, it was decided to continue the Tirupapuliyur factory until conditions were more peaceful. The proximity of Devanampattinam to the Carnatic diamond mines was also a factor in this decision.

The growing dissension between van Berchem and Samuel Kindt, second officer on the coast, was another issue de Haze had to investigate. In May 1615, it was decided to relieve van Berchem of his office and Samuel Kindt was provisionally appointed president of the coast and commander of Fort Geldria. In 1616, the administration of the Coromandel factories was constituted a “Government” with Hans de Haze as the first governor and Samuel Kindt holding the office of president under him. It is not clear, however, whether the change from a directorate to a government implied anything more concrete than a rise in status. But it was in any case the first formal recognition of the great importance of the coast factories in the pattern of Dutch trade in Asia. As such, it marked the end of one phase and the beginning of another.

During the years 1616 to 1629, the Company’s troubles in South Coromandel were mainly the result of the protracted civil war which broke out on the death of King Venkata II in 1614. Sriranga II, Venkata’s chosen successor66, had already been killed in 1614.

One Yacama Nayak, supported by the Nayak of Tanjore, took up the cause of Sriranga’s son, Ramadeva. The rival party was led by Jagga-raja, Sriranga’s old enemy, and included the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura. With the death of Jagga-raja and Ramadeva’s marriage to the daughter of Eti-raja, Jagga-raja’s brother, in 1619 the first phase of the war was over. The campaign against the Nayaks of Madura and

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Gingee continued. The king’s erstwhile supporter, Yacama and Damerla Venkata-pati in the Northeast also rose in revolt. By the end of 1629, however, Ramadeva had the situation fully under control and the civil war was at last at an end 67.

During the civil war, neutrality was the key-note of the Company’s policy, though at times the Dutch were forced to take sides. By a strange paradox, the trade and population of Pulicat were on the increase in the early years of the war, because of the comparative security guaranteed by Fort Geldria. In fact, thanks to the influx of displaced manufacturers, more patterned cloth was produced at Pulicat at this time than the Company could afford to purchase. “We are the masters there”, de Haze announced in 1617, “The inhabitants do little or nothing without our counsel.” A yacht was deployed to protect the trade of Pulicat and in 1618–19; thirty Indian ships visited Pulicat, while not one called at San Thome. In gratitude, the local chief temporarily granted freedom from toll to the Company. Prospects of stable employment and security in conditions of widespread unrest converted many of the seats of European commerce in India into prosperous urban centres in later times. Pulicat during the civil war in the Carnatic kingdom was an early and short-lived instance of such development. Even late in 1619, when heavy warfare affected production in the Pulicat region as well, enough cloth was produced in the town itself to ensure adequate supply. Eti-raja’s seige of Pulicat in 1620 ended in a peaceful settlement with the local governor and a friendly visit to the Dutch factory 68.

In 1624, the trade of Pulicat, now continuously plagued by rival local chieftains, was in grave danger. In May 1624, Eti-raja imprisoned his rebellious vassal, Pede-raja, the local chieftain of Pulicat, and marched on the town, but he was beaten by Pede-raja’s men with the aid of the Dutch. In August 1624, the Company

entered into a treaty of mutual assistance with the other local chieftains to forestall future attacks on Pulicat. A conspiracy between Eti-raja and the Company’s interpreter, Groa, for capturing the Dutch factors was discovered at about this time and Groa taken into custody. For the rest of the civil war the Dutch at Pulicat were left in peace, but their policy was one of constant preparedness. “The best friends that we have here”, remarked Ysbrantsz in 1625, “are God and our weapons”. In the last years of the war, however, the Company’s trade suffered mainly through poor demand for its merchandise and the necessity for cash payment for all purchases. In 1625, the Company’s trade came almost to a stand-still at Pulicat. Shortage of capital, and not of supplies, was primarily responsible for the situation.69

Conditions in the Gingee territory throughout the war proved to be less congenial than at Pulicat. Even there, till 1617, there was a steady improvement in trade. Ramadeva’s invasion of Gingee in 1618, however, unsettled the economic life of the region,70 and in July 1618, the Dutch were forced to leave Tirupapuliyur, which was shortly captured by one of Ramadeva’s generals. The latter requested the Dutch to return, but they evaded the request because most of the merchants had fled from Tirupapuliyur and a heavy toll had to be paid there whatever the volume of trade. Sometime after the reopening of the factory, in 1625, the general of the Gingee Nayak plundered Devanampattinam and burnt Tirupapuliyur. As the Company’s wares had already been removed, the loss suffered was negligible: only the purchase of saltpeter was hindered by these ravages. By the end of 1625, trading conditions in the Gingee territory returned almost to normal.

