

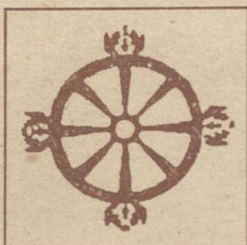
GUNDERT: KERALA PAZHAMA

('ANTIQUITY OF KERALA')

TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH



T. MADHAVA MENON



INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS
Thiruvananthapuram

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A FEW WORDS OF INTRODUCTION

When I visited the library of ISDL, I saw the article in Malayalam by T. Madhava Menon on *Kēraḷa Paḷama* published in Bhāṣā Sāhiti and read a few paragraphs. A quote from Gundert's *Kēraḷa Paḷama* has a verb-ending in *-āre*. This is a survival of the person-number-gender-ending of the verbs in Malayalam. So, I called for a copy of *Kēraḷa Paḷama* which I got in a xeroxed form from Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan and read through. Nearly 125 instances of such verbs are found in that text which formed the subject matter of a note submitted to the 30th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists at Dharwad, Karnataka.

Before that in the late 1960-s, when the Second World Conference of Tamil was held at Chennai, I read a keynote paper in which I mentioned that the practice of the elder brother taking to *sanyāsa* and the younger member assuming kingship, is present in the Cochin family which is the opposite of what is noted in *Cilappatikāram* where the younger brother becomes a *sanyāsi* and the elder brother becomes king. Dr. K. Aiyappan who met me after the formal presentation, asked me where I have taken the information from. I said from K.M. Panikkar's 'History' published by Annamalai University. He said 'he is undependable'. "I needed proof to the contrary; if not available, I will hold on to that rare information"; these were my words. *Kēraḷa Paḷama* is the source for K.M. Panikkar. Whether he has stated this in his book, I do not remember. I have repeatedly said that for the cultural and historical details found in *Cilappatikāram*, one has to look to Kerala. This needs stress, again and again to make the Malayalam *literati* realize that if they neglect old Tamil literature, they neglect at least one-third of their literary wealth. That apart, *Kēraḷa Paḷama* is fascinating for me for candidly noting the conventions in Kerala in the 17th century A.D., the untouchability, the inner life of the palace, the pretensions of the Portuguese and, above all, the infights of the minor kings and their overlords. A mine of information, besides linguistically-rich fare in preserving many archaic features by Gundert, is found in this write-up. More is the enjoyment when archaic features are found in abundance. Mr. T. Madhava Menon, on my request, has translated it into English, with abundant footnotes, for the benefit of non-Malayalam readers. The translation is absorbing.

3/12/2002

V.I. Subramoniam

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Had Gundert submitted *Kēraḷa Paḷama* as an undergraduate exercise in composition at any self-respecting College in Kerala even at the time it was written, i.e., late 19th century, it probably would not have obtained pass marks! The style is so stilted as to be almost unintelligible; there are any number of mistakes, of diction as well as of grammar. He uses Sanskrit *tatsama* terms violating the conventional Malayalam meaning of those words and indulges in the typical style of the "literary German", lampooned by Mark Twain (in *A Yankee in the Court of King Arthur*), viz., he (the literary German) would put everything he had to say, be it a short report or a philosophy, into one sentence or die; and when he plunges himself into one of them, that is the last you see of him until he emerges on the other side of the Atlantic with his verb in his mouth!

One example should suffice - it has been taken at random, and is from Chapter 40.

*atinre kāraṇam mahānmariruvareyūm bhēdippikkēṇḍatinnu vevvēre āḷkaḷ
śṛamikkayāl, almeiḍa nischayiccatu entennāl: i marrēvannu kāryavicāraṇa sādhipiccu
vannāl pōrtugalinnu apamānamē varum; avan koṭunnallūrile yahūdanmāroṭu snēhic-
cirikkunnu; nityam katta eluti ayakkayum vānnukayum ceyyunnu itu entu rahasyam
pakṣe avan rājadrōhamō matadrōhamō entu vicārikkunnu enniññane ōrōnnu ninaccu
koḷḷumbōḷ perimpaṭappinre niyōgattāl anjinkalla nāyar vannu bōdhippiccatu nammuṭe
tampurān mānuvel rājaviḷ āśrāyikka koṇḍu niññalkkalla ālbukkerkinte kayyil atre muḷaku
mutalāya carakkukaḷe bharamēlpikkum; avan sāḷṣāl pisorāyi sthānattil ākunnu mānuvel
rājāvinre kaiyyeluttilum prakāram kaṇunnu; tāmasam entinnu rājāvinre kalpaṇa
pramāṇamallāte pōyittuṇḍō enniññine kēṭṭa nērattu ālmaḍa kayarttu albukerkke
bhavaṇattil tanne taṭavukāraṇāyi pārka ennu kalpiccu.*

The literal translation of this gargantuan sentence would be:

The reason (was) that in order to cause quarrel between the two great men, several persons tried, and what Almeida decided was: "this other fellow, if he succeeds in his objective, only shame to Portugal will ensue; he is in love with the Jews of Kotungallur; daily he sends and receives letters from them this is no secret; but what harm does he contemplate against the king or the religion", while thinking thus of several matters, the matter Anjukallu Nayar came and made him understand "our king, because he has taken refuge in king Manuel, will hand over and render pepper and other goods into the hands Albuquerque only and not yours; he is the real incumbent of the Viceroy's post - so it is seen as per the written hand of king Manuel; why delay has the king's orders gone without authority", when this was heard, Almeida raged angrily, and "Albuquerque should stay in his home", thus he ordered.

I have split such sentences into smaller units, though it does detract from the 'flavour' of the original. The word order in Malayalam sentences being SOV, the verb emerging at the end of the sentence does not look so odd as it would, in English.

It cannot be argued that Gundert had no models of good prose he could follow. The *Vartamānapustakam*, a travelogue, by Thomas Paremakal, was available; Ulloor Parameswara Iyer conceded (*Kēraḷabhāṣa Caritam* Vol. III), though grudgingly, that its author had indeed presented to Malayalam a crown of gold; the language was not Sanskritized, but was 'appropriate' for the work. Gundert could also have referred to the translation of the proceedings of the Synod of Diamper, which, though composed several centuries ago, is in idiomatic and expressive Malayalam. O. Chandu Menon, a contemporary of Gundert, had produced models of prose that show that Gundert's style was by no means the current literary fashion or of Northern Kerala.

Gundert had settled down in Talasseri only by 1839. He had already learnt Tamil and other Dravidian languages, but started learning Malayalam seriously only after that; he seems to have preferred it to Tulu, Kannada, and Tamil (Nambudiri NM; Introduction to 1988 Mathrubumi Edition of *Kerala Palama*, p xxii). He also started learning Sanskrit from a Munshi. One of his first literary efforts was a translation of *Keralolpatti* (1840), hardly a year after he had started learning the language; the first copies, printed in Mangalore, were available in 1843 (Frenz & Zacharia 1991: *Dr. Hermann Gundert - parudisayile bhashapanditan*, DC Books

Kottayam: p 93). Kerala Palama was first published from Mangalore in 1868, but he had been fascinated by the Portuguese period in Malabar history even while he was in Germany; he had written to his wife in 1851 requesting her to send, among other documents, two notebooks of his, which he had on the subject (ibid.:116). He probably worked on this only intermittently thereafter, because he was busy in missionary activities and in his *magnum opus*, the Dictionary.

Probably Gundert did indeed work on this comparatively easy task of translation as an exercise in Malayalam, at an early stage of his studies in the language; it followed logically as a continuation of his first work, viz., the translation of *Keralolpatti*. The late date of its publication indicates that he had not originally intended it for publication. Though it starts with the arrival of Vasco da Gama, as it should, it ends abruptly with Nunho da Cunha (1529) and the punishment of Vaz (1530) - not very critical or decisive events in the Portuguese fortunes. He concludes it hastily, referring to the capture of Kochi about a century afterwards. He has not covered some of the important incidents of the Portuguese period, e.g., the Synod of Diamper, or the Mission of St. Xavier; he had given up working on this 'project' well before he got to those events.

Gundert does not cite his sources, though obviously, they were original Portuguese records. But there are certain portions where he let his imagination run away with him, e.g., his description of the Zamorin at the first interview with Gama. He portrays him as an old man, so weighted down with jewelled bracelets that he required the help of servants to lift his arms! There is a hilarious picture of Portuguese efforts to eat jackfruit, and drink water pouring it down their throats. These descriptions are not matched by similar recitals in other reports: for example, Logan describes the Zamorin as a dark man, dressed only in white clothes reaching from his waist to his knees, and ornamented with belts in which red gem-stones were prominent. Only one big bracelet is mentioned as adorning his left arm; there were several gems including an invaluable diamond, suspended from it. Mention is made of his long black hair gathered on top of his head, indicating that he was not very old - Gundert was therefore indulging in a bit of fancy when referring to his age.

Bias: The bias in favour of the Portuguese is obvious throughout, probably because of his total dependence on Portuguese sources. The only other source he could have accessed would have been the Arabic *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin* ("An offering to the Jihad Martyrs"), by Shaikh Ahmad Zein-ud-din. He does refer to Ferishta (in Chapter 72), but somewhat slightly, and implying that the Muslim reports are *prima facie* unacceptable.

Ennatukonḍu mussalmānar ī katha paryunnavidham vēre avaruṭe vākkāvitu: paraṅkikal kōlikkōṭṭil kōṭṭa kēṭṭiya śēṣam nabiṣuṭe āḷukaḷe vaḷare himsiccu pōyi viśēṣāl kālattāl 4 paṭaku mūlakum injiyum makkattēkkayappān kalpaṇa āyeṅkilum māppilakac-cavaṭatte avar ellāvidhattilum virōdhiccu natannu. Koṭuṅṅallūrele yahūdānmārum tāmūtirikke balam illa ennu kaṇḍu vaḷare māppilamāre kalahiccu konnu. Atukonḍu tāmūtiri nāṇiccu paṭa kūṭi koṭuṅṅallūre kolle purappettu jayiccu yahūdare aśēṣam nīkki mutakkayum ceytu. Anantaram nammute swarūpamellō cōṇakarkka āśrayam ennucolli evite ninnum musulmānare viliccu cērtu paraṅkikalōṭu paṭa kūṭi avaruṭe kōṭṭaye piṭiccatakkayum ceytu. Annu mutal kālattāle nālu paṭakum makkakkaccavaṭattinnāyi oṭiccupōnnu irikkunnu enninnane ferisṭa eluṭi vecca varttamānam koṭuṅṅallūril annuṇḍāyatinre vivaram niscayippān pāṭilla.

["But the way Muslims narrate this story is different, their words being thus: "after Portuguese built the fort at Kozhikode, they continuously harassed people of the Prophet in many ways; especially though there was permission to send four vessels of pepper and ginger to Mecca, they persisted in proscribing Muslim trade in all manner of ways. Even Jews of Kotungallur seeing that Tamutiri was powerless killed many Muslims in quarrels. So, Tamutiri, ashamed, gathered an army and setting out to raid Kotungallur, was victorious and removed all Jews from the land and proscribed their return. Then, declaring that his swarupam was the refuge of Muslims, gathered Muslims from everywhere, engaged in battle against Portuguese, and captured their fort. From then on, regularly, four vessels have been sailing on the Mecca trade", so has Ferishta written down, which report is not sufficient to decide what happened in Kotungallur then".]

The bias in favour of the Portuguese and prejudice against Muslims is clear in his statement (Chapter 32) that it must have been Turks who introduced syphilis into Kerala. His argument is that it was known only for 17 years in 1507, when it was first seen in a baby born to a Muslim woman and a Portuguese who had deserted and joined the Zamorin's forces. It was only in 1494 that it had been first reported in Europe, and therefore, he surmised that the Turks, who, he presumed, had been exposed to it earlier, must have spread it. Actually, it was in 1430 that the first European mention is seen; it was in a London legislation against its spread through prostitutes. A Spaniard, Guichiardini, had admitted that it was spread from his country. By 1493, it had become almost an epidemic in Western Europe. Other Europeans called it the 'French disease' (Sanger 1937: *The History of Prostitution*, Reprint 1984, Inter India Publications, Delhi). Gundert's specious arguments trying to pin it on the Turks is therefore one more instance of his prejudice.

He forces himself to bemoan the inhuman cruelties for which the Portuguese had been notorious. He meticulously describes the ferocity of Portuguese vendetta, and the heartless massacre they indulged in, of even women and children. He recounts the reputation that Vasco da Gama and Pacheco established for

themselves as 'fiends in human form'. He virtually extols Albuquerque for abducting hordes of Muslim women, whom he 'gave away' in marriage to his soldiers; Albuquerque encouraged such liaisons so that the half-breeds born of them would add to the population of Christians, and be loyal defenders of the Portuguese. But he does exclaim, before narrating the cruelty, extortion, torture, and piracy indulged in by Portuguese (Chapter 63): "In addition to such atrocities on land, how can one describe the cruelties perpetuated on the seas?"

Description of battles: Gundert excels in the description of battles, which take up so much of space in this little book. The emphasis is on glorious victories gained by so few Portuguese against so many 'native' armies in such adverse conditions. Of course, the Portuguese warriors, hardened by constant fighting and piracy, a feature of the European condition at that time, were far superior as navigators and fighters to the native fighters. The swords used by Nayers then were generally made of iron, and were no match to the steel of the enemy. The decisive superiority was in the matter of fire-arms. The natives had been using them for noise-making during festivals, and the cannons were so rudimentary that the balls discharged by them could be easily caught by hand as if they were 'bowles'. Nayar wore no armour, and had only the shield to protect them, while the Portuguese preferred to be broiled in their steel armour rather than be cut down by the sword. The natives observed courtesies of war, such as intimating the enemy when the attack would commence, sounding war drums to indicate from where the attack was coming, desisting from hostilities after dark, etc. The Portuguese, on the other hand, depended on surprise for the most spectacular of their victories.

Portuguese cannon provided the devastating "ultimate weapon": they had types to be mounted on their ships, some which could be wheeled along the land, some which were specialized in the firing of grape shot for maximum 'anti-personnel' effect, etc., (Whiteway, Reprint 1989: *The Rise of Portuguese power in India*, Asian Educational Services, Madras; pp 33-41). Gundert describes in detail how two Italian gunners deserted from the Portuguese, joined the Zamorin, cast the cannons and trained the natives in their use; and how intense and unforgiving the Portuguese vendetta against them were. We may also recall here Logan's assessment of the traditional Nayar fighters: they were excellent in skirmishes, and agile and acrobatic in the use of their weapons, but, when it came to a pitched battle calling for the best tactics and discipline, they were easily scattered, and massacred in their hundreds (Logan, Reprint 1981:166). Inevitably, the most glorious Portuguese victories were in the defence of their forts, where their cannons had the maximum effect, and the attackers had very little idea of strategy, tactics, and the technology of siege guns, scaling ladders, etc.

But the Portuguese did not venture far inland, because of their 'healthy' fear of Nayar. In the famous attack on Zamorin's palace, described rather fairly by Gundert (Chapter 41), legendary warrior Coutinho and his equally famous lieutenant Albuquerque gained an initial victory by surprise, because Zamorin's forces were away. But they did not tarry, and in the counter-attack, virtually annihilated the Portuguese - a rough count, in spite of the defective statistics, shows that of about 1400 Portuguese who set out on this great expedition, only less than 100 could escape under the cover of fire from the cannon from their ships - Coutinho was killed, and Albuquerque had to be carried away, wounded, on a shield. Sidelights on the regard the Portuguese had for the Nayar as fighting men are also available because the Portuguese were keen to take contingents of Nayers on their campaigns in Goa and elsewhere.

Zamorin Vs. Perumpadappu: The respective portrayals of Zamorins, and kings of Perumpadappu lineage provide the dramatic contrast. At the beginning of the story, the latter had been totally subjugated by the former; Gundert narrates how pepper and other commodities from Kochi had to be sent to Calicut. Muslims had been favoured over Christians, whom Kochi preferred. Zamorin's permission had to be obtained before a successor could be empowered in Kochi; even to re-thatch his 'palace', Perumpadappu had to obtain permission. There was an interesting custom, whereby the senior-most member of the lineage had to abdicate and live as recluse in a temple, allowing the second-in-succession to rule in his stead.

