

Native Resistance
Against the Portuguese-
The Saga of
Kunjali Marakkars



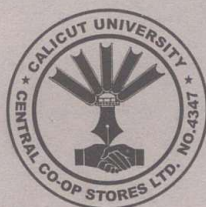
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NATIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST
THE PORTUGUESE:
THE SAGA OF KUNJALI MARAKKARS

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*In commemoration of the 400th year of the
Martyrdom of Admiral Kunjali Marakkar IV
and his fellow seamen.*

Native Resistance Against the Portuguese:
The Saga of Kunjali Marakkars

Dr. K.K.N. Kurup and Dr. K.M. Mathew

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PREFACE

Portugal, one of the small kingdoms of Western Europe, was the pioneering seafaring nation to explore the fabulous wealth of Indies and its most coveted spices during the last quarter of the 15th century. As an emerging nation she converted her economic resources for an efficient programme of maritime explorations and laid emphasis to technology and shipbuilding. The Portuguese became the harbingers of a new European spirit. It is stated that they had inherited the best in sciences from the Arabs who had a cultural dominance earlier in that country and acquired the navigational skills developed in Italy by purchase during that period.

The direct sea route established to the Indies by them turned to be the route of colonialism and imperialism. The impact of this situation was significant on India and other Asiatic nations in the later centuries. There were confrontations and conflicts in the socio-political contexts of these countries owing due to the campaigns and conquests by the Portuguese and others. Malabar was one of the active theatres where the indomitable will of the Zamorins and their sailors had initiated a resistance for hundred years to safeguard the freedom of the land and the sea. The House of the Kunjalis had not only defended the Malabar Coast but also the sea routes between Sri Lanka and the Red Sea. Their maritime activities both defensive and offensive were unparalleled in the history of India during the 16th century. However, it is an unfortunate situation that the saga of their achievements and failures had not been recorded in the annals of history. Sheikh Zainuddin, a contemporary philosopher and historian of Malabar had referred to a few expeditions of this House in his Arabic text *Tuh-fat-ul Mujahideen*. This text ends with the political affairs leading to the compromise between the Zamorin and the Portuguese in 1583. Although this work is not a perfect historical

account on Malabar affairs, it had inculcated an anti-Portuguese and anti-colonial ideology among its readers. As an Arabic text, it was taught in Dars and Madrasas of the Mappila community of Malabar. As such, it had its role in perpetuating an anti-colonial ideology in Malabar.

We are happy to reconstruct the political history of that period in which the Portuguese had their ambitious programme on the Malabar Coast and that had invited stubborn native resistance from the Zamorins and the House of Kunjalis. Many of the primary sources available in manuscripts and printed volumes have been tapped for this purpose, particularly the sources in Portuguese language were consulted by Dr. K.M. Mathew. A few selected and valuable documents related to the Portuguese engagements and negotiations with the Malabar Coast are reproduced in this study. We are extremely happy that the Southern Naval Command, Cochin, has taken a lot of interest in a volume like this, when the 400th year of the martyrdom of Kunjali Marakkar IV, is remembered all over India through the release of a postal stamp. The House of Kunjalis remains as a historical legend in Malabar. We are indeed happy that we could do something to perpetuate their memory and history of their achievements, through a brief account like this on this occasion. We acknowledge our sincere thanks to Calicut University Central Co-operative Stores Ltd., for bringing out this publication.

Dr. K.K.N. Kurup

Dr. K.M. Mathew

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the Portuguese in the medieval city of Calicut in 1498, in an organized effort for trade and commerce, political expansion and religious solidarity with the Christianity in the East Indies, was an epoch-making event not only in the Asiatic history but also that of Europe. It was the inauguration of new historical forces which in the long run had far-fetching impact on nations and nationalities under the process of formation. The regions like Malabar with their traditional kingdoms were exposed to the European expansion and colonial aspirations in this context.

A tiny state of Western Europe, namely Portugal, emerged as an important sea-faring nation at the end of 15th century. Its inventions particularly related to transoceanic navigation, in matters like heavy tonnage of the vessel, mariners' compass, cartography of world and oceans made her to achieve the credit for discovering new sea routes. Although the achievements of Vasco de Gama were given laudable appraisals in all European text books related to colonial expansion, his role was not so significant one as perceived in such text books. The voyage upto Cape of Good Hope, the southern point of Africa was effected earlier by Bartholomeo Diaz and his companions. The Eastern coast of Africa had already established trade links with Western Coast of India even as earlier as 12th century. Therefore the advent of the Portuguese on Malabar Coast was not a significant event as seen in the colonial text books. But this advent by the Portuguese became significant due to the development of historical forces which had taken place following that event. Malabar was the

major territorial region which had witnessed such historical developments.

The four major kingdoms which had existed in Kerala during this period were Kolathnād, the Kingdom of Zamorin, Cochin and Venad. Each Kingdom had its own feudatories and subordinate principalities. Many of them were fighting each other for resource control and territorial expansion. The four Kingdoms which had enjoyed a predominant place and political power over all other smaller principalities were also in a struggle for power. In fact vassalage and political fragmentation had been the order of the day. There was no powerful state formation on account of the internal struggle, institution of caste hierarchy and meagre state resources. Therefore the Kerala situation was quite permissive of any foreign intervention in its political and economic affairs.

Although a large number of political fragments or native kingdoms existed in Malabar during the sixteenth century, the Calicut Kingdom of the Zamorin was famous as an entreport on the western coast of India. The Malabar spices, particularly the produce like pepper and cardamom were highly demanded in the international markets of Aden and Ormuz. The trade links with these centres established by the Arabs made Calicut an international city where traders of different nations found their immense fortune.

The prosperity of Calicut among all the four Kingdoms had been mainly due to its maritime trade and commerce with the Arabs and the Egyptians. These nationalities had much contributed to the growth of Calicut as a medieval town on the Western Coast of India. Abdur Razzak, the Persian Ambassador who visited Calicut in 1442 testified the prominence of Malabar trade with the Arab countries. He wrote:

“.....the most wealthy merchants bring thither from

maritime countries considerable cargoes which they unload and unhesitatingly send into the markets and bazaars without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods.....”

These commercial activities even turned to the establishment of Arab settlement in the town. The advent of the Portuguese in the city of Calicut made them accessible to the gateway of Asia. The Portuguese rivalry in commerce as well as religion against the Moors or Muslims compelled the Zamorin to interfere in the dealings and maintain the law of his country and safeguard the interests of his subjects. Such confrontations against the Portuguese continued over a century, finally resulting in the total disintegration of the Zamorin's Kingdom.

The peaceful political climate of Calicut was much disturbed by the advent of the Portuguese. They cherished the ideas like the monopoly of trade and maritime enterprise in the Eastern waters originating from the Papal Bull to their nation. In fact such a claim by the Portuguese compelled them to project superiority over all other nationalities. This was an open declaration of enmity against the Zamorin and the allies, the Muslims.

During the hundred years of resistance against the Portuguese, the native kingdom of Zamorin, spent its money, men and resources and gradually upheld a new concept of maritime India. It was this resistance against the ‘conquistadors’ that had made the Western Coast of Malabar a free zone although the fortified centres of the foreigners existed beyond the territorial limits of Zamorin.

The Portuguese could establish their settlements at Cochin and Cannanore, the Southern and Northern frontiers of Calicut Kingdom, respectively. The Rajas of Cochin and Kolathunad always tried to extend their states and power in confrontation

with the authority of Zamorin. However, their expansion was restricted by the Zamorin.

The Zamorin was courteous to extend hospitality to the Portuguese also as he had done to others. But the Calicut market dominated by the Arabs refused to deal with the new-comers. When they were asked to pay the usual customs levy, an act of barbarism was shown against the soldiers of the ruler.

The northern ruler of Kolathunad and the southern ruler of Cochin, extended welcome to the Portuguese to their markets, on account of commercial and political rivalry with the Zamorin. In the chequered history of the Kingdom of Calicut there had been compromises and confrontations by the ruling class. However, there had been one constant element that the Muslims or the Arabs with their native descendants known as the Mappilas hoisted the banner of revolt against the intruders.

The conflicts and stubborn resistance of Malabar had been responsible to compel Albuquerque to seek a comfortable place other than Cochin on the Western Coast at Goa to establish a centre for Portuguese expeditions in Asia. For him it was possible to annex that territory from the vassals of Vijayanagar and establish some considerable territorial possession in Asia as a colonial experiment till 1961. However such an experiment was impossible in Malabar on account of the spirit of freedom shown by the Zamorin and his loyal inhabitants and the Mappila sailors. The Malabar sailors, who were better trained for a peaceful maritime trade which was either coastal or long distance one, were immediately converted into combatant mariners. They had to counteract the Portuguese piracy and also resist the order of the day that might was right.

The trading house of Mohamed Kunjali Marakkar from Cochin, migrated to Ponnani and later to Calicut when it was not possible for a free enterprise at Cochin due to the intervention of

the Portuguese. Its search for a free commercial zone and political support against the Portuguese made it an ally of the Zamorin. The house was able to capitalise the Muslim loyalty of the coast and the Calicut town and organize a maritime force to cope up with any emergency. The Marakkar was destined to be the first hereditary Admiral of the Zamorin. The frequent confrontations in the sea made him an innovator of considerable reforms in the marine force. Smaller crafts called 'Padaes' were built for fast voyages. They could be rowed through narrow waterways and rivulets and lagoons. They were positioned at various strategic ports for giving warning as in the modern radar system. They were further manoeuvrable to set fire to the Portuguese vessels. New strategies like 'hit and run', attack on the enemies from flanks in separate groups, or sector attack, the policy of forward from the sea, convoying of cargo ships being escorted by fighting vessels, sea control in the areas of interest, the policy of naval blockade, concentration of force as in a naval base and the offensive action were introduced by the Calicut mariners and their commandants. Such modern strategies and the introduction of modern brass guns and ammunition had effected drastic changes in the organization of a navy, which had even conceived a maritime India, instead of the localization of Malabar. This navy even escorted cargo vessels to Gujarat, participated in naval encounters at Rameshwaram, and Puttalam in Ceylon.

The Zamorin's fleet were very particular to intercept the Portuguese communications between Goa and the Malabar Coast. In such efforts all commandants of Calicut had given effective leadership. As early as 1530 Afonso Mexio complained to the King of Portugal, that Indian seamen had complete control of the maritime trade that pepper was always taken to Mecca, Diu and elsewhere. For controlling the trade and traffic, the Portuguese introduced a system of cartaz or Pass system, but it gradually disappeared due to piracy and capture of native vessels. During

the middle of the 16th century, the Portuguese domination of the sea began to decline. Admiral Pattu Marakkar alias Kunjali III extended his activities to the Konkan Coast. Virtually it had cut off the Portuguese communications with the Malabar Coast. However the animosity continued, and Portuguese tried to establish friendly relationship with the Zamorin. But a constant policy of friendship was not possible since the Marakkar and the Muslims were not favourable for any compromise with the enemies. Fresh hostilities began and the Portuguese fortress at Chaliyam was besieged by the forces of Zamorin.

The Zamorin even tried for an alliance with the Turkish rulers, the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. However such alliances were not fruitful, and he was destined to continue his saga alone in the Calicut Kingdom. The Portuguese fortress at Chaliyam, on the southern bank of Beypur river, was forced to surrender to the Zamorin's fleet in 1571. This was a heroic achievement of a joint action by the army and the navy. This was a turning point in the Portuguese activities in Calicut. They negotiated now for the possession of a point at Ponnani, and that was permitted by the successor of the Kingdom. Kunjali Marakkar III who was in command of the fleet of Zamorin questioned the wisdom of this political development in the Calicut Court. Now the commandant consolidated his naval power in the northern point of the Kingdom at the mouth of Puduppattanam river at Kottakkal. After the death of Kunjali Marakkar III in 1593, his nephew Mohammed Kunjali Marakkar continued his encounters against the Portuguese. Gradually a rupture had developed between the ruler and the vassal and the rupture was readily exploited by the Portuguese. In a joint campaign against the Kunjali Marakkar IV at Kottakkal in 1600, the native soldiers of the Zamorin and the Portuguese defeated the forces of Marakkar. He was captured and finally executed in Goa. It was the end of a heroic chapter of resistance of Malabar against the Portuguese expansion and the colonial

policy of fortification and armed trade.

It was an irony of history that the Zamorin who had been the kingpin of resistance against the Portuguese, became an ally of the foreigners and turned against his own vassal Kunjali Marakkar IV. Andre Furtado, the Portuguese Commandant was fortunate to capture the veteran Commandant of Malabar alive and transported him to Goa for execution. Thus came the end of a chapter of heroic resistance of Malabar against the first adventurers. After them the Dutch and the English came to the Malabar Coast. All of them had followed the same policy of trade and commerce and political ambition on the Malabar Coast. The Kingdom of Zamorin had almost deteriorated in its political stature and control. The northern part of that Kingdom became independent and fell under the control of Kolathnad. The southern frontiers were also encroached upon by independent chieftains like the Raja of Palakkad. In 1793, the Bombay presidency of the English East India Company annexed the entire region of Malabar with their political authority after the Treaty of Seringapatnam.

Within this brief framework of historical development, the 16th century was a crucial and determining period in the history of India. Although the powerful Mughals and the Vijayanagar rulers consolidated their political power, the coastal kingdoms and regions like Malabar were exposed to foreign conquests. Malabar had initiated its heroic resistance against the first wave of foreigners. With all ups and downs in the fortune of a small Kingdom it had done wonders in defeating a colonial power. Nowhere in South East Asia or Latin America such a resistance for a century had taken place. But Kunjali Marakkars and the Zamorins created a chapter in the history of India.

A student of maritime history will appreciate that these encounters against the Portuguese particularly from the Calicut

rulers or the Zamorins were responsible to maintain the freedom of sea and the land for a century in a coastal region ie. Malabar. Although there had been efficient expeditions by the Portuguese to Malabar, they could not enforce a trade-monopoly or control of the sea or territorial gains as in Goa. Even the peace negotiations and the settlements had no continuity for longer period in Malabar, as they had always jeopardised the native interests and freedom of trade and navigation. Therefore compromises were often violated and hostilities were restored. In fact it was a policy of prolonged confrontation against the foreign power not only for the freedom of trade and commerce but also for safeguarding the freedom of land and the sea. The native strategy to expel the enemy from the Arabian waters gradually evolved into a conceptualisation of maritime India. These encounters made Malabar a free territory till the end of the 18th century, promoting indigenous culture, language and literature. Even in a colonial situation, its subnationalism was not defeated, as it had achieved considerable growth.

The origin of Indian navy is attributed to 1613, when the Indian Marine was commissioned by the British Agent at Surat who acquired a small number of grabs and gallivants for its formation. Subsequently it was shifted to Bombay in 1686 and known as Bombay Marine. When a reassessment of the historical situation is made, it can be very well evaluated that the Zamorin's navy and its mariners under the command of Kunjali Marakkars were the pioneers of Indian Navy with modern strategy and a practical approach to a maritime India. Even the convoy system of cargo vessels supported by armed sailors and marine force were introduced by a local ruler, much in advance of his time. Even the grand Mughals could not achieve such exploratory measures in the Arabian waters. It is recollected that this year brings home the heroic memories of 400th year of the martyrdom of Mohamed Kunjali Marakkar, who sacrificed his life and

fortunes for the freedom of land and the sea, not only of Malabar but also in a wider context.

History has taught us the valuable lesson that our national interests are tied up with waters. The words of Alfred T. Mahan have to be quoted that “whoever controls the Indian ocean controls Asia. This ocean is the key to the seven seas”. The destiny of the world as well as our nation’s history will be decided on its waters. The political and commercial history of Malabar and the role of its rulers mainly of the Zamorin and their Commandants highlight how they had delayed the exploitation of our resources by a foreign power for a period over a century. It is an era of achievements and limitations, success and failure.

Part I

The arrival of Portuguese in Malabar

The Maritime traditions of Portugal- Portugal takes to Sea

Situated on the west coast of Europe and washed by the alluring Atlantic sea, Portugal is geographically an integral part of the Iberian Peninsula. The Portuguese were in exceptional circumstances to venture a maritime life. With a number of deep and sheltered harbours and navigable rivers, the people lived by harvesting the sea. Her rocky sea-cost had always been "her gateway to a wider world, breeding a tough and skilful race of sailors not daunted by the oceanic tempests"¹. Since Portugal was confined to a narrow strip of land facing the 'mysterious' Atlantic sea and unable to expand in the peninsula itself, she had sea as its destiny. Pre-eminently maritime, Portugal was the first European power to appreciate the importance of sea-power which played an important part in her history more than any other factor.

The history of Portugal has been a long struggle with the Muslims and a series of continuous warfare since 710 A.D. when the latter had over-run the Iberian peninsula. This has made the Portuguese hardy and adventurous and fostered a race of warriors and sailors well-versed in the art of navigation². It was Afonso Henriques (1114-1185), the ruler of the Bergundian dynasty of 'Portucale' who developed the idea of Portuguese nationality and Portugal became a nation when he took up the title of the 'King of Portugal'. King Afonso had possessed a naval armada capable to defend Portugal and there was considerable maritime activity since then³. He conquered Lisbon with the help of the maritime forces of the crusaders who seemed to have given the impetus to the Portuguese maritime culture⁴. Lisbon became the maritime

and geographical capital of Portugal. Thus the maritime character of Portugal began to take shape by the 12th century and since then, they began to move in a big way⁵. There is evidence of navigation and ship-building in the Portuguese yards since then. King Sancho I created a fighting navy and sent 40 vessels to the Crusader's armada to conquer Silves⁶.

King Diniz (1279-1325) was the true founder of the Portuguese navy and foreseeing the future of Portugal on sea, he set up several naval stations. He encouraged the study of Mathematics by setting up the University of Coimbra, founded the Missionary Order of Christ, whose history is closely related to that of the Portuguese maritime discoveries later. Diniz ordered the planting of pine trees for ship-building purpose, set up a dockyard for ship-building and took several measures for the naval progress of Portugal⁷. He appointed a Genoese Admiral to organise the navy and who contributed much to the maritime growth of Portugal⁸. By the 14th century, Portugal maintained even a merchant-navy for transporting fish and salt to other European ports. Lisbon became an international port. Even the Pope Benedict III felt that "the Portuguese would in the end destroy the domination of others"⁹. King Fernando (1367-1383) the last ruler of the Bergundian dynasty did so much for the maritime development of Portugal that his reign marked the golden period. He issued two charters in 1377 and 1380 to encourage ship-builders by offering pine and oak timber at concessional rate, duty free import of raw materials and tax-exemption for the purchase of ships, etc.¹⁰

King John I (1385-1433) founded the Aviz dynasty that ruled Portugal for 200 years. The history of this dynasty is in fact the history of Portuguese maritime discoveries and conquest¹¹. This dynasty started the age of exploration and discovery with the dream of finding a sea-route to India¹². Several expeditions were

sent to the African coast for exploration. A new era of aggressive exploration began with John II (1481-1495)¹³. During the 27 years of his eventful career, he did everything and secretly planned for the first assault of the Indian Ocean after turning down Christopher Columbus' plan (1493) of reaching India by sailing Westward¹⁴. With his life-dream to find a sea-route, he attracted the wisest men at his court and devoted all energies for maritime enterprises. He visualised that it was possible to reach India by sea by sailing round the African continent. But his premature death robbed him of this great triumph. Manuel I (1495-1521) with hereditary maritime interest trode the steps of his predecessors and reviewed the policy of discovery, conquest and commerce. Discoveries continued for nearly every year of his truly fortunate reign of quarter of a century which reached the climax of maritime enterprises¹⁵. His coat of arms marking "hope of the sphere" really turned prophetic as he hoped and proceeded on the road shown by the predecessors.

Portuguese Maritime Discoveries

The Portuguese had embarked on an Atlantic sea-policy which was adventurous and profitable and pioneered exploration and discovery to reach all corners of the world and to possess an extensive maritime dominion. The 15th century was in fact a 'Century of Portugal' when Portugal was the focal attention of the world and she opened a new page in the history of discoveries¹⁶. The exploits of the Portuguese navigators are revealed in *Lusiadas*, the epic poem of Portugal which would not have been possible without the century of discoveries.

"Thus went we far these unknown seas to explore
which people yet unexplored had been"¹⁷

The early maritime activities were limited to the Atlantic, to discover new lands, to counteract the Muslim trade and to acquire the products of the African coast¹⁸. But later, the scope grew

larger and they planned to capture Ceuta at any cost and to protect the peninsula against the Muslims, fight them in Morocco and go ahead with the 'plan of the Indies' and thus to crush the Muslim trade¹⁹. Navigation, discovery and conquest went together with commerce and colonisation and they went on exploring the mysterious Atlantic seeking a way to the 'Indies'. They have taken their flag to the sea and have opened to the world new worlds.

These maritime discoveries were not any chance achievement. It was possible only with a solid foundation, persistent and careful work systematically carried out by the adventurous seamen²⁰. They planned their voyages with meticulous care scientific basis, unbroken continuity and consistency and pursued them only after a comprehensive scrutiny. The Portuguese followed a policy of concealment and secrecy in order to keep the other Europeans away from knowing their plan²¹. The Venetians Genoa and Castile knew nothing about their plan. The whole country including their Chroniclers observed the official policy of secrecy which deprive us today much of the details on discoveries.

Motives for Discoveries

There were at least five motives:- (i) To explore the African coast beyond the Canary island and the Cape of Bojador in order to know what existed there, (ii) to find out whether there were any Christian people in Africa with whom the Portuguese could start profitable trade; (iii) to ascertain correctly the extent of the Muslim territories, because all sensible persons would like to know the power of the enemy; (iv) to discover if there is any Christian Kingdom which could assist in their war against the Muslims, (v) and to extend the religion and faith of Christ and to bring to Him all souls for salvation.

(i). Commercial Motive

The exotic, aromatic and luxurious goods of the East like

pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, drugs, dye-stuffs like indigo, items like pearls, ivory, silk, muslin, alums and carpets, were needed by the Europeans either as food-preservatives, condiments or medicines²². Spices were more expensive than gold. This taste for Eastern goods stimulated them to try at all costs to procure them from their very sources rather than depending on Venetians and Genoese who reaped rich profits from their distribution in Europe. The Portuguese visualised that one day Lisbon could replace Venice and Genoa. The burning thirst for gold, ivory, plumes, slave-trade and the desire to pour the rich treasures of the East into their hands all acted as influential motives for the maritime discoveries²³. With the blocking of Constantinople port in 1453 by the Turks, the Eastern goods became scarce and expensive in Europe. Hence the Portuguese began to look for an alternate but safe route independent of the Muslims.

(ii). Political Motive

During the long years of their struggle from the 10th to the 15th centuries resulting in 3700 battles for freedom and nationhood, the Portuguese became sworn enemies of the Muslims and they sought every opportunity to strike at them²⁴. Portugal was prepared to face any eventuality, if it could lead to the demolition of the Muslim trade-monopoly in the East. There was a powerful political motive to axe at the powerful Muslim presence in the Indian Ocean. War and trade went together. War could not be fought without profit from trade because Portugal was a small country with meagre resources. But very often, small states in danger displayed greater enthusiasm rarely felt by great nation with huge resources and security²⁵. The Portuguese hoped to create a 'greater Portugal' in the East.

(iii). Religious Motive

A close perusal of the history of Portugal will enable to understand the religious motive behind the discoveries. 'In fact,

Portugal itself was established on the blood of its martyrs and those who fell in the battle were entitled for the Crimson Crown"²⁶. The Portuguese took Lisbon from the Muslims with the help of the Crusaders. They organised their maritime expeditions as a mere continuation of crusades with the prospects of plunder and proselytism. When they went to conquer Ceuta in North Africa in 1415, it was the beginning of a second crusade. To spread Christianity, to promote the missionary activity among the people and to plant the cross in distant lands all guided the Portuguese mariners through all perils²⁷. The capture of the oceanic highway of Asia itself was considered as a maritime extension of crusades. Fired with the zeal of crusaders, they aimed to suppress the growing power of Islam and subjugate them to Christian faith. The cross as the symbol of faith was as much dear to them as sword was the symbol of power, and in fact they took possessions by sword so that the cross may have a free access. The objective of Portugal was not only conquest but conversion. The missionaries who accompanied their fleet were sent to conquer the lands for the king of Portugal and win the souls for the king of heaven²⁸. Keeping this religious motive uppermost in their minds, they planted a cross (*Padroao*) wherever they landed.

The Military Order of Christ founded by King Diniz provided huge resources to undertake expeditions and discoveries as Crusades²⁹. This Order received in return a tribute of 1/20th of the value of all merchandise from Guinea whether gold or slaves. The missionary-spirit of this Order with a sword in one hand and a cross seen in its banner clearly indicated the religious motive. The administration of this Order, the richest of the Portuguese religious Orders, was invested in the person of Prince Henry for the express purpose of its becoming in his hands a powerful instrument for the implementation of a plan of expansion³⁰. The Portuguese naus, galleys and caravelas, etc. had always carried the purple cross of Christ on their white sails. This Order assisted

the voyages and discoveries so much that without this Order, the history of Portugal might not have been written and the expeditions could not have succeeded. Religion has purified their motive and propagation of the gospel was the chief aim of their maritime enterprises which were all promoted for the cause of religion. Religious passion was a living force and it drove them to the fever-ridden seas of the tropical Africa and beyond³¹. Otherwise Vasco da Gama would not have said at Calicut that he had come "in search of Christians and spices"³².

The conversion of heathens was not only the desire of the Portuguese, but it was also an obligation imposed on them with the tacit consent of the Pope in the form of Papal Bulls. The history of Portugal shows several examples of Papal authority and sanction. The Pope has sanctioned the maritime expeditions as crusades with the usual forgiveness of sins³³. These Papal Bulls which were issued from time to time at the request of the Portuguese rulers clearly mirror the motive behind the discoveries and reflect the aspiration and attitude of the "age of discovery". They entrusted the Portuguese rulers with the duty of expanding faith and gave them exclusive right to occupy certain zones. The exclusive right of discoveries made by Prince Henry the Navigator and his successors rested on Papal Bull. The Papal Bull of Pope Eugene IV -*Dudum Siquidem*- issued on 31-7-1436 gave to Henry and his successors the right over the countries already discovered so far and to be discovered in future beyond the Cape of Bojador³⁴. This Bull clearly reveals the extent of sanction and support given by the Holy See to the Portuguese. The Papal Bull, *Dum Diversas*- issued on 18-6-1452 authorised the Portuguese King to attack and conquer the pagans and unbelievers, to confiscate their goods and territories, to enslave them permanently and transfer their property to the Portugues³⁵. The Bull had authorised the impending Portuguese attack on Morocco, even through the wordings make no such limitations to Morocco only.

The Papal Bull –*Romanus Pontifex*– of Pope Nicholas V issued on 8.01.1455 officially from the Lisbon Cathedral is quite interesting, as it clearly mentioned India³⁶. Praising the zeal and services of Henry the Navigator in eloquent terms, the Pope desired that he undertook more voyages “as far as Indies” (*Usaque ad Indios*), the mention of which word enables us to infer that the Portuguese has already been seized of the project of rounding the African continent and reaching the regions of India as early as 1454³⁷. It credited Henry with the intention of making contact with the inhabitants of India to further prosecute the struggle against the enemies and clearly recognised the Portuguese measures and conceded to her the perpetual domination of all that they should find by the ocean as far as the eastern regions of India³⁸. The Pope has excluded all others from entering this area allotted to Portugal under the pain of excommunication!. The Papal Bull –*Inter Caetera*– issued on 13.3.1456 conceded the spiritual jurisdiction over the lands from Cape Nun to Indies to the order of Christ³⁹. The Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI on 3.5.1493 drew an imaginary line and divided that part of the world into two zones which was yet to be discovered and reserved all that in the East to Portugal and the Western side was reserved to Spain⁴⁰. This Bull had entrusted Portugal with the implied duty of bringing the Non-Christian countries under the guidance of Rome. In a Papal Bull –*Ineffabilis et Summi*– addressed to King Manuel in 1497, the Pope granted his request and allowed him to possess the lands conquered from the ‘infidels’. The Pope had asked King Manuel to establish the dominion of Christian religion in the land which might be conquered still⁴¹. Even after the discovery of the sea-route, the Holy See honoured the king in 1502 with the title of ‘Patron of Catholic Missions of the East’. “One thing that stands out most clearly in these Papal Bulls and which was to influence the Portuguese policy for a hundred years to come, was the combination of spiritual urge to conquer heathen lands for Christ,

with fanciful zeal to cut at the root of Islam by attacking it from behind'⁴².