Following the pacification of his kingdom, Ramadeva presented the Company with a new contract in November 1629. The first royal grant received at

69 Ibid., p.36.
Pulicat after long years of trouble, it provided a *de jure* basis for the Company’s *de facto* rights. Besides, it abolished the tolls for loading and unloading cargo fixed at 1½ % and 2½ % respectively in 1612. The Company also received the promise of a gift of a village in return for some presents to the king.\(^71\)

Thus by the end of 1629 normal trading conditions had been restored in the South as well as in North Coromandel. In spite of the prolonged political insecurity, the trade had suffered comparatively fewer hindrances in the southern factories. This was partly because the Hindu *lordlings* had less power or inclination to trouble the Dutch. The comparatively unhampered course of industrial production under the protective care of fort Geldria was another congenial circumstance. By the 1620s the VOC had definitely emerged as a power in the land, strong enough to enforce their demands in case of necessity and to protect their own interests in conditions of unrest. They had successfully resisted feudal exploitation, when it went beyond endurance, by an open resort to arms. Potentially, their weakness on the mainland could not thus be an inhibiting influence on attempts to exclude Indians from the high seas by force. The direction of Dutch commercial policy in India did not, however, lie that way. The events of 1629 were an object lesson for all concerned; for the Dutch it was an object lesson only in the sense that under exceptional circumstances, they could now hope to secure redress of their grievances by violent means.

In the 1620s the Dutch had consolidated their position in Coromandel in the face of many difficulties. In the 1630s, with increased resources, they could further develop their trade and extend it to other regions from the coast, though wars, famine and official rapacity continued to plague them. The policy of making the inter-Asian trade pay for itself, which had found general acceptance, led to the

establishment of close commercial links between Coromandel and other parts of Asia.

During 1630–35, conditions in South Coromandel were far more uncongenial than in the north due to the recrudescence of civil war on the death of the young king, Ramadeva, in May 1630. Timmaraja, an uncle of the late King, forcibly seized the government, reaming to acknowledge the succession of Venkata III who was supported by the Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura, in this struggle. The situation was further complicated by squabbles among the Nayaks themselves, and the resulting conditions in the Carnatic were little short of anarchy.

By 1632, the Dutch at Pulicat were directly affected by the war. Timmaraja conquered the neighbouring fortress of Katur that year and an attack on Pulicat itself was only prevented by a timely offer of money. A captain of the rebel general blockaded the highway linking Pulicat with the hinterland and carried on regular plundering operations. The supply of cloth was practically stopped, for in these uncertain times the middlemen would not enter into contracts for procuring wares according to specifications or at any appointed time. In the areas around Pulicat agriculture suffered heavily through the war and the price of cotton-yarn went up in consequence. Many of the villages which produced superior quality cloth were burnt down. The Dutch generally refused to get involved in this internecine war, but at least on one occasion they helped Venkata’s supporters with arms and ammunition, while their chief middleman, Chinanna, actively participated in the war against Timmaraja. With the latter’s final defeat and death in 1635, the war ended in the Carnatic kingdom, though the ensuing peace was not destined to last very long.

Dutch Factories and Ports

The Dutch factorijen and the English factories, whether fortified or not, were descended from the Portuguese trading agencies or feitorias, which were scattered along the African and Asian coasts. From remote, antiquity foreign merchants had lived and traded in India. The rulers and princes of the maritime states in the South Coromandel were familiar with the institution of, what has been called, mercantile extra-territoriality and had allowed Arabs and Iranians, Malayans, Indonesians and Chinese to live in separate residential districts, each under the administration of their own headman. Such settlements were governed by a special agreement with the local ruler, and the position of these foreign merchants, traders and artisans was determined by the terms of convention, rather than by the ordinary laws of the land.