The Zamorin, on the other hand, was riding on a wave of victory. Trade in Calicut was flourishing; though mostly in the hands of Muslims, ships called from all over the then known world. His territory extended well into the interior, giving him command of vast resources. He was ably supported by Ministers and commanders, and could count on the loyalty of Muslims. The efficiency with which the Portuguese, on arrival without notice at Kappad, could be received, guided to safe anchorage, and granted an audience with the king, shows that the trade and customs administration was well-organized. Glimmering through Gundert's incomplete descriptions is a picture of a fairly prosperous countryside, and a balanced economy. Both at Kochi and at Calicut, rice was even then an item of import. Gama could, according to Gundert, comment that good sense would prevail among Malayalis when a blockade would stop arrival of rice. One of Pacheco's first concerns when arranging for a prolonged defence of Kochi was to ensure that there was an adequate store of this commodity; he threatened a few Muslim traders, who stopped their imports with death.

Pepper, of course, was the major item. Wars were fought for it, and national accounts settled in terms of *bharams*, and shiploads of it. The Portuguese were fond of exporting animals, especially elephants - Gundert makes special mention that the first elephant that sailed in a ship to Europe was an offering to the Portugal king. And, as their power grew, they included young women among their items of exportable merchandise - they were bought or captured as slaves, in the bourses of Kochi or in the campaigns against the Muslims, gifted to friends, 'married' off to the white Portuguese in order to bear armies of half-breeds to fill the churches and the fighting forces of the Portuguese. From all available evidence, it seems that this item of trade gained importance only after the Portuguese created a market for it. The most strategic import was of warhorses. The Zamorin himself was an important client; with the emergence of Vijayanagaram, Rayar kings also demanded unceasing supplies of these precious animals, which fetched even higher prices than elephants. Albuquerque, in exchange for territorial and trade rights, offered to import them exclusively for the Rayar, and sought permission to indulge in piracy to prevent other agents from shipping them for other potentates. Fire-arms, cannon, and gunpowder seem to have been other strategic imports, which the Portuguese used to bargain with for favoured terms of trade.

It was in this milieu that antagonism arose between Zamorin and Portuguese. Zamorin made it clear to Gama that Portuguese would be offered only equal opportunities as all other trading partners, but Gama insisted on nothing less than complete eradication of Muslim traders, and monopoly over over-seas trade in commodities, especially pepper. He also demanded a favoured term, viz., prefixing of price of pepper, rather than its settlement at the level of international demand and supply. Zamorin rejected these terms; and Gama bombarded Calicut, causing much damage, highly exaggerated in Portuguese reports relied upon by Gundert. Gama's advisors included a Muslim renegade, Koya Pakki; on his advice, he sailed to Kochi, where Perumpadappu presented the dramatic opposite of the Zamorin. He had been favouring Christian and Jewish traders, in preference, though not the exclusion of the Muslims, whom he obviously identified as the Zamorin's party. He was powerless, and totally dependent on, though highly resentful of, the Zamorin. Ancient and mythical traditions fanned his ire. When Gama, with the reputation of having bombarded Calicut, arrived, Perumpadappu embraced the opportunity. Later, he literally embraced Almeida, the Portuguese boss, who, knowing that the king was a pauper, immediately gave him 10,000 pieces of gold. Perumpadappu had to thank the Portuguese even for his golden crown.

[Incidentally, rarely does Gundert use the appellation 'king' in respect of Perumpadappu. This lineage name is used as sufficient to identify him - in other words, the king of Kochi, until the Portuguese made him such, was merely the head of a lineage.]

The most prominent feature of Zamorin's tradition, highlighted in several places in Gundert's narration, is his faithfulness to his friends and commitments to them. Though in favour of negotiating a truce or agreement, successive Zamorins preferred to spurn the agreement if it contained a provision for surrendering a person or party who had sought refuge with them. One of the repeated Portuguese demands was that the Italian cannon-makers should be rendered up; and consistently, Zamorins refused to do so, preferring continued battle. It is in this context that Pacheco's defence of Kochi becomes significant. After a devastating defeat that left Perumpadappu destitute and desolate, Zamorin's mighty forces were at the gates. Against overwhelming odds, by a really heroic combination of planning, strategy, action and aggression, the siege was resisted for six months, when Zamorin's forces were depleted by battle, famine and pestilence. This was indeed the turning point that catapulted Perumpadappu into a position of self-respect, from which he could try to aim at an ultimate near-equality with his hated rival.

After thus having virtually created a rival to the Zamorin, this reputation stood the Portuguese in very good stead in their negotiations with the other potentates of the region, especially the Kolattiri to the north of the Zamorin, and Kollam, to the far south. Everywhere, they utilized the internal weaknesses and rivalries they found rampant. The secret of their success was that they never forgot the primacy of their interest, and the need to patronize the Christians, so that more would be converted to that religion. Many native Christians, like those in Kochi and in Kollam, placed themselves under the direct protection of the Portuguese forts established there.

Only one Zamorin was an exception from the stiff anti-Portuguese policy. As the heir-apparent, he had consistently advised his elder, the then Zamorin, to make peace with the foreigners. Menon KPP (Reprint 1989: *Cochirajyacharithram*: 192-193) alleges that he was totally corrupted by the Portuguese; under Albuquerque's instigation, he had administered poison, and thus murdered his elder brother, in order to succeed him as Zamorin. Later when he became the Zamorin, he did indeed do so, ceding many rights, and allowing them to build a fort right in his capital city. Much had he to regret by it; the Portuguese, now the lords of the marine trade, and the most powerful naval force, entered into the reign of terror that even Gundert found hard to describe!

The Kunjali Marakkars: Gundert mentions the Kunjalis, valorous traditional admirals of Zamorin, only to describe the defeats they suffered at the hands of Portuguese. Though, as early as 1507, Tristan da Cunha had attacked Kutti Ali at Ponnani (described in great detail by Gundert, Chapter 36), he forced them back, and even dislodged them from their safe haven at Anjudwip. He could not follow up this advantage because the fleet promised by Sultan of Cambay and the Egyptians did not turn up, to provide the necessary reinforcement. In 1524 the Ali-s were conferred with the title of Kunjali, and appointed the hereditary admirals of the Zamorin. Gundert does mention the harassment caused to the big Portuguese vessels, especially when the wind died down, by the agile rowboats (*paro*) that suddenly attacked them - "Indian seamen generally gave no quarter nor asked for any" (Nambiar OK 1955: Portuguese Pirates & Indian Seamen, published by the Author; 99). In 1528, Kutti Ali was defeated off Barkur in a pitched battle, but managed to escape, and retaliated by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Portuguese fleet in September of the same year off Chettuvayi - this has not been specifically recounted by Gundert. The further exploits of the Kunjalis occurred after 1530, at which year Gundert's narration ends.

Southern Kerala & the Senior Rani/Junior Rani syndrome: Gundert makes brief mention of Venad, viz., that he had extended his sway over the southern tip of Pandyan empire, and had a second residence at Kayal (east of the Ghats). Interestingly, he reports a hear-say that the king was protected by a bodyguard of 300 women, armed with bows and arrows - a feature not described by any other authority. Albuquerque had only to placate him with some presents and offerings, because his real target was Kollam. Probably because of the turmoil caused by the Portuguese themselves, a portion of the trade at Kochi and at Calicut had moved south to Kollam, an entrepot for shipping from Pandya ports as well as from Sri Lanka, Bengal, Malacca and other eastern ports. It was in the domain of the Ranis of Attingal.

In 1503, Albuquerque had gone to Kollam, because he could not fill a ship with pepper at Kochi. He was submissive in his behaviour, and was permitted to set up a factory. Native Christians, 6000 strong, flocked to him, accepted his rule, and adopted Roman rites in the ancient St. Thomas church there. In 1516, as the king of Venad was a boy, his sister ("Pandari Rajni" according to Gundert) was regent. She became friendly to Portuguese, in the hope that the contact would place Kollam more firmly in the international trade, and contracted to supply 500 *bharam* of pepper every year. In 1519, in return for granting permission to Portuguese for constructing a fort in place of the factory, she accepted a bribe of 4000 *kochi panam*, half of which she had to share with her younger sister, Junior Rani. Probably hoping that the favour granted by her would justify it, she defaulted in rendition of pepper. The two Ranis resisted Portuguese pressure, but the amateurish way they and the younger Rani's sons conducted the ensuing battles resulted in a resounding Portuguese victory. Senior Rani had to send a humble petition seeking forgiveness to Governor Soares at Kochi, while Junior sent her own emissary, "none other than the famous Christian lady, Kochikkali", to the local factor, Rodrigues - she knelt at his feet, and offered that even if Senior Rani did not oblige, she (on behalf of the Junior) would undertake to fulfill all of the desires of the Portuguese, including rendition of the pepper - he, like the male chauvinist pig he was, refused to negotiate except with a male minister acceptable to both the queens! Accordingly, the minister Chana Pillai concluded a treaty on the Portuguese terms; the Ranis instituted the custom whereby the fishermen daily made a present of the catch from the locality to the Portuguese at their fort.

Translator's Notes: The stylistic strangeness presented several difficulties; if one opted for idiomatic translation, then, the 'flavour' of the original, in some portions of which, e.g., the description of the death of Albuquerque, it is touchingly pathetic in spite of its unfamiliarity, would be lost; if, on the other hand, one kept faithfully to the original, then the text would have been difficult to read, if not unintelligible. An attempt has been therefore made to strike a compromise and keep as close to the original in the choice of words. Gundert adopts a transliteration close to the sound of the original Portuguese in the name of the characters. This also introduces an element of unfamiliarity to those accustomed to see them spelt in English. For example, 'Pacheco' is transliterated as 'pesaku', instead of as 'pacekko', 'Lorenzo' as 'lorenco', 'da Cunha' as 'akuñña', 'Coutinho' as 'kutiñño', etc. Care has been taken to find the 'correct' English spelling for these proper names, but it is possible there may be a few mistakes, for which apologies are hereby rendered in advance.

It may be necessary to add a word of explanation why this translation was undertaken. The language used by Gundert has several elements that have now become archaic. For many words, one has to seek refuge in his Dictionary to find the meaning. It is obvious that the words that he gathered, and used in these early exercises of his in Malayalam composition were all gathered up; they became the wherewithal for his classic and immortal *magnum opus*. This task would not have been undertaken, had it not been for the attention with which Prof. V.I. Subramoniam happened to read a paper presented by me in 1992 at the Kerala University at a Seminar held in honour of the great German (published in *Bhāṣā Sāhiti* 64, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1992, Department of Malayalam, Kerala University) - he was interested in the use of the suffix *-are*, frequently

used by Gundert. He felt that it would be useful to translate the work into English, as it was comparatively less known among Gundert's publications. Were it not for his encouragement and inspiring support, I would not have attempted it.

I owe great debts of gratitude to our librarian Ms. R.B. Bindu, who never grudges to put in extra efforts to assist me in my work; I have parked myself in front of her computer, sure of her non-complaining co-operation. I cannot thank her adequately. Sri. Harikumar Basi, Head of the Computer Unit, as usual, was competent, and ready to help. So was Sri. Ajay Lohy, of the Computational Languages unit, whose innovations in the computer processability of some forms of diacritical applications have saved a lot of labour. The office, under the able management of Ms. V. Sobha and Ms. V. Rethi Devi, was an unfailing backstop on which one could depend absolutely.

Prof. V.I. Subramoniam has always encouraged me in academic matters; I am sure that had it not been for his inspiration, I would have been just another retired IAS officer, wasting away in reminiscence of past encounters with political bosses! I can therefore never hope to thank him adequately except in offering to him my sincere efforts at scholarship.

28/11/2002

T. Madhava Menon

1. IN WHICH IS NARRATED THE MANNER OF ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AT MALAYALAM¹

On the 9th of Idavam 673 (20th May 1498), Sunday, some fishermen who had gone south from Kozhikode for fishing, saw four ships sailing in from the west and casting anchor. When they approached the ships, hoping to sell some fish, they were astonished to see people in hitherto-unseen clothes, and speaking a hitherto-unheard language. There was a Malumi² in the ship; he was of course a Gujarathi accountant. When the fishermen remarked that the monsoon would set in shortly, and that all the Arab vessels had gone back, and enquired why these ships had arrived at that time, and whence they had come, the Gujarathi replied: "I met these white men at Melinda Bandar, where the kafirs live; they were looking for someone who could pilot them to the Hindu kingdoms, especially the famed Kozhikode, where they wished to start business. As they did not know the way, I have here piloted them. When they saw that I could pilot them, they sang in praise of God, and have given me good reward. They have taken a load of iron from Bandar, and have come here to the anchorage".

A little after, the Captain sent the Malumi and a Portuguese sailor to the shore; though they saw many people on the shore, there was none who knew the language. The Mappila people showed them round the bazaar, and the residences and establishments of foreigners. Then a Turk received them, and, recognizing them by their costume, asked them what devil had brought them there. The Portuguese sailor replied: "our king has sent us to investigate the availability of the produce of Malayala¹ and Chinese products like pepper. Moreover, having heard that there are Nazaranes (Christians) in these lands also, the king desires to have contact with them". On this, the Turk welcomed them with bread and honey. He then accompanied them to the ship, and saluted all with the word "boyavamtur" (Portuguese word for welcome?). The Portuguese wept for happiness in having found a man who knew their language. The Captain and the Turk had talks, and the latter agreed, on oath, to serve as the interpreter. The Turk reported: "The Tamutirii³ (Zamorin) is a good man, but lacking in ability; in his palace, the Brahmins have prominence; in the town and the bazaar, the Muslims are prominent; there is a preponderance of foreigners like Arabs, Parsee and Turks; there is immeasurable trade with China and Arabia; after the monsoons, daily, about 100 ships and vessels arrive; the customs are the main source of the king's revenues; so, the Tamutirii will be pleased that you also come and start business. But if the Muslims get jealous, the king will oppose you. He⁴ (the Tamutirii) is at Ponnani now; it is necessary to send a messenger at once".

Hearing this, the Captain sent two Portuguese. "King Maneul of Portugal, having heard of your reputation, ordered us to come to your presence, and has given letter accordingly. When can we come and meet you?" On this enquiry having been made, the Tamutirii hearing all the news, sent reply that before the rainy weather started, the ships had to be taken to Pantalayani Kollam, and that they might meet him at Kozhikode. Accordingly, Captain Gama followed the instructions and cast anchor at Pantalayani Kollam.

1 The word "Malayalam" is used for the Malabar region, fairly consistently throughout, and not for the language. The language is referred to as Malayanma

2 Pilot; navigator

3 Gundert transliterates "Samuutiri" as Tamutiri, a much nearer approach than the anglicized "Zamorin"

4 The common, non-honorific "he" is used to refer to the Zamorin. This might be due to the fact that Gundert was using the same idiom as in English, in which the third person singular may be used without pejorative significance.