(iv). Geographical Curiosity

The legends created by the ancient geographers also helped to inspire the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese people. There were many legends about the 'mysterious' Atlantic sea. The safe limit of navigation in the Atlantic sea was upto Cape Non and it was believed that 'any one who ventured beyond Cape Non will not return'⁴³. Atlantic was considered as a gloomy sea with all kinds of imaginary perils and hence not navigable, as it had adverse and mysterious currents, heavy mists, sudden storms and sand-banks and reefs⁴⁴. Europeans believed that the mythological pillars of Hercules in the strait of Gibraltar as the end of the world. They trembled by the fear that the waters of Atlantic would boil, sky would be always overcast and sea would be shallow with stormy currents from a little distance from the shore⁴⁵. Some people even felt that the Atlantic was a 'sea bounded only by sea' while others considered it as a lake with no access to sea with monsters and dragons guarding its marvellous wealth and hence not circumnavigable. Even the knowledgeable Arab geographers advised against any attempt into the Atlantic sea as it was a sea of terrors with thick water and air and that none would dare to sail and steer away from the coast⁴⁶. The Atlantic area itself was heard of as a burning heat-zone. The Portuguese anxiously desired to ascertain the truth of these legends. It is also only reasonable that the travel-accounts to the East of Venetian Marco polo which was available along with some maps in Portugal since 1428 must have had a direct influence on Portuguese discoveries⁴⁷. The book revealed the mysteries of the East and felt that there must be a passage round the South of Africa. Prince Henry must have been profoundly influenced by this work and must have determined to solve the problem and follow the African coast until he found a passage to take the voyage to the East⁴⁸.

The influence of the legend of Priest John

The legend of Priest John, the semi-mythical Asiatic potentate-patriarch and Priest-King all rolled into one is closely associated and played a significant and influential part in the maritime discoveries particularly in the sea-route to India⁴⁹. From the very early times, this legend had captivated the popular imagination and from the 12th century onwards, it was believed that the kingdom of Priest John existed somewhere in the distant areas of Asia⁵⁰. Marco Polo placed him in Asia and Florentine Sigoli spoke of him as dwelling in India. By 1465, a letter purported to have been written by him to a Greek ruler was widely current in Europe and it naturally created a lively hope. Known as the Pope of the Orient, he was known to possess both secular and temporal powers. His empire was believed to have extended to the *Indies* and included India and that his kingdom has a sceptre of gold, monstrous ants dug gold, fishes gave purple fountain and pebbles gave light⁵¹. With seventy two vassels under him, he was followed by several Knights, seven Kings, 365 Dukes, 12 Arch-Bishops and Bishops etc. and attended by thirteen great crosses before him during a war. He was known to be a great champion of Christian faith and ever ready to fight against Islam. Europeans even heard that he used to entertain 30,000 people at his table made of Emerald!.

Since 14th century this legend aroused great curiosity in Portugal not only because of the religious affinity but also because it was known that his dominions were 'paradise laden with gold charms'⁵². They had only a hazy idea of his country. He was known to belong to Tartary but it was discredited and moved to India as the ruler of the *Indies*, a term very elastic and embraced Ethiopia, Africa and Asia⁵³. This uncertainty and elusiveness only increased their curiosity and they hoped to have contact with his 'terrestrial paradise' which would confer the same spiritual benefits

as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem⁵⁴. His land was worthy to be sought for not only for its material riches, but also for its spiritual riches, as they have heard that the people of India were also worshippers of Christ. The Portuguese were eager to meet him and hence to navigate as far as India, a country of opulence, semi-fabulous wealth and splendor⁵⁵. They desired to seek in him not only an ally against Islam but also a Portuguese halting station as a relief-base for further voyages.

After the closure of the Middle East land-route when the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453, Prince Henry very much desired to find the land of priest John, if it was possible, because he could be a powerful support against the Muslims⁵⁶. Henry must have used every means, including the news brought by his globe-traveller brother Pedro, to solve the problem and must have desired to meet Priest John for making an offensive alliance against Islam. Henry hoped to get more information in the land of Priest John which could lead him to the discovery of the sea-route to India. He was confident of contacting him and persuade him to attack the Muslims from the rear, or squeeze them out of existence and at least divert the Muslim attention from the Iberian Peninsula⁵⁷. "Priest John was the means, India was the end". However, the premature death of Henry in 1460 deprived him of this great reward. Under his successors, the legend had faded away⁵⁸.

The Plan of the Indies

Throughout the Middle ages, there was much confusion about the meaning of the term Indies as it was applied to everything that lay east of the Mediterranean beyond the Muslim Kingdoms and south of the Sahara Desert⁵⁹. The term Indies was applied to any unknown and mysterious region in the East. The maps showed Indian Ocean as a land-locked sea and hence the discovery of Indies was considered to be an absurd idea in those days⁶⁰. Tradition maintained that the Nile river divided India

from Africa⁶¹. Considering the existing knowledge, it is not surprising that the whole of Africa south of Senegal was considered as a part of the *Indies*. The fact that several ancient geographers has called *Indies* by various names, only added to the existing confusion.

The result of this confusion about *Indies* was to simply enlarge the area of the earth's surface embraced by the term *India* or *Indies* to such an extent that it came to describe all the land that lay beyond the Muslim Kingdoms⁶². The Portuguese had a hunch that the Indian Ocean was not a closed sea and therefore they had planned to circumnavigate the African continent in an effort to push on to the Indian Ocean. This plan of the *Indies* was first conceived by Prince Henry the Navigator and then taken up by John II who had thought of an alliance with Priest John of Ethiopia to carry out a double attack on Islam by mobilising the land forces of king Negus of Ethiopia to attack Egypt and to intercept the maritime way of the Red Sea, and the Portuguese to attack key Muslim position in the Indian Ocean.⁶³

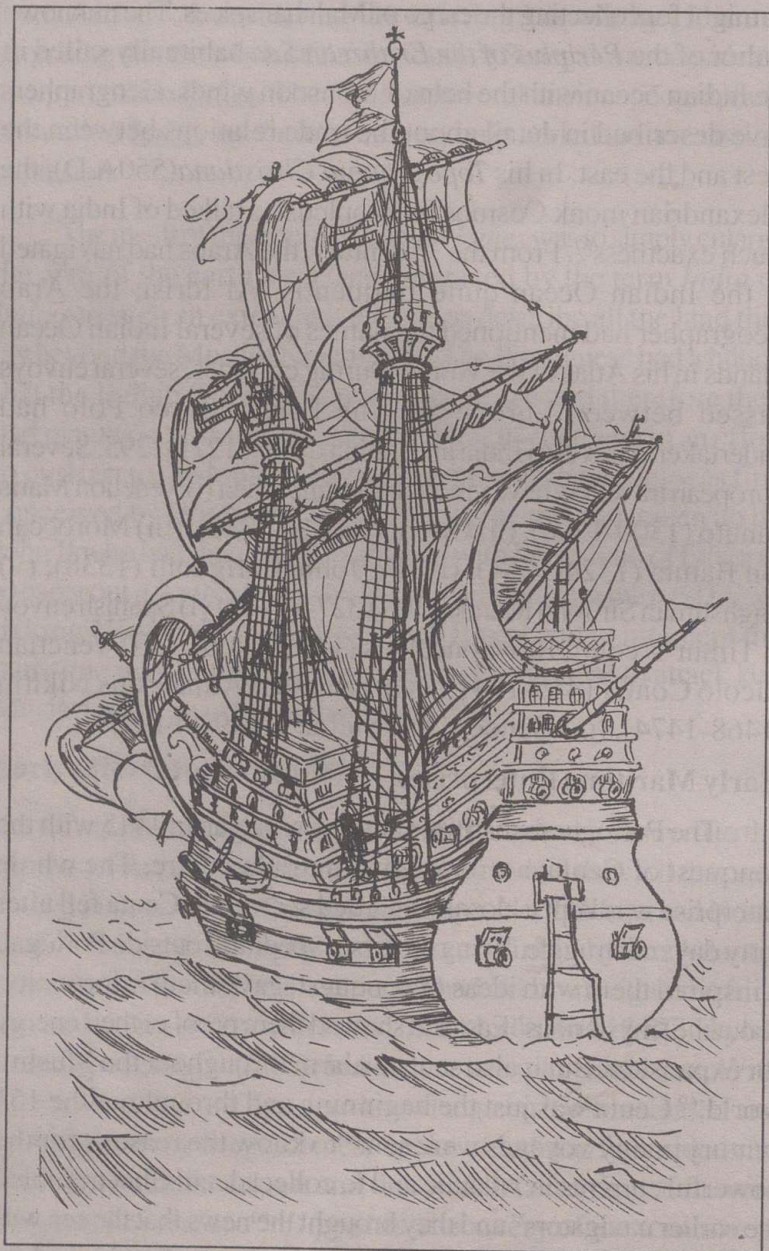
Early efforts to reach India

Travellers, missionaries and merchants had journeyed to the corners of Asia but nothing was known beyond that. All that was known in those days consisted of Europe, North Africa and North East.⁶⁴ Several attempts made to reach India by the Atlantic Ocean had failed.⁶⁵ The Phoenicians had circumnavigated Africa and took ivory and peacocks etc. from India. In 518 BC Skylax from Persia sailed upto the Indus river to explore the coast. With Alexander the Great, Western knowledge on India increased and the Greek envoy Megasthenese spoke of India as four-sided and the side which faced east and that which faced the south were embraced by the sea⁶⁶. *Hippalus'* discovery of the south-west monsoon winds was a revolutionary stage and since then it was possible to sail to Cranganore on the Malabar coast within a

fortnight for collecting the cargo of Malabar spices. The unknown author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* habitually sailed in the Indian ocean with the help of monsoon winds. Geographers have described in detail about the trade relations between the west and the east. In his *Topographia Christiana* (550 A.D), the Alexandrian monk Cosmos Indicopleustes talked of India with much exactness⁶⁷. From the 7th century, the Arabs had navigated in the Indian Ocean quite frequently. Al Idrisi, the Arab Geographer had mentioned the names of several Indian Ocean islands in his Atlas of the World. During crusades, several envoys passed between Europe and the East. Marco Polo had undertaken a travel to India and China during 1271-1295. Several European travellers have visited India since then (i) Venetian Maris Sanuto (1300-1306), (ii) Odorico (1316-1330), (iii) Moroccan Ibn Batuta (1324-1354), (iv) Fr. John Marignolli (1338), (v) Englishman Sir John Mandeville (1327-1372), (vi) Spanish envoy to Timur's court, Rui Goncalves (1402-1406), (vii) Venetian Nicolo Conti (1419-1441), (viii) Russian Athanasius Nikitin (1468-1474), (ix) Genoese San Stefano (1494-1499)⁶⁸.

Early Maritime Enterprises

The Portuguese maritime enterprise began in 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta, a strong Muslim trade-centre. The whole enterprise was kept a closely-guarded secret and Ceuta fell after forty days of struggle. Being the first expedition outside Portugal, it inspired them with ideas of conquest, gave them information about the 'mysterious' East and showed them proof of their energy for expansion. But it also sent an alarm throughout the Muslim world.⁶⁹ Ceuta was just the beginning and throughout the 15th century many voyages were sent "to know the reasons for the powerful currents in Atlantic and to collect details that trembled the earlier navigators" and they brought the news that the sea was calm beyond the Canary island.⁷⁰ The discovery of the legendary lands of Madeira and Azores islands were the stepping stones



A Portuguese Ship of the 16th Century

for further exploration and it laid before them the secrets of the Atlantic sea and put the key of maritime route to India in their hands later.⁷¹ The rounding of the cape of Bojador, “the dark and sinister sea” filled with mysterious dangers and powerful currents, was a great feat.⁷²

Further progress was only a question of time and several voyages were sent. An expedition to Tangier in 1437 to destroy the Islamic domination there and to reach India by sea ended in fiasco. The Tangier disaster enforced a respite for some years. During 1434-1448 exploration continued on the African coast. The slave-trade greatly financed further voyages and gold quickened the desire for more gold.⁷³ The sudden blocking of Constantinople by Turks in 1453 made it indispensable for the Portuguese to find out an independent sea-route to the East. Exploration continued and the Portuguese navigators had penetrated upto Sierra Leone in 1460. The after-effects of Prince Henry’s death in 1460, etc. have delayed expeditions till 1469 when the Portuguese entrusted the monopoly of African exploration and trade on a five years’ contract on condition that every year 100 to 375 leagues of land must be discovered.⁷⁴ The Equator was crossed in 1471 and the Guinea coast was explored during 1471-1475.

Covilham’s Overland Journey to India (1487-88)

During all these years of exploration, the Portuguese were collecting all kinds of useful information’s about India by forwarding letters everywhere. King John II desired to know the monsoon winds and currents in the Eastern sea in order to correct the prevailing geographical mistakes and to strike a route to India.⁷⁵ All efforts were made to reach India. The King sent in 1481 two emissaries Fr. Antonio de Lisboa and Pero de Monteiro overland to India, to locate the land of Priest John, to know whether his territories reached upto the sea and whether pepper or cinnamon

grew there.⁷⁶ But the mission returned from Jerusalem since they did not know Arabic, a language essential for travel beyond. In 1484, the King of Benin in South Africa supplied useful informations about a sea-route to India. Now the King planned two expeditions- one by land and the other by sea, almost simultaneously.⁷⁷

The overland expedition consisted of Pero de Covilham, a polyglot and Antonio de Paiva, an Arabist. This expedition was expected to collect information about the sea-route to the East, to ascertain whether it was possible for the ships to sail round the southern extremity of Africa to India, to find out the approximate distance susceptible for navigation between India and the terminal point of African continent and even to draw a map of the travels.⁷⁸ The purpose of their mission which was kept top secret, was not the search of Priest John, but the search of the land of spices, because the Spaniards with the same objectives and maritime rivalry could create diplomatic complications.⁷⁹

Covilham and Paiva conferred with geographical experts, cosmographers and astronomers. They were provided with confidential letters of credit and a sea-chart. They left on 7th May 1487 in the disguise of Arab merchants and reached Aden via Cairo and Red sea. Here they learnt that Priest John was the Negus of Abyssinia and hence Paiva went to see him there agreeing to meet Covilham at Cairo on return. Covilham embarked for India on a Muslim vessel and sailing in the Indian Ocean, he reached Cannanore and became the first Portuguese to set foot on the Indian soil.⁸⁰ He visited Calicut in 1488 and after a short stay at Malabar coast reached Goa, a great trade centre for Arabian horses. He travelled further to the East African coast via Ormuz and visited the Arab trade centers there as far as Sofala which place was marked already on the Portuguese map. He learnt here that the Arabs used to sail from here to Malabar coast with the help of monsoon winds. His visit to Sofala provided him

the missing link between the sea-discoveries round Africa and their ultimate goal in India. Anxious to pass on all details to Portugal, Covilham reached Cairo in 1491 where he learnt of the death of Paiva. In the meanwhile, John II had sent two Jew emissaries, Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph Lemos in search of Covilham. They met Covilham at Cairo and secured a letter to the king and Joseph carried it to Portugal.⁸¹ This letter, narrating the travels, reached Portugal in 1491 when Bartholomeo Dias had already doubled the Cape of Good Hope and brought the news. The letter explained in detail about the spice trade in Malabar as seen by Covilham.⁸² The letter showed that winds were favourable for sailing from Africa during the months of May to October and that November to April were suitable for return to India. "If Ships which traded with Guinea were to continue their course along the coast of Sofala, they would strike in the Eastern sea and reach Calicut coast"⁸³ It was also confirmed that it was possible to attain the end of the continent of Africa by sailing the southern route.

Frequent dispatches from Covilham reached the King and they were all kept secret. In all these letters, he pleaded with the king to pursue the mission of *Indies* vigorously and that there was no danger in such an enterprise. His letters were accompanied by a sea-map which he had got from the Muslims in India and it had marked all cities around the coast exactly. It is true that Covilham, the first explorer of India was the theoretical discoverer of the Cape sea-route as he had supplemented the news brought by Bartholomeo Dias. Dias' expedition to the Rio de Infante and Covilham's expedition to the East are the two great factors that prepared the way for the discovery of a sea-route to India.⁸⁴

Bartholomeo Dias and Circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope (1487-1488)

John II had entrusted the sea-expedition to Bartholomeo Dias, one of the greatest caravel masters of his time. His mission

was to go along the African coast and if possible to pass the southern extremity of the African Continent.⁸⁵ His fleet of three vessels had also few natives of Congo who were brought to Portugal earlier and they were to spread the rumour that a European Prince was sending ships to Africa to contact Priest John. It was hoped that the rumour will reach the local ruler who might send envoys to the coast to meet the Portuguese.⁸⁶

The fleet left Lisbon on 2/8/1487 and proceeding along the African coast beating the heavy wind, they reached the southernmost part of the Congo river and called it the 'Cape of Turns'. Dias sailed in the South Atlantic for 15 days and covered 300 leagues southward. After standing out the south-west winds boldly, he knew that he had covered considerable distance to the south and hence returned to the east. In view of the inclement weather conditions, he left the coast where he was sailing close to it and made a great tack out into the high-sea for 13 days and with the change of weather turned to the coast, naturally hoping to see the coast running from north to south and as no land was seen for some days, he turned to the north.⁸⁷ The coast now ran east-west which meant that he had rounded the tip of Africa without noticing it and had discovered the southern entry into the vast Indian Ocean. He realized that at last he has passed the southern extremity of Africa and that the way to India was now open. It was an unexpected wind that took the fleet beyond its destination and in that process they doubled the Cape unaware. They pushed further to the Great Fish River (Rio de Infante) and here they encountered a warm current flowing southwards which confirmed them that they were now entering the Indian Ocean. Dias found his way from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, studied the winds and determined the best course for ships.⁸⁸ However, exhausted crew and shortage of provisions forced them to return. Thus Dias gave up the chance of being the discoverer of India. He turned back from the Rio De Infante with the firm assurance that India

was in their grip. He gazed on the Cape “which was hidden from the sight for so many hundreds of years and which when seen, showed not merely itself but the whole world”.⁸⁹

On return, Dias erected a pillar (Padroado) at the Cape which was named as the ‘Cape of Storms’ (Cabo Tormentosa) from the storms he had faced, which was later on renamed as the Cape of Good Hope, as a happy augury that the passage to India was now assured to the Portuguese. After 16 months and 7 days at sea, they reached Portugal and gave the news. The doubling of the Cape was either concealed or its importance lessened by spreading false news in keeping with the traditional Portuguese policy of secrecy.⁹⁰

The doubling of the Cape, which was a record of navigational skill till then, should have at once opened up the gate of India and the Orient for Portugal. By opening up the passage from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, Dias had destroyed the myth of the Atlantic and clearly demonstrated that Africa did not extend further to the south of that point and that the continent could be rounded and the Orient could be reached by sea.⁹¹ It also proved that there was a passage from the South-East Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and that the typical ‘nau’ was not suitable to sail round Africa because of different winds. It seemed that their dream of a passage to India was within their reach. After the return of Bartholomeo Dias, expeditions were continued for studying the winds etc., and in order to ascertain the best course for the vessels.⁹²

The Treaty of Tordesillas (1493) and the Imaginary Division of the World

In the meanwhile, the return of Christopher Columbus after the discovery of Antilhas in 1493, had only complicated the problem. Now there was a possibility that the Castillians could forestall the Portuguese in Indian waters and that their discoveries

could threaten Portugal's position, because with Columbus' success and the overthrowing of the Muslim kingdom of Granada in 1492 by Spain, it was quite clear that Spain also was entering in a period of maritime expansion.⁹³ In fact, after 1493, both the Spaniards the Portuguese were trying to deceive each other, the former with the secret favour of the Spanish Pope Alexander IV and the latter with their definite knowledge of the globe.⁹⁴ This brought certain litigation between Spain and Portugal. Therefore, negotiation continued between the delegates of Spain and Portugal. During the negotiation John II of Portugal had bribed the Spanish delegates by concealing his objections. His espionage system and secret information were so very well organized that during the negotiations, he learnt the line of arguments of the Spanish delegates and as such he could prepare counter- instructions for his delegation at the negotiating table. He had carefully concealed the knowledge of the practical sea-route to India. His idea was to keep the Spaniards in the Western zone and guarantee to Portugal the monopoly of the sea-route. He desired to keep as the Portuguese national property, the maritime way round the Cape which could lead to India. At last the Treaty of Tordesillas (1493) was signed between them.⁹⁵

This treaty was the final settlement between them of all conflicting claims and for the time being it avoided a conflict which would have been fatal for the whole Peninsula. It clearly demonstrated the master-diplomacy of John II on Portuguese discoveries. This treaty proposed a line of demarcation, 370 leagues west of the Cabo Verde islands from the North to the South pole. This line divided the Atlantic sea into two zones for the purpose of discoveries. The Portuguese knew that India would be in the Eastern zone and it seems that they had prior knowledge of Brazil which they desired to be in their zone and which in fact they had discovered six years later in 1500.⁹⁶ The treaty prescribed that none could make discoveries trade and conquest beyond its

terms. The treaty had implicitly secured the confirmation of Portuguese sovereignty in the Eastern areas and thus safeguarding the Cape-route to them.⁹⁷ Thus the East was reserved for them along with the trade route and the possession of India. Both the Spaniards and the Portuguese rulers were happy, the former because of his conviction of being the masters of the route to India, and the latter because they were sure that they would be able to complete very shortly the discovery of the route to the East.⁹⁸ The Spaniards realised that they were deceived only after Vasco da Gama's return from India!!

The death of John II in 1495 was a great set-back to the Portuguese maritime enterprises. It can be inferred that Vasco da Gama's epic voyage of 1497-1499 must have been preceded by at least a decade of experiments and they had reached upto Sofala as early as 1495. But all these were kept totally secret and suppressed, in keeping with the official policy of that time.

The Epic Voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497-1499)

The doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Dias and Cavilham's letter about Indian Ocean had convinced that the Portuguese could discover a sea-route to the East by voyaging in the southern direction. The maps had shown that India was close to Portugal by the East than by the West and hence the idea of doubling the Cape of Good Hope and entering the Indian Ocean seemed feasible.⁹⁹ They knew that such a southern trip would require a navigation of over 3000 leagues. The entire plan of discovery of the sea-route was formulated by Prince Henry the Navigator, pursued by John II and correctly proposed after comprehensive and critical scrutiny by successive generation of Portuguese pioneers. Once the total plan became viable, it was discussed in King Manuels's Council in December 1495. Some elders expressed doubts on the advantages of a sea-route and desired to discontinue it on the ground that it would attract ill-will

in Europe, huge expenditure and displeasure of the Muslim rulers.¹⁰⁰ Others had argued that it would be a great burden for Portugal to implant her sovereignty far away, that it would be nothing but an invitation to trouble for Portugal.¹⁰¹ But the King rejected these objections/reservations and prepared for the enterprise.

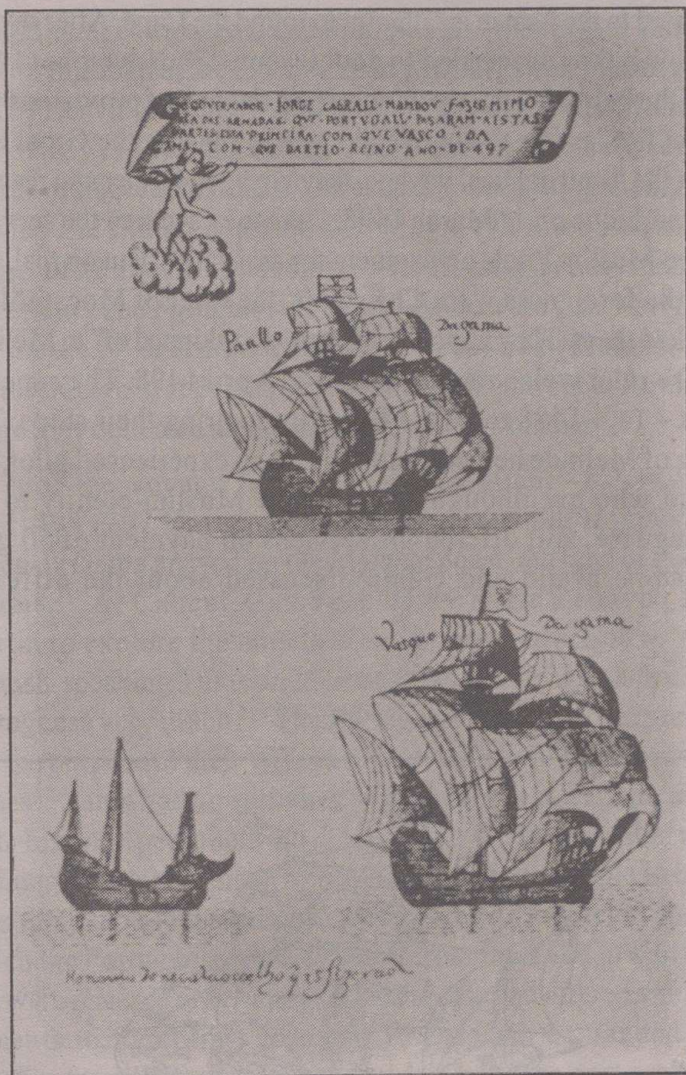
Bartholomeo Dias was entrusted with the building of the fleet as he had the experience of the kind of ships which could withstand the fury of the sea near the Cape Good Hope. A Cosmographer and hydrographic expert and an eye witness has this details. "Our Lord, the King ordered four small ships to be built, the greatest to exceed 100 tones,..... larger vessels were unnecessary, and this was done so that they could easily enter and depart the vessels were fashioned by special Masters and Journey-men and stoughtly built in the matter of timber and nails; each vessel had carried pipes and barrels for storing wine and water. Vineger and Olive oil were reinforced with iron hoops for greater security; adequate quantity of bread, wine, meat, vegetables, medicines, arms and ammunitions were provided for. On this voyage were sent the principal Pilots Navigators and wisest sea-men of the country, bestowed with high pay and rewards; for this voyage, so many and so heavy expeditures were lavished on so few ships that since they seem hard to believe, I shall not give them in detail.¹⁰² The vessels were nau S Gabriel (100 tons), nau S. Raphael (100 tones) nau of Provisions (200 tones) and Caravela Beirro (later renamed as S. Miguel).¹⁰³

The command of the voyage was given to Vasco de Gama as Bartholomeo Dias was too tried to be engaged for another voyage. The entire voyage was already drawn from the existing information and the route was identified perfectly safe and clear.¹⁰⁴ Gama had an audience with the king who told him about the seriousness of his mission. Gama and other Captains kissed the

royal hand and knelt before him. A silk banner was brought, embroidered with the Cross of the Military Order of Christ, of which the king was the administrator. Gama took an oath touching it and in loud voice. Then the banner was given to him along with instructions for the voyage, letters to the Kings, priest John of the *Indies* and especially one meant for the Zamorin of Calicut.¹⁰⁵ Gama and his Captains left for the chapel of Our Lady of Belem erected by Prince Henry and spent the whole night of 7th July 1497 praying there. The voyage was blessed and sins were absolved of the would-be martyrs in the voyage.

On the morning of 8th July 1497 Gama and his men, about 160, entered the ships, each holding a lighted candle and on bare foot. They included ten convicts and exiles for all kinds of hard jobs on board and meant to be sent to the land if needed, Fernao Martins, the Arabic interpreter, Martin Afonso, the interpreter of African language, priests John Figuera and Pedro de Covilham to hear confessions and Artisans of all types for various purposes.¹⁰⁶ Vasco de Gama, the Chief Captain was in nau S. Gabriel with Chief pilot Pero de Alenquer. Nau S Raphael was under Pero Escobar and the vessel of provisions was commanded by Goncalo Nunes and piloted by Afonso Goncalves.