The first Portuguese settlements in India did not conform to the traditional institution of extra-territoriality, because they were more than commercial. Early commanders insisted on territorial concessions, or they seized territory, not as merchants but in the name of the king of Portugal. The only exceptions were their settlements at Hugli and San Thome, but it was long before they exceeded the terms of the agreement, and relying on their formidable naval power, assumed sovereignty.

The Dutch, who followed the Portuguese in India a century later, adapted themselves to the system of extra-territoriality prevailing in the South Coromandel Coast. They obtained a place where their merchants could reside and their goods could be stored, and negotiated a special arrangement in regard to customs duties and port dues. They were permitted to retain jurisdiction over their own nationals as well as over the Indian workman they employed. Gradually they modified the terms of these conventions to include a monopoly of the trade to the exclusion of all others. Being apt to fall insecure in an environment which they did not understand, among people whose language few could speak and whose religious and customs they
regarded with contempt, they began to fortify their factories and defend their harbours.

On the Coromandel this was necessary, for the Portuguese regularly raided their establishments, on several occasions carrying away their merchants as prisoners. The English, who followed the Dutch like gadflies wherever they settled to trade, were competitors though not serious rivals. It therefore became expedient that the Dutch should gain preferential trading rights over them.

The Dutch were not great builders of castles, forts and mansions. They preferred to take over existing structures and modify them. Their factories on the Coromandel were fortified by erecting a thick wall around their property, which was usually surrounded by a ditch, the earth from the ditch being used to construct the wall. The garrison consisted of men taken off their ships, one or two of which would remain anchored in the harbour.
TOPOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AT PULICAT
Pulicat

The port of Pulicat (Pazhaverkadu\textsuperscript{74}) was developed during the key days of the Vijayanagara emperor Devaraya II (1422–1446). This port at that time was called Andarayanpattinam\textsuperscript{75}. A Telugu inscription found on the southern wall of Adinarayanaswamy temple at Pulicat reveals that this port was also called pralaya kaveri\textsuperscript{76} as it was often flooded by sea water like the floods in the River Cauvery in those days. This port of Pulicat (13°29 North Latitude 80°50 East Longitude) was situated close to the mouth of the River Araniyar, greatly facilitating sailing vessels to seek shelter during floods. Pulicat with its ancient temples, cemeteries, churches and a fort is a heritage buff’s delight. Starting from the 10th-century Chola temple, followed by the temples from the Nayak period, to the old Dutch churches and cemeteries, one can literally walk through the pages of history at Pulicat\textsuperscript{77}.

The Portuguese were the first of the colonial powers to set foot in Pulicat. They built a church dedicated to Nossa Senhora Dus Prazeres (Our Lady of Joys) in 1515 A.D.\textsuperscript{78} This church continues to attract the Devout though some additions to the original structure have been made. This Church now stands at Kottai Kuppam or Christian Kuppam. They also built the Church Parish da Luz (Our Lady of Light) in 1516 A.D. The Dutch arriving Pulicat on 26 April 1606, the Dutch were cordially received and they negotiated for several days with the Shalibandar and other local officials, seeking a factory site. However, the negotiations bore no fruit, partly on account of the overly suspicious attitude of the Dutch and partly due to the considerable Jesuit influence at the Chandragiri court.\textsuperscript{79} Following this incident, for


\textsuperscript{75} South Indian Inscriptions (hereafter, SII) XVIII, pp.311-313.

\textsuperscript{76} S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, ‘The Character and Significance of the Foundation of Madras’ The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration, Volume, eds, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1994, p.43.