2. IN WHICH IS NARRATED THE MANNER OF THE INTERVIEW WITH THE TAMUTIRII

On the 17th of Idavam^a, the Kothuval¹ and 200 Nayars reached Pantalayani, Captain Gama convened a meeting of the Portuguese leaders, and proposed: "I shall go and see the king; if any mishap befalls me, you should not tarry, but lift anchor at once, and sail² to Portugal, and report everything you have seen". He then dressed himself (ceremoniously), had a salute of cannon fire, flew his flag, and with 12 Portuguese companions, went ashore. The Nayars received him, and bowed to him, and lifted him on the 'staff'³; and with shouts of welcome, all set out on foot, and proceeded to Kappukattu.⁴ He acknowledged the greetings, and got into a ferry to proceed by the river route; he saw great vessels berthed on both sides of the channel, and protected under thatched sheds. He got down⁵ from the ferry, and got on another palanquin, and was taken through a great concourse of people to a walled compound. At the entrance, he noticed a big pillar of copper, and copper bars supporting 7 bells. Brahmins received them, and welcomed them, after sprinkling water on them, and gave them holy water and food stuffs offered to the gods. The Captain thought that it was the courtesy of the place, and smeared it on his forehead, but, because of the sleeves of his clothes, did not receive it on his forearms. When the Kothuval went to the shrine and prostrated himself, the Portuguese also knelt down. When he saw the idols with four arms, and long teeth, hideous in appearance, a Portuguese sailor remarked in his own language: "this is no true god, but it is the image of a demon; my obeisance is only to the true god"; hearing this, the Captain smiled and rose up. Proceeding, when they reached the palace, they entered another shrine; and thinking that the Goddess enshrined there was the Virgin Mary, offered worship. With the sounding of the Kahalam, and other musical instruments, they entered the compound; it was enclosed on four sides with great walls, with gateways on each side, in which there were 10 guards each. There stood many nobles like Kammals, Panikkars, and Menokis; when the guards pushed the crowds away, in the stampede, some died⁶. At the fourth gate, the Bhattatiripad (chief priest?) stood up and embraced the Captain⁷; holding him by the right hand, conducted him through the crowd to the throne hall. Gama saw, around the throne, covered with a green velvet, and decorated with many precious cloths (tapestries?), on wooden planks were seated the ministers, and, in the middle, on a cot, lay the Kunnalakonati⁸ (Zamorin). He was old. His right forearm was weighed down with 14 bejewelled bracelets, so much so that he required a man to support it. On his hair, tied neatly, was a headdress. His ears hung down with the weight of his earrings right down to his shoulders. Around his waist, he had a girdle that shone like the sun. On both sides were placed the plate of betel leaves, and gold spittoons. When the ministers stood up covering their mouths, the Captain went before the royal personage, and bowed thrice before him. The king had them seated, and after uttering some words of friendship, had jack fruit brought and served to them. Seeing them eat it, he laughed; when they tried to drink water by pouring it, it got into their noses - the king was still more amused and laughed much. Afterwards, they informed him: "Portugal is northwest of here, at the end of Europe; we have to pay too much for the pepper and Chinese goods brought in by the Muslims from Misra; our king ordered us to sail round the continent of Africa to Malayalam, and do business. He had sent ships several times, but at last, 10 months back, when he sent me, by the grace of god, I was able to complete this difficult journey. Here is the letter of our king, written in Arabic". The king did not take it, saying that it was late; but he was happy that they had come. He asked them to stay in the Muslim quarters. When it was objected that because of the difference in religion, and of language, they would prefer to stay separately, the Tamutirii agreed. They reached the town in pouring rain, and stayed in a good house. Then the Turk told them: "Here it is important to make gifts to everyone for everything; why don't you offer gifts?" The Captain then sent some goods as gifts to the king, and to the ministers, with the message that, as they did not hope to reach Calicut when they had set out, they had not brought anything of great value to offer as gifts.

a Gundert often uses the Malayalam month, without bothering to give the equivalent in the Gregorian Calendar. Idavam coincides with May-June.

1 Kothuval = chief of police. (kottuvāl)

2 Gundert uses the word "otuka" (= run), for sailing (ōtuka)

3 "taṇḍil karēruka" literally means lifting on a staff; actually, it is to lift a person on a palanquin, which is built round a staff, and is a mode of receiving honored important guests. It could also mean a boat, used to ferry people from the ocean-going ship to the shore, in which sense it has been used in the description of the navy of the Cholas.

4 Identified with the present Kappad, a few km, north of Calicut.

5 Gundert uses the North Kerala expression "kīññu" for "getting down".

6 Surely an exaggeration!

7 Improbable! The Bhattatiri is a 'holy' Brahmin, to whom the touch would have been highly polluting. It was not the custom for any guest, however important, to be received with an embrace by a holy Brahmin!

8 Kunnala kōṇātiri = the lord of the mountains and the waves - a synonym of the Zamorin.

3. THE ANTAGONISM OF THE MAPPILA AND STAY DURING THE MONSOON

Considering all these happenings, the Musalmanar¹ thought: The coming of the Portuguese is surely a mortal danger to our trade²; we have to be very vigilant³. They corrupted³ the Kothuwal and others with a lot of bribes. "The Portuguese are not traders; they are pirates. If indeed their king had sent them, they would not have placed before the king such trifling presents. On their way, at a number of places, they had battled with many Musalmanar and done a lot of damage - so the interpreter has informed us. All Islam has, it is well known, fought great wars with them. Our Muthaliar⁴ had, even according to the omens of the last year, predicted that the Portuguese will arrive and ruin everything. Therefore, if the king desires the new alliance, the old will break off. If they (Portuguese) are allowed to come in, all of us in a body will leave. Then, all the glory of this country will cease. Now, it is for the king to decide" - so they sent word. Accordingly, on the 19th, the Thamutiri had the Captain brought before him. "Who are you? If you tell me the truth, I shall not punish you. Why have you come here? Was it because you thought that the people of this country were not human but made of stone that you presented such trash?" When he made such enquiries, the Captain replied: "You will not appreciate our wealth now, but only in due course. Our king, desirous of spreading the news of the Saviour of the World, Jesus Christ, to all the countries of the world, and enthroning Him, has sent his ships all over, to bring unification among all tribes⁶. In your temples too, among the idols of Trimurti and Thampratti, we see a similarity with our religion. If, like other tribes, you too accept this new message, then the greatness of this country will increase endlessly. We love all tribes, except those of Islam. They constantly try to cheat us; they also cheat you. Therefore, our king is defeating and punishing them in Africa⁷. I too had to encounter their trouble on my way. By the grace of God, as soon as I could get out of their clutches, I too instilled a little wisdom into them by means of my cannon⁸ shots. Even if some of what these Mappila⁹ tell you appear to be true, never trust them. Without getting influenced by their vengeful spirit, you should protect us. Even if, under their influence, you kill us, our king will know of it, and wreak vengeance against you. Portuguese will never leave this country without prevailing victoriously over it". When the Tamutirii heard this, he noticed the icon of Virgin Mary suspended round the Captain's neck. He ordered: "You should give us at least that". At this, the Captain resolutely¹⁰ replied: "It is not of gold, but of wood painted with gold. Even if it is of gold, I shall not give it, because it was She who saved us at sea". He then handed over the letter in Arabic from his king. The Tamutirii had it read, and enquired about the nature of the shipments. He then said: "Well⁵, if you stay in the bazaar, there will be quarrels. Return to your ships and stay there, from where you may try to trade. I shall send you my formal orders in due course"; and dismissed them.

Then, Gama, accompanied by Kothuwal, returned to Kappukettu. Because of the hostility of the Mappila, he could not get any boat (to ferry him to his ship), and had to spend the night on shore. The authorities pestered him: "you must get your ships alongside, and put your goods and sails and rudders as security, and be at peace. Send word to your ships accordingly". Not being misled by these cunning words, the Captain hid his fear. He had only a few items brought ashore from his ships, and, leaving a few sailors on shore, re-boarded his ship. He sent word: "henceforth, I shall consider (what I shall do)". Though Mappila were intensely infuriated, they did not give any occasion for hostility. Whenever they saw Portuguese goods, they would belittle them and scorn them. Whenever they saw a Portuguese, they would say "Ccii, Parangi", and spit. Tamutirii did not demand toll (customs) that day, but sent a Nayar to guard them, and arrange for discrete disposal¹¹ of the goods. But Gama did not disembark. Daily, he sent a few of his sailors ashore, to look about the bazaar, and buy samples of the items on sale there. He welcomed the natives, who came to sell fish and fruits, and made friends with them, and so spent the Monsoon period.

1 Gundert uses this term rather than "Mappila"; probably to indicate that not merely the local Muslims but all the Muslim interests in Calicut were involved.

2 The term used for "trade" is the somewhat colloquial "kaccōḍam".

3 The word used is "vaṣīkariccu" = captivated, endeared themselves, etc. In the context, "corrupted" seems to be the best equivalent.

4 "Muthaliar" is obviously used for Musaliar - perhaps indicates the interchangeability of "tha ↔ sa" in the local dialect.

5 "nallathu"

6 The word used is "jāti", obviously intended to mean 'tribes' rather than 'castes'.

7 The fricative is not used in "Africa"; it is written as "Aprica".

8 "Cannon" = bhīraṅgi/pīraṅgi; spelt as "bhīraṅgi" in this place.

9 "Mappila" is used here instead of Musalmanar; the sentence begins with "sathyam engilum"; it could have meant, 'for the sake of the truth, never trust what these Mappila tell you'.

10 "tiṇṇam" = literally, firm.

11 "carakkukaḷe patukke vilpiccu" = had the goods sold quietly, slowly, gradually, discretely.

4. HOW GAMA RETURNED TO EUROPE

After staying till Chingam month, when the Portuguese heard that big ships would soon arrive from Mecca, and there was possibility of a naval battle, the Captain sent gifts to the Tamutirii, and requested: "Let one of my men stay at Calicut. Please supply as much pepper as equal in value to the goods kept back unsold ashore". The king showed great displeasure, delayed his reply four days, arrested the messenger, and demanded 600 varahan¹ for customs and tolls. He had decided that, as soon as ships from Mecca arrived, he should follow the Mappila strategy of destroying the Portuguese fleet. Gama disguised all his fears, and continued to treat natives who visited his ships with great courtesy. One day, when some well-dressed, prosperous persons came aboard, he decided: "these will do for a good ransom", and lifting his anchor, and setting sails, began to sail away. When Calicut people saw this, they sent some boats with the message: "the king will immediately release the two Portuguese left ashore". But in reply, the Captain threatened: "no boat shall come near without them; if it does, we will fire". On Sunday, 26th August (12th Chingam), seven country boats came alongside, with the Tamutirii's letter, but (Gama) sent them back empty because they had not brought the goods left ashore. The next day, the Muslim interpreter, known as a traitor because he knew Portuguese, came and told Gama: "The king has confiscated my property. The Mappila have threatened me in harsh language. Therefore, for the sake of my life, may I come to Europe?" While so, some boatmen came alongside and pointed out² they had brought the goods. But Gama retorted: "You are dangerous dissemblers³; I shall not exchange a single word with you henceforth", and frightened them off with a gunshot. He sailed north with 14 Calicut men as hostages. He released one of them from near Elimala with a letter saying: "I shall return your people honourably. Other Portuguese ships will soon come for trade". He proceeded to Anchudweepu near Gokarnam, and had his ship repaired. He chased off pirates from Goa with gunfire. Gama kept one of them, a Jew who had betrayed them, because of his knowledge of many languages. He then sailed away far⁴ to the west. He suffered much on the journey, and in Karkitakam 674, reached Portugal with only 55 surviving from the initial 148 sailors.

1 "Varāhan" = the gold coin of Vijayanagaram, which was current throughout South India at that time.

2 Gundert seems to have literally translated the idiom "pointed out" as "kāṇiccappō!" = when shown

3 The word used is "vyāptikkār"; Gundert's dictionary has "vyāpatti" = calamity; the word may thus be "vyāpattikkār", intended to mean "dangerous people". In the context, 'dissemblers' seems to be appropriate.

4 The rather archaic expression, "tulāvam" (tulōm), is used to indicate the great distance involved, i.e., in the sense of 'much'.

5. HOW CAPTAIN CABRAL REACHED CALICUT

King Manuel of Portugal granted many honours and titles to Gama and his companions. "You rest peacefully; I shall send another vessel immediately", said the king; moreover, many Portuguese were dreaming with desire to see this new world, and eager to enter into the Hindu trade¹. The king encouraged them, loaded 12 ships, and appointed Captain Cabral as their leader. He ordered Cabral: "You shall proceed with 1500 sailors and 8 padres to Calicut, establish trade there, and spread Christianity. If the Tamutirii opposes² you, you shall fight, and especially punish the Muslims". On 8th March 1500, (Kollam Era 675), with the blessings of the Roman Church, he sent them off. As he ran south with the wind, he was blown by the east wind almost to the coast of Brazil. He despatched one ship back to Portugal to convey the news of the discovery of the new land. From that same Brazil it was that plants like Portukimanga (cashew), kaitaccakka (pineapple), aattaccakka (custard apple), perakka (guava), kappamulaku (chillies), etc., were introduced into Malayalam and happened to flourish in due course³. In the shadow of the Cape⁴, four of his ships were lost in a storm. In Chingam 675, Cabral reached with six ships first at Anchudweepu, and then at Calicut. At once, the Malayalis taken hostage by Gama landed, in Portuguese dress and with Portuguese weapons. They met their caste-fellows, and informed them that they had been treated with great honour, which gladdened the natives. But, as they had lost caste⁵, they did not have the opportunity of presenting themselves before the king. Cabral sent the Goanese Jew with the message: 'Don't distrust us. You should send as hostages your Kothuval, and chief Menokki⁶ and other leading men'. The king sought to evade this, but as he got more intimidated, sent six Brahmins⁷ as hostages. The Captain then went in great state to the king's camp on the beach and placed before him good presents. The Tamutirii was pleased, and said: "You may stay and do business here. But the hostages left on your ship cannot eat there; so they will be replaced every day with fresh recruits", and took leave. The hostages were very much afraid of staying on board; some jumped into the sea and started swimming ashore, but were caught by the sailors and shut up in a cabin. One old man took no food for three days. The Captain felt pity for them, and left them off on shore.

Afterwards, according to royal order, trade was commenced. But due to the machinations of the Musalmanar, there was no result. In those days, there were two types of Musalmanar in Calicut, viz., (1) foreigners from Mecca, Misra, etc., who were mainly occupied with overseas trade. Their leader was once Khoja Shamsuddin, a proud fellow⁸ who was totally antagonistic to the Portuguese. (The second set), the local Mappila, enjoyed poor prestige those days. They engaged only in the land (local) trade. Their leader was Koyapakki. He was jealous of the other leader (Shamsuddin). He befriended the Portuguese. He sold his business premises to the Portuguese king, by means of a document engraved on silver leaf. The Portuguese stayed there, and flew their flag and bought and sold commodities. The Padres too started to learn a smattering of Malayanna⁹.

1 Gundert uses the expression "hintukaccavaṭam" = Hindu trade.

2 'Caticcāl' = betrays; in the context, the meaning is more closely expressed by 'oppose'.

3 "Pinnattētil" = in due course. This expression is not current; "pilkālatu" is the common expression.

4 Cape of Good Hope, usually stormy.

5 They must have been high caste initially, because of the concern shown to have them restored. However, because they had sailed overseas, and associated with the foreigners, they had lost caste. The term, 'ṭiṇḍikulikkār' used in this context by Gundert, is interesting.

6 "Araca menokki" = 'royal' or chief menokki.

7 Improbable that the Zamorin would have sent, or that Brahmins would have submitted to being sent, in such fashion to polluting foreigners. The Zamorin perhaps played a hoax by sending persons disguised as Brahmins!!!

8 The unusual expression used here is "ḍambhi"; probably from the colloquial expression "ḍambhu" = pride.

9 "Malayalam", as a language, was referred to as "Malayanna".

6. HOW THE TAMUTIRII TESTED THE PROWESS¹ OF THE PORTUGUESE

One day, a big ship sailing from Kochi to Gujarat came into anchorage² at Calicut. Shamsuddin Koya³ knew of it, informed Tamutirii, and advised him to try a trick⁴. The king sent him to Cabral. "This is a ship bound for Mecca; it carries, an excellent war elephant⁵ along with others. I desire to purchase it; though I offered a very high price for it, the Mappila does not agree. This has hurt my honour. You should seize this ship for me" - this request was conveyed through Koya. Though Cabral objected mildly⁶, the king insisted, assuring "let all the consequences be on my head", and offered the opium and other stuff carried in the vessel as "wages"⁷ for the Portuguese. Cabral sent a small ship with 60 heroes under Pesaku (Pacheco)⁸. They sailed after the ship all night, and sighted her next morning. When ordered to heave to⁹, the 300 and odd Mappilas on her started an attack with arrows. Pesaku opened fire, and chased her to Kannanur port. The big ship hid herself among other ships in the harbour. Pesaku bombarded all the ships. This frightened the Kannanur people terribly. Next day also, the battle raged, and Pesaku captured the ship. There were seven elephants in it. One died of gunshot; the Portuguese, starved of meat, ate it happily. When they (on return to Calicut) delivered the rest to the Tamutirii, he rewarded them with many gifts, and praised them. When he heard the details, he thought that it would have been better if such (valorous) guests had not arrived, because if he had, in future, to get rid of them, it would be very difficult indeed. Cabral, saw that there was no opium or other stuff in that ship, (enquired and) found out that its master was Mammali Marakkan; he summoned him at once, and learning the details, declared that it was a trick played by Shamsuddin, who had cheated everybody; and begged the owner's pardon; and set the vessel free¹⁰.

1 "vīryam" = valour, heroism, prowess, power, fighting qualities.

2 "tūkkil" = place where things hang out or park; in this case the landing at the port of Calicut.

3 'Koya' has been used as the equivalent of "Khwaja", under which title Shamsuddin had been introduced in the previous chapter.

4 "Kausalam" = trick; here may mean strategem, tactics, test.

5 "patayāna" = war elephant. Some of the biggest tuskers were specially trained for use in warfare, and noted for their ferocious temperament.