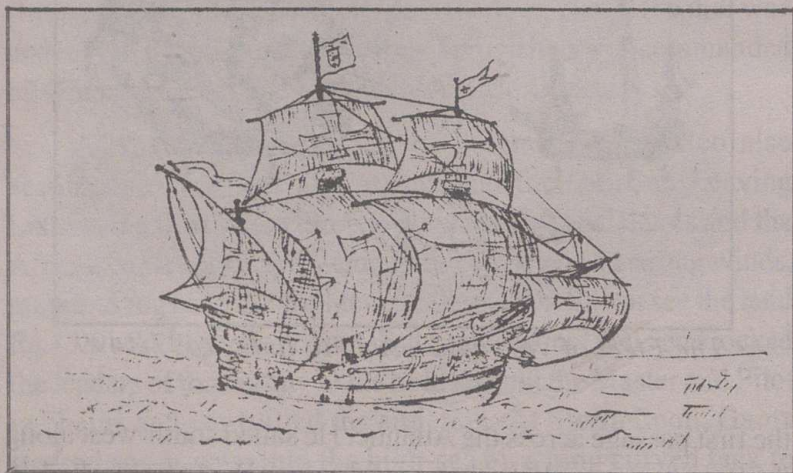
As the fleet left the bay of Belem, Bartholomeo also accompanied the fleet in a Caravela upto Sierra Leone. Leaving Lisbon, the fleet sailed directly between Canary Islands and the African coast upto Cape Verde islands. They faced strong winds, rains and fogs and the frightened sailors who did not see the land for 13 weeks begged to return. But Gama did not yield and locked the leaders of the mutiny in the hold and put the Master and Pilot in chains and controlled the situation. At Sierra Leon, Gama steered south-west into the high-sea on a long curved tack to make use of the trade-winds of the southern hemisphere.¹⁰⁷ Thus he crossed the Equator almost very close to the Brazilian coast and making a direct course through the mid ocean, Gama made



The Fleet of Vasco da Gama to India 1497-1499

the first passage across the Atlantic. He sailed south-west along the Brazilian coast, but unaware of this fact. When he reached St. Helena island about 300 leagues near the Cape of Good Hope, they were on voyage for 3 months.¹⁰⁸ As the wind favoured, Gama

deviated to the East in an attempt to round the Cape. After several attempts, they succeeded to double it on 22nd November 1497, with the help of westerly winds. Here the nau of provisions was set on fire, as it was not needed now. Crossing the Great Fish river, the 'limit of Dias' voyage, they voyaged further and reached Mocambique on 1st March 1498. Here they secured the services of two Muslim Pilots on payment for assistance. But on realising that the foreigners were Christians, the ruler of Mocambique attacked them. They narrowly escaped and skipped off to Melinde whose ruler welcomed them on 14th April 1498. They spent 9 days – 14.4.1498 to 24.4.1498- for repairing their ships. The King of Melinde helped Gama to hire an experienced pilot, Ibn Majid who eventhough aware of the Muslim enmity to the Portuguese, still offered his services on payment of 50 gold crusados. Majid and Gama discussed about the different



*Nau. S. Gabriel
in which Vasco da Gama came to India in 1498*

navigational equipments and methods and the former showed Gama a fine map of the Indian Ocean with all its contours marked on it.¹⁰⁹ Leaving Melinde with the help of south-west monsoon winds, they crossed the Indian Ocean and passing between the Islands of Laccadives and Maldives without sighting them, they reached the Indian coast on 20th May 1498 after a non-stop voyage of 23 days from Melinde.¹¹⁰ The Exact place of landing is not certain "The Firinghis reached Malabar in the year 904 (Hijra era) on the 6th of Karkadakam of the year 672 (Malabar era) and disembarked at Pandarini Kollam and then went to Rorikotta where they collected all informations about Malabar."¹¹¹

For the voyage from Lisbon to Calicut -8.7.1497 to 20.5.1498 (207 Days), they covered over 4000 leagues and Vasco de Gama arrived on the Malabar coast, the land of golden dreams.¹¹² At Calicut, Gama sent to the shore a convict Joao Martin to explore the situation and he was surprised to see a Spanish-speaking Tunisian Merchant, Moncaide who helped the Portuguese very much.¹¹³ The Portuguese had clearly expressed that the purpose of their voyage was to 'search for Christians and spices'. Gama had an audience with Zamorin at Calicut, along with his key personels on 25.5.1498, when presents were exchanged between them. When Zamorin asked Gama to bring the ships nearer to the shore, Gama refused on suspicion and for which the Portuguese were detained from 6.6.1498 to 8.6.1498 and were released only when the Portuguese had offered valuable presents to Zamorin's Ministor.¹¹⁴ Zamorin demanded 600 *xerafins* for allowing the Portuguese to leave the port probably at the instance of the Muslims who saw real danger on the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar. Hence, after being anchored at Calicut for 101 days (20.5.1498 to 29.8.1498), the fleet left after placing a marble pillar (Padrao) called "S Gabriel" on the shore of Calicut.¹¹⁵ They had taken on board a Syrian Christian- a native of Cochin who agreed to learn Portuguese and teach Malayalam

on the way, as it would prove to be indispensable for the future.¹¹⁶ Gama had also taken with him the Tunisian Moncaide along with 'five or six Indians of Calicut'. The fleet sailed into the sea on 25.8.1498 and latter anchored at Anjediva island near Karwar for fresh water. On 10.10.1498 the fleet left the Indian coast for Africa and crossed the Indian Ocean. After a continuous voyage of three months minus three days, they sighted the African coast. They reached Melinde on 7.1.1499 from where an envoy also embarked for Portugal.

The return voyage was a more difficult one. On 13.1.1499 when they reached the island S Raphel, the sailors had been reduced very much in number due to death and hence two ships were burnt for want of sailors.¹¹⁷ Only nau S Gabriel and Caravela Beirro continued the voyage. The Cape of Good Hope was rounded on 20.3.1499. From the Guinea-coast, Nicolo Coelho left for Portugal in his Caravela Beirro and reached Lisbon in advance on 10.7.1499 and informed the great news to the King.¹¹⁸ At Cabo Verde island, Alvaro Velho, the chronicler of the voyage had already disembarked from nau S Raphel and did not accompany the fleet and hence his accounts of the voyage abruptly stops here.¹¹⁹ During August 1499, Paulo da Gama, elder brother of Vasco, who was sick throughout the voyage, died of scurvy and was buried at Azores island. Nau S. Gabriel with Gama reached Restelo on 29.8.1499 and he solemnly entered Lisbon on 8.9.1499 from where he had left two years and two months ago with 160 men of which only 55 have returned.¹²⁰

Total number of days of the voyage

from Calicut to Lisbon

279 days

(29.08.1498 to 10.7.1499)

Anchoring on the return voyage

43 days

This the following details can be found of the total voyage:-

Total distance discovered for to and fro voyage 7500 leagues

(4000+ 3500 leagues)

The total number of days for the to and fro voyage 479 days
(207 + 279)

Total days of anchorage in the whole trip 253 days
(109+101+43)

Hence the total number of days taken for the
whole expedition (479+253) 732 days¹²¹

On the return of Vasco da Gama, King Manuel I took up the title of "Lord of Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." Gama was rewarded with 'Don', Coat of Arms, Admiralship of Indian Seas for himself and descendants, Chief Captainship of any fleet to India, an yearly pension of 3000 *reis* and permission to invest yearly 200 *Crusados* on Indian trade.¹²² He was also given ten quintals of each spice to be distributed among friends and one quintal of each drug brought from India.¹²³ Every crew member was rewarded. Besides salary, they were allowed to keep whatever they brought along with them and 10 lbs. of each of the spices per person.

Though Gama's feat of navigation was with a hostile crew and sailing at the mercy of winds and storms, throughout the voyage, the Portuguese men displayed much courage and perseverance and which formed the subject-matter of the great epic of *Lusiadas*.¹²⁴ The discovery of the sea-route "was an invasion of India by Western Europe, by that enterprising nation whose warriors had conquered the conquerors of Asia".¹²⁵ The discovery was the climax of the endeavour of three quarters of a century and Gama became the first discoverer of the true means of utilising sea-power as the foundation of colonial power. It paved the way for the predominance of the West in the Eastern sea. Gama's entry into the Indian sea has in fact announced the claim of the Portuguese for the exclusive domination over India and Portugal became the mistress of the Eastern sea-route and they

began to look upon the sea as their own.¹²⁶ Gama had in fact solved the riddle of centuries. It checked the advancement of the Turks in Asia. The discovery made radical changes in the economic balance of the world and placed Portugal in a unique position. It meant the overthrow of the monopoly of Indian trade of the Venetians, Genoese and Arabs and enabled Lisbon to become the emporium of the world-trade with Asia.

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Part II

The Kerala Scenario

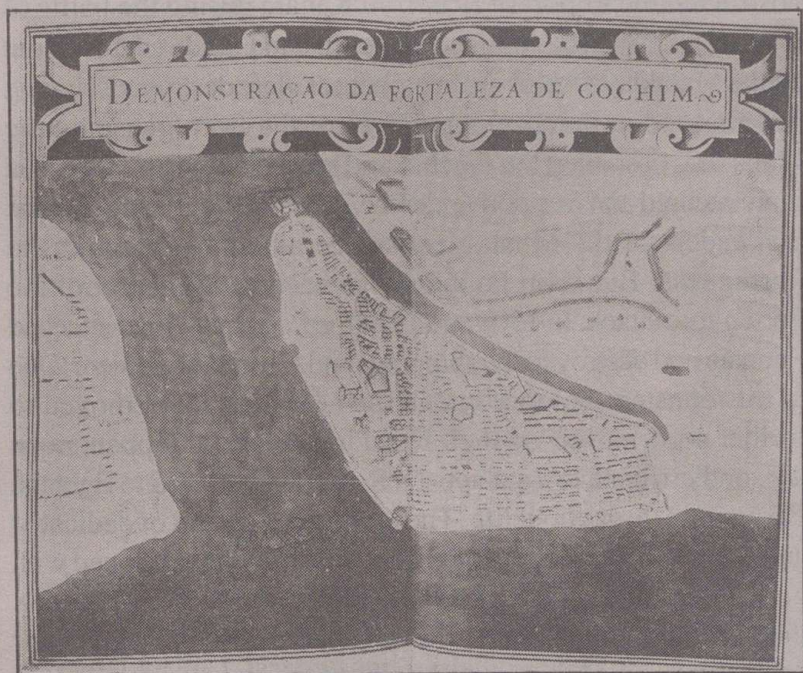
Kerala had a great maritime tradition from the time immemorial. Her history presents an eventful record of contact with other countries, not only with her neighbours beyond the ghats, but also with the countries far beyond the sea, both on the west and on the east. The Sangam literature mentions about the voyage of the people of Tamizhakam to foreign countries. The Chera rulers of Mahodhayapuram had a well-preserved navy. This great maritime tradition in the ancient times was kept going during the Medieval period. Among the rulers of Medieval Kerala, the credit for having bestowed special attention on the maintenance of a navy goes to Zamorins, the rulers of Calicut. They organised one of the best fleets of the day and its command was entrusted to the Kunjali Marakkars who were known for their superb skill in navigation and proficiency in sea-warfare.

In fact, the history of the Portuguese relations with Malabar in the 16th century is the history of Kunjali Marakkars who sacrificed their lives and property in defence of their land and the sovereign. The Marakkars served Zamorin with courage and devotion. When the Portuguese challenged the freedom of the Indian Seas and endangered the safety of the Malabar coast by carrying fire and sword, the Marakkars rose as one man under the banner of Zamorin and inflicted many defeats on them. These brave seamen fought fearlessly and defeated the Portuguese and have left a distinct mark on India's maritime history. Their gallant exploits are the theme of many a ballads and folksongs sung by the sea-faring folks of Malabar even today. The encounter lasted for a century when the Marakkars engaged themselves in a deadly

grapple with the world's greatest maritime power of the 16th century and reached the climax in the near disaster of the Portuguese in Malabar. During the 100 years of wars (1500-1600) with the Portuguese, these Marakkars whose initiative, courage navigational skill and persistence dominated, were ruthless and cared little for the rights of others, but compared with their Portuguese opponents, they were humane and more civilized. Their lives reflect glory and honour on all Malabar people for their achievements against the naval domination of the Portuguese and form a great chapter in the history of this region.¹

During the 100 years of wars with the Portuguese, the Marakkar family had produced a succession of four remarkable Admirals, but there were fifteen Zamorins in succession on the throne of Calicut.² Frequency of death and succession brought to the throne Zamorins who were weak and wavering and ready to compromise. Continuity of dynastic policy was interrupted. Besides, political exigencies arising from the long-continued war with Cochin entered Zamorin's calculations in regulating his relations with the Portuguese. But during this period, the dynastic policy of the Marakkars remained steady and resolute. Kunjali III, the greatest of Calicut Admirals foresaw the danger and warned his King Zamorin when the latter allowed the Portuguese to build a fortress at Ponnani. So he established a fort at Pudukkottai to counteract the danger to which Zamorin's fatal concession had exposed the whole scheme of Calicut's naval defence. His nephew, Kunjali IV defected and rebelled against the Zamorin and the Portuguese who were waiting for an opportunity took advantage of this defection to create a rift between him and the Zamorin. The tragic end of Kunjali IV was a shameful incident marking the end of the power and prestige of the Zamorin. It is a blot on the Zamorin that he let down the most reliable servant and allowed him to be done to death by the Portuguese. It is stated that, "The end of Kunjali Marakkars is

one of the tragic episodes in the history of Malabar and it is all the more so in view of the ignoble treachery of the Zamorin who was once his Lord and Master. It is an irony of history that the Marakkars who had all along been the main support of Zamorin's power and strength in his fight against the Portuguese had to be crushed by an unholy and opportunistic alliance between the Zamorin and his traditional enemy."³



The sketch plan of the fortress of Cochin

There is a lot of obscurity about the origin of the illustrious Kunjali Marakkars. Tradition say that they were the descendants of Arab Muslim merchants, who came for trade with Malabar in the 7th A.D. There is also a view that they hailed from Panthalayani Kollam and under pressure from the Portuguese, they left the place for Tikkodi and from there they moved to Kottakkal at the mouth of Kottapuzha river. Another view is that they were a

powerful trading community of rich Mopla merchants (local converts of Islam) at Cochin who were engaged in the import of rice from Kanara. When the Cochin Raja befriended the Portuguese and entered into a friendship treaty with them, this trading community felt threatened and found it uncomfortable to live there with their traditional occupation. Their leader Ismail Marakkar had secretly helped the Calicut Zamorin and even obstructed the import of rice from Kanara during the battle of Cochin (1503-1504) between Cochin and Calicut. During the battle, Marakkars' ships and warehouses were destroyed. Having felt alarmed at the growing power of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast, they left Cochin and settled down at Ponnani, a more secured and free port under the Zamorin. Soon they became the leaders of the Muslim resistance movement against the Portuguese. But soon Ponnani also became the target of the Portuguese attack. In 1507 and 1524 the Portuguese had attacked Ponnani and destroyed the shippings and fortifications there. Due to this constant bombardment, the Marakkars had moved to further north and set up their Headquarters at Pudukpanam on the southern bank of Agalapuzha River. They vowed to fight the Portuguese throughout life. They organised a band of dedicated and brave sailors and collected a fleet of warboats equipped with guns. They were prepared to operate an armed fleet to harass the Portuguese ships at all times and thus to gradually end their dominance on the Indian seas. All what they wanted was an official recognition from the Zamorin to conduct acts of warfare against the Portuguese.

It was at this time that the resources of the small kingdom of Calicut were nearly exhausted due to the constant hostility with the Portuguese and also because of the loss of revenue from the Calicut port. However, there was no question of abandoning the free trade policy on which Zamorin stood firm. Therefore, a great need was felt for a permanent naval force to check the activities

of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast and on the high seas there. Zamorin was wondering how to go about it. At about this time, two Muslim merchants who had very much suffered from the Portuguese bombardment at Ponnani came to see the Zamorin with a plan of their own. The delegation consisted of Kunjali, Kutti Ali and Ali Ibrahim. Impressed by their credentials, bravery and background, Zamorin gave them letters of authority showing that they were acting as the naval forces of Calicut. Thus Zamorin took the Marakkars into his services and supported them with men and money to fight the Portuguese. The Marakkar brothers were given the title of Kunjali Marakkars. They enjoyed powers and position of a Nair Chieftain of Calicut. They could make their arrangement for obtaining war vessels and to recruit their own mariners and sailors. They could even retain the Portuguese vessels captured by them along with their cargo and arms as their prizes and appropriate them, as they liked. They were to operate on their own and do not have to obtain specific authorisation for each and every action in which they were engaged. Zamorin appointed the eldest member of the Marakkar family as the Admiral Kunjali Marakkar and in due course the office became hereditary in nature.

The word 'Marakkar' is an abbreviation of 'Margakkaran' (follower of law) and the title is applied to a person of a foreign religion like the Christian and Mohammadans.⁴ According to another view, the word 'Marakkar' would mean boatman and it has originated from the Arabic root 'Markat' or the Tamil root 'Marakkala-ryan' (Chief of the wooden ship).⁵ According to Dr. S.C Hill, it originated from a Marathi word 'Marakar' (Demon) used by the people of Konkan coast colloquially for seamen. There is still another view that the term 'Marakkar' originated from 'Catamaran' or 'Maram', which means a raft or boat. The owner of a Maram is called Marakkar. It is probable that the term 'Marakkar' is an honorific plural of the word

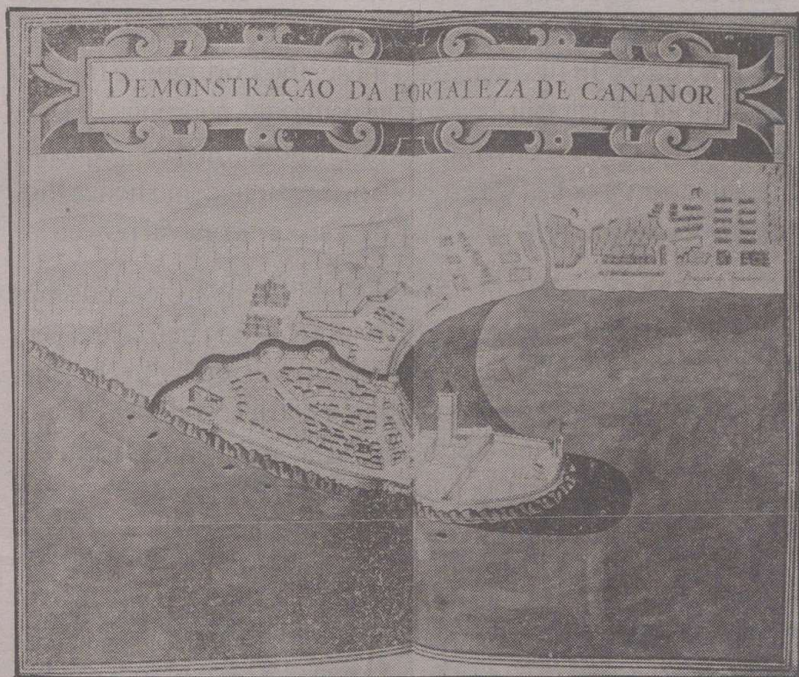
'Marakkar', a common surname applied to the Hindu sea-going folk (Mukkuvas) of the Malabar coast⁶ In several parts of Kerala, Mukkuvan is still called Marakkar. If an honorific 'r' is added to Marakkar, it becomes, 'Marakkar'. Obviously, the Muslims who came by sea, and whose profession was maritime commerce came to be designated as Marakkar. This is probably the origin of the term, but it seems to have remained a title only. There are a large number of instances even upto the 18th century when the rulers have conferred the title on a distinguished Mappila.

The word 'Kunjali Marakkar' needs explanation. The word 'Kunjali' is an honorific title, which means 'dear Ali' when, added to 'Marakkar' it means 'dear Ali, the navigator of ship'.⁷ The name of the first distinguished chief of the navy was conferred as a title to the successors also. It seems that Kunjali Marakkar I was the first navy-chief of Zamorin to organise and develop the naval wing of Zamorin's army on an efficient footing to fight the Portuguese on equal terms. Similarly, Pattu Marakkar who distinguished himself in the siege of the Portuguese fortress of Chaliyam and in recognition of whose services was allowed to fortifying his base of operation at Puduppattanam (Kottakkal) and was later given the title of Kunjali III.

Kunjali Marakkar I (1507-1531)

Mohammed Kunjali I was an experienced and brilliant strategist in the art of hit-and-run tactics and in fact he was the real originator of the guerrilla warfare at sea. He watched with alarm the rapacity of Portuguese, their contempt of Islam, their violation of agreements and their acts of aggression on sea and land. "In 1524, some of the Muslims of Koshi (Cochin) like Ahmed Marakkar, his brother Kunjali Marakkar, their uncle Mohammed Ali Marakkar and other dependants felt their desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Koshi for Kalikut."⁸ Kunjali and his brother Ibrahim went to Calicut and offered their swords,

ships and services to the Zamorin in his war on the Portuguese. Zamorin enthusiastically welcomed the offer of the Marakkars and conferred on Mohammed the little of Kunjali I, (the beloved) and was asked to organise and develop his navy in order to fight the Portuguese effectively. Kunjali I chose the best seamen to man the navy. He enlisted the services of brave Sea-Captains like Kutti Ali Marakkar and Pachachi Marakar.



The sketch plan of the fortress of St. Angelo at Kannur

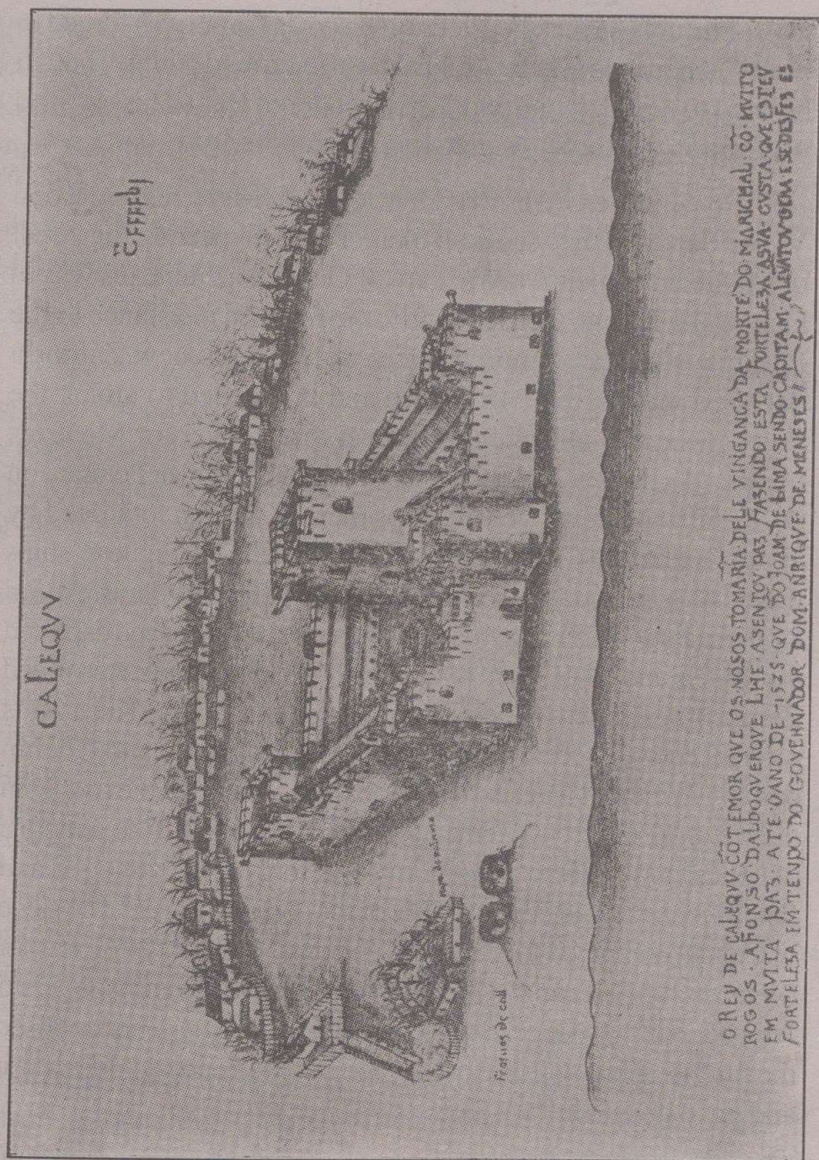
When the Portuguese made fierce attacks on the Moppila towns which were the recruiting areas of Zamorin's naval force, Kutti Ali who was the Captain of a ship belonging to a squadron based at Tanur realised the need to change his strategy of war. As a realist, he felt that the Calicut ships were no match to the Portuguese vessels which were fixed with heavy guns. Hence he resorted to guerrilla tactics in warfare. The heavy and large

Portuguese vessels were slow and took more room for manoeuvre and needed high-wind for fast movement. Therefore, Kutti Ali built a large number of fast moving boats called '*paraos*' rowed by 30 to 40 rowers and could be easily navigable even in shallow waters. Being small and fast, these *paraos* presented a difficult target for the enemy's canon. He kept hundreds of such *paraos* at every river-mouth and creek. His men on the hillocks kept a watch over the sea and signalled the movements of every vessel to the war *paraos*. Thus he organised the naval defences of Calicut on sound basis. In the face of all these, the Portuguese found it very difficult to maintain their coastal communication intact. Hence they were obliged to convoy their merchantmen and consequently their superiority at sea was seriously threatened and hence they made a determined effort to destroy Zamorin's naval power.

In 1523 Captain Kutti Ali with eight pepper-loaded ships with an escort of 40 vessels sailed to the Red Sea before the very eyes of the Portuguese. Kutti Ali was assisted by his brother Junior Kutti Ali. Both brothers commanded a vessel each, Junior Kutti Ali cruising in the North near Goa, and Captain Kutti Ali remaining cruising near Cochin.

In the meanwhile the old Zamorin was dead and the new Zamorin was only more hostile to the Portuguese. Though there was no open war between the fleets, there was an undeclared war on the sea. Viceroy Vasco da Gama (1524) had sent several expeditions to Malabar. He sent Martin Afonso Desouza to stop the activities of Kutti Ali at Calicut. An engagement took place at Kappad, north of Calicut but the Malabar seamen withdrew to Pantalayini Kollam for replenishment. Kutti Ali slipped away abandoning his ships. Junior Kutti Ali suffered similar fate when a Portuguese fleet engaged him in a pitched battle off the Goa coast.

Pattu Marakkar and Balia Hassan of Cannore were the distinguished leaders of the guerrilla team of Calicut. Pattu



The Portuguese fortress of Calicut

Marakkar, assisted by the King of Porakkad seized and sunk several Portuguese ships they met with. Balia Hassan, a relative of the Rāja of Arakkal near Cannore, proved so much nuisance

to the Portuguese that the Viceroy Vasco da Gama was forced to go to Cannore and ask the Arakkal Raja to surrender him. Though he tried to avoid, in the end, he surrendered Balia Hassan who was imprisoned at St. Angelo fort at Cannore.

Portuguese Governors Henriques de Menezes and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo had spent all their energy in meeting the threat of Malabar seamen. The first act of Governor Menezes was to hang Balia Hasan. Consequently, the Muslim resistance to the Portuguese became more violent. In 1525 the new Zamorin declared war on the Portuguese and proceeded to attack the Portuguese fort at Calicut. To meet this, Governor Menezes organised a powerful attack on Kutti Ali's shipping at Ponnani on 26.2.1525 and destroyed all ships there. Kutti Ali retaliated by appearing before Cochin port and burnt all the Portuguese ships there. As a tit for tat Governor Menezes attacked Panthalayini Kollam (June 1525), a flourishing Muslim settlement and captured 40 vessels and taken them to Cannore. An angry and determined Zamorin retaliated by besieging the fort of Calicut. Kutti Ali's men effectively prevented the supplies from Goa and Cochin coming to the fort and also occasionally bombarded the fort from the sea. In all these engagements, Kutti Ali resorted to the principle of conciliation of forces, economy of effort, offensive action and flexibility i.e., rapid deployability of the combat power.⁹ The siege of Calicut continued for 5 months and on 15th Oct. 1526 Governor Menezes himself came with 20 ships to relieve the garrison. Kutti Ali had to lift the siege. But by then, the Portuguese had realised the futility of holding the fort any longer and hence demolished it and gave up and left for Goa.