\textsuperscript{78} The Hindu, 19 October 2003.

several years the VOC had no direct access to Pulicat or to the central Coromandel textile-producing region. In 1608, the Dutch resumed attempts to settle factories in Southern and Central Coromandel. The Dutch factor Jacob de Bitter successfully negotiated in November of that year for a factory site at Devanampattinam, in the territory of the Nayaka of Gingee. Through Gingee\textsuperscript{80}, the VOC gained access to the courts of Velur (Vellore) and Chandragiri\textsuperscript{81}, and this at a time when it appears that the Jesuits were in disfavour there. Thus, with no countervailing influence of significance at Venkata II’s\textsuperscript{82} court, the Dutch in April 1610 obtained permission to settle at Pulicat. In June 1610, the Dutch factory at Pulicat was surprised by a force of Portuguese. The new grant, of 12 December 1612, gave the Dutch the right to maintain a fort at Pulicat, to be constructed by Venkata’s chief Queen Bayama at her expense, and various other rights, some of which deviated significantly from those granted in 1610\textsuperscript{83}. The first fortress which they built in South Coromandel Coast was Castle Geldria at Pulicat, 535 metres in circumference, with walls seven metres high. On its ramparts and bastions were 36 cannons. It was named after Geldria, the native province of Wemmer van Berchem, the General Director of the Company, and it was estimated that 200 men would be required to defend it.\textsuperscript{84}

**Nagapattinam**

Nagapattinam (Na-wu-tan-shan) was the premier port of the Cholas as evident from Chinese records. The discovery of Chinese coins at Vikraman village (Pattukottai taluk) in the hinterland of Nagapattinam in 1942 and 1944 attest to this fact. Spices and aromatics continued to come from Malabar to the ports in the Chola

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coast to be sent to China. The 11-century Rajendra Chola inscription mentions that 87¾ *kalanju* of gold (*cinakanakam*) from China (1018–19 A.D.) was available at Nagapattinam. The same inscription refers to an endowment for which Chinese gold was gifted. This gift was offered by a merchant who was described as *Kidaraitu nayinar* (chief merchant from Kedah) to a temple at the port of Nagapattinam. The name of the merchant is known as Sri Kuruttan Kesavan alias Agralekai.

The port of Nagapattinam situated at the mouth of Uppanar (10°3 N 79° 55 E) continued to flourish in the 13th century and the Chinese traders called it *Na-kia-pot-ta-na*. A Chinese pagoda was constructed in 1267 A.D., when the Chinese presence was considerably large at Nagapattinam. Hoards of circular-shaped Chinese copper coins with a square-shaped hole in the centre had been found at various interior sites of coastal Tamil Nadu such as Thallikottai and Olayukunnam. All of these attest to the fact that commerce flourished between China and Nagapattinam on the Tamil Coast between 713 A.D and 1275 A.D. Subsequently with the decline of the Cholas, however, the Chinese traders also stopped visiting this port.

It was an open roadstead port at the estuary of one of the outlets of the Kadaivayar River, which formed a bar that was constantly shifting. The surf was high and broke heavily on the bar, forcing large ships to anchor well out into the sea. The port was inaccessible during the height of the north-eastern monsoon. The river was shallow and admitted no shipping except very small boats. The Portuguese took control of the port and built a fort here, from where they taxed shipping and trade. The Dutch took it over from them in 1658. The coins were struck by the Dutch

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86 ARE, 166 of 1965-66.
while they were of master of the place. The spelling was Nagapatnam. A solitary record of the times of the Dutch is a stone tablet at a small temple, which states that this pagoda was built in 1777 A.D. under the auspices of the Governor Reynier Vanvlissingen. The Dutch constructed the castle, Naarden, the castle with the golden walls at Nagapattinam, costing 1,600,00 guilders; it was said to surpass Geldria in size and strength, for even towards end of Dutch influence on the east coast, Naarden was defended by over a thousand men of which 184 were mariners.

Sadars

The port of Sadurangapatnam (12°32 N latitude 80°10E longitude) was an important port of maritime trade in the 17th century, known to the Europeans as Sadras. Sadras is a principal port of the Kanchipuram region came from the Vijayanagara period. Reference to the sale of cloth and export trade in textiles at Sadras comes from Tirukkalukkunram of the period of Kampana Udaiyer (early 14th century). The commodities of maritime trade in this port included pearls, long cloth and other varieties of textiles. It is referred to as an important port for textiles trade in another inscription from the same region of the period of Vira-Bokkara Udaiyar dated 1376.