6 Gundert uses an idiom that no native Malayalam writer is likely to adopt; "alpam virōdhiccittum", = slightly opposed.

7 The word used is "kūli" = literally wages; why the more dignified word, e.g., pratibhalam, or sammaanam was not used is intriguing.

8 Pacheco was destined to be the hero of the defence of Kochi against the combined attacks of the Zamorin and his allies, considered one of the greatest feats of arms in history. See chapter 21, etc., below.

9 "atangi varēṇam" = submit and come near; heave-to.

10 This entire episode seems to have been a Portuguese fabrication. It is not at all in keeping with the avaricious and proud character of Cabral.

7. HOW THE PORTUGUESE BATTLED AT CALICUT

Afterwards, the Mappila went and saw Tamutirii. "Was it because you thought we were cowards¹ that your Highness² made the Portuguese seize that vessel? Has your experience sufficed to make you believe them? How much³ do they spend? It will not amount to even the profit of (our) one day's (normal) trade!! Why wait unnecessarily? They will seek to subjugate your country. It is not out of jealousy that we say this. We could go to some other port for livelihood⁴. It is only because we are concerned that ill may befall on your Highness' kingdom that we are presenting these facts to you". When the king heard this, he said: "the case of this vessel is only a test. You rest assured⁵. There is no change in my long-lasting affection for you", and thus pacified them. Because they then cornered all the pepper, Captain (Cabral) had to wait three months to fill two shiploads. None bought Portuguese stuff. He addressed the king: "you had allowed us twenty days to procure goods. But we have got only two shiploads. Mappila have spread everywhere and forestalled us". Tamutirii replied: "Whichever ship-owner loads pepper, you may check that vessel, and procure it at the prevailing market rate"⁶. But however⁷ Shamsuddin came to the bazaar one day and, showing a vessel, secretly intimated (spread the rumour) that it had pepper loaded that night and would leave for Mecca next morning. The stores keeper wrote to Cabral if the ship had to be checked. Cabral was, that day, (Saturday, 16th), suffering from fever, and without thinking deeply, and trusting the report, confirmed that it should be. When the search commenced, Mappila jumped into boats and rushed ashore, complaining loudly. Musalmanar set up shouts, and started killing the Portuguese they found on the streets. Some ran to the wharf and signalled with flags to the Captain that they were in mortal danger. From the walls, they killed many attackers. But, Nayars came, and killed many Portuguese. The chiefs also arrived and demolished the store walls. Natives rushed in and killed 40 Portuguese. Some were captured alive and taken away. They robbed and looted all that was there. Then, at an opportune moment, 5 padres and 20 Portuguese sailors, though wounded, ran away to the shore, boarded the boats, and reached the ships. The Captain waited for another day. Then, he seized ten Mecca ships. He looted them, and killed three elephants, the meat of which he had pickled. He had the enemy ships burnt. At dawn, all the ships made a formation, and bombarded Calicut, causing much damage. The next day, there was a little relief from the battle; Cabral had the sails raised in his ships, and sailed for Kochi.⁸

1 "Neññinnurappillattavar" = those whose minds are not firm; in this context, 'cowards'; in the northern dialect, neññu is the usual expression, instead of neñcu, for 'chest'.

2 "Tampurān".

3 In the sense that the Portuguese spend very little indeed.

4 An understatement for their 'business' which actually sustained the prosperity of Calicut.

5 "Niṅgaḷ sukhēna irippin" = you stay happy. The use of the form, "irippin", is interesting.

6 This seems to be a fabrication. The unusual construction of the sentence is a translation of a non-Malayalam idiom.

7 Gundert uses a very unusual expression here: ennārē = literally, 'when if'. See note by Prof. V.I. Subramoniam at the end.

8 This was the famous bombardment of Calicut, much exaggerated for significance by the Portuguese historians, and after them, in conventional historiography. The bombardment could have damaged some of the shore installations, but did not damage Calicut, whose importance remained undiminished by this, after all, a minor fracas. Historically, it was important because it made Cabral sail off to Kochi, and exploit the traditional rivalry between the Zamorin and the Kings of Kochi, in a game of divide and rule. Interestingly, the Nayars were obviously the enforcers of law and order, and came in when the riot was getting out of control. Another interesting feature is that Gundert uses the term translated here as "people" exclusively for the Portuguese. He uses the term "nattukār" for the local people, i.e., "natives".

8. HOW CABRAL ARRIVED AT KOCHI

After leaving Calicut, on 24th December¹ 1500, the Portuguese laid anchor at Kochi. Because the Captain had earlier fired on and seized a Kochi ship, he was hesitant² to let the whites land. He summoned a pilgrim³ named Michael - he⁴ had, when at Calicut on his pilgrimage, seen the padres, and requested that he be taken to see Portugal. He was told he would not be allowed without baptism; and had then got baptised, wore a hat and stayed on aboard. As ordered by the Captain, he went ashore, saw Unni Rama Koil Tirumulpad⁵, raja of Kochi, and informed him of the happenings at Calicut, and requested the Portuguese be allowed to load four ships with goods (pepper). The king happily agreed. "We have also heard of the valour of these new-comers. One of their shots killed a Nayar in Tamutirii's palace; when the corpse fell at his feet, he hurriedly left the palace and hastened quite away!" In these terms, he praised Portuguese prowess. The reason: In those days, Perumpatappu swarupam⁶ was subjugated by Tamutirii. As a result, trade dwindled at Kochi. There were orders that pepper and other goods had to be sent to Calicut for sale; operating sea-going vessels was thenceforth prohibited to the Nazrani; only Chonaka Mappila⁷ had that privilege; the old king of Kochi should live like a recluse⁸, and within the four walls (of his fort/palace) till death. Tamutirii's orders were necessary for crowning his successor. When Tamutirii proceeded to Kochi on his circuits through the land, he would enrol the Nayars from there for his wars. If his royal highness (Tamutirii) so pleased, he could depose the king of Kochi. Therefore, the king of Kochi wanted to change all this, and adopted alliance with the Portuguese. He summoned them to his headquarters; as they had no money, they placed before him presents of pearls, corals, silver and other precious things. The king was much pleased and appreciated these gifts. He declared that they could stay at Kochi for ever if so they pleased, and carry on trade. Because of his initiatives, within 20 days, he more than filled⁹ the ships with goods from Kochi and from Kodungallur and fulfilled his obligations.

1 Gundert transliterates "December" as 'disambra'; that was probably how it was pronounced in Malabar then.

2 'kuraya śaṅgiccu = kuraya is unusual as a form for 'kuraccu'.

3 'yogi' = hermit, pilgrim.

4 'āyavan' = the aforementioned he.

5 Interestingly, the king of Kochi is not referred to by his royal title, but as Koil Tirumulpad, indicating his position as the chief trustee of the (Tiruvanchikulam) temple.

6 Kings of Kochi belonged to this lineage, which had its seat near the present Ponnani, captured by Zamorin.

7 'Mappila' was applied both to "Nazrani Mappila" = (native) Christians, and Chonaka (Jonaka) Mappila, the Muslims.

8 "munivrtti" = the routine of a recluse.

9 "pitippatu" = literally, as much as they could contain.

9. HOW CABRAL RETURNED TO PORTUGUAL TAKING TWO NAZRANIS WITH HIM

While he was staying at Kodungallur, two Nazranis, Yosef and Mathayi¹, had come and seen the Captain. "We are indeed Christians; we wish to board your ship and visit Europa, Roma and go to Orslem (Jerusalem). In response to Cabral's enquiries, they narrated their history: "We have heard that Thomas Sleaha (Apostle Saint Thomas) had visited this country and built churches. In the churches, we do not have idols; only the Cross. Now, it is the Catholicos of Suriya who sends our bishops. The vicars wear their tuft of hair as the insignia. Babies are baptized on the 40th day. Pollution is observed for 8 days after death. We observe many fasts. The Feast of St. Thomas on 1st July is the most important. We have many scriptures and their commentaries. Learned men among us teach the children from them. We settled in this self-same Kodungallur from a long time ago. There are also Jews, Misra, Parsee and Arabi merchants here. We also adopt trade as our means of livelihood. We have to pay dues to the king of Kodungallur". Hearing all these novel tidings, Cabral was pleased, and decided that he would take them along with him.²

¹ Gundert transliterates the names thus, instead of using the anglicized versions "Joseph" and "Mathew". He adopts this method for all transliterations of Christian terms and names; e.g., Suriya for Syria, "Catholicos" (i.e., with the voiced plosive 'thh' instead of the usual unvoiced 'th'), etc.

² Gundert adds a long starred footnote at the end of this chapter. "Of the two Nazranis he (Gundert uses the non-honorific third person singular to refer to Cabral) took along, one died in Lisbon city. The other stayed in Europa, visited many places, and saw Roma city. He wrote a small book giving information on Hinduism. One of the items of its contents: in the old days, ships from Maha China (Imperial China) used to arrive in Malayalam daily. Then, members of the Tharisa Church in China used to send silks, tuthanakam (tin), lead, kasturi, etc., for sale here. But when Tamutirii, at the instigation of the Chonaka Mappila (Muslims) acted against their (Chinese) interests, they raised anchor and left; after some time, they came back in force and did much damage at Calicut. From then on, they have not returned. They sail only up to Myalappuri in Cholamandalam".

10. HOW CAPTAIN NOVA CONDUCTED HIMSELF AT CALICUT & KOCHI

Two months after Cabral, loading (more) stuff at Kannur also, returned to Portugal, Captain Nova reached Kannur with four ships. Then, a Portuguese, sent secretly from Calicut by Koyapakki, gave him some tidings, hearing which Nova immediately sailed south to Calicut and destroyed a ship there by firing on it. He then went and saw Perunpatappu (the king of Kochi). Though the king protested firmly that it was "Not proper for Cabral to have taken my Nayars¹ without my orders", he displayed undiminished affection. When the Mappilas set fire to a house where 7 Portuguese were staying, the king directed that they could stay at the palace itself, and that the Nayars would escort them during day. He accorded liberal hospitality to them. Nova did not have enough cash with him. No Muslim trader would buy any Portuguese goods. Kolathiri undertook to load three ships with pepper. He left three Portuguese at Kannur for this trade. Thanks to this assistance, Nova completed his mission fast. He engaged in a minor naval battle off Calicut, and returned to Portugal. On the way, they saw Helena Island, and took drinking water from there. From then on, it became the custom² for all sailors, including Hindus, to rest ashore on that island and fill up with drinking water from there.

¹ Gundert's narration leaves some gaps. Cabral had to flee from an Arab fleet off Calicut. After his successful diversion to Kochi, on 9 January 1501, he had information that the Calicut fleet was on its way to catch him. Concerned for the safety of his cargo more than glory in battle, he extinguished all his lights and stole away. He left so hurriedly that he took two Nayar hostages - he had no time to return them. Among the Portuguese left behind in his hurry were Duarte Barbosa, who left a detailed account of Kerala, and brother-in-law of Megallan, who later established the fame of sailing around the world (Whiteway RS, Reprint 1987:85-88).

² Gundert uses the word "maryāda", = good manners in present parlance, in the sense of customary or usual or routine practice.

11. HOW GAMA CAME TO MALAYALAM THE SECOND TIME

King Manuel and his ministers duly considered all these tidings. They decided that the King of Calicut should be punished; even if a few ships were lost in the process¹, Islam should not be allowed to retain the mastery of the seas; the true religion (Christianity) must be propagated; if the monopoly over pepper and sales could be concentrated 'here' (in Portugal), the profits will increase enormously. Accordingly, they put 20 vessels under the command of Captain Gama, and conferred on him the title of "hinthusamudrapati"², the lord of the Hindu Ocean. He was duly sent off to Malayalam in 1502. When he reached near Elimala, he ordered to chase all ships as far as the eyes could reach. They should catch all the shipping as in a net, but leave those of Kannur alone, seizing only those from Calicut. After sailing a little farther, they saw a big ship coming from Mecca. There were about 300 Hajjis³ in it. When they realized that they could not resist, they offered gold and the ship itself in return for their life. But Gama said that it was not enough. Then the richest among the Mappila, Jowar Pakki said: "I am the ambassador of the Sultan of Mistra bound for Calicut. If you let us go now, I shall bring 20 ships laden with goods within 20 days and have it loaded into your ships. I shall also mediate between you and Tamutirii". This was also in vain. Gama seized all the gold and weapons, and the rudders of the ship. He selected 20 Mappila boys who would be converted and brought up in the Lisbon churches as monastics, in fulfilment of a vow he had taken. He then locked the Hajjis in the ship and set it on fire. In the agony of their life, they came up on deck and tried to douse the fires, throwing the stones used in the cellars as ballast to keep off the Portuguese. Women wept and cried, and lifted up their jewelry and their children in their arms, and appealed to Gama to let them go. But the cruel Lord of the Hinthu Ocean did not listen. As it got dark, all the 20 Portuguese ships surrounded that Haj ship, and listened to the agonized cries of the victims to Allah and Muhammad. Many of the sailors felt pity for them and that they should be saved. On the dawn of Monday 3rd October 1502, the fight had been going on without break night and day for three days. At last, those remaining on board the doomed ship⁴ jumped into the sea and attacked the Portuguese boats, until all of them died fighting.

When news of this savage action spread around, Malayalis⁵ simultaneously rejected both the mention of the Portuguese as well as of the Christian religion, in abhorrence⁶. But fear (of the Portuguese) increased many-fold. The Kolattiri (king of Kannur) came with 400 Nayars to the beach, to meet Gama. Gama replied: "I shall not come ashore until I have wreaked vengeance against Calicut". Then, the king had a 'bridge' (walk-way) built and decorated, connecting the shore with Gama's ship. He went along that and shook hands with the Lord of the Hinthu Ocean (6th October⁷). He (Gama) restored to the king the hostage from Kannur. He demanded that all matters of trade and prices should be negotiated very quickly. When the Kolattiri procrastinated⁸, Gama got angry and started a tongue-lashing⁹ "If the Mappila here cheat us, I shall ask you¹⁰" and dismissed him (the king). When the king was deeply depressed, the Portuguese there consoled him, and advised him to send a letter to Gama, intimating that whatever trouble arose there, he (the king) would inform the king of Portugal in writing. On getting this letter, Gama hid his anger somewhat and sailed off southwards.

1 "Yāṭṛayāl" = literally, by or because of the journeys involved.

2 Gundert uses "t" instead of "d" in Hinthusamudrapati

3 Hajji = those who had completed the Haj pilgrimage.

4 The ship carried no arms, but only pilgrims including women and children. It was in violation of all the codes of civilized conduct that Gama unleashed such a murderous attack on them - worse than the worst piracy of the times!

5 This seems to be the first reference to the Malayalam-speaking people as "Malayali"-s.

6 "Pakappān" = if derived from "paka", then it means 'in revenge'; in the context, 'abhorrence' may be the most appropriate.

7 "October" is transliterated as Akthambra, indicating that it was how it was probably pronounced.

8 "tāmasam vicāriccārē" = thought of delaying.

9 Gundert uses an unusual expression, "vāyistānam" here, perhaps his version of the more common "vāyil tōnniyathu" = whatever came to one's mouth.

10 i.e., hold the Kolattiri responsible.

12. HOW GAMA WREAKED VENGEANCE IN THE HARBOUR AT CALICUT¹

Two messengers of Tamutirii brought two letters which were delivered to Gama at Chombal and at Pantalayini. He had both these Mappila messengers hanged to death, and anchored at Calicut (October 29). Then, a boat approached; though he looked like a padre, he was recognized as a Mappila. Because of fear, he had attired himself in the dress of one of the padres who had been killed earlier at Calicut. He sought orders to approach, and said: "Tamutirii wants only alliance; you have already wreaked enough vengeance for the Portuguese who had been killed then. Henceforth, there will be no obstructions to trade; forget what had gone before, and those who died". In reply, Gama: "There is only one means of alliance; Musalmaniar should be driven away from Calicut - that is all". When this was conveyed to Tamutirii, he said: "Our predecessors had honoured these five thousand families of (Muslim) traders, who had liberally helped us with funds. If we chase them out just like that, it will be great dishonour on us. I shall consider any other condition". These efforts diminished some of Gama's anger. When about 8 days had elapsed after the receipt of the message², Gama got infuriated; he seized some 50 fishing boats along with the fishermen, and had them brought alongside his ship. He then held up an hour-glass³ and ordered: "This interlude⁴ will end by mid-day tomorrow. If, before then, Tamutirii sends enough gold to compensate for all that he has stolen, then, I shall forbear. Go quickly". At night, he brought in his ships closer to the shore. The 'natives' laboured all night to fetch two or three iron ships⁵. At noon, Gama had a shot fired; he hanged the fishermen (some of whom he had detained) in the yard-arms of his ships. When the people on shore saw this, they ran in and set up a hue and cry. Gama then had the hands and feet of the hanged men cut off, and enclosed them in a letter to Tamutirii: "This is the offering that is being placed before you. There is no use in dissembling. It is the Portuguese character to take a hundred in recompense for one. Henceforth, only if you recompense the cost of the gunpowder and shots that we exchange, and return all the gold that you have stolen from us, will there be any alliance". He then sent the severed body parts and letter in a boat, and threw⁶ the corpses into the sea.