The new Governor Lopo Vaz's powerful fleet engaged Kutti Ali in a pitched battle off Bakrur in which a great part of Kutti Ali's fleet was destroyed. Kutti Ali just managed to escape with the remainder of the fleet. In march 1528, Captain Desa hād won a victory against the Calicut fleet now under Kutti Ali's brother

Chinna Kutti Ali, in between Mangalore and Mount Eli. Chinna Kutti Ali was captured but later released only after he swore on Koran that he would never again fight against the Portuguese!!.. In September 1528, the Portuguese attacked Zamorin's port of Chetwaye and blocked the river-mouth in order to bottle-up several Malabar ships, which were anchored there. But the Malabar seamen counter-attacked and destroyed several Portuguese ships and killed its crew.

Thus the daring activities of Kunjali I and his Sea-Captains were so effective that for several years the sea communication between Cochin and Goa were interrupted. Trade had diminished. The Malabar seamen were in total control of the maritime trade of the West Coast.

Kunjali Marakkar II (1531-1571)

In 1531 Zamorin reorganised his fleet under Kunjali Marakkar II, son of Kutti Ali, one of the enterprising Captains who had served under Kunjali I. For the next 40 years, he remained the Admiral of Calicut. He had learnt the naval warfare in the new school and had no hesitation to pay back the Portuguese in their own coin. He started harassing the Portuguese now and again and it was his past-time to capture Portuguese ships and massacre its crew. In one year alone, he had confiscated around 50 vessels and killed the entire crew.

In 1531, the Portuguese succeeded in capturing some ships belonging to Zamorin on their way to Gujarat and took many prisoners including Ali Ibrahim Marakkar and his nephew Kutti Ibrahim. Thus the Malabar seamen had suffered heavy loss on account of such reverses. Therefore, the Zamorin had decided to compromise with the Portuguese in some way or other. Accordingly negotiations began. Governor Nuno da Cunha had sent from Goa, Diogo Perrira in October 1531 to negotiate an



The sketch plan of the fortress of Kodungalloor

agreement with Zamorin from a position of strength. An agreement was concluded and accordingly Zamorin allowed the Portuguese to construct a fort at Chaliyam at the mouth of Beypore River.¹⁰ Chaliyam was in the territory of Raja of Tanur (Vettam) and it was with his permission that the fort was built. It was constructed in 26 days by the end of March, 1532. The fort was strategic because it commanded the trade-route between Arabia and Calicut and the Portuguese were able to establish themselves at such a strategic point. Chaliyam fort served as a base from where they could advance into the heart of Zamorin's territory in the event of a war. The Portuguese knew that the Chieftains of Chaliyam and Tanur were favourably inclined towards them and that both of them hoped to be delivered from Zamorin's yoke with the Portuguese assistance. They expected that the Portuguese will make them powerful as in the case of the King of Cochin. But as

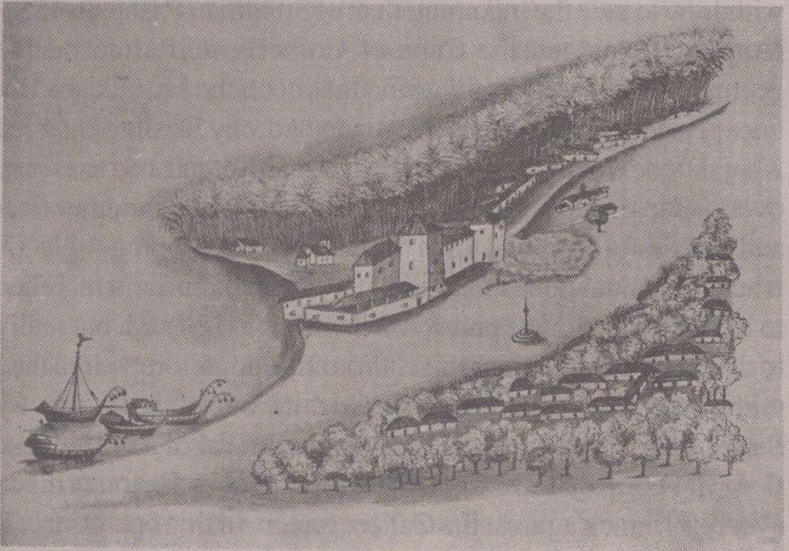
soon as the fort was constructed, quarrel arose over its custom collection and its apportionment. The Portuguese refused to give Zamorin his share in the collected customs. Their aim was to weaken Zamorin at the expense of the landlords of Beypore. Zamorin fell a prey to the Portuguese strategy. Therefore, he looked for other ways to teach them a lesson!

Kunjali II effectively employed guerrilla tactics and caused much havoc to the Portuguese shipping. He had attacked the Portuguese settlement in the Coromandal coast and at far away Ceylon. The Malabar seamen had established themselves at Kotta in Ceylon and supported Prince Mayadunne against his brother King who was a supporter the Portuguese.¹¹ For seven years the Malabar seamen continuously harassed the Portuguese shipping from their Kotta-base. In all these operations, Kunjali II resorted to the tactics of attacking the enemy in two different directions, thereby relying on the principle of surprise and flexibility. The engagement in Ceylon continued till such time when the Portuguese withdrew to face the incoming fleet of Sulaiman Pasha. In 1533, Kunjali II rounded the Cape of Comerin and attacked the Portuguese settlement of Nagapattanam on the East Coast. But unexpectedly a Portuguese fleet under Antony Desilva engaged Kunjali. The Calicut fleet was defeated and Kunjali had to escape overland in disguise. But in 1534, Kunjali II fitted another fleet and successfully preyed upon the Portuguese shipping. In 1537, when the annual fleet had just left for Europe, Zamorin marched to Kodungallore in the pretext of visiting it as its Lord, but really to destroy the Portuguese there. From Kodungallore, he reached within the striking distance of Cochin, but he withdrew by September 1537 with much loss, on the arrival of a Portuguese fleet. In February 1538 Captain Martim Afonso Desouza made a forceful attack against the Calicut forces. In this operation, all the Marakkar Chieftains including Kunjali II participated, but they had received heavy losses and many Marakkar leaders were killed

in this action.

In the meanwhile, Zamorin along with the Sultan of Gujarat requested the help of Sulaiman, the Magnificent of Turkey to help him to drive out the Portuguese from the Indian seas. Accordingly, a formidable fleet left Suez in June 1538 under Sulaiman Pasha. On hearing the news, the Portuguese made defensive measures. Sulaiman tried to besiege the fort of Diu, defended by the Portuguese garrison. But the overbearing conduct of the Turks alienated the local sympathy and soon the Turks found it difficult even to procure provisions and they raised the siege and retired.

By 1540 the naval conflict on the Malabar Coast had continued for 40 years. Zamorin was a broken-man and became tired of fighting. He died in 1540. The failure of all plans to overthrow the Portuguese compelled the new Zamorin in adverse circumstances to seek peace with the Portuguese. He sent



The Portuguese fortress at Quilon

Chinnakutty Ali, a relative of Kunjali II to Goa for peace negotiations. The treaty of Ponnani was entered into on 6th December 1539, and it was ratified on 1st January 1540 on board a Portuguese ship 'S. Matthews' anchored in Ponnani river, ceremoniously by Alvaro de Noronha, son of the Viceroy with Zamorin's minister.¹² Accordingly, (i) all the pepper of Calicut would be sold to the Portuguese at the same price as prevailing in Cochin (ii) Zamorin might send an amount of pepper to Portuguese on his own account (iii) A part of the Portuguese imports should be sold at Calicut so that Zamorin could get his port dues (iv) Muslim merchants of Calicut should purchase *cartazes* (Passport) from the Portuguese Captain of Chaliyam in order to navigate on the high seas; however, they should not trade with Mecca in pepper or drugs without the special sanction of the Viceroy of Goa (v) Zamorin should not wage war on the friends of the Portuguese, namely Cochin and if he did, this treaty conditions will not be disturbed. The treaty gave the much-needed respite from war. It was advantageous to both the parties; the Portuguese got the monopoly of the trade at Calicut port and Zamorin got restricted freedom of action against the local powers as the Portuguese had assured a policy of non-intervention.

But in spite of this treaty, the unofficial war continued on the coast. The Malabar fleet under Kunjali II had made it unsafe for the Portuguese ships to sail in the sea that side without any escort. In 1533, Kunjali II attacked the Portuguese settlement of Punnakayal on the Coromandal coast at the invitation of Viswanath Nayak, the Vijayanagar Governor of Madurai. During 1555-1559, the Portuguese began a vigorous seizure of native ships and cargo and killed all the crew in the most cruel manner, cutting their throats and throwing them into the sea.¹⁴ For many years, Kunjali II had eluded the vigilance of the Portuguese and fell on their shipping and trade. He fought pitched battles only when forced by the circumstances. In 1558, there took place a naval

engagement off Cannore and in that Kunjali II lost 3 ships, but the remainder had retired unharmed. In 1599, a Portuguese fleet under Goncalo Marmanaque had blocked the Malabar Coast and caused much damages.

It was in such circumstances that the Governor sent a fleet in 1564 to plunder the wealth of one Abubaker Ali of Cannore who failed to meet a forced-loan demanded by the Portuguese Captain there. The Portuguese looting resulted in the death of Ali and Kunni Suppi. The Portuguese had bombarded the town and because of this, the Kolathiri Raja of Cannore who was a Portuguese ally for over 50 years had declared war and besieged the fort St. Angelo at Cannore. Assistance came from Goa but Kunjali's vigilant men made it impossible for them to reach. As a result of this, trade in North Malabar virtually came to a standstill. Consequently the Portuguese had raided and caused much devastation of properties.¹⁵ In 1569, a fleet under Miranda with 39 vessels came to Calicut coast to deal with Kunjali II, who strategically withdrew for hiding and attacked from the rear, killing Miranda on the spot.

Political developments elsewhere in South India encouraged Zamorin to renew his struggle against the Portuguese. The defeat of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikotta in 1565 had crippled the Portuguese trade activities in India. In this situation, in 1566, the Muslims of Ponnani and Pantalayini Kollam had attacked a Portuguese rice-laden ship off Ponnani. As a result of this, the Portuguese had resorted to plundering and destroying the Muslim settlement on Malabar coast which were the bases of Kunjali's operation.

Now Zamorin plotted a grand plan to destroy the Portuguese. Accordingly in 1570, he entered into an alliance with Adil Shah of Bijapur, Nizam Shah of Ahamednagar, and the King of Achen, for expelling the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean.

All of them had agreed to attack the Portuguese possessions simultaneously. Thus Adil Shah besieged Goa while Murtaza Nizam Shah attacked Portuguese Chaul. The king of Achen was asked to attack Malacca. Zamorin on his part sent Kutty Pokker, one of his ablest Captains with 21 *paraos* to assist in the siege of Chaul. A formidable Portuguese squadron was guarding the harbour of Chaul. Kutty Pokker sailed into the harbour in the night and landed his men there. The Malabar fleet stayed for 20 days in Chaul and fought a bitter though unsuccessful engagement and caused much damage to the Portuguese shipping and base there. Kutty Pokker slipped away from Chaul during one night. His fleeing fleet fell in with the Portuguese fleet of Digo de Menezes with 40 ships and a serious naval engagement took place. Kutty Pokker fell fighting bravely and his whole fleet, except 2 ships, was destroyed. "Thus the naval struggle that started with Marshal Coutinho ended in their signal defeat and nothing came out of their several years (1510-1570) struggle."¹⁶

In July 1571, the Calicut forces concentrated all their efforts to siege the Portuguese fortress of Chaliyam. Many Muslims from the neighbouring areas came and gave full support to Zamorin in the siege operations. The siege lasted 4 months. Under the leadership of Pattu Marakkar, the Calicut forces effectively frustrated all the Portuguese attempts to relieve the fort or to send in provisions. They intercepted the supplies to the beleaguered garrison coming from Cochin and Cannore. The siege was so effective that the Portuguese garrison ran short of all provisions. "The besiegers watched all the time by the side of the fort, so that the besieged who could not get fresh supplies, exhausted all provisions available in the fort and ate dogs and such animals. Every day, servants and women, who became converts to Christianity, came out of the fort, with the permission, owing to the scarcity of food"¹⁷ At last the Chaliyam fortress capitulated in Nov. 1571. The Portuguese were forced to abandon it and it

was demolished "leaving not one stone upon another." The Portuguese Captain of the fort De Castro was later executed in Goa for the surrender of Chaliyam. The loss of Chaliyam was a great blow to the Portuguese prestige in the East. It marked the beginning of the end of the Portuguese power in Malabar. With their expulsion from Chaliyam, the Portuguese efforts to control the Malabar coast was virtually sealed.¹⁸ With this, the activities of the Malabar seamen had practically stopped the Portuguese shipping and trade on the West Coast.

Kunjali III (1571-1595)

For the great services rendered in the siege and reduction of the fortress of Chaliyam in Nov. 1571, Zamorin granted to Pattu Marakkar permission to erect a fort and dockyard at Puduppanam near Vatakara at the mouth of Akalapuzha river, the then H.Q of the Marakkars. Within a short period of 2 years (1571-73) Pattu Marakkar built a strong fort here and fortified it. It was after building a fort here that the place acquired the name of Kottakkal and the river got the name of Kottapuzha. The newly erected fort came to be known as 'Marakkar Kotta'. Pyrard de Laval, the French traveller referred to it as 'Marcaire coste'.¹⁹ Pattu Marakkar was conferred the title of Kunjali Marakkar III. Zamorin also conferred on him many privileges and powers equal to the best Nair Chieftain of the Calicut force.

Though driven out of the mainland with the fall of Chaliyam fortress, the Portuguese did not give up their depredation on the Sea and they continued the policy of attacking and plundering and setting fire to the coastal towns of Zamorin's territories regularly. It was only natural that the Malabar seamen retaliated. Therefore the Portuguese now started sending out on cruise two fleets for surveillance known as the fleet of the North and the fleet of the South. In order to deal with the troublesome activities of the Malabar seamen, the Portuguese authorities had organised a

punitive expedition in 1575 under Joao DaCosta who ravaged the Malabar-Sea with 2 galleys and 24 other vessels. The fleet captured several Malabar vessels and set fire to the town of Parappanangadi, Kappad and Nileswaram.

It was in such circumstances that in 1578 the Portuguese sent Rui Goncalo de Camara specifically to negotiate with the Zamorin for permission to erect a fort at Ponnani. But the Zamorin was in no hurry and hence he had put off the proposal on some excuse or other. Because of this denial, the Portuguese had bombarded all the places on the coast including Calicut and devastated many villages. The Portuguese and Kunjali II acted and reacted with great barbarities. Worst of all during 1582-83, the Portuguese captured 50 rice-loaded Calicut ships coming from Kanara coast and this led to severe famine conditions. Zainuddin speaks of the terrible famine conditions due to the blockade of rice import.²⁰ In such a situation, Captain Kutti Moosa, a cousin of Kunjali III took complete mastery over the Coromandal coast, while Kunjali III himself began a successful offensive against the Portuguese shipping from Dabul to Cape Comerin on the West Coast.

Tired by the continuous warfare and pleaded by the people, the new Zamorin yielded to pressure and made peace in 1582. According to this peace-treaty, the Portuguese were allowed to erect a fort at Ponnani and both parties had agreed to exchange prisoners of war. The Portuguese were only too happy to get a site at the strategic Ponnani because they could not only check Zamorin from there, but also could wipe out Kunjali III in that process. Kunjali III greatly resented this grant as he realised that the Zamorin had sacrificed their interests by allowing a fortress at Ponnani while they were engaged in a life and death struggle against the Portuguese. Kunjali III foresaw the danger and warned the Zamorin, his master, but of no avail. He deeply opposed this and

started fortifying his own fort and put it under trained garrison. Naturally this was the beginning of strained relations between the Zamorin and his Mappila seamen.

Kunjali III was a brilliant strategist and a born leader. He employed able companions like Kutti Moosa of Ponnani and strengthened the Calicut navy by securing the service of foreign experts to design and construct new ships on European model and give training to his seamen in advanced methods of naval warfare. Now ships, ammunitions and war-weapons were made in Calicut itself. He started consolidating his power and arranged surveillance centres on high areas along the coast to keep himself informed of the movement of the Portuguese fleet. The entire coast was now free from Portuguese depredations and the native vessels could now take to sea without fear of attack while Portuguese ships could go to the sea only with huge convoys accompanying them. Kunjali II's great contribution was that he propounded the theory of self-defence and self-reliance in organising his own naval defences because past experiences had shown that it was futile and expensive to depend on alien powers like Egyptians for timely support. This policy of self-reliance was to yield rich dividends as future events would show.

But the Portuguese were also not keeping silent. A letter from the King of Portugal mentioned that the Portuguese has compelled the Zamorin to hand over the hostages to be kept either at Cochin or at Goa as a guarantee to the latest peace contract of 1582.²¹ The King had further informed the Viceroy of Goa that there was no risk and hoped that the Portuguese garrison at Ponnani fort will try their level best every year to destroy the fort of Kunjali III.²²

We can infer that the peace contract of 1582 was arranged secretly with Zamorin who was later pressurised to join the Portuguese against his own Admiral. The King of Portugal wrote

to the Governor of Goa that “as the fort of Kunjali was armed with various galliots and that there are many corsairs who pounce upon my ships with their galliots resulting in many deaths, you remind the Zamorin that as per the peace-contract of 1582, he was bound to destroy the fort of Kunjali III.²³ In a letter dated 6.2.1589 he again wrote to the Governor “to use that money in raising an armada to combat the corsairs whose ships were still sailing to Mecca without the Portuguese Cartazes.”²⁴ He also repeated that the Zamorin was bound to join the Portuguese in the war against Kunjali III.

During this time, Kutti Moosa in command of a squadron became absolute on the coast and took several Portuguese vessels and caused much damage. His fleet sailed down to Ceylon and made an alliance with the King of Jaffnapatanam who allowed him a base of operations against the Portuguese in the Mannar Gulf. In Oct. 1589 a Malabar fleet under Kutty Moosa was surrounded by a Portuguese fleet at the mouth of river Cordiva under Cpt. Andre Furtado e Mendonca. Kutti Moosa and his men jumped into the sea and escaped by swimming, leaving the whole fleet to the Portuguese.

By now the Portuguese trade had almost come to a standstill on the Malabar coast between Goa and Ceylon. Ralph Fitch who was in Cochin in 1589 tells about the situation on the West Coast.²⁵ Now the Portuguese were convinced that without the tacit support and assistance of Zamorin, it would be impossible to crush the power of Kunjali III. Therefore, the Portuguese worked through one Fr. Francisco da Costa who was then a prisoner in Calicut. Fr. Da Costa persuaded the Zamorin to make peace and as a result, peace was arranged in 1591 “to the satisfaction of both parties and the Zamorin not only released all the slaves in his kingdom but also encouraged the Jesuit priests to build a Church and he himself laying the first stone”.²⁶

But as usual, this peace also did not last long because the Portuguese did not respect its terms and consequently the Malabar seamen retaliated. In April 1594 the Malabar seamen beset the annual fleet from Java almost within the sight of Goa. After a fight for three days and nights, all the Portuguese crew were killed. Consequently in August 1594, Andre Furtado engaged a Calicut fleet of 3 ships in a fight. About 200 people were killed and a large booty was also taken.

Kunjali Marakkar IV (1595-1600) and the fall of Marakkar-Kotta

Pattu Marakkar alias Kunjali III who had built the Marakkar Kotta at Pudukpanam (Kottakkal) within a short period of two years died in 1595 with a heavy heart filled with the gloomy prospects of the end of all the great work the illustrious Marakkars had done for the Zamorin. He was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Kunjali Marakkar popularly known as Kunjali Marakkar IV who now became the chief of Kottakkal. Soon he became a great threat and danger to the Portuguese navigators. Kunjali had earned great fame and prestige, as he became known from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Knowing that the Portuguese would try their best to ruin him, he fortified the Kottakkal fort by land and sea and made it more impregnable by installing the latest cannons. The site of the fort was a square peninsula with a circumference of two miles. The fort could defend itself with a small manpower. "On the land-side there was a deep ditch with a double wall of about 7 feet thick flanked at regular distances with towers... mounted with cannon. Between the two creeks .. he built a strong wall with two towers to secure the town and lined the sea-shore with palisados flanked by bastions, one of which higher than the other was mounted with heavy cannon to defend the entrance of the harbour which was further secured by a boom of masts strongly chained together."²⁷

Thus once secured, he began to carry out his uncle's design of fighting the Portuguese more fiercely than ever before with far greater success. He had captured many Portuguese vessels and assisted the enemies of the Portuguese like the Rani of Ullal when she rose against the Portuguese and also the Sultan of Bijapur during the siege of Chaul earlier in 1570. As a matter of fact the relation between Zamorin and the Admiral was bad since 1586 and it further widened now. When the succession had taken place in 1595, Zamorin began to feel more threatened. Now the sea power of Kunjali had increased greatly. It seems that the initial success has gone to his head and he became haughty and proud. The Portuguese had realised that this was the best opportunity to get rid of their most formidable adversary. They tried their best to engineer a split between the Zamorin and Kunjali. They insinuated that Kunjali would declare his independence soon and hence he was equally detrimental to Zamorin as well as to the Portuguese. Added to these problems, Kunjali now openly revolted against Zamorin from a village in the neighbourhood of Calicut and challenged Zamorin and began to assault and raid land and sea capturing even many Chinese ships and claimed many Portuguese lives. On account of all these happenings, Kunjali came to be feared in these areas. He enjoyed great reputation in Asia and Africa and he began to call himself as the 'Defender of the law of Mohammed', 'King of the Malabar Moors and Lord of Indian Seas'. In his arrogance he began behaving as a tyrant and styled himself as the King of Kotta!. Rebelling against Zamorin, he even deputed Ambassadors to the rulers of Islamic countries including Turkey and letting them know about his victories and that he had successfully challenged the Portuguese in India. Besides assaulting and raiding commercial vessels, there were also instances of imprisoning of Portuguese sailors. He is said to have dared even to cut the tail of Zamorin's elephant. He had also raided the house of a Nair Chieftain of Ariole and cut off the nose and breast of a lady and violated her honour. In this way the overbearing

behaviour of Kunjali had incensed the Zamorin who now realised that the time had come to reach an understanding and an agreement with the Portuguese with a view to crush the rebel Admiral. Zamorin had secretly sought Portuguese help in order to teach Kunjali a lesson and tame him as he had already started calling himself as the 'King of Mohammadens'.²⁸

In this circumstance, the Portuguese had suggested to the Zamorin that it would be convenient if they could join together and exterminate Kunjali once for all. Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque (1591-1597) who learnt that Zamorin and his Admiral were not on good relations, sent Captain Alvaro de Abranches from Goa in 1597 to Calicut to negotiate a treaty of peace with Zamorin. Accordingly it was agreed that Zamorin by land and the Portuguese by sea should jointly undertake a simultaneous attack on the Marakkar Kotta and would expel the rebel Admiral and destroy the fort. Zamorin had agreed and accordingly had released the Portuguese prisoners including Fr. Pedro Fernandez Lobo and agreed to give sites at Calicut and Ponnani to the Portuguese to build churches.²⁹ This was a sure sign of good intentions and the Portuguese had agreed to send a naval fleet from Goa to Malabar for the above said operation. However, the proposed expedition to Kottakkal could not be carried into effect immediately because of the change of Viceroy in Goa.

The new Viceroy Francisco da Gama (1597-1600), a grandson of Vasco da Gama and youngest to be sent to India so far (31), was much different from Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque. He considered that it was his main duty to put into effect the Articles of Agreement executed with Zamorin by his predecessor. The Viceroy appealed for public help to organise an expedition against Kunjali, their most dreaded enemy!. In order to face the situation and to counter numerous practical threats the Viceroy had organised two fleets- one for the North and the other for the

South. He resolved to take the opportunity to destroy the powerful Kunjali. For that purpose, he ordered the Southern fleet which was more powerful among the two, to destroy the power of Kunjali, with the support and help of Zamorin who was now an ally.

Prisoners were pardoned and all able-bodied men were encouraged to join the expedition. A fleet consisting of 4 galleys, 35 small vessels, 2 large barcos and 10 other ships under the command of Captain Luis da Gama, Viceroy's younger brother, left Goa on 13th November 1597, an unlucky day.³⁰ The Captain had several meetings with the Zamorin without any definite result. Zamorin was in a dilemma. If he had joined with Portuguese and punish the rebel Admiral, he will be working under the Portuguese power and besides he will be alienating some of his vassels who were secretly in sympathy with the rebel Admiral. A large section of his people respected Kunjali as a national hero who had adherents even among the Nairs. Open declaration of a war against Kunjali might lead to an open revolt by his vassels whose loyalty to him was on the wane. Besides, the Cochin Raja still cherished the goal of a united Malabar under him with the support of Portuguese. In this situation, the Zamorin demanded better terms than before – 30,000 patacos, some companies of Portuguese soldiers and half of the war spoils.³¹ This indicated that the Zamorin was not very anxious to start a war against his rebel Admiral. Captain Luis da Gama reported the increased demand of the Zamorin to the Viceroy in Goa who felt the demand was unreasonable. Accordingly, Luis da Gama had returned to Goa in April 1598 in less than six months without achieving anything, but keeping at the river mouth of Kottakkal a fleet under Francisco de Noronha to continue blocking it in order to prevent any reinforcement from reaching the fort. In this situation, a Jesuit priest of Calicut, Padre Antonio prevailed on the young Zamorin to reopen negotiations with Goa and to which Zamorin had agreed

too.³² Accordingly, Zamorin had agreed to provide land forces. One again brisk preparations went on in Goa to fit up another expedition under Captain Luis da Gama.

Luis da Gama again returned to Malabar in December 1598 with 3 galleys, 20 fustas, 6 Bassein-made boats and over 1500 men and they joined the fleet of 15 ships already detailed at Kottakkal. The Archbishop of Goa Alexio de Menezes who was on his way to Cochin for the Synod of Diamper also called at Kottakkal and assisted the plan.³³ The Council of Captains which met there in his presence had decided to start an attack on the Kottakkal fort from the riverside by means of boats. This decision was conveyed to the Viceroy in Goa who also approved it. On reaching Cochin, the Archbishop had sent 4 ships to Kottakkal for support.

The joint operation Kotta was to commence on 5.3.1599. The Calicut army was encamped on the landside of Kottakkal. The mouth of Kottapuzha river was blocked by a squadron of Portuguese vessels. Kunjali had correctly anticipated the direction of the main Portuguese attack. But the fast moving Bassein-boats of the Portuguese posed a threat to his scheme of action. Because of the Portuguese watch and vigilance of the Kotta river, Kunjali could not employ his ships which were scattered on the high seas on specific assignments. Therefore, it was not possible for any provision to reach the Kottakkal fort due to the strict watch by the Portuguese. Inside the fort Kunjali had just enough provisions for 1500 musketeers who were defending the fort.

The combined attack on the Kottakkal fort was to start on the showing of a fire-signal, a burring lance shortly before dawn. However, the fire signal was given shortly before midnight (five hours earlier). Belchoir Ferreira with 600 Portuguese and 500 Nairs was waiting for the signal and in the confusion, he moved forward for the planned attack, but he had to withdraw loosing

28 men. Captain Luis da Silva who was expected to act did not make any move though he noticed the fire signal. In the process, he himself got drowned. In this circumstance, Kunjali had directed his force with great skill. Those who succeeded Captain Desilva, namely Francisco Perrira and Major Levy all fell to Kunjali's measured shots. A few Portuguese had saved themselves by swimming across the Kottapuzha river. The rest fought bravely and perished in large numbers. A Cappuchin priest Fr. Francis Baptista who had accompanied the expedition had held a crucifix high to rally the men, but it was shot to pieces along with Fr. Baptista. The offensive operation was very badly conducted, "panic seized the Portuguese fleet and many Portuguese sailors were killed"³⁴. The frustrated young Commander Captain Luis da Gama retreated to Cochin with a major part of the fleet in September, 1599, leaving a squadron of 12 ships and men to continue blocking the river-mouth of Kottapuzha river under Francisco De souza who showed himself to be a valuable chief.³⁵ The purpose was to prevent any fresh arrival of provisions to the fort by the sea. Thus the joint operation against Kunjali in March-September 1599 was the greatest disgrace the Portuguese received in Asia.³⁶ About 500 Portuguese men lost their lives in this engagement. The Portuguese ships could not get any combat value but only played the role of transport vessels landing men and equipment on the beach!.