Modern Sadras was established as a Dutch colony in the sixteenth century and became a centre for weaving superfine muslin cloth for export. The Dutch East India Company chose to build a fort at Sadras not only because it was a centre for trade in muslin and spices but because it was free of political disturbances. The beach was less than 100 metres from the eastern wall of the rectangular fort. The massive

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92 ARIE, 170 of 1933.
93 ARIE, 173 of 1932-33.
94 ARIE, 173 of 1933.
defence wall ran on all sides with flanking bastions on the eastern side.\textsuperscript{95} (A bastion is a circular structure built to guard the fort, with cannons mounted on it.) The Dutch built two magazines, flanking the eastern side, to store ammunition. The entrance to the fort was on the western side, and the two cannons that were placed on either side of the gateway still stand. A watch tower was built just above this entrance.

The magnificent Sadras Fort, built for commercial purposes by the Dutch, is a vast compound enclosing a huge granary, stable and structures used to mount elephants (unfortunately only one of these structures survives). The fortress was raided by the British in 1818 and came under the control of the British East India Company. It is now maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India in an effort to contain further dilapidation of this great monument.

\textbf{Devanampattinam}

The medieval port of Devanampattinam and the present port of Cuddalore then known as Kudalur in the Early Medieval Period located at (11° 43 N and 79° 46 E.) was famous on the Coromandel Coast and its origin could be traced to the Thirteenth Century. The littoral was then known as Pennai Nadu (named after the River South Pennar), which was ruled by the Kadavarayas and the ruler was called \textit{pennai nadu kudal aalpirrandan} (the man who was born to rule Kudal – the nadu of Pennai) in inscriptions. The whole of Cuddalore region was called Kudal Nadu. Subsequently this port came to be called Devanampattinam and it is recorded in the Sixteenth century by the Portuguese as \textit{Tevanapatao}.\textsuperscript{96} Cuddalore, called Islamabad by the Muslims, had continued as an important port of this region.\textsuperscript{97} From


Devanampattinam (known in contemporary European records as Tegnampatnam), as from Cuddalore, a brisk seaborne trade had been carried on to Malabar, Ceylon and South East Asia.

**Tirupapaliyur**

Tirupapaliyur was a short distance away from Tegenapatam (Devanampattinam), now known as Fort St. David in the South Arcot District. In 1608, the Dutch factors were granted the use of an old fort at Tegenapatnam, but it proved to be uninhabitable, and they were allowed to occupy instead a smaller fort at Tirupapaliyur. In the Dutch records, the factory is spoken variously as Tegenapatam or Tirupapaliyur and is situated about 70 miles north of Nagapattinam.

**Porto Novo**

Porto Novo, (11°30 N 79°45 E.), on the north bank of mouth of River Vellar in the Bay of Bengal at a distance of 30 km southward from Cuddalore in South Arcot District, one of the most consistently flourishing ports of the South Coromandel Coast. It is also known as Mohamed Bandar during the period of Mughal Empire and the present Tamil name is Parangipettai (which means “the place of foreigners”). The anchorage in the approach to the port was firm and good. This port city had the character of an urban metropolis with shipbuilding and repair yards. The Dutch had factory here and one of the very ancient possessions of the Dutch dates relating to them has been traced on the English East India Company’s

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records to A.D. 1624, 1647, 1680, 1688, 1690 down to the deeds of restoration for all of them executed in 1785. The Dutch Company and their factors carried on at one time an extensive trade in cloths and other articles, and the country generally must have greatly benefited by the mutual exchange of goods and merchandize to which their trade led. The Dutch had a bleaching place called Wannarpalayam.

Nagore

During the Muslim occupation of the Tamil country (1323–1371) in the Medieval Period, Islamic traders probably settled down at the port of Nagore. The Nagore port, situated at the mouth of River Vettar, was the home of longer Indian merchant fleet ranging from one-masted small vessels to ships of 300 tonnes. Nagapattinam is about three miles south of Nagore. Nagapattinam was a prominent port of South Coromandel from the seventeenth century. After the occupying this port, the Portuguese permitted native shipping uninterrupted through their cartaz system but their general hostility towards Muslims (Marakkayar) made the latter migrate to nearby Nagore. When Nagapattinam came under the Dutch (1658), the Marakkayar traders also began to operate from Nagore because of the hurdles created by the restrictive policies of the Dutch. The port was an open roadstead, offered good anchorage for larger ships and loading and unloading was done by small boats and lighters from 5 to 12 tones. The chief exports were groundnut, coloured piece goods, tobacco and other country products mainly to the South East Asian countries.