And then he started to trouble with gunfire⁷ the miserable huts⁸ and the shops and establishments of the merchants on the shore (2nd November⁹). Only one or two of the cannon balls from the return fire reached the ship; at once, the Mappila who were to reload their guns were felled by the rain of fire from the ships. Some of them ran away frightened. Not a single house was left standing within the reach of the Portuguese fire. Gama (3rd November) stationed six ships at the place, and ordered Sodre (his lieutenant) not to allow any goods to enter or leave the port, saying: "when starved of rice, the Malayali intellect will become all right¹⁰!" And he (Sodre) sank even the fishing boats, causing great famine in Tamutirii's kingdom. Gama, with the other ships, sailed off to Kochi, reaching there on 8th November.

1 Gundert uses an archaic expression, 'paka vīliyatu', here, instead of the more usual and current 'paka vīṭṭiyathu'.

2 Literally, after receipt of the "ola", palm leaf containing the Zamorin's message.

3 "Maṇal kuppi" = literally 'sand bottle'.

4 Literally, "katha", story; in the context, it may be translated as "episode", or more appropriately, "interlude".

5 The text is not clear; literally, it may be translated as: "The natives, toiled throughout the night, dug, and fetched two or three iron boats". The relevance may be to the fact that the native vessels were unprotected with iron cladding, as the Portuguese war-ships were, and the "natives" wanted to remedy this defect by iron-cladding as many boats as they could.

6 Gundert uses the North Kerala term "cāṭikkalaka" meaning to throw away.

7 "Veṭiveccīṭṭippikkuka"; may be considered as derived from "veṭiveccu pīṭippikkuka" = troubled with gunfire.

8 "Cerra pura".

9 Transliterated as "Navambra".

10 It is very significant that rice had to be imported even then, more than 4 centuries ago. The Malayali depended on imports of rice, and Gama's strategy was to starve Calicut by blockading it.

13. WHAT GAMA DID AT KOCHI

When Gama visited the Portuguese staying at Kochi, he was informed: "Perumpatappu has looked after us well, and saved us from the Mappila". He then called on the king, and enquired of the market and prices of pepper. The king replied that he would intimate (the terms) after consideration. Gama was immediately offended; he asked why the delay, and walked off to the ferry boat which would take him to his ship. The king followed in another boat and, catching up with Gama, said: "You desire speed, and we tend to be slow, it is true. Don't distrust us; we are at your mercy". Gama was pacified; he had all his demands written down on a palm leaf and gave it to the king along with the golden turban and other presents that had been brought from Portugal. Perumpatappu also presented Gama with shoulder ornaments, hero's chain¹, and precious herbs. The king honoured Gama very highly, and arranged to have his ships filled as quickly as possible. The Kolattiri also wrote (from Kannur) that he would deliver stuff to the Portuguese at the same prices as prevailed at Kochi. "Alliance with Portugal is all important to us; even if we lose a little in the trade, we shall not mind²", so he wrote. The king (of Kochi) came to know that Mappila came to the Portuguese ships to sell beef, and wanted that they should be handed over for punishment. Gama immediately published an order that no beef would be purchased for use in Portuguese ships. When three Mappila violated this order and brought a cow, Gama had them bound and handed over to the palace. Perumpatappu immediately ordered their execution by impalement. Nazranis ("native" Christians) from Kodungallur brought fowls and fruits as presents. "We are gladdened because of your visit. In the old days, we had a king of our own. Here is the sceptre and titles granted by the ancient Perumals to him. We are giving them to you. We are about 30,000, all joined together. We desire that the king of Portugal should rule over us. We shall judge our culprits only in his name in future". The sceptre (staff) was red, with two silver bands and 3 silver bells. They also furnished much information on 'the cemetery of Thomas'³ and the island of Simhala. They added: "If you have a fort erected in our neighbourhood, you will be able to grab all the Hindu kingdoms". Gama was highly pleased. "God will ensure that you shall be protected from all attacks, especially from the Muslims. Don't be at all afraid". He gave them many gifts, before they took leave of him.

1 "vīra caṅgala", the insignia of royal pleasure for those of prowess.

2 "vikriyattil cēdam vannālum cēdam illa" = a rather ambitious turn of phrase, which literally means 'in transaction, even if loss (cēdam) occurs, there shall be no break (cchedam).

3 Unclear; may refer to the site of the martyrdom of Apostle St. Thomas in San Thome, near the present Chennai.

14. HOW GAMA RETURNED, VIA CALICUT

Afterwards, a Brahmin brought two boys, and displaying complete confidence, said: "I see that you are far advanced in learning, ability and cleanliness. These boys are my son and my nephew. I shall feel myself fulfilled if these boys are brought up in Portugal", and flattered Gama. He then showed off jewels worth three thousand varahan, and asked: "Will this suffice for the journey (of the boys); if you permit, I shall like to accompany. Moreover, if we sell aromatics¹ in Europe², it will be very profitable". Gama agreed, and permitted him to load his stuff. Then the Brahmin honestly³ confessed: "I am the Guru of Tamutirii. The king is prepared to settle your demands half in money and half in goods. If you visit him without too much of show, all affairs can be quickly settled. Gama had him sailed to Calicut in a small ship, to pursue negotiations with the king. The same night, 34 ships surrounded it and opened fire. The Portuguese lifted anchor and left sorrowfully. After that, nothing was seen of the boys. The Brahmin was hanged, and his corpse sent to Tamuriti. When Sodre's ships came up, they caused much damage to the natives.

When Gama was ready to set sail to Europe, he left 30 Portuguese behind, and went to take leave of the king. Then the king said: "Because you tended to be suspicious of me, I did not tell everything. Now, I have to tell; Tamutirii has been sending numerous Brahmins, and advising me that the Portuguese are cheats, and should be destroyed. Because I did not submit, he sent word asking me whether I wanted alliance with Tamutirii or the Portuguese. I sent a diplomatic answer. Therefore, after you go, Tamutirii will attack with his army. I am afraid that our Nayars will be bribed by the Mappila to change sides. It is not out of fear that I am telling you this. I shall do all I can to safeguard your people. I am not bothered also about loss of my kingdom". Gama replied: "Don't worry; I am leaving Sodre with 6 ships here; he will come down from Calicut". He set sail, and at the anchorage at Pantalayini, destroyed a fleet of Calicut vessels. He looted an invaluable golden image (of a deity). He stationed 20 Portuguese at the Kannur market, and secured an oath of alliance between Kochi and Kolathiri (1502), and sailed off to Europe.

1 Gundert's dictionary gives several meanings to Karappu/Karappa: opium and ganja, camphor, oil of cinnamom, cloves. "Karuppathol" may therefore be glossed as the trade in aromatics.

2 "Vilatti" = England in a narrow sense; more broadly, Europe.

3 "Neññuturannu paraññu" = opened his heart and said.

15. THE BATTLE BETWEEN TAMUTIRII AND PERUMPATAPPU

Immediately after Gama left, Tamutirii gathered an army of 50,000 Nayars near Ponnani, and sent word to Kochi warning of terrible battles if the Portuguese were not handed over to him. Most people of Kochi opined that this course of action would not be proper¹ and the king did not agree with those who advised that the Portuguese were proud aliens, and should be bound and handed over to Tamutirii. The Portuguese in Kochin requested Sodre to stay with them, but he wanted to capture the Mecca shipping; he sailed to Red Sea, and indulged in much looting. Near the Arabian coast, his ships and all including him were lost in a storm. So, the Portuguese in Kochi had to depend only on the goodwill of Perumpatappu. The Kaimals of Kochi² were bribed with Mappila money, and troubled the king, changing sides to Tamutirii. That king³ told his Nayars: "Because the Muslims settled down in Calicut and traded from there, it has become the best city in Bharat continent. From the day these Portuguese came to attack us, Perumpatappu hated our suzerainty; he entered into alliance with them. I am setting out to punish him". All agreed. Only his nephew Nambiyatiri objected: "We cannot trust Mappila; they insist on fighting Portuguese, but as soon as a battle commences, they flee. Not only Perumpatappu, but also Kolattiri and Venadatikal⁴ are allying with those Portuguese. If we attack only Kochi, the world will think that it is because we cannot take on Kolattiri. Perumpatappu is regular in paying his annual tribute. Why trouble them? Even if we kill ten or so Portuguese there, can we kill those who are beyond the seas? Therefore, my view is that we shall not go to war". The others said: "After mustering 50,000 men, it will be a great shame if we return doing nothing!" So, they set out, and, at Idappally, the Kaimals of Cheruveppy, Kambalam, Idappally, etc., immediately joined their forces with Tamutirii. Daily, some Nayars of Kochi too deserted to the other side. Then, when Perumpatappu became alarmed, the Portuguese consoled him, saying: "We shall send word to Kannur; you should not submit because of us!". Perumpatappu declared that the loss of the kingdom was preferable to the betrayal of trust, and that no harm should befall the Portuguese. He established a defence of 5,500 soldiers, and appointed his nephew Narayanan in charge of the defence⁵.

1 "dharmam" = in this context, best translated as 'proper'.

2 Powerful chieftains, on whose support the king of Kochi depended.

3 "aayavan" = that he, that fellow, that king.

4 Venattadikal = the king of Venad.

5 "Marutalayekkolle" = a strange word!

16. HOW PERUMPATAPPU WAS DEFEATED

Tamutirii was offended because Perumpatappu had not submitted to his demands, and had entrusted the famous hero Narayanan to defend the Chettuva ford¹ (2nd April² 1503). A battle ensued for crossing the ford. Finding it impossible, (Tamutirii) caused much damage to be done elsewhere. But Narayanan did not divert his forces. Then, a Brahmin went to Kochi and bribed a Menavan who was financing the expenses of the Kochi soldiers³. And he (the Menavan) ceased to supply paddy and wheat⁴ by pleading ill-health. The Nayars could not bear the starvation, and half of them met Narayanan, humbly requesting: "We require leave for one night to go south and ask the Menavan for our daily means⁵". They set out accordingly, but the Menavan cleverly detained them till noon. That day, Tamutirii attacked by land and by sea, crossed the ford, and killed Narayanan and his two nephews in a shower of arrows⁶.

When Perumpatappu received these tidings, he fainted. Immediately on recovering, he said: "This is fate! Such will befall me today and Tamutirii tomorrow⁷. (However), keep the Portuguese safe in Vypin itself". The Vaipin Fort exists⁸; the Kaimal there was the most trusted of Perumpatappu's chieftains. When the members of Perumpatappu (royal) family withdrew there along with the Portuguese, Tamutirii advanced, ruining the countryside, and looted Kochi. When many of the natives fled, betraying their king, two Italians⁹ sent word to Tamutirii: "Though we arrived in the Portuguese ships, we are not Portuguese; if you will engage us on wages, we shall serve faithfully¹⁰ and train (your people) to cast cannons. Only then can you resist the white men". Receiving Tamutirii's assurance of safety, they fled during the night and had come to Calicut. When the attackers reached the walls of Kochi, there was renewed battle. Tamutirii was victorious, entered the city, and set fire to the buildings. Perumpatappu was himself wounded, but withdrew with difficulty to Vypin, and bravely defended the island.

1 "Kaṭavu" can be translated as ferry, landing, ford. Here, it is obviously used in the meaning "ford".

2 Transliterated as "aprel".

3 "cēkavar" = dedicated, professional soldiers.

4 "yāvanam" = produce of Yavana, i.e., Greece or Syria; wheat.

5 "vṛtti" = livelihood, wherewithal.

6 "ambumāri", a rather unusual expression; a pure Malayalam version of the more 'fashionable' Sanskrit tatsama, "śaravaṣṣham".

7 A typically philosophic reflexion, incorporating a curse that Tamutirii also suffer grievous defeat in near future.

8 Gundert uses the present tense "uṇḍu" in this context. The ruins of the fort still exist, and is a Protected Monument.

9 Transliterated as "lthaliyar".

10 "nīlal āsrayicchu" = keeping in your shadow; faithfully.

17. HOW THE PORTUGUESE WREAKED VENGEANCE

Then, the rains started in the month of Itavam. Tamutirii stationed his Nayars in the Fort at Kochi, and declared that he would return after Onam. He withdrew to Kodungallur. His Mappila and Brahmins in the excess of joy celebrated many "nercha" and "tira" celebrations beyond count during that monsoon period. The two Italians, Mariya and Anthony, converted to Islam¹ and settled down, marrying Mappila brides. They cast many cannons, and conducted training and exercises in their use. The astrologers predicted that thenceforth, the whole of Keralam and neighbouring lands² would come under Tamutirii's command.

In Chingam month of 1503, the hero, Albuquerque, arrived at Kannur with 6 ships. He learnt from Kolattiri about the loss of Sodre and his ships, and of the defeat of Perumpadappu. Without delay, he sailed to Kochi (2nd Sept.). When he reached there on Saturday night, all those at Vypin spent the whole night celebrating his arrival, seeing which Tamutirii's soldiers got frightened, and ran away from Kochi Fort. On Sunday morning, all the six ships were brought into the river³. The Captain landed on Monday, and met and discussed with Perumpadappu on the shore itself. When the people shouted joyously: "Portugal, Portugal" and "Kochi, Kochi", the king abandoned his superstitions customs⁴ and with tears in his eyes, embraced the Captain. The people of Kochi consoled themselves that their sufferings had not been in vain. The Captain, recognizing the poverty of the king⁵, immediately gave him 10,000 varahans. As soon as the king and Albuquerque entered Kochi, the Portuguese set out in boats to punish the traitorous chieftains. Though the Nayars of Cheruvaippu used their arrows and javelins⁶ liberally, the Portuguese landed and prevailed in the battle. They surrounded the Kaimal's mansion⁷, killed him, and set the house on fire. At Idappally, a fierce battle ensued. Though 500 bowmen guarded the landing, the Portuguese entered there too, seized the land, and the Nayars of Kochi looted it⁸.

1 "Toppittu" = wore the cap; the colloquial expression for conversion to Islam.

2 "aṇaṇṇa nāṭu" = closeby lands.

3 "puzha"; actually the estuary and backwaters at Kochi, still referred to locally as 'river'.

4 I.e., regarding touch pollution on contact with a foreigner.

5 "dāridryam vicāriccu", thinking of the poverty.

6 'cavalam'; Gundert's Dictionary glosses it as a "bearded (sic!) javelin", and cites the Canaarese "sabala", and the Sanskrit "sarvala" ("an iron club or crow" - Monier Williams) as synonyms.

7 "māṭam", the word used, is defined in Gundert's Dictionary as "a house with an upper story", (along with several other meanings).

8 As if the Portuguese did not join the looting!!! This is a typical instance of Gundert's bias in favour of the Portuguese.

18. HOW ALBUQUERQUE HAD A FORT CONSTRUCTED AT KOCHI

Then, Perumpadappu said: "You have saved me and wreaked vengeance on my behalf; what shall I do in return for this favour"? The reply was "Please give us land for construction of a fort for the protection of the stores and place of business"; the king gave a hill at the mouth of the river itself, and timber for construction. Albuquerque immediately set all the Portuguese at work, erected uprights of coconut and other trees, protected with iron bands, with mud and stone walls between them, quickly completing the construction. (Kanni 1503). The king occasionally came to see this technique. "It is a pity that these people, though aliens, labour through the rains and the sun. Why not engage labourers for the work", he wondered. On completion, it was named "Fort Manuel". A big Cross was taken in procession under a big umbrella, round it, and into the wooden church named after Bartholomew. The Franciscan padre, Gaston, preached: "Hail! Today a door has been opened for the entry of Our Lord into Hindu country¹; Praise the Lord! Bring the message of Jesus to the ignorant folk; we should also pray for the good of Perumpadappu, who has stood by us so far"! Perumpadappu witnessed all these happenings, and enquired after the meaning of the words, and was happy. "All this is for our good", he commented.