When the news of Kotta-disaster reached Goa, pandemonium broke out and all rushed to the Viceroy's palace to know the fate of their husbands, brothers and sons. The Portuguese authorities have later blamed the untrained recruits for the fiasco, which seems not correct, if one goes through the list of fidalgos who had perished in the joint engagement.³⁷ With great determination to crush Kunjali, the Viceroy Francisco da Gama called the Council of Elders and it was decided to continue the naval blockade at Kottapuzha river and hold the Zamorin

steadfast in continuing the siege of Kotta by land. Operation was to be resumed after the monsoon.

In the meanwhile the Portuguese were reassuring their peaceful understanding with Zamorin and it was a tough pre occupation for the Viceroy because he felt that only in this manner he could subdue Kunjali. Accordingly the Viceroy began preparations to organise a fleet which would be ready to sail under his own leadership and he intended to take Andre Furtado e Mendonca, a hero of several naval battles as the Captain-Major. The name of Furtado was recommended to the Viceroy earlier for the joint assault which had ended in a fiasco. Initially the Viceroy had resisted to enrol Furtado in the expedition against Kunjali in spite of the recommendation from Archbishop Alexio de Meneses.³⁸ Finally the Viceroy had agreed to engage the services of Furtado to face the battle and appointed him in 1599 to lead the expedition consisting of 1000 Portuguese. The devotion with which Furtado had organised the military and naval preparations for the expedition, made the Portuguese in Goa forget the tears that were shed earlier at the end of the tragic expedition of March-September 1599. Now nothing was thought of except vengeance. The name of Chief Captain of the expedition was an encouragement to the patriotism of many Portuguese noble men who had decided to garrison the ships at their own coast. When the Viceroy had ordered the building up of the Southern fleet under the Captaincy of Furtado, he had intended to go personally to direct the operations and thus to revive and restore the Portuguese glory. Moreover, the shame and sadness inflicted on the Viceroy's brother Luis da Gama would also be forgotten. But when the proposal was placed before the Council, it was not voted favourably on the ground that Kunjali was a great pirate and that he did not deserve the honour of fighting with a Viceroy and that the Viceroy should trust the valour of Furtado who was already assigned for the job. The Viceroy had agreed to this.

Moreover, all the experienced members of the Council had decided not to repeat the mistakes committed earlier by Viceroy's brother Luis da Gama. They felt that in the critical moment of the combat, the troops have more faith in the qualities of efficient leaders than the title of the Commanders. They were all aware that there was no person in India superior and better than Furtado to undertake the enterprise.

Furtado left Goa for Malabar on 3rd December 1599 with a fleet consisting of 3 galleys, 22 fustas, 5 manchuas and 8 periches. A few Bassein-made speedboats with 750 men recently arrived from Portugal also joined the expedition. While on the way, he compelled the Rani of Ullal and the Raja of Mangalore from assisting Kunjali. During the voyage, he touched many native harbours and presented gifts to their rulers and in some cases attacked Muslim vessels in the vicinity and captured 5 ships which were coming from Mecca with cargo. Furtado's fleet arrived at the sand bar of Kottakkal fort on 15.12.1599, when reinforcement also had come from Cochin. At once Fernando Noronha who was guarding the river mouth appeared with the naval reinforcement under his command.

Before launching any offensive operation, Furtado had a ceremonial meeting with the Zamorin at Korihe to chalk out the plan of joint action. However, there were some delicate and sensitive moments and lack of faith on both sides. Zamorin had already been the Portuguese enemy. His vassals were soliciting in different ways and it was easy to intrigue. It was argued that if the Portuguese would succeed in becoming the master of the Kottakkal fortress and take it over, they would not have it later. And what was more important for the two allies was that the war would be fought in Zamorin's territory. Being influenced by the Viceroy's directions and also on the basis of real circumstances, Furtado was convinced that it would be more important that good

relations should be maintained with the Zamorin, so that the Portuguese would not have to face two enemies which would jeopardise the fulfilment of their enterprise.

As the interview between the two allies was fixed according to Indian customs, there was the need of an interpreter for Furtado. As regards Zamorin, he availed the services of Fr. Francisco Rodrigues who for many years was living at Zamorin's court. The date of the meeting was fixed for 16.12.1599. Diogo da Couto speaks of the meeting as follows. "As the day of the visit arrived, Andre Furtado moved with his fleet which was decorated with flags and accompanied by music and he went upto the shore of Koriche, where Zamorin had already arrived. Reaching the harbour he ordered that while he remained on land, the fleet would provide a security ring on all sides of that shore .. and open fire if necessary. The Chief Captain got into a Manchua and proceeded for the meeting accompanied by 50 gunners who were well dressed and equipped. The departure of Andre Furtado was marked by gun salute. All these caused great confusion and astonishment not only to the enemies but also to the friends. As soon as Zamorin was informed that Andre Furtado was arriving in a galley, he moved from his place and came to receive Furtado almost to the edge of the Kottapuzha river where they greeted each other warmly. They embraced each other. Zamorin was strong built, well disposed, over 30 years and was looking very royal. He had put on many valuables, his arms were full of bangles of precious stones ... A piece of cotton cloth of great value has hanging from his neck. He was bedecked with beautiful and rich ornaments. The Heir-Prince came up behind him and he was well dressed and was carrying his sword which was raised and tied up. Behind were all his ministers and Councillors. Almost very close to him was Fr. Francisco Rodrigues and Antonio Matoso.³⁹

As Zamorin appeared, the artillery gave gun salutes followed

by music. Zamorin's ships also reciprocated the gun salutes. Now Zamorin and Furtado took their seats and after formal words of mutual compliments, they discussed in such a manner that if there would be a war, Zamorin had assured the co-operation with double vigour. He had told Furtado that as soon as Kunjali arrived with his fleet and come to know that Furtado was a fearless General, he (Zamorin) would tell him to surrender on condition that he could be faithful and loyal to him throughout his life. Then 20 other Mohammedens and Zamorin would sail upto the fortress of Kottakkal to take charge of him. And the moment he would surrender, he would send his men to take him and Kunjali on noticing that Zamorin had not come personally he would consider this as an act of insult. He would have to ask the Mohammedns to drive away the enemies and a big battle would ensue in which many would be injured as they would not trust each other any more. Hence, it is necessary to be on warpath and for that purpose, he would provide all necessary materials available in his kingdom and that for the surety of his good intentions, he would give hostages to Furtado. A fresh agreement was concluded.⁴⁸ Zamorin had agreed to provide a force of 1000 workers for the siege of Kottakkal fort, 15 elephants and plenty of timber for carpentry works, an army of carpenters and 5000 Nairs provided with spades, baskets etc. He also agreed to provide 4 manchuas with sailors, 30 Chengadams will equipped with seamen and Lascars to keep vigil on the Kotta river. Zamorin had allowed the Portuguese to erect churches at Calicut and also agreed to provide hostages to Furtado –the chief of Ponnani, Pudure and Tolape Nairs in addition to his nephews who were all to be kept at Cochin during the war operations for the security of the Portuguese. The Portuguese kept as hostages Pedro de Noronha, Jeronimo Botelho, Captain Antonio Matoso and two priests with Zamorin. Furtado thanked Zamorin for this offer and accordingly made his offer. It was decided that the fort was to be razed to the ground

after the war and the ships, goods, treasury and artillery were to be divided equally. It was also agreed that if Kunjali were to be captured alive, he was to be kept under the honourable custody of the Portuguese. Zamorin was to retain the possession of the town of Kottakkal.⁴¹ Before leaving, Zamorin had told Furtado that he would send Fr. Francisco Rodrigues and his ministers in order to prepare more capitulations as per his wishes. Furtado gave a gift of a gold collar to Zamorin and many gifts were given to other ministers which the Viceroy had ordered to be given to them because no where in the world and much less in the East, negotiations are made unless preceded by gifts!.

On the night of 16-12-1599, on the board of the galley of Furtado, the handing over of hostages between the Portuguese and Zamorin took place. Conditions and stipulations followed. On the same night, some influential Mohammedan Councillors of Kunjali pleaded that they may be allowed a free passage to appear before Furtado. Their view was soon followed by others who were less influential or important compelling Kunjali to reject such a request and even to reinforce guards at the exit point to avoid any escape.

In the meanwhile Kunjali who was very much elated by his sensational victory over Captain Luis da Gama earlier had in fact failed to effect any reconciliation with his Sovereign, the Zamorin, or to strengthen his position by collecting more supplies of provisions and ammunitions in case of a possible renewal of hostilities. But at the same time, the Portuguese had used the opportunity to strengthen themselves. But Kunjali had thought of attracting all Muslims under his banner and assumed the pompous title like "Defender of Islam" and "Expeller of the Portuguese" hoping to fire the imagination of the Muslim world. He sent messages to the Muslims of Ponnani and the marine merchants of the coast, but no help came. The only help came from Rani Tirumala Devi of Ullal for whom Kunjali had helped earlier in her

fight with the ruler of Mangalore. She sent 3000 bags of rice, but it was intercepted by the Portuguese.⁴²

Kunjali's fortress was strong and could be easily defended by the few combatants. But it was known in Calicut that the fortress was well provisioned and strongly garrisoned with a select force. The estimate about the artillery pieces was quite varying, but all were fixing the number above 100 pieces.⁴³ On 17-12-1599, Furtado examined the external works of the fortress and found two very high trenches (bunkers) on the southern side close to the main land. The first was of wood and was provided with spikes at regular intervals and the second was made of stone. To defend he had two structures, one for the defence of the bar and the other for disembarking. Before launching any attack, Furtado had a meeting with his Captains. In the meeting it was decided to continue to tighten the siege, prevent the supply of all provisions to the fortress and it was expected to continue this till the arrival of the new naval reinforcement. In order to strengthen the siege, Furtado built a wall of ships in between the land and the sea and divided his fleet into squadrons each entrusted with a specific task. He himself remained in a *Machuva* and kept a watch. In the meantime the expected reinforcement of 5 *naus* and 200 soldiers arrived from Cochin. Two ships with Indian Christians came from St. Tome. By the month of February 1600, there arrived 21 ships with 450 soldiers from a Northern settlement and little later came the fleet of Diogo Moniz Barreto with 11 *naus* and 340 soldiers. Last one to join was the galleon of Francisco de Barros de Souza with food provisions, ammunities and artillery.

The Zamorin was away for two months for the Mamankam festival and nothing happened during this period. Furtado could not launch the attack without the presence of the Zamorin. But he made use of this forced and long wait in order to develop, and consolidate for further operations. The only operation carried out during this long time waiting was the clearing of the bar which

Kunjali had blocked with thick masts, anchor and strong iron chains. This was one of the most difficult, expensive and prolonged and dangerous task. The Portuguese men diving into the water under the artillery fire of Kunjali and managed to cut and remove the masts and iron chains. Furtado could move his artillery at a close point of the fortress. Further Furtado had decided to deploy his troops strategically on the side of the main land for offensive and defensive purpose. From here he could strike the city and the fortress along with the vital installations. For this purpose he deployed some soldiers towards the Northern side. These soldiers faced much difficulty following the attack from Kunjali's men and hence they could not make any headway. Therefore, Furtado ordered to build a bunker and installed artillery, which allowed free and safe passage for about 8 small ships. Thus it can be said that the river passage was in the hands of the Portuguese men and this was an important aspect for the defence of the fortress. Furtado's plan was to strike one after another and accordingly he built bunkers by the side of the river, progressively very close and near to Kunjali within the firing range of his artillery. The bunkers were immediately garrisoned.

The Attack

In the meanwhile, the Viceroy of Goa, influenced by his lobby sent instructions to Furtado to tighten the siege but to delay the final assault on the Marakkar Kotta with a view to minimise the casualties and that the siege may be continued till Kunjali's surrender. But Furtado totally disagreed with this instruction and called his Council of Captains. He informed them that it was upto the initiator of the offensive to draw up the method and timings of the offensive and thus the plan which was drawn up at distant place could lead to irreparable fiasco. He posed several questions to the Council- whether to conclude the war without any further delay in order to avoid difficulties to the people, or to postpone



*Andre Furtado de mendonca, the Portuguese Captain
who led the forces against Kunjali Marakkar IV at
Kottakkal in 1599-1600*

the war as advised by the Viceroy from Goa and tighten the siege and prepare the fleet to return to Goa on the commencement of the winter. The majority view was that no war could be fought without risks. Furtado agreed with the decision of the Council and sent the minute's of the Council meeting to the Viceroy,

disagreeing the instructions. He had expressed the various points of view. A decisive battle was to follow. Furtado had decided to start the operations for the conquest of Kottakkal fort through assault with all care and precision and he began by diverting the attention of Kunjali in different directions. Within a short time, the Portuguese disembarked and took over the first bunker. **pic 9**

Captain Andre Rodrigues 'Palhota', a seasoned and elderly soldier with 600 men attacked the fort from the sides of the river. Captain Belchior Ferrira with his troops attacked the fort from the landslide. Both these attacks were simultaneous and Kunjali was subdued by the Portuguese. But the direct intervention by Kunjali with a great reinforcement saved his defence from a great disaster. Now the fight became a long-drawn when both sides performed gallant feats. But the Portuguese found themselves in great advantage and they had established themselves in some sentry posts, which they could conquer. The besieged suffered great loss. Among the Portuguese 10 were killed and more than 79 were injured. Captain Fernando da Noronha with 300 Portuguese men positioned himself for any eventuality. The Portuguese Captains Belchior Ferrira and Fernando da Noronha launched a new attack but they could not achieve any decisive result. Kunjali's men in the meanwhile had repaired the trenches destroyed by the Portuguese action.

In this circumstance, Furtado personally intervened in the struggle. He transferred some of the artillery to Ariole on the other bank of the Kottapuzha river and from there he began to pound on the fort, whenever it was possible for him to do so. It looked that the war would be a prolonged one, which was not consistent with the Portuguese situation. In fact the ensuing winter would force them to return to Goa and that would enable Kunjali to recover and regain strength to obstruct the Portuguese navigation that side. There was also another possible threat if Zamorin had

turned against the Portuguese on account of the long delay and also due to the promises of Kunjali. Furtado who was ever more interested to complete his mission as early as possible went to inspect the bunker built at Ariole. As a shrewd leader, he made a close survey of the defences of Kunjali's fortress and its approaches from the land-side and erected several batteries and controlled the river mouth by attacking the obstacles and removing them to clear the passage. He learnt that Kunjali had hardly 800 Muslims inside the fort and that they suffered from lack of provisions, which could not reach the fort because of the continuous vigilance and blockade for a very long time. Furtado also knew that his vessels would not be safe unless he could silence the guns from the fort by heavy artillery. Accordingly he instructed his Captains about the execution of the impending assault on the fort. 200 combatants who were at his disposal were divided into 3 groups and he himself took over the command of one of them and the other two commands were entrusted to two of his senior Captains- Antonio da Britto Fogaca and Francisco D'souza.

And the month of March 1600 began and Zamorin also returned from the Mamankam festival. Soon Furtado began preparations for launching the attack. As soon as Kunjali came to know about the return of the Zamorin, he sent messengers to him with a huge sum of money and requesting for safety and which the Zamorin had agreed also.⁴⁴ Soon some 250 to 300 Mohammedans came out from the fortress, 700 women and many children and all were handed over to Belchior Ferrira. But Belchior suspecting that Zamorin might attempt to take the credit for protecting the interest of the Portuguese, reached the wooden bunker and set it on fire. As far as Zamorin was concerned, he was much worried fearing that the incident would earn him the wrath of Kunjali to whom he had pledged his word of safety. Furtado suspected also that Zamorin was intending to delay the attack for some unknown reasons and that Kunjali was trying to

the forts one after the another.⁴⁵ In the meanwhile two Portuguese ships entered the Bay of Kottapuzha river under heavy fire from Kunjali. They were followed by another two.

Francisco D'souza with his selected 400 soldiers took the lead in the direction of the stone-bulwark from the eastern side. Furtado with 1200 soldiers had the mission of attacking the bulwark from the side of the fort. The Portuguese cannons were now fired on the village of Kottakkal and the outer works. Now Kunjali himself came forward with additional reinforcement. A bitter fighting ensued in which some Portuguese Captains fell. But Furtado was not the man to give up easily. He ran forward with a sword in hand and rallied his men for another attack. In a short time he became the first to climb the wall of the fort which was known as Branco and entered the outskirts of the fort and quickly garrisoned it with 300 men and stayed there in spite of all attempts of Kunjali to dislodge them. Furtado kept up the bombardment for 5 days which left the town of Kottakkal in ruins and the bastions guarding the town also collapsed.

Kunjali's men fought valiantly and tried to repel the attack. But they were already defeated as the defence of the fort was disorganised. Furtado now the Lord and Master of the town fortified himself at a convenient place with his divisions and with the other two Captains. He ordered a vigorous and continued vigilance. The fortress was now fully besieged. In the meanwhile, the Councillors of Zamorin had poisoned his mind. They informed him that the Portuguese were fortifying the fortress and disrespecting the terms and conditions which were already laid down. Soon some Nairs started destroying what the Portuguese had erected. When Furtado heard about this, he replied, "In less than one day, with less power than now, I have deposed and dethroned rulers and restored other and that I would do the same to the Zamorin of Calicut."⁴⁶ Accordingly he instructed his men to treat the Nairs as enemies if they did any daring act.

In this background, in one of the turbulent days of attack, Zamorin had requested for a meeting with Furtado to know the issues better. Furtado had replied that the meeting will be with arms in hand, because he was determined to make the Zamorin realise his funny behaviour. Zamorin would have desired to avoid a meeting with Furtado but at last he agreed. He marched with his army- 40,000 men and appeared at the agreed place. And when they reached very close to each other, they ordered their troops to move away so that they may not hear the conversation. Both sides were very cautious. Then Furtado raising his voice and holding his dress uttered to Zamorin. "I am that Captain who beheaded the Kings and put others on the throne. If Kunjali manages to leave the fortress with your help, I, General Andre Furtado e Mendenca, shall march with my soldiers who are now with me upto your city of Calicut and set fire, blood, loot and plunder all that we come across. There is sufficient ground to punish you, for you had gone against the word and faith you had promised."⁴⁷ Though these words were translated to Zamorin by the interpreter who was accompanying Furtado in a light tone, Zamorin had quickly realised the violent tone of the words.

On 10th march 1600, Furtado entered into a large *barca* and began to bombard with the artillery which caused much damage to the fortress. Soon Zamorin returned to intervene, intending to pacify Furtado. With diplomacy and serenity he stated that he would implement whatsoever the Viceory had directed. The security of his troops could not be neglected and for this reason, he (Furtado) continued the bombardment. The situation became more and more critical and Zamorin fully realised that it was not possible for him to halt or stop the assault and that a victory of the Portuguese was imminent. Kunjali's men were so hard-pressed that they were reduced to extreme misery due to the shortage of food provisions inside the fort. Hence he found his position helpless and accordingly sent secret emissaries to the

Zamorin, his Master and Lord, craving for pardon and offering to deliver the fortress and requesting him to assure his life and that of his defenders. Kunjali had resolved that he would not surrender to any one except the Zamorin who was also disposed to accept these terms,⁴⁸ because he knew that a section of his people were in open sympathy with Kunjali. "With his habitual duplicity, Zamorin signed the minutes given by the emissaries and narrated the contents of what was suggested to Furtado and furthermore he assured that he would hand over Kunjali and his principal men and Chief Captains".⁴⁹

In view of this communication, Furtado granted a truce for the surrender but at the same time took precautions against any possible escape of the main Muslim force from the northern side of the fortress and for this purpose, he ordered Diogo Moniz Barretto to guard that side. As per the understanding, Kunjali came out with 250 of his men to present himself before the Zamorin. At this time Belchior Ferrira, taking advantage of this, rushed in with his men and set fire to the stockades, houses and ships there. This Portuguese behaviour infuriated the Calicut force for a minor revolt. Kunjali also realised that Zamorin had agreed to his surrender only to deceive him and hence he returned to the fortress without surrender.⁵⁰

Now realising that Kunjali would seek other means for peace with the Zamorin, Furtado worked to prevent any amicable settlement of the dispute, lest it affected the Portuguese interests. Several days passed. There was a long delay in surrender and Furtado exhausted his patience and hence he served an ultimatum to Zamorin. "Either Kunjali should surrender immediately or else I will attack the fortress killing all those who are there."⁵¹ He fixed 16th March as the date for the surrender ceremony. Zamorin also became active and sent message to Kunjali agreeing for surrender on that day.⁵²

It was agreed to the Portuguese that the Zamorin would accept Kunjali's surrender. At that time Furtado will seize Kunjali by a show of force and will be taken away from Zamorin's control and to deal with him as he pleased. In the meanwhile, the Muslims had asked for an interview with Furtado, but he would not accept any. He agreed only that if they wanted to talk to Zamorin, a messenger should do so with one of his Captains who will ensure that he did not speak to any one else. The Muslims had accepted this condition and it was agreed that Kunjali would surrender to Zamorin with some of his principal followers. But Furtado gave no commitment in writing.

The Surrender on 16-03-1600

On the fixed day the Calicut Nairs and the Portuguese forces positioned themselves around the fortress in two lines, facing each other outside the fort for the surrender ceremony, providing in between a corridor for passage to those who would surrender. Furtado and Zamorin were seated face to face with their respective troops behind, monitoring the compliance of the surrender terms. From the facial expression it was obvious that they were mutually distrustful and suspicious of each other. Zamorin had intended to delay the final compliance of the surrender terms and thus to delay the Portuguese from taking over the fortress. But Furtado has asked on more than one occasion for a quick procedure of surrender. Finally about 400 Muslim wartorn garrison of the fortress came out of the fort. Their condition was pitiable as most of them were wounded, burnt, sick and some of them were even women and children. Zamorin allowed them to go away seeing their miserable condition. They were followed by the remaining disarmed soldiers. At last Kunjali came along with three Captains – Chinna Kutty Ali who was the 'greatest enemy of the Christians in India' and the officers of his household, servants, chief cooks and others. He walked between his three Captains. He was

dressed in a gown of noble man with gold buttons, with a belt and a dagger in a sheath of gold and a very thick bangle of gold on his right hand and valuable finger rings. He had a black kerchief on his head and a sword in hand with its point lowered. Kunjali walked towards Zamorin in great humility and prostrating before him, he delivered his sword to him. Zamorin's minister took it over and shown it to Furtado as a token of surrender. Kunjali demonstrated his integrity and seriousness as a man who always hoped to get better of the present. Furtado had handed over the sword to his soldiers. The main desire of Kunjali was to protect his life for which he had come up and opened up negotiations with great anticipation.

But soon Furtado placed his hands on the shoulders of Kunjali and seized him by his arms and pulled him aside. Now the Muslims, taking for granted compassion in Zamorin's camp made an attempt to flee. When the Nair forces of Zamorin saw Kunjali being taken away they got excited and revolted. They could not tolerate the Portuguese to lay their hands on their brave countryman in violation of the well known terms of surrender. In the confusion that ensued, the Nairs fell upon Portuguese in an attempt to rescue Kunjali. Now the Portuguese troops surrounding Furtado also took out their swords from the sheath. Two Captains of Kunjali – Kutty Ali, nephew of Kunjali IV and Chinna Kutty Ali, a trusted Captain made an attempt to free themselves and escape but they were immediately captured by the Portuguese and taken to the bulwark on the side of the river where they remained under strong watch. Zamorin could suppress the revolt of his Nair forces only with much difficulty.

The allies, both Furtado and Zamorin ceremoniously entered the Marakkar Kotta hand in hand where the existing treaties were revalidated. Furtado had declared in the name of the Viceroy that he was giving up the share of the booty and that only the artillery

would be divided into two equal parts.⁵³ The Portuguese and the Nairs now began hunt for any hidden treasure and this gave rise to quarrels in which some people got killed on both sides. There was hardly any thing to be gained as Kunjali had already sent away the valuables elsewhere. Zamorin had handed over to Furtado a gold bangle with the script of “promise of everlasting peace with Portugal”⁵¹ It was also mentioned that “as long as the sun lasts, no Muhammeden shall live in this land and the Portuguese could kill any one with family, if found and this will hold good for 20 years.” The parting of the allies was amicable and significant. Zamorin had ordered to make another gold plate with the following words:- “Perpetual peace between the two states, prohibition of Muslims to return to live in these places handing over all pirates who ever might take refuge therein”⁵⁵

Furtado had left the fortress with his share of the booty. The fortress was totally demolished after removing the artillery pieces, which was divided equally as was agreed to earlier. The Portuguese had also burnt the galliots and the other ships of Kunjali and the coconut grove there was razed to the ground. The bazaar, town and the mosque were set on fire. To show his gratefulness and great satisfaction, Zamorin had handed over to Furtado 40 Mohammadan followers of Kunjali. They were to be brought to Goa for execution on the orders of Viceroy. The two Captains – Chinna Kutty Ali and Kutti Ali were treated with honours. Virtually the expedition against Kunjali Marakkar ended on 22nd March 1600.⁵⁶ The Portuguese victory had left loose great fear among the Kings in India and everyone feared that a misfortune may befall them as well.⁵⁷

Furtado's galley and other vessels sailed for Goa on 25-03-1600. Zamorin had asked his envoy to embark along with Furtado. The stipulations of the peace treaty were to be sworn in by the Viceroy in Goa. On the way Furtado halted at Kannur

where he received a grand welcome. While at Kannur, Furtado received a message from the Viceroy of Goa asking him to proceed to Quilon and destroy the town there as a reprisal for the attack by the people of Quilon on the Portuguese community there. The Viceroy would not allow Furtado the honour of a triumphant entry into Goa. In view of this the Council of Captains met but decided to ignore the Viceroy's order.⁵⁸ The fleet proceeded to the North and appeared before the bay of Goa on 1-4-1600.⁵⁹ Furtado had send a formal report to the Viceroy explaining that all his ships were not in good condition to go to Quilon without repair and that he would go to Quilon later and reduce it. Sore at heart, the Viceroy instructed the Municipal Council of Goa to honour Furtado. Furtado was also advised to wait at the bar of Panjim for 3-4 days to enter the city on a day fixed for a festive reception.

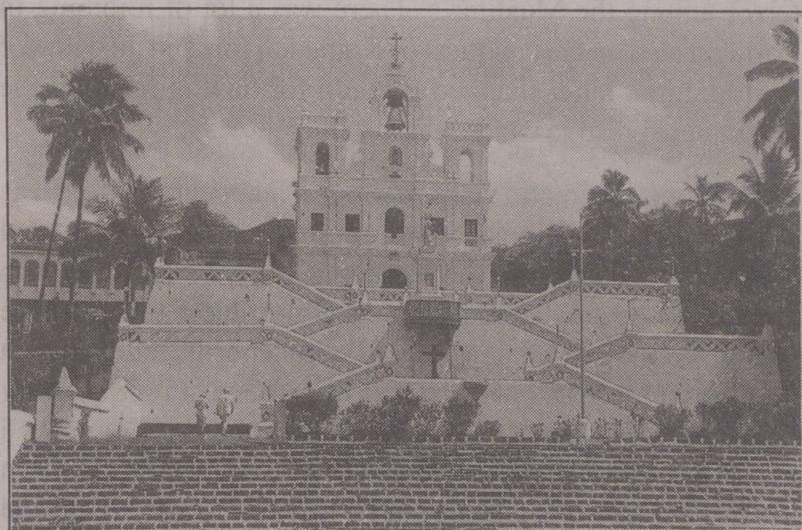
The Viceroy had tried his best to diminish Furtado's glory by putting obstructions to several details of the welcome programme. On leaning that Furtado was planning to march Kunjali in front of the Viceroy in a procession, the Viceroy out of jealousy, pointed out that there was no precedent and that it was very much inconvenient to large number of spectators. Therefore, the proper procedure was to send Kunjali to the Tronco secretly and the hero Furtado to make his separate entry. In order not to antagonise the Viceroy, Furtado agreed to bring the prisoners and hand them over to the prison authorities in the presence of the citizens. The Archbishop himself had to mediate and settle the details.