103 Alex Rea, Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras, Madras, Government Press, 1897, p.53.
106 TNA, Tanjore District Record, Vol.3325, p.65.
Thirumalairayanpattinam

The extension of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country witnessed further growth of the port of Thirumalairayanpattinam (10°53 North Latitude) located close to Nagore in the Fourteenth Century. Paddy was grown extensively in the areas surrounding Thirumalairayanpattinam located in Mulaiyur nadu. That Thirumalairayanpattinam emerged as the main port of trade during the Vijayanagara period is confirmed by Portuguese sources. This port was situated between two rivers: Thirumalairajanar in the north and Puravudaiyar in the south. The rice-cultivating hinterland was thus connected to the port by waterways to bring paddy and rice for the purpose of export. Saluva Tirumalaideva Maharaya, the local subordinate to the Vijayanagara king encouraged the cultivation of paddy so as to earn more revenue to pay his annual tribute to the ruler of Vijayanagara. In 1666 the Dutch got from Vijagyaraghava Nayaka the port of Thirumalairayanpattinam and some other places for sum of 2,800 parados, on condition that the Company neither to fortify the places nor to disembark any merchandise or cloth in these places. The Company wanted the lease to be able to regulate their dealings with the local dyers and also to be free from the molestation of the Nayak’s officers. The issue of these charters shows that Nagapattinam had defiantly passed on from the Portuguese into the hands of Dutch and that the Vijayanagara, who was opposed to the latter at the beginning, had to reconcile himself with them. The grant of additional villages on lease shows further that Vijayanagara became more friendly towards them as years passed on.107

Thirumullaivasal

Inscriptions at Thanjavur and Thiruthani108 attest to the fact that Sri Lanka was conquered and it was under the Vijayanagara Empire during the period of

108 ARE, 749 of 1903, 49 of 1900.
Krishnadevarya, Achyutadevaraya and Sadasivaraya. As their sovereignty extended over the island, overseas trade flourished between some ports on the Tamil Coast and Sri Lanka. The port of Thirumullaivasal at the mouth of River Uppanar. It had direct access to the inland district town of Sirkali and rice and textiles were produced in these areas. The Dutch had a factory in this port for some years and the rulers of Thanjavur jealously guarded its free trade against Dutch encroachment.

**Tuticorin**

Portuguese had settlement here in the year of 1542. But the Portuguese success was short-lived. In 1658 Tuticorin came under the Dutch control. Tuticorin was a large and prosperous city. It had a fine harbour in the southeast coast of Coromandel, where the Dutch could anchor their larger vessels in the stormy season. Here they built a ship-repair yard, several warehouses and a small fort. Also here is a tombstone built in 1706. General (then Capitan) Walesh describes the factory-house, inhabited by the Dutch Governor as a very roomy, well-furnished, and very cool habitation, besides which he had a garden about three miles long.

Thus, Dutch factories on the South Coromandel Coast were established with a view to obtaining South Coromandel Textiles for the ‘county trade’ within Asia which proved to be very profitable for the Dutch. In 1610 a directorate was established with headquarters at Pulicat. The South Coromandel Coast factories were reconstituted in to ‘government’ in 1616 with Hans de Haze as the first

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governor\textsuperscript{115}. This was unusual because ‘government’ were only established where the Dutch also exercised a considerable amount territorial rule. But due to the importance of South Coromandel Coast trade an exception was made in this case. The governor at Pulicat was now responsible for the network to the South Coromandel Coast factories and ports.

The major innovation of the VOC from the South Coromandel Coast was the establishment of a strong, permanent, multilateral trading network, centralised in Batavia. The VOC was in regular contact with its servants headquarter of the Pulicat, and port and factories of the South Coromandel.