Afterwards, there were skirmishes with hostile Nayars. Tamutirii thought that, if the Portuguese were denied access to pepper for even one season, they would not return. He cornered all the pepper around Kochi. He also got traders in Kochi to his side. (When the Portuguese approached them), they pretended false regret, and bewailed: "Alas! Because of your unending battles, no supplies of pepper arrive - what shall we do"! Then the Captain deputed hero Pesaku² with boats to patrol the river. He³ showed his prowess in several places, and reached Kambalam. Though Nayars came with shouts from everywhere, he pierced through their midst and devastated the land. He seized various commodities, but it was not sufficient even to fill one ship. This induced Albuquerque to seek the opportunity of sailing down to Kollam and seek goods from there.

The trade at Kollam was even more prosperous than at Kannur and Kochin. Every day, ships and vessels from Cholamandalam, Simhalam, Bengal, Malacca, etc., used to arrive. One Govardhana Raja was ruler of Venad then. The southern end of Pandya kingdom came under his possession. The king had a residency at Kayal⁴ in that territory. It was also rumoured that a contingent of 300 women soldiers served under the king.

1 This indicates that this was the first church built in India by the Portuguese.

2 The famous Pacheco!

3 "Ayavan" = that selfsame he.

4 Portions of the Shencotta-Tirunelveli areas now in Tamil Nadu were under the Venad kings then. Kayal may probably be the place, known by the same name, in the Tirunelveli district.

19. HOW ALBUQUERQUE FARED AT KOLLAM

When the Venad king's local officer¹ Nambiyathiri heard of the arrival of Portuguese ships, he immediately went and received them with honour, and sent word to the king. The king's territory extended 24 "katham"² between Kollam and Kanyakumari, and more that 30 katham along the Pandyan coast. He was also in receipt of tribute from Eezham³, and never hesitated to fight with the forces of Anagundi Narasimha Rayar. Therefore, Albuquerque represented matters with (appropriate) humility, and gained his favour. The king chose not to listen to the diplomatic⁴ messages from Tamutirii; after due consideration, he ordered that there was no objection to the Portuguese constructing a business establishment⁵ and commencing trade. Moreover, the Nazrani merchants did their best in this regard, and supplied all that was desired. Therefore, Albuquerque promptly declared his good faith and allegiance to the ministers of the king⁶. He had the factory built by a prominent person named D'Za. There were no Arabs there. Except for a few among the Chinese, there were no Muslims also. It was known that there were about 6000 Christians⁷ there. That is very much in our favour. Albuquerque was advised not to enter any quarrels here, and to take Christians into confidence while deciding on future actions. When the Christians gained confidence in the Portuguese, they complained about the injustices done to them in many ways by the Nayar. Albuquerque interceded with the local authorities, and had the previous practice of cases among Christians being adjudicated only by themselves, restored. He also solved some other grievances. The Christians were pleased, and showed him their church, informing him that it was constructed by Apostle Thomas, and that the bodies of two saints⁸ were buried there, and that it was therefore very holy. They entrusted it to the Portuguese (for safe keeping, presumably). Albuquerque lodged D'Za and twenty local people in the factory; among them, there was a Dominican Monk, Rodriguez. He had the church renovated, and by his prayers and preaching, baptized and added to the congregation several natives. Many, aged 30 or 40 years, hearing about this, went to Rodriguez and told him: "We are also Nazranis; we do not know if we had been baptized in our infancy. Because we had no leaders for such a long time, we have become like the natives, alas! Because of your arrival, we have got rid of our sufferings from the local authorities⁹, and ignorance. Praise the Lord!" They were baptized, and joined in the resounding¹⁰ prayers of the Portuguese. Thus, the Portuguese got a good entry into Kollam. Albuquerque set off with a ship full of goods (12th Jan. 1504), and reached Kochi.

1 "Karyasthan" = agent, officer in charge?

2 Gundert provides several meanings to this word, in his Dictionary. The alternative, "about 5 English miles", most fits the case here.

3 It is not known where Gundert got this information. Other sources do not mention the payment of tribute from Sri Lanka (Eiam) to the kings of Venad.

4 "Mantranam" = secret, confidential. Because the messengers in those days were Brahmins, who notoriously could not keep secrets, it may be better to translate it as 'diplomatic'.

5 The expression "pāṇḍikaśāla" is usually equivalent of the word "factory" used in English records, and textbooks of Kerala history written in that language.

6 "Mantrikalōtu samayavum satyavum ceytu" = literally, to the ministers, time and truth was done; the meaning is unclear; Albuquerque perhaps promptly plighted his word of allegiance to them, or repeatedly did so, or did it for ever?

7 The term "Christianar" is used here instead of the previously used "Nazrani".

8 Not clear about the identity of the concerned saints!

9 "Rājopadravam" = troubles from the king; political problems?

10 "Ghoshamulla" = noisy, resounding, sonorous. Gundert may perhaps be referring to the sonorous Latin in which the prayers were thenceforth done under the Latin rites, instead of the less noisy Syrian rites.

20. HOW PORTUGAL AND TAMUTIRII ENTERED INTO A SLIGHT DETENTE

Tamutirii was concerned about the Portuguese business at Kannur, Kochi and Kollam, and that only Calicut was left off, with constant battles causing great damage and loss. He listened to his younger brother's advice, and sent word to Albuquerque: "We desire peace, and cessation of hostilities. What do you want for that?" In reply, Albuquerque dictated the following terms of peace: "(1) Tamutirii has to surrender 900 candies of pepper in compensation for the goods he stole; (2) The trade that Calicut has with the Muslims¹ of Mecca and Misra should cease; (3) Perumpadappu and Tamutirii should be in perpetual alliance; (4) The two white men who had fled from Kochi and obtained sanctuary with Tamutirii should be surrendered to the Portuguese". Tamutirii agreed to all except the last condition, because it was against his honour to betray those who had entrusted themselves to him. Albuquerque agreed: "So be it; let them be at ease", and there was a detente between the two (Tamutirii and Albuquerque). Can anyone describe the anger of the Musalmanar at this? Some immediately left Calicut along with their families. Nambiathiri² went to Kodungallur and dismissed the Nayar soldiers who were stationed there. He kept his word³ and started supplying pepper.

Meanwhile, while several among the Portuguese were happy because opportunities were opened for business and the spread of Christianity, all was ruined. One night, a boat laden with pepper was approached by a Portuguese vessel, and it was demanded that the pepper should be surrendered, the Malayalis denied the claim, and saying that the consignment had to be delivered at Kodungallur, plied their oars. The Portuguese thought this was wrong, and entered into a battle, seizing the boat and killing one of the boatmen.

It is reported in some Portuguese records that six persons were killed, and several injured. When Tamutirii demanded an explanation, the Portuguese hid their shameful action, and behaved arrogantly. Though Nambiyathiri was their faithful advocate, Tamutirii declared: "these Portuguese are not trustworthy". He prepared for war again.

1 The expression, "chonakar" is used here, probably to differentiate them from the local Muslims (Mappila).

2 This Nambiyatiri, the heir in successor to the throne of Tamutiri, was consistently friendly to the Portuguese.

3 The text has: "tān vākdatta prakāram", somewhat clumsy; it is also wrong, and should have been "tanprakaram", unless Gundert intended to use "vākdattaprakāram" as a verbal participle, following Sanskrit usage! The passage also implies that there might have been some underhand dealings whereby Nambiyatiri was corrupted to be a Portuguese ally - he was one of the very few such in the otherwise heroic lineage of Zamorins.

21. HOW PACHECO COMMENCED THE DEFENCE OF KOCHI

Before Albuquerque left Malayalam, Koya Pakki, the friend of the Portuguese at Calicut, sent the following information: "Danger is near. The monsoon this year will be a flood. Though Nambiathiri is striving for the maintenance of peace, Tamutirii, Mappila, and other members of the public have decided to destroy the whites. Kolattiri and Venatatikal may help if opportune to them. Be warned!". Albuquerque consulted with the chief Portuguese warriors, but none of them was happy to stay ashore. All wanted desperately to return to Europe. But Pacheco alone gladly agreed to bear the responsibility to defend Fort Kochi. Albuquerque left behind 150 whites among whom some were ill, in the Fort and in two ships. As there was some space still in his ships, he sailed from Kochi to Kannur and filled up with some ginger. While many prayed: "Oh God, kindly protect Pacheco and companions", he reluctantly set sail back to Europe. Pacheco bought rice and provisions from Kannur and returned to Kochi. Hearing that Perumpadappu was in great despair, he hastened with great despatch¹ but the king was inconsolable. At last the king, in tears, said: "If battle commences, do you plan to retreat to Kollam or Kannur? Don't cheat me; please say the truth". Pacheco pretended to be angry, and replied: "Why do you feel suspicious, believing the lies of the Mappila? Let Tamutirii come. If 150 Portuguese and one Christian² are on one side, that suffices to keep off any enemy!" and set about the defence of Kochi. There was then a big merchant, Ismail Marakkar by name, who was a supporter of Tamutirii. He was stopping the importation of rice, and spreading alarming rumours in the town, inducing them to run away from it. Pacheco summoned all the merchants; his eyes red with anger, he shouted³: "I shall personally ensure that Tamutirii does not cross the backwaters (to Kochi). You should be calm. If any of you want to flee, I shall have him hanged!" All subsided in fear. Pacheco patrolled the town night and day, and spread fire to the (neighbouring) Idappalli and other areas (where the chieftains favoured Tamutirii), seized stocks of cattle and boats, and returned to Kochi. Seeing all this, the Mappila thought that he was the very Devil in human form, and kept subdued.

1 "ghoshattote" = literally, with a lot of noise; pompously, ceremoniously. In the context, it may mean immediately, with all possible dispatch.

2 Viz., himself. Pacheco was supremely confident of the success of planned strategy and battle experience, in organizing a defensive tactic against the amorphous and motley mass of the indigenous soldiery of Tamutirii.

3 Kalpiccu = "ordered"; in the context, "shouted" would be appropriate.

22. THE GREAT ARMY OF THE TAMUTIRII

On 16th March 1504, Tamutirii arrived at Idappalli with great preparations. Pacheco stationed about 60 Portuguese in the Fort, went with the rest to the church for prayers, and set out in boats immediately for Koyilakam. He selected 500 from among the 5000 Nayars then at the disposal of the raja of Kochi, under the command of two "Koyiladhikari"-s¹, Kanannkoru and Perinkoru by name, and Palluruthi Kaimal and Atavil Panikkar. The king wept when taking leave of them, and advised Pacheco to look after his personal safety. Pacheco laughed, and said: "Our god is not a stone²! Don't worry about our (disparity in numbers)", and set out. He reached the landing at Kambalam on Saturday morning. Because there were only a few of Tamutirii's men there then, he quickly raided the place by surprise, and captured many cows, which he took away (in his boats) for slaughter. The Nayars of Kochi felt offended at this and were demoralized. While so, a Pattar³ arrived with Tamutirii's command, for fixing the date for commencement of battle⁴ and informed that the battle would commence the next day, and Pacheco would be killed. Pacheco dismissed him, saying: "Your astrologers are mistaken; tomorrow is the first Sunday of our great festival⁵". He and his men enjoyed⁶ the whole night, in revelry and play, and in the morning, calling on the Queen of Heaven in prayer, prepared for battle.

They saw the great army of Tamutirii arriving at the landing. In front were 5 big cannons, cast by the Italians who had fled away, and were under Tamutirii's command. Following were four subordinate kings, 10 chieftains, and many Nayars; they were: 1. The Vettath king of Tanur with 4000 Nayars, 2. Kakkattu Nambidi - his name has been mentioned as Kanda Nambidi and Kukkuta Raja in the Portuguese records -, who guarded the territory up to the Palakkat Gap, with 12,000 Nayars, 3. raja of Kottayakattu⁷ with 18,000 Nayar (Puranattukara Thampuran), 4. the chieftain who ruled the territory between Ponnani and Kodungallur, Kuruvikkoyil - this name is not without authentication; it may be more proper to designate him as Kutiva, Guruvayi, etc. - with 3000 Nayars. Thus, four kings under four flags, with 37,000 armed Nayars were arrayed. The remaining ten chieftains were: the Patinjare Edathu Koyil of Kodungallur; Idappalli Ilamkoyil Nambiyathiri; Pappukoyil of Chaliyath; the Nambiyathiri of Venganad; the Nambidi of Vannalacheri; Parppukoyil of Beypore; Pappukoyil of Parappanangadi; the territorial chief of Mangad.

Thus, about 20,000 and odd Nayars and Mappila and Arabis advanced under the umbrella of the Nambiyathiri of Calicut. In addition, they had 160 boats also, with 12,000 men. The Italians had fitted each with two cannons, and protected them with bags filled with cotton fastened with chains along the sides. Even by the time the cannons opened fire, the Nayars from Kochi withdrew; only Kandankoru and Perumkoru stayed beside Pacheco to save their honour. He explained to them the manoeuvres standing on his command boat. When the massed enemy attacked, the Portuguese fire killed off a 1000 Nayars because they were so tightly packed. There were no Portuguese casualties. To the relief of the Portuguese, at dusk, the frustrated Calicut forces retreated. Kandankoru carried the tidings the same night to the king of Kochi, much to his amazement. The king himself came to Kambalath landing and congratulated Pacheco heartily.

Tamutirii enquired of his Brahmins the reasons for his failure, and got the reply: "the Goddess was somewhat displeased but that has been now removed by our rites. Sunday will be a good day for your victory in arms - that is for sure!" As it was the night of Pesaha, the Portuguese also deemed it a good day for themselves. That Sunday (25th March), there was a grand battle. The river ran red with blood. Tamutirii failed to cross the waters. He diverted half his fleet to sail to Kochi and capture it by surprise. Guessing this out, Pacheco gave chase, caught them up alongside the Fort at Kochi, and destroyed them with gunfire.

On Tuesday, there was again a great battle. Though both the Italians tried various techniques, victory was not theirs. About 2 nazhika-s⁸ after noon, Tamutiri ordered the withdrawal of his Nayars, finding that the attack could not be sustained. They withdrew, grumbling and cursing the Brahmins' astrology for being false. Because of their three victories, the men of Kochi were jubilant. The king supported the celebrations. Angered by this, the Mappila wrote to their fellows at Kannur and Kollam: "The Portuguese have been totally defeated

1 Regularly, custodians of temples.

2 A slighting reference to the idolatry of his hosts!

3 The specific mention of "Pattar" = Tamil Brahmin, may indicate that the more usual type of messenger was the Nambudiri, the Pattar being deputed for the more unpleasant missions.

4 Tamutiri was obviously observing the rules of righteous warfare as sanctioned in Hindu religious texts; the day of battle had to be fixed, so that the 'unmanly' element of surprise was not availed of.

5 Implying that he and his men would enjoy the killing spree they would unleash on Tamutiri's men; it was Palm Sunday.

6 "Ahamkariccu" = taking pride; proudly; in the context, unrestrainedly.

7 Probably Kottayam?

8 Why Gundert should use the native measure of time is not clear. He was obviously totally and uncritically going by the Portuguese records.

and destroyed; Tamutirii is coming!" Thereupon, the Muslims¹ there started to compete with one another to kill all the whites they came across. But according to the letters received by the Chetty-s², the news spread everywhere that the Tamutirii was defeated. Only one Portuguese had been killed in the Kollam bazaar³. When the chieftains and Kaimals of Kochi witnessed all these, they felt that Tamutirii was not supreme⁴. Among them was the Senior Kaimal of Mangat. He had been staying quiet⁵ at Vypin. He immediately approached the raja of Kochi, and said: "I have heard that there is some shortage of materials here; I have brought as much as I can", and delivered paddy and other items. The Nambiathiri⁶ advised Tamutirii that it would be better to call a truce, and retreat before the monsoons. Others also advised to stop the battle. But the chieftain of Idappalli also stopped fighting. Mappila also decided that some new tactics should be devised, and secured the consent of Tamutirii.

1 The word used is "chonakar", implying that both the native and the immigrant Muslims were involved.

2 Another famous trading community, in competition with the Muslim traders.

3 A patent contradiction - it had been asserted, just a few lines before, that the Muslims had started to kill all the whites they saw, in competition with one another. But the actual count was only one!

4 "Tamutirī pramāṇam alla" = a forced construction, using a Sanskrit idiom.

5 i.e., neutral.