At the bar of Panjim several boats were decorated with banners, flags and branches of trees to welcome the galley of Furtado. Musicians and people gathered in large numbers after hearing the cannon shoots. The city's inhabitants have decorated the streets and gathered in large numbers to thank Furtado. The incoming ships were directed to anchor in front of the galley of

Viceroy's palace. From here to the cathedral they were to go in procession for the thanksgiving ceremony. The dignitaries including the Archbishop stood at the entrance of the city and behind them were large crowd. One of the vessels came near and on the orders of Furtado, 4 or 5 Muslim prisoners came out of the galley. They were stoned to death instantly by the violent crowd. Now fearing greater disorder, the Viceroy sent the Ovidor de Geral (Auditor General) at once to the galley of Furtado asking him to take Kunjali. Burning with indignation and suspecting the Viceroy of being jealous of his success, Furtado refused to land where the crowd was clamouring for his appearance and hence he moved his galley further up the Mandovi river. The waiting crowd was enraged at the treatment to a hero and they went wild and tore down the decorations and arches enroute. Therefore the thanksgiving service could not be held for a long time and when it took place Furtado did not join it.

Kunjali IV dressed in a multicoloured velvet robe was secretly led to the Tronco as it was not easy with the wild mob in the city to be taken directly. The Viceroy had detached a section of his personal guard for the safety of the prisoner. He knew that the people would demand the public exhibition of Kunjali and hence he had to be produced alive. Moreover, Furtado was also waiting for things to go wrong to blame the Viceroy for everything. It is not clear how long Kunjali was shut up at the Tronco. With him were the 40 Muslim prisoners in the cells. The sudden illness of the Viceroy had delayed the trial of Kunjali. Once recovered, the Viceroy had ordered the Judges for the trial and they completed the legal formalities and sentenced Kunjali and his men to death, ignoring the conditions of their surrender.⁶¹ Kunjali had undergone many vicissitudes in the cell. He did not like any one to meet him and he was confessing that he had reached this unhappy condition!. A team of priests belonging to a religious Order tried their best to convert the prisoners to Christianity, but in vain. Kunjali had

refused to yield. On the day of his execution, a special French type guillotine was erected (since the usual slaughterhouse was far away from the town) at the large square in front of the Viceroy's palace where Nobles had assembled in large numbers. The huge crowd gathered there included common people, fidalgos, Noble



The Mary Immaculate Church, Panjim, Goa

It was in front of this church where the thanksgiving service was held to honour Andre Furtado for destroying Marakkar Kotta and bringing Kunjali alive. Not very far from here was the place of the Portuguese Viceroy where Kunjali Marakkar was executed on gallows specially erected.

ladies, merchants and all Orders of clergymen from St. Paul's University in Goa. The Viceroy and Archbishop had arrived and occupied the terrace overlooking the square. Kunjali was led to the scaffold. The charges against him was that he was a traitor to the King of Portugal and that he had persecuted Christianity. Kunjali displayed great dignity and courage. He bent his neck

and the axe fell on the beating of drums. The other executions went on for several days and all the Muslim prisoners were put to death. Kunjali's body was quartered and limbs were exhibited on the beaches of Panjim and Bardez. Later his head was salted and sent to Kannur to be exhibited there as a warning to strike terror among the Muslims.⁶² There was a lot of rejoicing in Portugal also on the conquest of Kottakkal fort and the King of Portugal in a letter thanked Furtado for having restored the Portuguese prestige which was lost in 1599.⁶³

Though Kunjali IV was no more, it appears as if he was reborn. A cousin of Kunjali IV who was at the age of 13, captured by the same Furtado in the battle of Cordiva was brought to Goa; baptised and later married to a Portuguese orphan.⁶⁴ He was given the Christian name of Pedro Rodrigues. Pyrard da Laval, the French traveller had seen him in Goa in 1608 working in one of the Portuguese galleys and happened to be introduced to him as a Spanish and not a Portuguese.⁶⁵ He must have known the fate of Kunjali IV. One night he secretly fled from Goa and managed to reach Malabar safely. His escape must have been a sensational one as nothing is known as to how and when he slipped the grip of the Portuguese. He collected his followers at Calicut and equipped 5 *paraos* and started harassing the Portuguese relentlessly and looted their ships frequently.⁶⁶ He even doubled the Cape Comorin and went down to the northwest province of Ceylon and from there to the island of Tanadiva. There he entered the beach of S. Joao and took revenge on the Franciscan priests for the baptism he had received from them at Goa years before. Thereafter he went to the island of Foccados near the quay of the Elephants (*cais dos elephantes*). Here he took possession of a large number of cattles.⁶⁷ This act of Pedro Rodrigues clearly shows that though a Christian for over 20 years, he had hated the Portuguese and he went on robbing and plundering their ships wherever it was possible.

It is also possible that Pedro had established good contact with the Dutch as one report says that the Dutch and the Malabar Corsairs were robbing the Portuguese merchant ships resulting in great loss of goods, artillery and ammunitions.⁶⁸ Because of this, the king of Portugal had instructed the Viceroy of Goa that all the vessels should sail heavily armed and must be convoyed. The King had further told the Viceroy to punish the Malabar Corsairs whose number was increasing and the very reputation of the Portuguese state was in danger due to heavy losses.⁶⁹ In the light of this direction, one can appreciate the marvellous feat of Pedro who inflicted blow after blow to the Portuguese arms and trade at a time when they had at least one armed *cafila* on all the major sea routes.⁷⁰ A letter written on 10.3.1618 by Constantino Desa from Ceylon and discussed in the Viceroy's Council at Goa on 13 May 1619 confirms that Pedro had indulged in plunder and caused much damages to the Portuguese in the coast of Mannar only with his *paraos*.⁷¹ More information about the daring exploits of Pedro comes in another letter dated 8th June 1619 written by Captain-in-Chief Fillipe de Olivera mentioning that 5 *paraos* entered the coast of Mannar and committed countless acts of thefts. The Malabarese disembarked on other islands and to meet this threat, Constantino Desa had sent 2 galliotes with men along with 40 Portuguese vessels under Vitoreo Abreau. Pedro had a complete victory in this battle which brought much discredit to the Portuguese and more damages.⁷² The exploits became more remarkable when we notice that all his war *paraos* were safe. Another letter of Constantino Desa dated 7th May 1619 clearly tells us that Pedro's men had occupied *Ilha das Vacas* and its fort was seized and there was a greater danger of the arrival of the Dutch.⁷³ Still another letter of Constantino Desa dated 5th June 1619 in which he asked Fillipe de Olivera to rush to Jafna with a force, also proves that the entire island of Ceylon faced invasion by Pedro who had captured the fort of Vacas. The safety of other places including Nagápattanam on the Coromandal coast

was in danger as Pedro had impeded the Portuguese navigation that side resulting in great loss of trade.⁷⁴ The Portuguese were lucky that Fillipe de Olivera had reached Jafna before the Dutch could reach there and that really saved the island. Pedro Rodrigues had also confronted the Portuguese fleet commanded by Vitoria da Abreau on 27th November 1619. In this engagement Pedro had captured 12 out of 18 ships, killed 300 men in action and enslaved the rest including Vitoria da Abreau himself.⁷⁵ Pedro had attacked one more Portuguese merchant fleet, convoyed by a squadron and captured one ship easily. The Portuguese were very much frightened by Pedro's aggressive posture and they dared not even attempt to recover the lost ships.⁷⁶ Pedro had sailed back to Maldives with great booty and with greater pride than his forefathers.

Such confrontations against the Portuguese continued throughout the first half of the 17th century. The Muslims could not co-ordinate their power under a unique leadership. They were totally alienated from the allegiance towards the Zamorin on account of the betrayal, which had taken place against them in 1600. Its sad memory continued generations after generations. Finally in 1663 the Dutch conquered the Portuguese fortresses in Kerala and brought out an end for all the political, commercial and religious ambitions of the Portuguese in Malabar Coast. The Marakkars the great sailors and commandants of Kerala, through their encounters for a century, safeguarded the political and economic interests of their motherland. Although the Portuguese could command certain fortresses on the coastal belt, they could not convert this region into a colony. The stubborn resistance given by the Zamorins and their Admirals defeated the Portuguese expansion in Kerala. In fact Kerala was made a free land, but her resources were highly drained due to these intermittent wars and pillages. This situation had considerably influenced the later history of this region.

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CONCLUSION

The maritime power of Calicut almost came to an end by the dawn of the 17th century. The prolonged and protracted wars against the Portuguese over a century, in fact, weakened the political power as well as the economic stability of this kingdom. The prosperity and surplus enjoyed by it from the maritime trade were lost for ever. Calicut which was an international port during the medieval period lost its name and fame due to the advent of the Portuguese and its encounters with other trading nations.

These conflicts as traced in the earlier chapters continued over a century, in which the House of Kunjali Marakkars came to be prominent being the House of admirals in the 16th century. This trading house gradually turned to be the defender of freedom of the Arabian Sea. Its role in offensive and defensive capacity was praiseworthy and it inculcated the spirit of freedom in land and sea. The emerging trend of nationalism particularly in the countries of Western Europe including Portugal was the determining force behind the European expansion. Such a trend was developing gradually among the political fragments of Kerala. The House of Kunjalis had represented this new trend and it was much ahead of its time. The Zamorins and the Calicut Kingdom raised an acute defence system against the political and commercial intruders on the Western Coast and showed the elements of emerging trends of nationalism. Although there were compromises with the Portuguese by the Zamorins as political and military strategy, there were always confrontations against the Portuguese and their allies like the Raja of Cochin. In fact the spirit of resistance was always kept alive by the House of Kunjalis. The house had

sacrificed its men and money for this purpose. Further the leadership on the basis of an anti-Portuguese ideology given by this house to coastal Mappilas or Muslims was praiseworthy. The coastal settlements in small towns by this community were defended against all exploitations by the Portuguese.

A century of confrontation on the Malabar Coast had left reminiscences of these heroic struggles even now among the Mappila rural folk. Some of the festivals and the myths are related to the sixteenth century struggles. Two such instances are narrated here for an analytical study. Manath Parambil Kunhi Marakkar was a martyr who lost his life while he was engaged in saving a girl from the Portuguese. He saved her, but became a martyr in that attempt. Several myths related to this hero are available in folksongs known as Kottupalli Mala. Annual festivals are organised in honour of his memory at Kottupalli near Ponnani. Thousands of Mappila rural folk attend the festival. Thus his memory is perpetuated from generation to generation.

The Mamba Makham or tomb near Kannur, is also associated with the martyrdom of three heroes, Mahim Pokker, Zirajuddin and Abdulla, who lost their lives in an encounter against the Portuguese. The Makham is situated near the place where they attacked the Portuguese. Some of such tombs and centres perpetuate the memory and history of those anti-Portuguese struggles on the Malabar coast. The Mappilas as a community cherish these reminiscences as a matter of identity of their community. However such tendencies could not be found among other communities of the coast, even if they had participated in these struggles.

A promontory near Vatakara projected in the Arabian sea known as sacrifice rock had several stories to tell as it had witnessed several encounters and sacrifices of both the Portuguese and the Mappilas. The petty traders and merchants of Mappila

community who had peacefully settled in the small towns of the coast were compelled to migrate to the hinterlands as peaceful trade in spices was not possible for them due to the Portuguese activities. As a trading class, the Mappilas lost their opportunities in the sixteenth century. Many of them later turned to small farming, facing all economic difficulties. The kadtas (cartaz) or passport system enforced by the Portuguese vessels eliminated the Mappilas and other native merchants from the maritime trade. The kadtas consisted of a declaration of commodities and their destination and the details of voyage. Naturally such declarations facilitated the Portuguese for looting them in the distant seas.

Therefore the House of Kunjalis under the flag of Zamorin came to be the symbol of sea-resistance against the Portuguese. The native encounters both offensive and defensive against the Portuguese had considerable impact on the maritime history of Malabar. These contacts were well exploited by the Kunjalis in designing strategy of warfare, construction of vessels and innovation of new techniques like, surveillance, naval blockade and convoying cargo vessels escorted by armed sailors. During the second worldwar, submarine threats were counteracted by such convoy system. The Malabar sailors under the able leadership of the Kunjalis had such convoy of cargo vessels to the Red-Sea. They also introduced sector attack by charging from flanks in separate groups as a matter of surprise. The strategies like hit and run instead of direct attack and confrontation were adopted by the Malabar sailors. The principle of flexibility was always maintained to counteract the attack of heavy tonnaged vessels. Such strategies further developed into a policy of using naval forces for maintaining control in the area of interest. The Indian Navy in the modern period had adopted several such strategies at the time of exigencies.

The Malabar sailors had properly realised the significance of the freedom of Arabian Sea in a trade link with the Middle

East. This concept of the freedom of sea was much in advance of the time, and even the great Mughals could not adopt such a policy in their campaigns for political control.

The decline of the House of Kunjalis added more facilities to the advent of the Dutch and the English over the Malabar coast. The power of Zamorin was always connected with the sea power of the Kunjalis. Their decline had further contributed to the decline of political and economic power structure of the kingdom of Zamorin. Therefore in the 17th century, the kingdom of Calicut was further exposed to the European adventurers and the empire builders. There starts the history of colonialism in Malabar and other parts of South India.

An analytical study of the historical forces which shaped Portugal as a maritime power highlights that some of such forces were prevalent in the kingdom of Calicut also. The gallantry of the Marakkars in the 16th century could be equated to any one of the commodores of that period. However the institutions of caste, hereditary occupational system, traditional ship-building, lack of capital formation etc. had arrested the growth of Calicut kingdom as a maritime state. Its ongoing feuds with Cochin and Kolathnad were well exploited by the Portuguese for their national advantage in Asia. The maritime fortresses like fort St. Angelo and Chaliyam turned to be the daggers drawn against the Calicut Kingdom. These fortresses safeguarded the political and maritime interests of the Portuguese. This situation was well understood by Kunjali Marakkar IV, who also strengthened the maritime fortress at Kottakkal at the river mouth of Puduppattanam. The construction of an independent fortress which was absolutely necessary for maintaining the maritime interests, came to be an act of suspicion for the Zamorin. The Portuguese exploited this situation and alienated the vassal from his overlord. As such the forces of history were taking a new dimension in Malabar which

finally culminated in the subjugation of this country by a foreign power.

The saga of Kunjali Marakkar teaches one vital lesson of history and that is the freedom of sea which finally maintains the freedom of land also. Therefore this 400th year of martyrdom of Kunhali Marakkar IV has a meaningful message to this nation: "the freedom of sea is the absolute freedom of a nation".

Note on the Bibliography and Appendices

This book is divided into two parts for sake of convenience the first part dealing with the historical background of Portugal and its geographical situation that favoured an oceanic expansion into the East and secondly the advent of Portuguese into Malabar and the conflict that ensued for well over a century in which the Marakkars exhibited great bravery and tenacity of purpose. There are a number of both primary and published works dealing with the independent existence of Portugal as a nation. The Portuguese historians were by and large faithful in their accounts. The works of De Barros, Diogo de Couto and Castenheda are resourceful repositories for the early history, just as Azurara's biography on Prince Henry the Navigator who did so much for navigational research from his Sagres Nautical School and organizing the annual naval expeditions to find an alternative sea route to India and thus to monopolize the spice trade in the East from which the Genoese and Venetians were reaping great and lucrative profits in the past. The early attempts of the Portuguese to reach India, a land of much promises and opulence are discussed in a number of scholarly books like C.R Boxer's Portuguese Sea borne Empire, Damiao Pires' History of Portuguese Discoveries etc. During the 500 years of Henry the Navigator's death in 1960, Portugal has commissioned several historians to write on the Portuguese discoveries in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. This resulted in the large-scale production of much valuable materials, which have been tapped in the writing of the book. The religious, political, military and commercial motives were very much impelling on the Portuguese to search an alternative sea route. Discoveries were made by practically every naval expedition sent to the East. The

whole of the Atlantic on the west coast of Africa came to the known to the Portuguese during the 16th century. The rounding of the Cape of Storm renamed later as the Cape of Good Hope, by Bartholomeo Diaz was a great event in the maritime achievement of Portugal as it clearly promised to the Portuguese the road to the East. Voyages from the Cape was a matter of time and the expedition under Vasco da Gama followed the same route and reached Melinde on the East African coast. With the help of a Muslim pilot, Ibn Majid, the Portuguese reached the port of Calicut. This voyage was not a chance success. It was the culmination of several years of attempts and scientific study of oceanic behaviour. It is not totally appropriate to say that Gama discovered the sea route. There was a route, which was frequently used in the Indian Ocean by the Muslim navigators for several years. However, the discovery has opened a new chapter in the history of India in general and Malabar in particular. Several documents and books have been consulted in the preparation of the epic voyage of Gama during 1497-1498. These are indicated in the footnotes at the respective places.

The second part of the book is essentially one dealing with the century of Calicut-Portuguese relations, which had a great impact on the socio-political and economic structure of Malabar. The Marakkars who served the Zamorins of Calicut as Admiral fought relentless battles not only in the Arabian Sea, but also in the far off Ceylon etc. In the preparation of this part large number of primary manuscript materials from the Historical Archives of Goa have been used. These have been appropriately mentioned in the narrative. Local traditions existing in Malabar on the Marakkars have also been considered. Much of these informations are corroborated. One can notice that refreshing fresh materials have been incorporated in the narrative in the last part, particularly in dealing with Kunjali Marakkar IV and the fall of Marakkar Kotta at Kottakkal in 1600.

The Appendix carry selected original materials from the Historical Archives of Goa, National Archives of Portugal (Torre de Tombo), Boxer's Collected works, *Corpo Chronologico*, *Cronica da Tissuary*, Biker's *Tratados dos Pazes* etc. Much of these materials which have been incorporated for the first time in a book of this kind give a new light on a familiar theme in Malabar. The documents selected are both indigenous and Portuguese (translation) and chronologically placed to give it a sequential reading. They deal with treaties between the Zamorin and Portugal, Cochin and Portugal, other peace treaties, the sentences awarded to Kunjali and others etc. It is felt that these documents will clear much of the controversies and gaps in the otherwise glorious history of Malabar.

Appendix I

Letter of the King of Cochin to King D Manuel, written from Cochin on the 11th of December 1513, complaining of the peace signed in Calicut and referring to all that had done for the Portuguese

Torre do Tombo (National Archives of Portugal)

This letter is from the King of Cochin for the very high and powerful king of Portugal.

This year there came two ships from Portugal under Captain Major Joao de Sousa and Anryque Nunnez. They gave me news from Your Highness and of your children, of how you were enjoying health, with which news I was very happy. I reckon that Cochin belongs to Your Highness just as Lisbon does. My Lord, I have no friend in the whole world other than Your Highness neither one in whom I trust so much. The king of Calicut and all my relations fell upon me to capture the Portuguese who were with me, yet I did not hand them over and guarded them the best I could and even if the whole world comes upon me I will never need anyone but Your Highness. The first time that Pedro Alvares Cabral came with six ships, when they went to Calicut port, after having been on land and having trusted in the king of Calicut, he killed all the Portuguese and took whatever goods of Y.H there were on land. After all this happened they came here to my port and I gave him all the help that they asked me in the ship's cargo as also in all other things. After everything had been loaded, there came the named fleet from Calicut to battle with them and two of my scribes named Ytycala Paramgora were on the ships as hostages and they set sail and took them to Portugal and thus some Portuguese remained on the land with me, the king of Calicut

Corpo Chronologico; Part I, bundle 14, doc 23.

and all the moors of Cramgalore came there falling upon me asking me to hand over the Portuguese to them who I had in my custody if not they would destroy all my land; and my relations used to ask me to and similarly my friends that these men were foreigners and from four thousand leagues from my land and that I did not know them nor should I lose my land for their sake and that I should hand them over and if I did not do so they would not help me but would help the king of Calicut as they really did come upon me and kill two of my uncles and one nephew, princes, and many other honorable people and destroyed my land; and I protected the best I could the Portuguese who were with me and used to take them wherever I went. Before a year the king of Calicut came upon me once again to take my land and I, with my friends and my people and your help, I defeated them and he returned to his land greatly dishonored and grieved with no hope of returning upon me. Then he went with Varsyngua to fight with my vassels, mainly with one called Carutyqui Nayre who has twenty thousand Nayars and with my help he defeated him and till today he always has been having war with him and killed many of his people. Then the Marshal and the Captain-major went for combat to Calicut in which combat they killed the marshal and other fidalgos and captains and wounded the captain major and thus died many people of the king of Calicut. At this time he was engaged in battle with this vassel of mine and the merchants and people of the land went to give him the news: Then he left the war and came to Calicut in great dishonour and the people full of fear saying that they could not live in Calicut without being friends of Your Highness and mine and in this regard many of them came to live in my lands knowing that Your Highness was my friend and would help me when necessary. All my enemies of land and sea obeyed me thinking that otherwise they would not be able to live. Seeing what Your Highness was doing for me the whole world was praising you. Hitherto whatever was needed for loading the

ships and for the work of castle and timber for the ships and all other help that he required I gave him without missing out anything and to all my enemies and friends it appeared that the friendship of Your Highness and mine cannot break for anything and this they were certain of and Your Highness sent me a crown of gold as a sign of crowning me as the greatest king of India and your greatest friend and so did you gift me every year with five hundred and forty crusados for a saddle(coxa) in remembrance of the death of my uncles and your special governor crowned me as the king and swore to make me the greatest king of all India and to help me against anybody who might come upon me and so also I promised to help him against whosoever might come upon them and to defend your fortress and people until death and in this manner he swore in the church and they gave me a certificate and I gave one to them. Every year in the past Your Highness used to send me letters about many things and so also about the protection of Calicut with which I used to be very happy and for the past three years ships have begun sailing from Calicut to Mecca and last year Dom Garcia secured all the ships of Calicut and all will be sailing and I asked the captain major to leave behind a couple of caravels for guarding Calicut port. He did not wish to do so. Last year with the fleet that Your Highness had sent three thousand men to got together here and the captain major told me that with them he wanted to go to Calicut and with this resolution he left here and when he learnt that the king was waiting to fight him he went ahead to the strait and arrived in Aden and thus many people died in the combat and of disease. Now the nephew of the captain major called Dom Garcia had returned to India. Coming to Cannore two Nayars one called Calicut Nambiar and the other Soll Translators went and signed peace of Calicut with Dom Garcia and he sent a present to the king of Calicut who gave him place to build a fortress and tin making on the land some masons and other Portuguese men. Lord, the merchants of Calicut who used

to come here from all the coast to ask for the necessary security to sail now go to the king of Calicut to ask for it for there your captain gives it to them. All the merchants of the ports of Calicut sail here with his security and all these things that Dom Garcia did with Calicut was by advice of the captain major without giving me notice of anything nor speaking to me and, Lord, all the Indian junta, seeing the peace signed in Calicut, knowing the treachery done to you and me without it being avenged by you, are discomfited with Your Highness for it was done without my knowledge and being your greatest enemy and mine: And given that Your Highness had made peace with him in no way shall I do so with him, rather I shall make war against him as best I can for the Portuguese did not make peace with him for any need. I took care, Lord, that by the death of my uncles Your Highness was much grieved and if only with your help I shall avenge their death: This peace of Calicut was made for no other thing than to disgrace me and Your Highness should not have left my friendship to that of the king of Calicut and nothing hurts me more than nor do I feel more about; nevertheless I shall not fail to make war against him: Dom Garcia spoke to me saying that the fortress of Calicut was only being built for fear of Turks: Even if the Turks came to Calicut they would not be able to enter as there is no river for them to do so and so is it a wild coast and in this regard they cannot be in Calicut: In Cannore there is a fortress. In Cochin there is another one having a very good river. We have a lot of people to defend them both from the Turks as from all the world and I shall give the cargo to the ships in which pass (sic) all the world nor can the Turks be in any port on the Indian coast nor shall I consent that in my ports they be given a single grain of pepper. Hitherto I have received all honour and gifts from Your Highness as also all my land and people. Henceforth I hope to receive more of it from Your Highness for there is no reason why it should be reduced. The things that touch my honour and for the good of my land may

Your Highness do not put in the hands of anybody else except myself and for this may. Your Highness send me a document for each captain major whatsoever he wished and not what Your Highness demands. I cannot give herein all the news in writing hence may Your Highness ask factor Diogo Fernandes Corea all the past things who went from here and the Admiral; they will tell you the entire past. Every year in the past Your Highness used to send me letters and this year I have not seen a single letter from Your Highness and I saw the peace of Calicut signed: I do not know how this is, whereby I am very grieved and very sad. Anyway, the things that touch myself and my honour may Your Highness see them and send me a document for it. The cargo of the ships of Your Highness I always finished the best I could and this I have worked the best I could: Now there goes from India abroad more than four or five thousand bahares of pepper as also to Cambay and Coromandel. I told your captain major that; he did not wish to capture it. This year I worked the best I could. If Your Highness does not order this pepper to be held which the moors are taking I shall not be able to give the load that is needed. Hence may Your Highness send a document to that effect. While Antonio Rall was in Cochin he always served well Your Highness and me: He is a very good man. Your Highness should oblige, so I ask you. He will tell you all the things about here. Written in Cochin on the eleventh day of December in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen

(Signature of the King of Cochin)

Overleaf: letter for the King of Portugal: from the King of Cochin.

Appendix II

Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King D. Manuel, dated Cannanore, 24th December 1513, on the peace with the King of Calicut

Lord: The King of Calicut sends his ambassadors to Your Highness with some reasons to pardon that the present one is not like your greatness, and orders some spices, a little of it, by this ship, for his messengers' expenses as well as for them to bring him some beautiful things from there: What he wishes is that Your Highness send him one or two men, who may show the confirmation of the peace, and his land and his vassals rest assured and be out of doubt, for it took some trouble to settle the great of his land presevering in the hardness and determination of the former king Zamorin, and to bring them all agree and be sure of peace and to throw the foreign moors out of his land, and the natives many of them made into pieces before him for the same reason.

So Your Highness should have made many regards with Calicut not at the request of the king but because it benefits your interest to favour the person of this king with honours and his port with a lot of merchandise from those kingdoms because he seems to be the man interested in other bigger things in your service than to make peace with Your Highness, according to his practices with me and his determination in which he put himself against all the advice of his kingdom and against all the doubts of the Muslims. May Your Highness send him some jewels from these kingdoms, and to his wife and his sister, for he does not have the custom of the other kings, he has only one wife and his children brought up as his own.

His wife and sister have done a lot for the peace agreement:

(Torre de Tombo- C. Chron., Part I, bundle 14, doc. 33)

May Your Highness receive their goodwill and make them gifts and so also to the old bailiff who went into battle with Rodrigo Rebelo and served you in this feat as a Portuguese and not as a gentile, and he began this peace and pocaracem as your servant. Both of them were involved in it. May Your Highness make them whatever gift they deserve.

May his ambassadors be properly settled and may Your Highness oblige them. Be proud of this feat of Calicut, Lord, and give thanks to our Lord for having thus put it into your hands for if Your Highness had seen the quiet in India with feat of Calicut and the discouragement of the moors and the submission and their subjection deserving your special thanks to God.

Your Highness may allow his ambassadors to bring whatever they wish on the return journey for he does not demand so, to which I gave him place, only to show more security and safety of your wish.

He wants your letter with your hanging seal made in parchment. May Your Highness have the best possible made, and the seal should not be of lead but either of silver or gold confirming your peace, securing for him his ports and lands. For here he is making one of gold for Your Highness: He is a true man and much feared in his land and much loved, he favours the natives very much and little likes the foreigners, even though he says that in India he never sailed from china to Cairo except in his port, and he speaks the truth.

May you remember, Lord, that he gives you pepper in exchange for merchandise of all types, which is the greatest thing made in India, and with this offer he shall give you however much you may desire from Cochin.

They gave me the fortress where I had asked for one, close to the Muslim settlement, and in another place the chatins on the

Appendix III**Concert that D. Garcia de Noronha made with Zamorin,
King of Calicut**

Cannanore, 24th December 1513

This concert was made by me Dom Garcia de Noronha by the power I have from Lord Afonso dalboquerque captain major and governor of the Indies, my uncle, with the Zamorin, King of Calicut, on the first day of the month of October one thousand five hundred and thirteen.

Likewise we agree that if these merchandise named and written here below come to be sold at his port and factory of the King our Lord as we have done till date in other places with which we have peace and friendship, which merchandise are the following.

Likewise Coral, silk, scarlet, cloth, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, copper, turmeric, antimony, lodestone and many other merchandise coming from Portugal.

Likewise that the King shall give us all the spices, drugs available on the earth and are needed by us and we may have for the loading of the ships.

Likewise toward the merchandise that we buy we shall pay our customary duties and towards those we sell the buyers shall pay the duties.

Likewise we further agree that the ships of the Muslims coming to the ports of the King of Calicut from the below-mentioned places, that is to say, Hormuz, Cambay, Malacca, Samatore, Pegu, Canasarim, Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon,

Jaffnapatam and Caell and similarly from all other places, shall be obliged to pay their duties to the King according to his custom, and if thus some Portuguese bring some horses or elephants to these ports, they shall be obliged to pay the customary duties.

Likewise we agree that any zambucos coming to this port to ask for security, if they are not from Cochin and his land or from Cannanore and his land, the captain may give them.

Likewise the thousand bahares of pepper that shall be paid to us for the loss that the King our Lord received here shall be paid in three installments, this is to say, this year one of one thousand five hundred and thirteen, another of fourteen, and another of fifteen, and it shall be by the weight of Cranganore where this payment has already begun to be made.

Likewise we agree that justice may be divided as follows: that any Naire or man of the land or Moor having some quarrel or contention with the Portuguese, no punishment shall be given to him, except he shall be taken to the King to be punished by him and judged. And thus when our men are found involved in such cases deserving justice to be done, the crime being with the nairens or people of the land, they shall be brought to the captain of the fortress to be punished and judged by him.

Likewise we agree that in case the king needs some of our people for the war, we shall give them if it is not against our friends, and similarly all other help as good friends, which he too promised to do to us: if we need people to paraos or any other thing for the war it shall be given to us without doubt like a good friend.

Like wise he said that all these things that we require for our ships coming to his port as well as mechandise and all other things shall be given us.

Likewise we agree and settled that the rent of the houses be

divided into halves for the King our Lord and other half for the Zamorin.

Likewise the captain general etc. hereby make it known that the two ships to which I gave permission to the King of Calicut to send tin of five hundred and thirteen to Hormuz shall be made honour and shelter and shall only be for this year.

Likewise that we take him any amount of pepper we might have at the prices of Cannanore and weights of Cannanore of the factory paid wholly in merchandise, and the duties of the King paid in money.

Like wise all the ginger that we may need shall be brought from the farmers and merchants at their price and ours.

Likewise the duties of the King as well as of pepper as of ginger as of any other merchandise that we may buy on land duties shall be paid to the King according to custom.

Likewise all types of merchandise they shall take from us at the price of pepper and similarly of other merchandise.

Likewise that the King being the guarantor from a certain time if price is paid of our merchandise, the factor may lend that sum according to what is there in the factory to those person to whom the King orders to be given.

Likewise the factor may not sell nor buy merchandise without the scribes of the King in order to collect their duties.

Likewise the captain and factor shall give place to the ships of the land that can take some spices other than to prohibited places and shall give up to ten bahares of ginger and five of pepper.

Likewise our crusados shall be taken for nineteen fanoees.

Likewise that the merchandise that the factor may give on

surety should not be given without the consent of the King and his guarantee before the Nambiar.

Written from Cannanore, on the 23rd of December 1513.

By his own hand: Creature and Servant of Your Highness.

Afonso dalboquerque

Appendix IV

Confirmation of the peace and agreement that Afonso de Albuquerque made with the King of Calicut. Alemirim, 26th February 1515.

Dom Manuel etc. To all those who see this letter of ours we make it known that Afonso de Albuquerque of our council and our captain major and governor of India made it known to us by his letters how after the death of the King of Calicut, that is, the one in whose time the Muslims of the said city committed the treachery made therein to Ayres Correa our factor, the Zamorin King who is now of Calicut asked to speak to him sometimes and make the agreement of peace and that he wished to serve us and that we may build a fortress in the said city in the place which is most of service to us in which our people could safe and similarly all our merchandise and he wanted to fulfil all the damages and losses that in that time were suffered in our property and in all things to settle in a way that we be served as he always wished and that given that many a time he avoided the settlement of the said peace and refused it seeing how in this insisted with all love and loyalty and truth for all the things of our service etc. And it being certain how during the life of the earlier King he always sought it and wished a lot the said peace, and about all the things in our service very true willingness was always found in it for in all things to be served completely not only in with good wish but with works for which he offered himself as regards the above and how from settling this peace there followed profitable things in our service he settled with the said King the peace in the following manner. First it was settled and agreed that we send our ships to the port of the said city, that is, those whom we deem fit and with those merchandise we deem fit and are necessary for the factory

(Torre do Tombo- Liv. de Dem. e Cont., fl 108)

that we have built there. Likewise the said King of Calicut will give us all the spices and drugs and any other merchandise that we deem in our service to be and which from the said city we wish to order and in his land there is available. Likewise that the ships of the Muslims, that is, from those places, which are in our service and settled in our peace and deal with in Cochin and in other places in our services and obedience going to the port of the said city of Calicut be obliged to pay the duties to the said King of Calicut according to their custom and similarly the Portuguese Christians may do so, and also towards the horses and elephants, taken to the said port of Calicut and are unloaded and sold there. Likewise it was settled that any zambuco coming to the port of the said city to ask for protection if they are not from Cochin and from their land or from Cannanore and their land, our captain at our fortress of Calicut may give them to him, for those going from Cochin and from Cannanore and their lands freely without the said protection shall go to the said port of Calicut and enter there and leave and make their dealings without any impediment nor being obliged to ask for letters of protection. Likewise it was settled and agreed that the said King of Calicut pay us one thousand bahares of pepper for the loss that in the said city there was for our property in the past which shall be paid in there instalments, that is, last year he would make one of five hundred and thirteen and another of five hundred and fourteen and presently one of five hundred and fifteen, and that the hand-over of the said one thousand bahares be by the weight of Cramgallor where the first instalment was to begin. Likewise it was settled between them and stated that the justice be given as follows, that is, for any naire or man of the land or Muslim having any fights or quarrel with the Portuguese Christians no harm shall be made to him but he shall be taken to the said King of Calicut to be punished by him and for justice to be done according to the magnitude of the fault. And when the Portuguese Christians are

found doing such things whereby they may deserve legal penalty if the delict is with the nairs or peoples of the land or Muslim, they be taken to our captain of the said fortress of Calicut for him to hear and punish them and to do justice to them as their faults and delicts may deserve. Likewise it was settled that all the things of the land which are necessary both food as all and any other of any quality for our said fortress of Calicut and its greater safety and also for the mending and repair of our ships, and not for those coming to the port of Calicut, be given in all plenty for their moneys both to our captain of the said fortress and to the people in them and to the captains and people of the said vessels and ships without there being put any impediment nor doubt whatsoever. Rather in order to have all the said things and to buy for our said fortress and people in them as for the said vessels and ships, they may be given all the help and favour and good guidance of the *cartazes* (protection policy) be divided equally, that is, half for ourselves and the other half for the said King of Calicut. Likewise it was settled and agreed that those spices and drugs and any other merchandise which we might wish to order bought and order from the said city of Calicut, the said King of Calicut shall be obliged to give from it and order to be given for the prices and weights our factory at Cannanore or Cochin whichever is more profitable to our service, from which species and drugs and all other merchandise good payment in merchandise or in money shall be received, whichever we want, and however the money that is owned to the said King of Calicut towards those merchandise, be paid to him in money. Like wise it was settled that all the ginger that we may need shall be brought from the farmers and merchants at their price and ours. Likewise that we take him any amount of pepper we might have at the prices of Cannanore and weights of Cannanore of the factory paid wholly in merchandise, and the duties of the King paid in money. Like wise it was settled that all the ginger that we may need shall be

brought from the farmers and merchants for the price at which they and our factor agree upon for it. Likewise it was settled and agreed that the rights and belonging to the said King of Calicut belong both towards the spices and the drugs as towards any other merchandise bought on land for our factories be paid to him according to the custom and as was always paid. Likewise it was settled and agreed that our factor should neither sell nor buy any merchandise in what concerns the collection of the duties that the said King of Calicut may have from the sale and purchase of the said merchandise except in the manner in which it is done in Cochin for the collection of the same from the King of Cochin. Likewise it was settled and agreed that our factor at our factory in Calicut nor any other person be able to give and give place to ships of the land taking spices except to places defended by us and by our captain major of India and this up to ten bahares of ginger and five of pepper in each ship and not more. And if more is found in each ship of the said amount, for the first time all the spices will be lost and the drugs carried on the said ship as also that could be taken by virtue of the said license as all other found and carried therein. And for the second time the ships shall be lost as well as the merchandise and spices they are taking and all can be taken and collected for ourselves as a thing of good war. Likewise it was settled and agreed that our crusados shall be taken at nineteen fanoes and if worth more in all Malabar that they shall be taken for the price generally worth throughout Malabar. Likewise that no ship loaded in Calicut be allowed to pass from the strait inwards nor go to Aden except if Aden is in our obedience and service for then they may go to the said city and if some of the said ships are found by our fleets of the cape of guard going inwards, they be taken as a thing of good war. Likewise that the said King of Calicut should not receive in the said city nor in his ports any ships nor people from any nations whatever if they be our enemies and doing disservice nor shall they be given

protection, favour, nor help, shelter, nor anything all over the land and shall have with them the manner which they have with their own enemies. Likewise that all those who from among the people of the land became Christians or any other nations that on land there be and to them come, be exempted of everything both in their persons and properties and of any thing that the said King of Calicut may deem of them in the very way and manner as done to the Portuguese Christians. Likewise it was settled as it was always the custom that all the ships leaving the port of Calicut pay a certain amount to the King considering the greatness of each of them eight fanoes and more or less, which duty was always paid to the said King of Calicut and now for the good of war it was impossible to think of the said King of Calicut once again collecting the said duty as he had always collected and that half of all that is collected of the said duty be for ourselves and to receive it and that our factor of our fortress at the Calicut factory may collect it and the other half be for the said King. All and each of which things were settled and agreed upon by us in what concerns us to keep and fulfil and similarly the said King of Calicut in what concerns him to guard and fulfil, each one of us shall have it guarded and fulfilled and it shall be fully kept and fluffed as in each chapter it had been settled. And for any thing contained in this agreement are contained that one of us might not keep, when the contrary in part or in whole be applied for that the correction and punishment and fulfil and guard as in their agreement is contained and if unwilling to do so that the said peace and agreement and settlement shall be in whole broken and no value nor strength. On which agreement and settlement of peace in the manner in which it is declared herein the said King of Calicut sent us through Dom Joham his ambassador through whom and through whose credentials written to us through him were sent to us stating how he had always served us much and with a heart clean and true and always and he wished to do and had always done all the

things in our service in the time of the King his uncle and antecessor always wished and sought to bring him in our service and that then God had brought him to be the King of Calicut he had determined wish in all times to be our very certain and faithful servant and friend and as such do all our things, whereby he asked us by favour that we approve and confirm and have as good the said peace as in this agreement is contained and settled. And upon seeing the said agreement and considering all that the said ambassador of his by virtue of his credential spoke to us and by good will with which we are certain that the said King was always happy to do all the things in our service and expecting that faithfully and truly so he shall always do so and we being happy that the said King by his respect all his people and land may live in peace, repose, rest and safety as is our wish that they may live who are in our peace, who faithfully serve us as we expect the said King of Calicut to do, we deem it fit and approve and confirm and have as good the said peace thus and in the manner that is contained and declared herein. And however we order our captain major who now is and for the future times shall be in the parts of India and all our captains of sea and land, captains, factors and scribes who are now and in future shall be in the said fortress of Calicut, and all our officials, people of the arms and any other persons to whom this letter is shown that they may fulfil and guard it wholly and have it complied with and guarded so and so wholly as contained therein without any thing against what has been settled and stated therein nor going or coming against any part of it in any manner whatsoever which is our reward. Given in our town of Almeirim on the twenty-sixth day of the month of February, Antonio Fernandez wrote it, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen.

Appendix V

Provisions and transcript of the Agreement that the Viceroy D. Garcia made with the King of Calicut for the peace with the Zamorin, made on the galleon S. Mattheus in the Panane strait, on the 1st of January 1540.

I, Dom Garcia de Noronha, of the council of the King our Lord, viceroy, captain major and governor of India, make it known to those who see this power of mine, that the Zamorin King of Calicut sent me his ambassadors, through whom he let me know that he wished to make peace and friendship with the King our Lord for ever; and that for this he was sending me soon his notes, for me to see them, and on this to make whatsoever was in the service of the said Lord, according to the said chapters of the said notes, which he sent me through Chinna Cutualy and Manuel de Britto captain of the fortress of Chale, which more wholly contained: which chapters I saw with captains and fidalgos and noblemen, and took their opinions, all of whom agreed together with that it seemed to them to be in the service of His Highness to make the said peace, and that it was much in the service of the King our Lord. And having the galleon Sao Mateus in which I was to go to Calicut to settle the said peace, and similarly all my fleet was ready, it so happened that I fell ill disposed and weak, that I could not go, as I was so advised by physicians and all other people. And in as much as it benefits much the service of the King our Lord the said peace to make, and the Zamorin is waiting for me for this, and the time is approaching for my said departure, and thus as I do not know when I shall be in a disposition to go in person, I thought it in the service of his Highness to conclude one business of such great importance, as it is to finish the said peace. And since I trust Alvaro de Noronha, my

son, and Dom Joao de Crasto, my brother-in-law, and Pero Lopez de Sousa, captain major of the fleet of the Kingdom, and Doctor Fernao Rodriguez de Castelo Branco, Revenue inspector in these parts, and Joao da Costa, secretary, who are such people as can be entrusted such a case, and other of much more importance, which they shall perform well and faithfully, as it behooves in the service of the King our Lord; I deem it fit in the service of His Highness that they jointly make the said peace with the Zamorin, according to what they think to be in the service of the said Lord, and according to the chapters already seen; which they shall settle and swear, thus and so wholly as if I were present, and they were made by me; and this power I give them by virtue of the powers that I have from the King our Lord, and all that is settled by them, granted, surrounded and determined and sworn, by the latter, in the name of His Highness, I deem it done, valid from today for ever, and I remain and promise to wholly guard the said peace as such and in the mode and manner in which it is settled, without arte nor caution nor any other thing that any time could be put to it, except to guard and comply with it without any doubt whatever, for thus I deem it fit in their service of the King our Lord; and I ask by the grace of the very high and very powerful Lord Zamorin King of Calicut, that as long as I cannot by my disposition and by myself cannot come to make the said peace, he should settle it with the above-mentioned by the notes he had sent me through Chinna Cutualy and Manuel de Brito, captain of Chale, and to swear it as per his custom, and because I shall guard them and fulfil them so completely, as if it had been made by me: Made in Goa on the 10th of December, Andre Rodriguez made it, one thousand five hundred and thirty nine. Joao da Costa had it written. And if for any reason, of perhaps inconvenience, any of the parties named in the presents is not present for the said peace, as said, I deem that those present shall make it and it shall be so wholly valid as if done by all. And thus they shall swear it, as said.

By virtue of which provision the said persons mentioned above shall settle the following agreement:

In the name of God Almighty, who made the heaven and earth: on the first day of the month of January in the year one thousand five hundred and forty, in this strait of Panane, where now has risen the fleet of which is captain major Alvaro de Noronha, son of the viceroy, in his galleon Sao Mateus, in his presence, and also of Dom Jao de Crasto and Pero Lopez de Sousa, captain major of the fleet of the Kingdom, and Doctor Fernao Rodriguez de Castello Branco, Revenue Inspector in these parts, and I Joao da Costa, secretary, to whom jointly Dom Gracia de Noronha, of the council of the King our Lord, Viceroy, captain major and governor of India, appointed by his provision, which is followed here, that since he was feeling indisposed in Goa, and could not come here to settle the peace with the Zamorin, who some days ago began to be treated between them, they in his name made it and swore it as such and in the manner in which he made it, if he had been present, as more in detail is contain in the said provision attached herewith; by virtue of which they asked Manuel de Briro, captain of Chale, that, since had a lot of information of this negotiation, which was began by him, he should go to the land to speak to the Zamorin on some things that in the said chapters had not been fully settled; he went, and in the presence of some Kings and Lords and his regents he read to him and stated the said notes, as he had taken to Goa with Chinna Cautualy, and the others that the King had sent on behalf of the King our Lord, and similarly others applying everything, he settled the peace with the said Zamorin by the following conditions and chapters, that is, that the Zamorin would give all the pepper that there might be on his lands and any other place, so that all of it may be had by the King our Lord at the prices at which they are sold in Cochin, and for this he be given the island of Camarao Toryte, which is on a par with Chale, which was his, to measure

the weight thereon, and to give all the pepper that can be in that places, and as such orders the setting up of some shops; and the other merchandise shall be weighed in Calicut. Likewise that all the ginger that there might be on his lands, he shall give all of it to the King our Lord at the price of ninety-two fanoes per bahare, including the duties that the Zamorin may charge, which he shall order to be passed into the said places. Likewise that since he seems to have great profit from the duties on pepper which his merchants take to Mecca, and from now onwards nobody shall go there, as stated below, that he should send on the ships of the Kingdom, that may go every year, some pepper, to be sold in the Kingdom at the price that the King our Lord sells his, that is, for every one hundred bahares of pepper that he may give and sell to the King our Lord, he may send two and a half bahares of his own, bought with his money, so that, as said, in the Kingdom it may be sold at the said Lord's price; and since the said price is uncertain most of the times, because of the losses of the said pepper, that it shall always be taken at the rate of fifteen crusados per quintal, which money made on the said pepper, shall be sent to him by the King our Lord spent to merchandise from the Kingdom that may double his money; and the merchandise are quicksilver, vermilion, coral and any other that he may wish. Likewise that the said pepper, sent on his behalf, shall go at the risk of the King our Lord, and similarly the merchandise shall come to him, bought from the money of the said pepper, without any risk, such that if the ships in which the said pepper may go, or the said merchandise may come are lost, that the Zamorin shall not lose anything and that everything shall be returned to him fully; which shall be returned to him in Chale or in Cochin, or to his regents, or to whomsoever he may send, as soon as the ships from the Kingdom arrive at Cochin. Likewise that part of the merchandise coming from the Kingdom may always be sent by the Viceroy or the revenue inspector to be sold in Cochin, for which the Zamorin may have the customary duties. Viz. Coral,

quicksilver, vermilion, alum stone, cochineal stones and silks. Like wise that he be given protection for the merchants of his land such as and in the manner given to the King of Cochin and Cannanore. Likewise that the vessels and ships sailing with the said protection, shall not receive any injury from the Portuguese, and if done to them, the viceroy shall have the one who does so punished. Likewise that the Lords who now obey him, may obey him such that and in the manner that they do now, and that they may not remove the rafts that they presently have in their lands; all of which notes and all that is contained therein the said Dom Alvaro de Noronha, Dom Joao de Crasto, by Lopez de Sousa, Doctor Fernao Rodriguez de Castelo branquo, Joao da Costa, secretary, in the name of the King our Lord and of the viceroy, by virtue of the said provision, shall concede him as such and in the manner in which is declared above, for the said Zamorin also to be content to grant the following notes, viz. That the Zamorin shall neither make war nor injury to any friend of ours, and when such a friend of ours has some dispute with him, or for no reason, that the viceroy be informed, or any other governor henceforth, to correct and punish; and if the Zamorin does not fulfil this, in this case the said viceroy or governor may help such a friend of ours, and favour him, without thus breaking the peace; and when the said King or Lord, having the said difference, does not wish to remain with what the viceroy may determine, that in this case the said Zamorin shall punish him and make war against him. Likewise as regards the break that the Zamorin has with Manguate Caimal, he shall not be unhappy or discontent. Like wise that the Zamorin shall not consent that any person form his lands, nor those of his vassals, shall to Mecca nor to the Arabian coast, and that all the pepper, ginger that there on his lands, he shall give at the prices and at the above mentioned places and shall not consent the said pepper, ginger that there is in his lands go to any other place. Likewise that the Zamorin may give all the favour and help required

of him by the viceroy and governors of India, when he must; and shall not collect any Turkish soldier nor any of our enemies; that in all his land, as that of his vassals, there shall not be any war ship nor an oar vessel, and the ones made shall be raised for merchandise, such that it may not be possible to row. Likewise that two of our bombards, which he has, he may give and hand over to us, and this shall be as soon as the viceroy orders the delivery of the return of the first pepper sent to the kingdom. Likewise that all those who is his kingdom do not wish to be for peace, he shall order to have them thrown out of his lands, and if they donot wish to go, he shall have them killed; and the viceroy shall do the same to any person who in not for it: which chapters the said Zamorin stated that he granted and executed as contained therein, and the above mentioned Alvaro de Bnoronha, Dom Joao de Crasto, Pero Lopes de Sousa, captain major of the fleet of the kingdom, Doctor Fernao Rodriguez de Castelo branquo, Revenue Inspector, and I, Joao da Costa, accepted them in the name of the King our Lord, by virtue of the provision of the said viceroy, and by it stated that they oblige that said Lord, and the governors of these places from today and for ever, to comply with all the contents of this agreement, as stated therein. And when the said Zamorin applies to the said viceroy, and to those coming after him, that they may help him in some wars and needs with all the power of the King our Lord in these places, and if this is not against the conditions of this agreement, which the said Zamorin shall swear soon according to his custom of fulfilling without any doubt whatsoever, nor caution, in the presence of Manuel de Brito, captain of Chale, and myself Joao da Costa, secretary, who shall go to the land to see the swearing;

Appendix VI

Capitulation that the captain major Andre Furtado de Mendonca made with the Zamorin

Capitulation that the Zamorin has promised.

He undertook to give as hostages of the people put with him on his side in order to assail the fortress of Cunhale the princes of Tanor, and Chale, and Carneves his regent major, Varer, and Coilo princess and lords of the lands besides Penane, Pudure, and Talape Naires his regents, Menas, and Mena Cherare, brother of Vniare Cherare both nephews of the Zamorin, and Ynire Gase, the Arachea, and com Gaachem, Ite Proferare and Nambandre all the princes and lords of the lands. While our siege lasted and our war camp was in the lands of the Zamorin and Arioles, these hostages would be in the city of Cochin wherefrom they would not leave until our war camp and fleet had withdrawn totally.

They undertook for the said refugees who held all the people, artillery and other things put in their lands, and of the Arioles for the purpose of that war.

That he would give all the necessary time, one thousand labourers paid at his expense to work in the service of the field and siege.

That he would bring at his expense fifteen elephants in the said service while the siege lasted.

That he would give at his expense all types of wood that was necessary for the purpose of war, the carpenters and iron-smiths being paid by the captain major.

That he would give all the carpenters, sawyers, and iron-

(*Couto, Dec. XII, Liv. IV, cap. II*)

smiths that were necessary, the captain major paying them their daily wage.

That he would have all the assistance of five thousand armed naires in our arrival and siege of the enemy. And in this number would be two thousand people that the captain major would send him, and to assist in the part they were ordered; and that they would obey the captains to whom they were given.

That he would give four *manchuas* equipped with sailors and lascars to go about in the river guarding and disquieting the enemies, or wherever the captain major thought it fit. And that thus he would give another thirty Alamedia rafts equipped with sailors for the same purpose.

That he would give two hundred spades, and one thousand baskets for the service of the siege.

That if the enemy was not put an end to by the twentieth of January that was the time when the Zamorin would be going to his feast of Mamanga, the prince of Tanor and Carneves would send for his regent major from Cochin to keep them with all the power in his place assisting in the government of his army; and that in the place of the above mentioned he would send his nephews Vuaire Cherare, and the other heir of Talapuchem lord of five thousand naires.

What Andre Furtado de Mendonca undertook before the Zamorin, is as follows:

That he would give for hostages these three captains Dom Pedro de Noronha, Jeronimo Botelho and another captain Antonio Matoso ambassador, and two priests of the Society of Jesus, who would always assist with the Zamorin.

That he would give in Cochin accommodation for the refugees of the Zamorin, and everything necessary at his own

expenses and that of his servants while they resided in that city. And that the latter would be allowed to do therein their ceremonies, which they would do before the guards put for them. And that of the said accommodation and site they would not leave without the same guard. And that the ceremonies would mean eating and washing body, and no more.

That on taking the fortress of Cunhale it would be demolished forthwith, and there would be nothing in that site. And about giving the Zamorin half of all the money, pieces, properties, artillery and ships deemed fit; and that the other arms would be of the one who took it.

That in case of some fight or disconcert between the soldiers and naires, each one would punish their subjects according to their faults; and that those of the number of the two thousand, who did not obey the mandates of the captain major, and captains who proposed to them, would be punished likewise.

The captain major promised to build a church in Calicut, and to set up a factory there, and to have with him the state and commerce that he has with other friendly kings; and that wholly the chapters of the peace would be fulfilled, which Dom Luis da Gama had done with him, and which were confirmed by the Count Admiral.

These notes were sworn by the Zamorin, as captain major with the captains and regents who were present, and all signed therein. As soon they handed over the promised refugees each on his part: and those of our side shall pass on to the part of the Zamorin, and his shall embark in the galley much to his liking, and shall be taken to Cochin.

Appendix VII

Chapter of the peace and settlement of the High Court on the factory of Calicut

The State always undertakes to have church and priests in Calicut, and also to put a factor there, officials, and factory, and to favour all the Portuguese and Christians who may wish to stay there, and form a settlement, for which the Zamorin shall give a private place close to the factory.

Settlement of the High Court

It was decided by the High Court before the Viceroy and the High Court Judges signing below that in case the state is obliged by the chapter of peace above to form a settlement in the factory of Calicut, and to have necessarily augment it, which voluntarily shall not be possible in the manner suitable, the married deportees be exiled to the said factory and settlement, who according to their delicts may deserve to be deported for the conquest of Ceylon, to fulfil the services of His Majesty with their wives and family may go to stay in the said settlement, which refers only to the married ones. High Court, 15th of march of the year 1605. — Cardoso- Simoes- Pinto- Campos- Mesquita- Salazar- De Vilar.

(Red Book of the High Court, fl. 237)

(*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. 4, page 48)

Appendix VIII

Translation of an original Portuguese document

(Certificate issued by Andre Furtado de Mendonca, Chief Captain of the Malabar enterprises to Manuel Fernandes Bandao, a soldier of the expedition against Kunjali Marakkar. This document is dated Goa, 26th Dec. 1600. It is taken from a Manuscript collection on 'Andre Furtado de Mendonca'. This certificate gives a graphic account of the expedition against Kunjali, the greatest enemy of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast in the 16th century).

"Andre Furtado de Mendonca, Chief Captain of the enterprises of Cunhale of the Malabar Coast, etc.. I hereby certify that, as the said Cunhale, a capital enemy of Christianity and of this state for the last 33 years, has been causing damage, loss and war against the vassels of His Majesty, as well as to the forts, obstructing navigation in the Indian Seas and inflicting heavy losses to his custom revenue, as the greatest corsair or pirate, that he is in this part, possessing large armadas that attack those of His Majesty, thus causing much damage to the honour and prestige of the State and Christianity, and having killed, captured, tortured and imprisoned many Christians, proclaiming himself a defender of Mohammedan faith...

The Viceroy D. Francisco da Gama ordered me to start from this city of Goa on 3rd December, 1599, with two gales, 12 ships and four manchuas and as such I arrived at the bar of Cunhale on 15th of the said month and joined my armada to that of one gale and ships which were there, in order to fight the enemy...

In view of the doubtful loyalty of the predecessors of the Zamorin of Calicut in the affairs of their State, I contacted him and the rulers of his kingdom and persuaded them for the services of His Majesty so that Zamorin promised me that no help would

be given to Cunhale by him, nor by other rulers of his lands, who otherwise used to offer him their junks and he said that he had 5000 men of arms, out of which he would give me 2000 including some captains and would give 18 elephants for transport, as well as the wood, palm-stems and other necessary materials...

As the enemy saw many of his men wounded and burnt inside the fort and that there was no resistance, he (Cunhale) surrendered on the 16th March and I put him and some of his captains into my gale; this victory which God gave me with the help of his fidalgos and soldiers restored the loss caused in the past, and it did cost to the treasury of His Majesty more than 24,600 xerafins; and as agreed to, by Zamorin that after the capture of the State, the fort would be razed and that half of the property existing in the fort and of the artillery of the ships could be given to him. I complied with the promise by razing the fort and as the property in the fort was of little value, I gave it all to him in the name of His Majesty... and half of the artillery of the ship.. Therefore I sent immediately the ordinary fleet to Cape Comerin and I left for Goa..