6 Who had been notoriously sympathetic to the Portuguese.

23. THE BATTLE AT THE PALLURUTHI CROSSING

Tamutirii, finding that no advantage would be gained at the Kambalath Crossing, considered the shallower Valanjare Crossing preferable. He hurried a few men through it, and they occupied the area, and started to cut down the trees¹. From then on, Pacheco had to work very hard to defend both the Pálluruthi and Valanjar Crossings. At high tide, he would sail to Palluruthi; and when the tide retreated, he would make his stand at Valanjar. Despite many battles, it was not possible to defeat Pacheco. On some days, when due to exposure to the rains, the Nayars were down with epidemics, the Portuguese could repair the damages to their boats. They took advantage of the interval to plant sharpened stakes². The Brahmins conducted many rites. On Thursday 7th May, Pacheco sent a messenger in great hurry to Perumpadappu. But the messenger betrayed the trust, and went hiding. Mangat Kaimal and other Kochi Nayars fled, leaving the Portuguese alone. Pacheco was in great distress that day. He prayed for better fortunes. At high tide, the Calicut forces surrounded him, but withdrew³. He showed off his temper to the king of Kochi, who wept, and swore upon god: "I got no message!" He embraced and praised Pacheco. Then Tamutirii tried to poison the water supplies of the Portuguese, induct poisonous snakes in their boats, and get elephants to trample on their boats during low water, but all in vain.

When the Nayars, after crossing the ford, tried to advance through the fields, the men belonging to the untouchable castes who were cultivating them confronted them, and killed a few with their spades. The rest of the Nayars fled, because they were afraid of being polluted by the touch of the low caste enemy! Pacheco fetched them and honoured them. When king's minister Kandamkoru was standing ashamed, he announced that they (the low caste people) had become Nayars. The minister replied that it was impossible; even the king could not order that. Pacheco lost his temper, and cried: "where the Nayars had turned cowardly⁴ and fled, these Cheruma people deserve to be made Nayars. Oh! Heroes, come! Tell me your name". He recorded their name, and kept it on record. When he took up the matter with the king himself, the king remarked: "If any other Hindu king raises low caste people up in the caste hierarchy, I shall do likewise. If I do it by myself, the Nayars will kill me!" Pacheco insisted: "What meanness! They must be adequately rewarded!" Perumpadappu conferred on them, and on those who had done likewise, the right to wear weapons, remission of the poll tax, and to walk along the paths used by the Nayars.

1 To provide a good line of fire, presumably.

2 "kunta kurri" = lance stakes; a clever devise innovated by Pacheco, in the shape of sharpened stakes planted in the bed of the water body, with their edges submerged; when an enemy vessel ran up against them, the stakes would pierce through their bottom, and flood them.

3 Presumably as a result of his prayers!

4 "ka||anmārayi" = falsely; in the context, cowardly.

24. PACHECO CONCLUDES THE BATTLE

The Mappila decided that what could not be gained by might could be secured by stratagems. Islam Marakkar of Kochi thought up a means of killing the Portuguese. Pacheco came to know of it secretly, and had him diplomatically fetched to his boat; he had each hair of his face plucked out! Seeing this, the Mappila subsided in fear. There was a clever man, Koja Ali, in Idappalli. He thought up a brilliant plan to have multi-storied structures built on rafts, and filled with bowmen brought down from Kannur and other places. He showed how the Portuguese could be overwhelmed by the shower of arrows from these structures. In order to protect his vessels from this type of attack, Pacheco had his masts covered with iron bands, but that first day, he was very sad; he prayed aloud: "Oh Creator, pardon my sins", and shattered these big rafts with his gunfire.

Many of his men died during that monsoon; Tamutirii, ashamed¹ of his defeats, retreated. The Brahmins told him that it was because the offerings and worship was inadequate. Tamutirii decided that until the gods were propitiated, he would give up royal comforts² and retreated into a temple for a life of worship. His mother visited him and scolded him: "this is not devotion to god, but cowardice! Your duty is ever to rule³". He left the temple and seated himself in the throne of command again. But his chieftains disregarded his orders, gave up the battle, and remained quiet.

The chieftains who had quarrelled with Perumpadappu returned to seek his pardon. Pacheco, victorious after his labours of the past three months, returned to Kochi (3rd July 1504). When he heard of the news from Kollam⁴, without minding the heavy seas of Karkatakam, he sailed to Kollam and subdued the quarrelsome Muslims. He gathered goods and commodities for filling the ships due from Portugal. He seized some Calicut shipping, and enforced his authority through the entire coast. Except for the single Portuguese killed at Kollam, at the great battles near Kochi, though many were injured, there was not a single fatal casualty. This surprised every one greatly. Pacheco gained the widespread reputation of being a great wizard⁵, against whom no mortal could prevail.

1 Gundert uses the form "nāngiccu", instead of the more usual "nāniccu".

2 Literally, "rājatwam" = kingship.

3 This is in the great martial tradition of Kerala; the mothers would despise cowardice in their sons.

4 Where, it may be recalled, a Portuguese had been killed by the Muslims.

5 "ksudrakkāran" = an expert in occult practices; wizard. Gundert's Dictionary provides several meanings for "kshudram", of which one is "trickery, sorcery".

25. THE ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN SOARES

When the monsoon of 1504 ended, Captain Soares arrived (September 1st) with 12 ships from Portugal. He landed at Kannur. At once, the Kolattiri, with 3 elephants and 5000 Nayars, proceeded to his camp¹ and made several presents to him². Moreover, the Portuguese at Calicut entrusted a letter with a messenger³: Tamutirii is willing to release us. If you cease hostilities and enter on a treaty, we may be immediately released⁴. After reading this, Soares embarked (7th) Saturday, and reached the anchorage at Calicut. The authorities were frightened; but he refused the offerings of fruits and other goods, and demanded: "All the whites (held prisoner here) should be released and delivered to me". Thereupon, Koya Pakki⁵ arrived with two Portuguese and informed him that Tamutirii was inclined to make peace; but Soares proudly⁶ demanded: "it is not enough if the Portuguese prisoners are returned; the two Italians who had done so much damage to (the Portuguese) cause should also be surrendered". Tamutirii considered this as an insult, and ordered that all the Portuguese prisoners should be kept under strict guard, and took precautions that none of them be allowed to escape. Soares, unmindful of the welfare of the Portuguese prisoners, continued firing against the town, causing much damage. Then, he sailed away to Kochi (14th Sept.), where he landed. When he heard of this, Perumpadappu hastened to meet him, and embraced him. He informed him of all the great deeds⁷ that Pacheco had done. He received the presents sent to him by the king of Portugal with tears in his eyes, and praises of gratitude on his lips.

In October, Pacheco returned from Kollam, and, with the king of Kochi and the Portuguese, decided to make a combined attack on Kodungallur. There, the Kshatriya lineage known as "Patinjattedam" was ruling. They had then accepted the suzerainty of Tamutirii. As the city had been, in ancient times, the capital of the Perumals, it was very big, affluent, and famous. Of old, Jews had settled there. Their leader, Yosep Rappan, had been gifted by the Perumal with the territory of Anjuvannam⁸, the rights of proprietorship, and trading rights except that of collecting tolls. Similarly, the Syrian Christians and the Parsi Christians⁹ who became the Manigramam¹⁰ people, and the Mussalmanar, all settled there, a "Free Trade" regime prevailed there as it did in European marts. It was thus: different communities of traders elected representatives; they in turn consulted among themselves and formed from among the four trading communities, viz., Chetty-s, Jews, Christians and Musalmanar, and appointed one from each in every locality to conduct the governance. After Calicut, thanks to the Musalmanar, became the pre-eminent place of business, the importance of Kodungallur was erased; the opening into the sea at Tiruvanchikulam gradually got silted¹¹ up, and lost depth.

At that time, Tamutirii's admiral, Mayimani, was lying off Kodungallur estuary with 80 vessels. The Nambiyatiri was camping with his forces at Pallipuram, ready to cross the ford there. Soares and Pacheco, with Portuguese in many vessels, stealthily sailed at night past Pallipuram to Kodungallur. Taking everyone by surprise, they started the battle immediately. The admiral (Mayimani) fought bravely, but was killed along with his two valiant sons. Whatever of Tamutirii's shipping remained unscattered were set on fire. Though Nayars defended the houses with lances and bows and arrows, the Portuguese set fire to the bazaar also. The distress of that night is beyond description. The Nazranis ran out of their houses, crying "In the name of Jesus Christ, save our lives and children and churches. Cabral and Gama had given us sanctuary". The Portuguese thereupon chased the Nayars out of the town, and started to douse the fires in the Christian quarters. They looted the properties of the Muslims and Jews, and returned in great celebration to Kochi. The Jews left their settlements, and migrated to other places, wailing that this outrage was like the destruction of Jerusalem. If any of them chanced to visit Kodungallur for some work, they would not take any food there; only after crossing the river would they eat; it is rumoured that when they die, they insist that a handful of earth from their native Anjuvannam should be put on their graves before they were closed.

1 "srambi" = tent, campshed.

2 indicating how much the Portuguese reputation had increased among the native rulers.

3 "Baliakkāran" = literally, a young man; in common parlance, a servant; in this context, a messenger, not of high distinction.

4 This indicates that the campaign had not been so one sided in favour of the Portuguese, after all! Tamutiri had been able to take at least a few Portuguese captives!

5 The local Muslim who had befriended the Portuguese.

6 "garviccu" has been used as a verb, somewhat as in the English "prided himself".

7 "sukrithangal" = usually used in the sense of 'meritorious deeds', especially religious.

8 Anjuvannam need not necessarily be a right to territory; it was usually the overlordship of a territorial jurisdiction of trading interests.

9 Gundert differentiates between the Syrian Christians ("nasrāṇikaḷākunna suryānikaḷ), and the Jacobites whom he considers as Persian in origin.

10 Manigramam = another type of trading territory.

11 Gundert uses a rather obsolete expression, "nēṇu", for "silted up".

When he heard of the defeat suffered by Tamutirii and his navy, the Vettathukoil (chieftain of Tanur) thought it was the opportunity of releasing his land, people and trade from the hands of Tamutirii, as well as the port of Ponnani, which Tamutirii had lately grabbed, thus trying to squeeze him out. He attacked the Nayars retreating from the engagement, and requested the Portuguese to come to his aid. Captain Raphael, with 40 Portuguese, proceeded accordingly to Tanur, but, as they came after the raja had won the day, he said, proudly: "It is good you came; but you may go now. I am capable of prevailing against Tamutirii by myself". But, when war came near, he apologized to the Portuguese, and propitiated them with offerings of presents and tribute.

26. THE RETURN OF SOARES & PACHECO

The Portuguese loaded in their ships all the goods collected by Pacheco, stationed sufficient forces for the defence of the settlement, and prepared for their return journey to Portugal. Pacheco went to Perumpadappu to bid farewell. The king became emotional¹ and said: "What can I give you (in recompense for all that you have done)? You know how poor I am. I eat the rice provided by Portugal; I have only one desire: you should stay here. But I hesitate to ask you to do that, because of the strictness² of your Captain". Pacheco smiled: "Don't be worried; your friendship is enough for me. I shall return. I hope to see you, enjoying increasing prosperity". Thus he consoled and advised the king. The king entrusted with him, as he was about to leave, a letter detailing the exploits of Pacheco; he also gifted to him a shield made of copper³ and a certificate. The contents of the certificate were: "Kerala Unniramankoil Tirumumbat, the king of Kochi, residing customarily at Vaipin⁴, Netumganad: In the month of Minam 679, the king Kunnalakonatiri⁵ started hostilities; Pacheco in a constant defence, prevailed and won victory and defended my kingdom. Therefore, I have awarded to him this copper shield, in which is inscribed the pictures of the insignia⁶ of the five kings whom he had defeated, and of the seven battles he had fought. Written by Chirukantan (1504, Christian Era)". Meanwhile, Soares heard through the messages conveyed through Pattar informants that many Arab, Turk and Misra merchants were preparing to leave Kerala and return to Mecca and other countries. He left Kochi, burnt all the ships he could find at Pantalayani, and sailed back to Portugal. The king was highly pleased at the news of the victories that he brought with him.

1 "Bhāvam pakarnnu" = his mood changed; in this context, he became emotional; usually it connotes sudden anger.

2 "gāmbhīryam" = grandeur; greatness; here, the strictness with which he imposed discipline on all.

3 "chempalisa" = copper shield.

4 "atavu" = Gundert's Dictionary provides several meanings, of which "regular custom" seems to be most appropriate in this context.

5 One of the titles of the Zamorin.

6 "Āyudhachitrangal" = literally, pictures of the arms or weapons; in the context, insignia.

27. KING MANUEL SENDS ALMEIDA, THE FIRST VICEROY¹, TO KERALA

On the advice of Pacheco and Soares, and due consideration of all matters, king Manuel decided that there were three bases for the vast trade centred on Calicut, and decided that all three must be commanded, so that Muslim navigation in the Hinthu Seas must be destroyed. The three pillars were: All the goods transported west from Calicut had two entrepôts, viz., the first at Aden Rock at the southern tip of Arabia, and the second, at the Ormus Island at the Persian Gulf. All the Hinthu and Chinese goods arriving in Europe were through these routes. Some goods passed Aden and, proceeding through the Red Sea, reached Alexandria. Other goods were transported from Ormus through Basra and Beirut by the Muslims, and were taken up by Venetian and Italian ships. Some goods left Calicut, and were taken via Eezham (Sri Lanka) to Malacca; goods brought to Malacca by Chinese merchants were transported to Cholanmandalam, Simhālam, Keralam, etc. Therefore, if Aden to the west of Calicut, Ormus to the north and Malacca to the east were quickly grabbed (by the Portuguese), it would spell disaster to the Muslim trade - so decided the king's council. When the Muslims felt that there would be reduction in their profits, the Arabs met the Sultan Khan Hassan at Misra and told him: "Tamutirii will send you lots of money, if you will send guns and soldiers to protect the trade in Mecca. Please destroy the Portuguese. Are you not the Protector of the Holy K'aba²?" At this humble request, the Sultan prepared for war. He warned: "The Portuguese are hindering the pilgrimage to Mecca! In return, we shall hinder the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. If the Portuguese continue in their hostile pursuit, we shall raze the Church of the Crucifixion in Jerusalem to the ground, and compulsorily convert every Nazrani (Christian) in these lands to Islam". He sent this ultimatum to the Pope, who only enquired of king Manuel. The merchants of Venice, considering the loss of their profitable trade, secretly aided the Muslims. Other whites, because of the increasing prosperity of the Portuguese, were jealous³.

However, king Manuel sent two navies to fight against the Muslims - in all 22 ships, in two sets, one to the Red Sea and the other to Kerala. Finding that it would not suffice to entrust all of them to a single Captain, he deputed the hero, Francis Almeida as the first Viceroy of the Portuguese in Kerala (25th March 1505). He ordered them to capture all the ports and harbours, one by one, establish fortresses in them, and spread the grandeur of Portugal and the Christian Truths to all the regions; and sent them off.

Almeida reached Anjudwip (13th Sept.), and immediately began to construct a fort, in accordance with his king's commands. Including this, he constructed four forts, (one each) at Kannur, Kochi and Kollam. He had permission to assume the title of Viceroy (the one in king's rank)⁴. On finding, when excavating for the fort foundations, stones bearing the inscribed images of the Cross, the Portuguese concluded that Christians had occupied this locality also in the past. Thereafter, Almeida chased and captured Muslim shipping along the Konkan coast. The kings of the region were intimidated and pretended great affection and respect. Opposite Anjudwip, there is the opening of the port, Halliganga. The estuary and the river marked the boundary between the southern domain of the Muslims and that of the Gunthi Rayar. At the mouth of the estuary was located the hill fortress of Chintakola (Chinthakata, Chinthapur)⁵. The Sabai of Goa strengthened it substantially. The subordinate ruler of the place, Mel Rao, vassal to Narasimha Rayar⁶, and Timmoyya, the chief of the pirates, sought to capture it, but could not prevail against the Muslims. They therefore sought the assistance of Almeida⁷. They requested: "We shall pay you in due course a tribute of 4000 braahan⁸; you should protect this boundary". So, Almeida took sides⁹ with the Mel Rao, chieftain of Honnavar, and brought about peace.

1 "Rajadhikari" = Viceroy.

2 "Kābatte kākkunnavan" = the protector of Kabath, the holiest of holy places in Islam.

3 "Śeṣam vellakkārum pōrtugīsārute śrītvam nimittam asūya bhāvikkayum ceytu": a very laboured construction, borrowed from usages in the Indo-European languages.