And on reaching the bar of Goa, I informed the Viceroy that I was prepared to go and capture the fort of Travancore which is near Quilon and all that would be of His Majesty's service and for that I asked to give me more ships, provisions and other necessary things; but the Viceroy instructed me to land in Goa and wait at Panjim to enter the city on a day fixed for festive reception; accordingly, I carried Cunhale dressed in a multicoloured velvet rope to hand him over to the Viceroy who however on the quay. before all the people who were there to welcome me, sent the Auditor General with two Ushers to my gale which took away Cunhale, and I proceeded to my retirement to Rachol..

Goa, 26th Dec. 16000

Andre Furtado de Mendonca.

Appendix IX

How Cunhalle and Chinnalle were sentenced by the law

We left Cunhalle at the prison of Goa and with him Chinnalle. And the other Muslims we referred to who were being well watched and guarded, and as in India there is no dearth of troublemakers, and the worst of them at that, who used to pry into the deeds of the Viceroys, and portray them as elephants and basilisks, and cast writings against their honour in public places and affix other defamatory ones on the doors of churches, and against the consciences of those casting them, which remains in restitution of their fame and honour, for what has happened in India very easily, without having inquired into this matter which deserved great punishment for its great scandal. And from which few Viceroys or none escape, however justifiably that may have lived, since there will not be a dearth of others who will give rise to such opportunities, and in this matter I can state, from what I understood about in this matter I can state, from what I understood about this count Viceroy, that such never occurred to him, and so did they publicly stir up, that he had Cunhale at the prison without wishing to sentence him and to punish as his faults deserved, for he was in collusion with him for a great sum of money so that he be given a mode of fleeing from the prison for greater dissimulation of which this moor happened to be imprisoned in a tower where a soldier was demonized whose help Cunhalle seemed to have taken to flee on promising him money. And in the tiled roof of the tower were found pitched some cords or ropes as if wishing to escape by that way, whereby they took advantage of to say what they did, not realizing that if he was to flee from there by the

(Torr de Tombo- Ms 537 of the Livraria, Book IV, chapter 12, fl. 98 overleaf)

count's order it would not have been done with such risk, as from over a tower, there being for this end other simpler ways had the Viceroy so wished. And this was so loosely part of the conversation and meetings that the matter came to the notice of the count, who used to understand the nature of the people of India, some of whom are like those who cast the stone and hide the hand, and often they blame others who are quite innocent. And it is very cheap what they wish to say to do to slight him in these terms, here they speak one thing, there they charge another, succour therefore like your servant and it was this one who spread this story, finally it so came to pass that the count learnt of the murmurs that there were, which to dissuade, he told the high court judges to sentence Cunhalle and Chinalle and to execute them as it so behooved, whereby they have proceeded against them, and the promoter of justice came with his libel which he proved sufficiently, and by the merits of the proceedings and of the known notorious truth, it was sentenced that he should die by decapitation and that his body be quartered and exposed on the beaches of Bardez and Pangim and that the head be salted and taken to Cannanore and hoisted on the beach on a flagstaff to terrorize and shock the Moors, so that they might see how a tyrant finally ended up who used to oppress and tyrannize everybody. And one day before the execution the count ordered the making of a gallows of wood at the Terreiro do Paco. And on it was placed Chunhalle who showed much courage at the auto, but never wished to offer to receive holy baptism with which he had been often invited at the prison, both by the priests of the Society and the other religious Orders who worked hard to bring that lost and diabolical sheep back to the flock of Christ: for this nation of Arabian moors of the *naitea* caste, to which he belonged, marvelously accepting reasons against the falseness of their creed. On putting Cunhalle on the gallows, the Terrero do Paco being full of people, who had thronged to see the spectacle, one porter (?) cried in a loud voice

declaring the reason why the moor Cunhalle was dying, being a corsair, pirate, rebel, persecutor of the Christians and for martyring them, and for other diabolical faults and he was soon put on the block to which he went very easily and his head was severed from the shoulders having been a traitor. Many days thereafter Chinalle was taken for a similar execution but as a lad he had been brought up among Portuguese, it was easier for him to surrender and to ask for baptism, the priests having told him that notwithstanding his becoming a Christian he would not be free from suffering, for the laws of the kingdom would be followed, but though he was losing his body he should not wish to lose his soul, to which he retorted that he knew that matter all right, that he be baptized that he only for the love of God wanted to become a Christian. And he was named Bartholameu outwardly showing wish and pleasure and then was taken to be punished and taken the pillory accompanied by the Holy Mercy and the orphan children, who kept praying to God for him, and his body was buried in holy ground. The Count Admiral left it to the ministers of justice to be the executors of all those things. Cunhalle's nephew and other moors who came as prisoners to Goa, at its prison, and there were consumed, gradually, for they had helped him and there were over 30 Christians and moors of Cunhalle's caste whom the count viceroy took from this world and none who had got into his hand did escape from him.

Appendix X

Letters of the King to Aires de Saldanha, Vice-Roy of India (1602-1603)

Aires de Saldanha, Viceroy friend, I the King send you greetings in another letter of mine which follows by this means, I write to you for the favours that you so gladly did to Andre Furtado de Mendonca. And as he requested me to approve the despatch of twenty four servants, persons to be obliged by him who will be along with him at the enterprise of Cunhale and to me this appears to be correct. I order you that you send off the said 24 persons that he appoints for the services they are fit for being known that they will be with him in his enterprise and these posts will be allotted to those who were less benefited so that they can occupy it at the earliest. And those who are given postings by you shall apply for written confirmation from me at Valhedolid this 18th of March of 1602.

(A.H.U. Codice No. 282, Fl. 133)

Appendix XI**Letter from Lisbon on 7th February of 1602.**

I was happy to know about the taking over of the fortress of Cunhale, as it has restarted with the credit which has been lost by this State, wherein I am informed that Andre Furtado has fully accomplished his tasks and, besides having acknowledged by my letter going to you by this means. I felt that it was worthy to instruct you to thank him on my behalf and also to the noble men and soldiers whose names shall be found in this enterprises, and I shall remember to do that ever else is just in this regard.

(A.H.U. Codice No. 282, fl. 68, Cap 9. Year 1602)

Appendix XII

Your King etc, having due consideration for the service of Andre Furtado de Mendonca, nobleman of my house and do what particularly he did in the conquest of the fort of Cunhale, in appreciation for this deed, I am hereby bestowing the command of the fort of Sofala or of bringing which ever he chooses for the period of three years in the vacancy of this deserved post before the 1st of January of this present year, which prized honour I confer besides the fort of Malaca and the voyage of China which is approved I order that you immediately declare this grace granted to him and after accepting it, to issue your certificate wherein it is transcribed that this captain to be sent to this Kingdom to be dully endorsed in view of one of these fortress he accepts.

(A.H.U. Codice No. 101, fl. 83, Cap. 1)

("Codice" means register, ancient copies of books or manuscripts)

Appendix XIII

Native References

1524 A.D¹

In the same year some of the faqihs in Kashi (Cochin) like Ahmad Marakkar, his brother Kunji Ali Marakkar, their uncle Muhammed Ali Marakkar and other dependents felt the desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Kashi for Kalikut (Calicut). When the Portuguese became aware that most of the Muslims and the Samurai were firmly opposed to them, they made great preparations for war, set sail from Kashi and attacked Fannam (Ponnani) early in the morning of the third Saturday on Jumadal-ula 931 A.H. and burnt many houses, shops and some mosques. They cut down many coconut trees on the banks of the river. Many Muslims suffered martyrdom. Then the Portuguese set sail on the second night of their arrival and reached Fandarina (panthalayani) where they captured about forty corvettes that belonged to its inhabitants as well as to others. There again many Muslims fell as martyrs. (p. 66).

1530-31 A.D

About the year 937 A.H or 938 A.H. the subjects of the Samuri and others set sail in a fleet of about thirty ships carrying merchandise to Jazrat (Gujarath). Ali Ibrahim Marakkar, his

1 This exact is from Tuhfat-Al-Mujahiddin written by Shaykah Zaynuddin, a historian from Ponnai. A part of this work highlights the confrontation between the Zamorin and the mappilas (Muslims) on the one hand and the Portuguese on the other, in the sixteen century. References are also made to Kunhali Marakkars. As a contemporary historian his references have much historical value. The work was first translated into English by Lieut. M.J Rowlandson in 1833 (London). A century later the work was also translated into English by S.M.H.Nainar (1942, Madras). (The extract is from his translation)

nephew Kutti Ibrahim Marakkar and other distinguished persons were among them. Many of these vessels entered the ports of Jujari (Janjira) and Surat (Surat), while some of them sailed to Baruj (Broach). The Portuguese went in pursuit of them in their own vessels and corvettes that were there along with the contents. Those that were lying at Baruj escaped (p. 68).

1533 A.D

Khwaja Husayn Sanjugdar of Run and Kunj Ali Marakkar, brother of Ahamad Marakkar, the faquih, travelled by corvettes and arrived in Kalikut with large presents for the Samuri from Sultan Bahadur Shah. They also brought with them vast amounts of money with a view to inducing the Muslims of Malabar, through the influence of Samuri, to go to Jazrat in order that they might take part in the naval war with the Portuguese. But the Marakkars did not achieve their purpose.

They arrived at Kalikut on the 16th of Rabi-ul awwal, 941 A.H (1534 A.D) (p.72)

1537-38 A.D

In the year 944 A.H, the Portuguese fell upon Barunur (Parappur) and killed Kutti Ibrahim, the nephew of Ali Ibrahim Marakkar and many others. They set fire to the town and then returned, notwithstanding the fact that they were at peace with the ruler of Tanur (Tanur) and Barunur used to go on their voyages with permits from the Portuguese. The reason for this act of violence on the part of the Portuguese appears to be that the people of Barunur sent a ship laden with pepper and ginger to the port of Jidda without taking a pass from them and the one thing which the Portuguese detested most was the journey undertaken by others for purposes of trade in pepper and ginger to any place and especially to the port of Jidda.

Ali Ibrahim Marakkar and Ahammed Marakkar the faqih and his brother Kunj Ali Marakkar started in the direction of Qail in a fleet of forty two corvettes. When they arrived off Baytala(?) they landed ashore securing their vessels with anchor. As they halted at Baytala for a long time, they were perverted. The Portuguese went there in their corvettes, fought against them, and by the order of Allah, they captured all the corvettes of the Muslims. In this encounter many Muslims fell as martyrs. This event took place towards the end of Sha'ban' 944 A.H (1538 A.D). The Muslims who escaped left Balytala for Malabar. When they arrived at Nallarballi (Nallepalli) on their way, Ali Ibrahim Marakkar died. (p. 74).

A year after Ali Ibrahim Marakkar's death, Ahamad Marakkar the faqih, and his brother Kunj Ali Marakkar sailed in a fleet of eleven corvettes towards Silan, But the Portuguese followed them, attacked and captured the corvettes in thir possession. Many Muslims suffered martyrdom. The two Marakkars and those who escaped made their way to the ruler of Silan who treacherously put them to death. "Verily we are for Allah, and to Allah we return" (pp. 75-76).

On Saturday, the 8th of Jumadalakhira, 976, A.H (1568 A.D) the inhabitants of Fannan and Fandarina and others who owned corvetts started from Fannam., with a fleet of seventeen corvettes. Kutti Boker was one of the parties. They captured off Shaliyat, a big barsha which started from Kashi with great preparations, carrying nearly one thousand brave men, their allies and servants, besides a vast store of merchandise. In the course of the fight, a fire broke out in the barsha and it was burnt. The Muslims secured some of the big cannons and captured more than a hundred Portuguese, brave and eminent men, besides servants and attendants. The rest perished either in the sea or in the fire. Plentiful praise be to Allah. (p. 84).

1570 A.D

In the latter part of the month of Jumadal- Akkhira, 978 A/ H., Kutti Bokar sailed at night with six covettes along the river of Manjalur (Mangalore), burnt many a fortess of the Portuguese, and fought against them. During the course of the fight he fell a martyr and his body was lost. May Allah's unbounded mercy be upon him. Only two of his corvettes got off safely. He was sincere in his fight against Portuguese. (pp. 84-5).

Complied by Mrs. Beena Gigi

Appendix XIV

Kerala Varthamanam or the News of Kerala¹

Hari: The following is an account of the news of Malayalam country;. The Perumal Sakravriti divided his kingdom of Malayalam among the concerned regional rulers, as he was preparing to leave for Mecca. At that time the king Tamoothiri (Zamorin) was away and he was not given his due. When the Zamorin came back, Perumal gave his sword of authority to him and asked him to conquer and possess as much land as possible, with that sword. After that Tamoothiri acted accordingly and placed Kozhikode under his possession. The followers of Islam who came to pay homage to the King settled down at Kozhikode. During that period several traders and workers came to Kozhikode from different places and settled down there in large scale for pursuing trade and other work. Kozhikode began to expand, the kingdom and the city became prominent among the native kingdoms of Malayalam country. As the followers of Islam from different places settled together in Kozhikode, the power of Tamoorhiti began to spread far and wide among the kings of Malayalam country. At that time there were strong and weak ones among the kings. They never used to forgo the borders or jurisdiction prescribed for them. The kings included those having

1 A palm leaf document No. 11 in Malayalam language, year 1792, on 25th Karkkitakam of 967, maintained in the India Office Library and Records, London. This is a narration of events rendered by the Khasi of Calicut, based on oral tradition. This was copied from London by Dr. K.K.N Kurup in 1978. Another version of this document is given in Kerala Pazhama ed. By Herman Gundert and published by the Basal Mission in 1868. The Khasi's version has its own significance as an oral tradition. Its chronology is defective in several places as it has compared the Hijira year and the Kollam era. The KE 672 is corresponding to A.D 1497. But the Portuguese arrival was in A.D. 1498. The account closes in the year 763 of Kollam or A.D 1588 or A.H 998. C.A Menon says that "As an historical record, the work would seem to be of considerable value" Catalogue of Malayalam Manuscripts in the India Officer Library (Oxford University Press, 1954). P/60.

This English version is prepared by Mr. K Vijayakumar, Senior Lecturer. Govt. Sanskrit College Pattambi for this volume.

one kathom (approx. 16 km) of territory or more. There were rulers with forces consisting of 100, 200, 300, 1,000, 10,000, 30,000, 1,00,000 and even more soldiers. Some kingdoms were ruled jointly by two kings while some others by three or more kings. In the kingdom jointly ruled by a couple of kings, they would not quarrel or become sulky or neglect the duty towards the kingdom, even if one of the two was stronger. Even if anyone of the joint rulers was on tour and away, it did not affect their unity. The king with maximum number of followers was the one who ruled over the region ranging from Kollam to Kanyakumari. He was known as Thiruvati. The king with the next largest number of followers was the Kolathiri who owned Matayi, Valapattanam areas around Kannur, Edakkad and Dharmaram (Dharmadam). But among these kings, the Tamoothiri was the one with more ability and power and more fame and name. The Tamoothiri had more position and reputation than others. This was because after the departure of Perumal to Mecca, embracing Islam and handing over his sword of authority, he caused the settlement of Muslims in his territory and took them into confidence. He also respected and honoured the foreigners and sailors who reached Kozhikode. Whenever he had to go for battle or any other serious things, the Tamoothiri insisted that the sword of the Perumal should be carried in front of him. If there was a war against the kings of Malayalam on any question, Tamoothiri withdrew his force if the ruler paid some wealth or offered land. Even if a king refused to offer wealth or land, the Tamoothiri did not destroy his kingdom with force. Instead he would stay at the border of the territory for a long span and make the other ruler offer wealth of land. This is to keep up the traditional (custom), and disprove the unwillingness to violate it. All the kings other than the Tamoothiri used to kill each other and destroy the country if there was a battle.

The Description of the arrival of the Paranki (Portuguese) in Malayalam

In Kollam era 672 on the day of 6th of Karkkatakam and the

Hijara 904, there Portuguese ships reached Panthalayani Kollam and anchored there due to unfavourable weather and came to Kozhikode and gathered information about Malayalam. They did not engage in trade during that visit and returned to their native country Porathikkave (Portugal). Pepper was the major attraction for the Portuguese to visit Malabar. After two years, six ships came again to Kozhikode. While a decent trade was being carried on, the Portuguese appeased the assistants of the Zamorin suggesting that they were ready to offer more money to the King's treasury than others, provided the King stopped the business of the Mappilas and the Arabs and prevented the goods directed to Arab countries. Meanwhile, the Portuguese tried to offend the Mappilas which provoked the Zamorin to send men to suppress them. In the skirmish that followed, 70 Portuguese men were killed and the remaining boarded their ships. From there, they fired with big guns (cannon) at the Zamorin's men who also fired back. They fought for some time and the ships then moved towards Cochin where they met the Raja and managed to construct a fort there. This was the first fort of the Portuguese in Malayalam. A mosque that stood there was destroyed by them. The Portuguese developed good and smooth relationship with the people of Cochin. Then they visited Kannur and formed good relations and constructed another fort there. They participated in different trades at Kannur and collected pepper to be taken to Portugal. The intention of their voyage itself was to collect pepper from Malayalam. After one year, four Portuguese ships came to Cochin and Kannur and returned with pepper and dried ginger. Again 28 ships came after two years, to take pepper and dried ginger to Portugal. During that period the Zamorin invaded Cochin and captured the King's residence. In that battle, three Cochin kings were killed. After the victory, the Zamorin returned to Kozhikode. One and half years after this invasion, ten ships came again, of which seven ships were new ones and three belonged to the earlier voyage of 28 vessels. The seven new ships took the cargo

from Cochin and went back and three ships remained in Cochin itself. When the Zamorin heard this news, he led 6,000 Nairs and several Mappilas to seize those ships. But continuous fire with big guns prevented them from entering Cochin. So he appointed the Mappilas of Vaikkara of Ponnani in three crafts with instructions to go straight to the Portuguese ships and fire. In this exchange of firing, many Mappilas died and the rest of them withdrew. Then four vessels loaded with Mappilas from Vaikkara and Veliyamkode at Ponnani and another three crafts full of them from Kappad and Kollam were dispatched against the Portuguese ships. In this attack also the Mappilas failed to achieve victory. As the rainy season was fast approaching, the Zamorin returned to Kozhikode with his men. After that in H.E 915, Kollam era 683 Medam 22nd Thursday, the Portuguese landed at Kozhikode. They set fire to a prayer mosque and entered the palace of the Zamorin and occupied it. The Zamorin was away for a battle. Then all the Nairs of Kozhikode together encountered the Portuguese and ousted them from the palace. In that fight, 500 Portuguese men were killed and the remaining boarded the ship and went back. Before this incident, the Portuguese had alighted at Vaikkal in Ponnani and had burnt down 50 crafts that were kept for drying on the shore, and killed 70 Mappilas. Later the Portuguese contacted the King of Southern Kollam (Quilon), got permission to build a fort, through humble behaviour and fine words. The best available pepper in maximum quantity was at southern Kollam and Kochi. That is why they planned a fort, there at Kollam. Their next target was Goa which they captured after a fight. Goa was then under the possession of the Sulthan Adil Shah. After settling at Goa, the Portuguese made it as their major centre or face. But sultan Adil Shah fought against the Portuguese and re-captured Goa. Again the Portuguese attacked Adil Shah with a reinforced, larger force and contingent, and re-captured Goa. Here they constructed a number of forts to sustain their power. Day by day the Portuguese power began to increase. The Zamorin at that time, came to be in

good terms with them and there was a peaceful and friendly relationship between them. This was due to reasons like- the futility of continuous war, decline of business of the Mappilas and the death of the then Zamorin. The younger ruler became the Zamorin. He understood that an amicable settlement with the Portuguese would be beneficial. He heard that the Portuguese trade was in good progress at Cochin and Kannur. Therefore, he thought that friendship with the Portuguese would help the growth of Kozhikode too and that he too reconciled himself and permitted them to construct a fort at Kozhikode. This permission was given under the condition that they would not trouble the Muslim settlers of the Zamorin from exporting 4 ships of dried ginger and pepper every year to Mecca. The Portuguese had accepted this condition. While the Portuguese were engaged in the construction of the fort, the Mappilas began sailing 4 ships to the Arabian coast with ginger and pepper. For this they took the letter and flag from the Portuguese. That was in M.E 689 (Malayalam era, Kollam era) H.E 921. The ships bound for Mecca sold out the cargo and duly returned to Kozhikode. Meanwhile the Portuguese finished the construction of the fort. After that the Portuguese began to forbid the export of pepper and ginger to Mecca. They insisted that nobody other than the Portuguese should involve in the trade of pepper and ginger. They started the trade themselves. They also warned that they would seize the cargoes and boats if anybody attempted to export ginger and pepper. Moreover, they treacherously tried to kidnap the Zamorin but he escaped from that trap. The Portuguese constructed a temporary Residence near the fort and invited the Zamorin to that house under the pretext of delivering a gift from the King of Portugal. The King accepted the invitation and went to that house. While he was there one Portuguese citizen himself revealed the evil intention of his fellowmen to the King. Immediately, the King went out under the pretext of going for a bath in the pond and escaped.

The man who revealed the trap and his mates were immediately transported to Kannur. After that the Portuguese killed several Nairs and evicted the Mappilas from their houses. The Mappilas of Thana street withdrew to eastern part and assembled there. Meanwhile, some Muslim chieftains from Cochin like Ahammed Marakkar, Kunjali Marakkar, Ali Marakkar came to Zamorin with their followers. Hearing this the Portuguese were convinced that a majority of Mappilas and the Zamorin himself were against them. So the Portuguese started from Cochin with all essential things, landed at Vaikkal in Ponnani, set fire to houses, streets and some mosques. Some of them were killed there. After that they stayed there for one day and sailed to Panthalayini Kollam the next night. There they seized 40 vessels, the encounter resulting in the death of some people. Due to these types of Portuguese actions, there were calamities and disorder in the cities and the subjects became restless. This prompted Zamorin to wage war against the Portuguese. As the Zamorin was away from Calicut, he sent a letter to his Secretary, Elayath asking him to make war preparations. Elayath made the arrangements for the war and in the meantime Mappilas from various places, also reached Kozhikode. By this time the Zamorin also reached Kozhikode. As the fight went continuously for days together, the Portuguese fort was besieged. The Portuguese were short of food items and could not get any external help also. So they took the valuables of the fort on the ship, destroyed the fort and boarded the ship stealthily and left Kozhikode. That was in AH 983, M.E 751. In this encounter there was a loss of more than 2,000 men, Nairs and Mappilas. This aggravated the anger of the Portuguese against the King and Mappilas. Later on, the Mappilas, spread their business to Gujarat and other places and sailed with ship-loads of dried ginger and pepper. On the way, the Portuguese captured some vessels which were sailing without obtaining their passes. Some ships were captured and some were fired and forced to land nearby and some ships managed to reach the trade centres

and returned without difficulty. When the quarrels were almost over, the Mappilas of Dharmapattanam and around, formed cordial relationships with the Portuguese and sailed with their flag and letter. But Zamorin and the settlers of Kozhikode continued their hostility against the Portuguese for a long time. During A.H 985, M.E 753 a Portuguese vessel landed at Tanur and met the King of Tanur. When the news spread, the Zamorin sent message to the King of Tanur to hand over the men and materials of those Portuguese vessels to him. But the King of Tanur did not do so. This strengthened the friendship between the Portuguese and the King of Tanur and developed confidence for each other. Now aiming to disturb the Zamorin and destroy the Mappilas at Vaikkal in Ponnani, the Portuguese decided to construct a fort on the left bank of the Vaikkal river mouth in Ponnani. the Portuguese ships with materials for construction like stones, mortar and other things reached near Vaikkal in Ponnani but all the ships except one 'mast vessel' were destroyed by being dashed to the shore in a great storm. Some Portuguese men were drowned and some were captured. The big guns came under the possession of Zamorin and the design of the Portuguese for a fort could not be materialised.

Description of How the Portuguese Constructed the Fort at Chaliyam with Zamorin's Assistance

A Portuguese captain from Cochin came to Ponnani with an aim to establish peace with the Zamorin. He gathered all information and met the King of Tanur, requested him to take initiative for a compromise between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. The King of Kozhikode was the same person who had conquered the Portuguese fort. The King of Tanur visited the Zamorin and acted a mediator in eliminating the hostility between the Zamorin and the Portuguese and secured permission to have a Portuguese fort at Chaliyam. This permission was given with

the full knowledge that it was a centre of royal procession and a sacred path. It was also known that this would endanger the export of commodities to Arabian lands. The Portuguese made all arrangements during the year for the construction of the fort and landed in Chaliyam river mouth by A.H 988, M.E 757, Sunday, 5th. The Chaliyam fort was huge with very many specialities. During the time of construction one Portuguese man removed a stone from the mosque constructed by Malik Ibn Dinar. So all the Mappilas of the place went to the captain with their complaint. The captain and some Portuguese men went to the mosque and repaired it themselves with mortar and stone, which pleased the Mappilas. The next day, some Portuguese men one again, removed many stone of the mosque. The Mappilas complained once again. Then the captain maintained that he was removing the stones because the mosque and surrounding land had been given to him by the King. Thereafter, the Mappilas withdrew together and constructed a mosque at a distance. After that the Portuguese took the tomb stones of Mappilas and used them to construct the fort. In the same year, before the fort was completed, the then Zamorin demised. Then the junior King was coronated as the Zamorin and he attacked the King of Chaliyam. The King of Chaliyam yielded to him promising that he would obey the words of the Zamorin and hence the Zamorin's army withdrew. Then the Zamorin moved against the King of Tanur. But the King of Tanur surrounded Puthiya Ponnane and Karukan Thuruthi to the Zamorin, who accepted them, and returned. After that in Hijara 975, Kollam era 743, the Portuguese burnt down Panthalayani Kollam, Tikkoti and Ponnani quay. Later on in the year A.H 963(?), M.E 732(?) the Portuguese and the King became friendly once again. After an interval in A.H 977, K.E 746, they developed further hostility. In fact the Portuguese constructed their forts at Mangalapuram (Mangalore) and Vakinnur (Bednore), after this breakdown of friendship with Zamorin. Some years after in A.H 980, M.E 749, a Muslim Kuttipokker Marakkar happened to

seize a Portuguese ship. In the year A.H 974, M.E 743 the Zamorin moved towards Cochin for an invasion. They had to spend two months on the way wherein he lost about 2,000 men due to poisoning the water. After this mishap, he withdrew to Paloli and the King of Tanur was placed in his position. As Zamorin was under cover, the Portuguese captured the King of Tanur mistaking him for Zamorin. If the King of Tanur had not been there, the Portuguese might have taken the Zamorin himself. It is after this incident, in the year A.H 979, M.E 747, that the Zamorin seized the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam. In the year A.H 992, M.E 760, the Portuguese once again joined hands with the Zamorin with an aim to construct a fort at Ponnani. but this renewed friendship did not last long, as the Portuguese captured a royal ship at sea. These are the news about the Portuguese and the Zamorin. Sree Gurubhyo Nama: Subhamastu. This news is dictated and written down in M.E 967 in Sunday 25th of the month of Karkatakam, from the 'Kassa' of the Kathriyar (Kasi) of Kozhikode.

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NATIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE- THE SAGA OF KUNJALI MARAKKARS

Confined to the narrow strip of land facing the 'mysterious' Atlantic Sea and unable to expand, Portugal had Sea as its destiny. Portugal was the first European power to appreciate the importance of the Sea-power. The arrival of Gama at Calicut was the climax of the endeavour of three quarters of a century and he realized the true means of utilizing sea-power for the foundation of colonial power.

The Portuguese policy of armed-trade by cartaz (passport) alarmed the Muslims of Malabar who were the traditional traders. The Zamorin of Calicut became the rallying point for a resistance movement with the help of the Marakkars. This is the theme of this book.

The book is divided into two parts, the first one dealing with Portugal's oceanic expansion to the East, and secondly, the advent of the Portuguese in Malabar and the conflict that ensued for well over a century in which the Marakkars exhibited great bravery and tenacity of purpose. Large number of primary, published and unpublished materials in Portuguese and in other languages have gone into the preparation of this small volume which is being brought out on the 400th year of the martyrdom of Kunjali Marakkar IV. It is hoped that this book will provide valuable reading material for the Medieval History of Kerala.

Native Resistance
Against the Portuguese-
The Saga of
Kunjali Marakkars



Dr. K.K.N. Kurup

Dr. K.M. Mathew