4 The parenthesis is in the original. Gundert transliterates the term as "pisorayi".

5 The parenthesis in this case seems to have been provided by the Editor of the Malayalam Reprint.

6 Of Vijayanagaram Empire, at its height at that time.

7 Gundert uses the stronger expression, "abhayam prāpiccu" = sought refuge.

8 A tatbhava term for 'varahan', the gold coin of Vijayanagaram, which became a standard measure of value throughout South India.

9 Gundert uses an unusual expression, "cātikkātam piṭiccu", to mean 'taking sides'.

28. HOW ALMEIDA HAD THE KANNUR FORT BUILT

While Almeida was preparing to sail south from Anjudwip, some of his warriors captured, after a fight, a ship from Persia. They landed the horses that were being carried in it. The next day, the horses were missing, and there were rumours that Mel Rao had had them stolen. So, Almeida sailed to Honnavar to punish him. He set on fire the vessels of Timmoyya Rawoji, the pirate, and the bazaar at Honnavar, spreading fear all around (October 16th). The next day, Mel Rao sent Timmoyya to Almeida, begged pardon¹, and obtained permission to fly the Portugal flag along with his own.

Then, while Almeida proceeded to Kannur, he deputed Captain Homem to Kochi and Kollam to convey the news (of his arrival). Homem was informed by the Portuguese chief there, D'za, that it was not sure whether they would get goods there. Though the king had ordered (the merchants) to deliver pepper first to the Portuguese, the (local officials) had accepted bribes and filled 34 Arab ships already. Hearing this, Homem immediately sent some warriors, and seized the sails and rudders of all the Arab vessels there, and kept them in the Portuguese factory. As he was returning happily, he saw two Arab ships proceeding without the cartaz². He seized them, secured the sailors in the lower decks, and had some Portuguese sailors to man them, sailing to the anchorage at Kannur. But before they reached Kannur, the men of one of the vessels revolted and killed the Portuguese in it, and escaped, sailing off under the nose of Almeida and Homem. When it could not be chased and caught, Almeida got angry with Homem and down-graded him.

Almeida reached Kannur on Wednesday (22nd October). Immediately, the manager of the local factory, Barboza, came and informed him: "Because of the wealth and influence of the Mappila, the Kolattiri is helpless. They often incited him to have us killed. And if they try to do so, the king will not be able to save us. Therefore, it is necessary to have a fort here for our own safety as well as for the trade in ginger. Seeing that the best site is this corner of Mukkal Island³, I have obtained the king's permission and started the foundation works. It may suffice to raise it as the fort". Hearing it, Almeida ordered that the work should be commenced immediately.

Before landing, Almeida met the minister of Narasimha Rayar (of Vijayanagaram)⁴. Then, he received the Kolattiri on the pier at the beach, with all honours⁵, and with the offer of gifts. He sought permission to build the fort, and convinced the Kolattiri that it was the best means of bringing the Muslims under control (23rd Oct.). The work was commenced. The king made workmen available. With the exception of Almeida and one soldier, all the others were put to work day and night, and within 5 days, a fort just sufficient to stay in and defend it against attackers was built. It was called after St. Angelo⁶. A hero named Lorenzo and 150 Portuguese, with arms and ammunition, were stationed there. Almeida set sail (27th Oct.) and reached Kochi (31st).

1 "ol'icil paraññu" = apologized?

2 The Portuguese instituted the system of issuing written permission, the notorious cartaz, to all shipping in the region. Any ship sailing without it was liable to attack, sinking and other atrocities by the Portuguese men-at-war. Gundert translates "cartaz" as "rahadari".

3 Literally, "corner"; in the context, it means "strategic point". It is no longer an "island", as the inlet of the sea has been silted up in the subsequent centuries.

4 This indicates that Kolattiri at that time acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayanagaram.

5 "vellayum pattum viriccu" = literally, laying out the white cloth and the silk - the traditional method of receiving a very honoured superior person.

6 This fort is still well-preserved in Kannur.

29. NARASIMHA RAYAR'S MINISTER

We had mentioned that the day Almeida reached the Kannur anchorage, Narasimha Rayar's minister had taken ship and had come and seen him¹. The details are as follows: Hearing about the victories and prowess of the Portuguese, the Rayar had sent his minister from Anagunthi to Kannur to see him. He informed that the Rayar was desirous of alliance with king Manuel, and that he was prepared to give his daughter in marriage to the king's son. He offered jewels accordingly. This, and the news of the imperial grandeur of the Rayar, made the Portuguese very happy. Moreover, the Rayar was displeased with the Muslims, and was constantly repulsing them. His experience² had been repeated defeats at the hands of the Pathans. This had convinced him that he too should have a cavalry. Rayar conquered Tulunad. He started importing horses through the ports at Honnawar, Bhatkal, Beikanur, Mangalore, etc. Horsemen from everywhere were welcome and remunerated liberally³; no questions were asked about their religion. Hearing about the tidings from Calicut, the Rayar decided that the religion of the Portuguese was good for fighting against the Muslims⁴. It was rumoured that the Rayar would reward good fighting heroes with the gift of virgins. If there was a quarrel, the Rayar favoured settlement by a fight between the disputants in his presence. If goldsmiths or others like that became obstinate⁵, then also, the issue was decided by a sword-fight in front of the king. Because of this, the war mentality was firm in everyone. There was great fear of death (in battle)⁶. For their honour, women would commit suicide by consuming poison. When the king died, about 700 wives and brides would die committing sati. His men also would seek death in battle. So, everyone was keen to get battle training. In the armies formed to fight against the Muslims, 4 or 5 lakhs men would join.

The kingdom was divided into five territories: Tulunad in the west; east of the Western Ghats, South Karnataka, and in the eastern coast, the Telungu country and Cholamandalam. The capital Vijayanagaram was on the banks of the Tungabhadra; on the other bank, Anagunthi. Resplendent there were the great temples of Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna, and five hills called Kishkindha, etc. Daily, the toll collection at the capital city was 12,000 varahan. There was a stone shed capable of accommodating 400 elephants. There were about 40,000 horses then. Each of them cost 400 to 800 varahan. The city was founded in about Kollam year 500 (1324 Christian Era). The first king belonged to the Kurumba tribe, and was named Bokka (Bukha), his son was Harihara Rayar. Then, Daiva Rayar defeated the kings of Kerala and other countries, and exacted tribute. After that, many names of ministers⁷ are heard; there was a diminution of the Rayar's authority. Then followed Mallikarjuna Rayar, Virupakshi Rayar, Sadasivamaha Rayar, Immadi Timma Rayar. Then, the hero Narasimha Rayar, originating in the Tulu caste, ascended the throne, and extended his victories over several places. He became celebrated⁸ as Raja Parameswararaya Maharayar. The first of his sons is also Vira Narasimha Rayar. He (1487-1508) ruled the land, and began to establish friendship with the Portuguese. Then, his younger brother Krishna Rayar, thanks to the machinations of the minister Apnaji, quashed⁹ the elder brother, and ruled (1508-1531). He subdued many kings, and forced the Muslims back from everywhere. He made the 'six-fold gifts'¹⁰ in the great temples, and commemorated them with inscriptions. He displayed pleasure in favour of Christians during his rule.

1 Not entirely correct. What had been mentioned in the previous chapter, last paragraph, was that Almeida had seen him, and not the other way round!

2 Gundert uses the expression, "mumbe" = in the past. But it is obvious, from the context, that it was a current experience.

3 The literal translation of passage would be : "horsemen from anywhere could get much monthly salaries for their service".

4 i.e., presumably, that the Christians and the Muslims were enemies everywhere.

5 The passage is not clear - why particularize the goldsmiths is not explained!

6 In other words, death in battle was a constant possibility even for those who were not soldiers.

7 Gundert's text literally translates: "then 'dhalavayi' name are much heard".

8 The learned word used here is "kīrtitan" = renowned; a highly Sanskritized expression.

9 Gundert's Dictionary has "pilīyuka" = to squeeze out as juice, among other meanings; "piluka" = to root up, to pluck off. As the term "pilukki" may be a form of either word, it is translated as 'quash' here.

10 The reference is not clear; what exactly is meant by "shodasa dananga" is not explained. Presumably, it must be great gifts, sufficient for them to be commemorated by installing inscriptions in the temples benefitted.

30. HOW VENGEANCE WAS WREAKED FOR THE CALAMITIES ENDURED BY D'ZA AND OTHERS AT KOLLAM

Mention has already been made of how Captain Homem, deputed by Almeida to Kollam, had confiscated the sails and rudders of Arab shipping and sailed away. Angered by this, the Mappila set the people in agitation, and went to see the king's ministers. "This shame is not on us, but on Venattatikal (Venád king). People will decry against him for inability to protect foreign shipping in his port! Who will care to do business in this port henceforth?" So they bewailed. Thereupon, a minister went to D'Za, and conveyed the king's orders to him, that the sails and rudders seized should be immediately returned. Though modest in outward behaviour, considering the impending visit of Almeida, D'Za turned and twisted¹, commenced tongue-lashing², and even came to blows with the minister. The Muslims and Nayars drew their swords, ready to strike; D'Za and 12 Portuguese took their weapons, rushed into the Bhagavathi temple (nearby), and resisted for some time. The Kollam contingent heaped³ firewood around and set fire to it. All 13 Portuguese burnt to death. There was only a small Portuguese vessel in port that day. Its captain, learning the tidings, set fire to some shipping near by, and straightaway⁴ sailed to Kochi (31 Oct. 1505). By the time he reached that port, Almeida and his strong navy had arrived. Almeida heard Kollam tidings, and immediately deputed his son Lorenzo to that place, who approached Kollam, and totally destroyed⁵ 27 vessels he saw there. Thereafter, Lorenzo Almeida sailed to Islands of Mal; while trying to seize Arabi shipping, he was set adrift on strong currents to Simhala Island. (Malayalis call Simhala Eezham Nadu.)⁶ It was famous from of old as the land where excellent opium grew profusely. Reputedly, there were six kings and capital cities at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. When Lorenzo saw him, the king was happy; "it will be a good favour if the Muslims commerce is hindered", he said, and wanted to be in the shadow of the Portuguese⁷. He gave his hand to a promise that he would deliver 5000 candies of opium every year. Throughout that winter, they patrolled the seas. They heard that the Muslims involved in the turmoil at Kollam were in Perinjam, and reduced that settlement to ashes. From Kanyakumari to Kannur, the trade of the Mappila of Malayalam was prevented.

1 'ñejiññu' = twisted, bent, himself; i.e., prevaricated.

2 Another instance of the peculiar expression, 'vayiṣṭānam' = literally, mouth exercise; here, appropriately, loose-tongued.

3 Gundert uses a picturesque expression here: 'kunnliccu' = making a hill (of the firewood).

4 "maṭiyāte" = without delay; could also mean, without hesitation.

5 "bhasmamākki" = reduced to ashes; for repeated emphasis, Gundert reiterates that they were reduced to ashes and sunk!

6 Parenthesis in the original.

7 Literally, 'he wanted to make Portugal cause his shade'.

31. HOW ALMEIDA CHANGED THE SUCCESSION SYSTEM IN PERUMPADAPPU LINEAGE

When Almeida arrived at Kochi (1 Novembra 1505), he learnt that there was a serious dispute in the Perumpadappu lineage. The reason: Unni Kotha Varman the king who was ruling at the time of Cabral's arrival, due to old age, had become disgusted with worldly living, and had started living as a recluse in a temple. He had two successors, both of the same lineage. They had, during the war three years back, deserted the Portuguese side and joined Tamutirii. Therefore, the king had rejected them as traitors, and set the third heir as the next king. The two nephews who had been rejected did not give up their claim. They had the support of the Moringur chieftain (Motiyam kur Moringut)¹, with whom they were staying. They had also the support of the Brahmins, and this caused great worry to the king. He therefore complained to Almeida, who ordered: "The pleasure and protection of Portugal is always with you. So you shall continue to be king. Now onwards, it is not ancient custom, but the pleasure of the king of Portugal, that shall prevail". He had a glorious coronation² celebrated accordingly and had the king named Unnirama Koil, and prescribed for him the golden sceptre and other insignia, which were not customary in Kochi. The Perimpadappu king that day promised that he would be ever under the umbrella of Portugal. Almeida not only showered many gifts on him, but also ruled that customarily, gold inscribed with the icon of a white man would be placed before his throne every year, as a tribute to the memory of the two nephews who had died in battle in defence of the Portuguese, and as rental for the land on which the Fort was situated. He continued to pursue the recalcitrant nephews, in battle. The people were happy. All agreed that the wooden fort was inadequate, and agreed to donate land for a beautiful new fort on the beach itself.

In February 1506, Almeida filled 12 ships with goods, and sent them back home. Perumpadappu also sent as a gift in tribute an elephant. It was the first of the elephants that reached Europe by ship.

¹ Not clear whether the parenthesis was in the original, or had been inserted by the Editor of the Reprint.

² The passage is obscure; the old king must have been installed in due and ancient form long ago. Gundert does not explain whether he was crowned anew, as a vassal of Portugal.

32. HOW LUDWIG OF BOLOGNA DISCOVERED AND REPORTED THE SECRETS OF TAMUTIRII

After having waited in vain and for long for assistance of the Sultan of Misra, Tamutirii, financed with the liberal donations of Mappila and Arabs, ordered that big vessels should be built in all the ports in his realm. With the help of some carpenters who had fled from the Portuguese, he had designs¹ made for battle ships. He had cannon cast by the two Italians. He arranged for training in firing the cannons so that they would not miss the target. In order to prevent Almeida from knowing of these developments, he arranged for the close guard by naval personnel throughout the coast, and ensured maximum security².

At that time, a vagabond fellow³ who had travelled extensively through Misra, Arabia, India, Malacca, etc., over a long period, knew of the details (of Tamutirii's preparations) and arrived at Calicut from Kollam. That was Ludwig, the Sahib⁴. When, by chance, he met the Italians, he was gladdened because they were from his own country; he wept and kissed⁵ them, and stayed at their house. When they described to him how they had fled from Kochi, and were well-received at Calicut under the patronage of the king, and of the work they were doing for him, Ludwig asked whether they did not desire to return to Italy. He promised he would intercede with Almeida and get his pardon for them; at this (one of them), Peter Antony⁶, wept profusely, and bewailed with tears: "It is a pity that we have had to cast more than 400 cannons, which will be used to kill Christians. It would have been better⁷ to have stayed in Italy as beggars". The other, Juan Mariya, casually⁸ remarked: "It does not matter whether I die here or in Rome⁹; I presume it is my fate to get away from here¹⁰".

At dawn, Ludwig visited his fellow travellers¹¹, and was asked: "where did you stay?" In reply, he said that he had stayed in a mosque, praising Allah and the Prophet, and pretended to be preparing to become a Fakir, abjuring meat and the like during the day, but secretly going to the Italians at night, and eating off four fowls, in great enjoyment. When he heard that Portuguese sailors were constructing a fort at Kannur, he spit, exclaiming: "May Allah cause those Kafirs to have circumcision done to them soon¹²", pretending to be the greatest devotee of Allah. Thus, his reputation spread; he even dared to treat the sick in the name of Allah, causing all the Arabs, Turks, and Parsis to be pleased with him.

After thus discretely¹³ learning all secrets about Tamutirii's ships, army, cannons, etc., (February 1507¹⁴), he slipped from the guards, and ran away, stealthily boarding a boat carrying contraband goods for a Parsi merchant. He went to the Portuguese, and informed Lorenzo Almeida of all the tidings at Calicut. When they heard that the 'white Fakir' had been captured by the Portuguese, the Mappila of Kannur armed themselves and agitated, but subsided when they saw the soldiers in the fort loading their guns. Lorenzo was pleased with him, had him dressed in Portuguese garments, and taken to Kochi, where he informed the details to the Supreme Commander¹⁵, and begged pardon for and on behalf of the two Italians.

When pardon was granted, he sent a letter through a Nayar to the two traitors: "Set off at once, without informing even your Muslim wives; you should not take anything except gold and jewelry". When they disregarded this advice, and prepared to take their family¹⁶, their servants became aware of their preparations and informed the palace. The king, not believing it, sent some Nayars to inquire. Hoping the king would forgive them, a servant went to the Khadi, and revealed how Ludwig had stayed at their house, and the entire

1 "Grahippiccum" = making them understand; the context indicates that the method used for instructing the local carpenters in the technology of building battle ships was by making carpenters who had deserted from the Portuguese to copy the design.

2 Gundert's construction of the whole paragraph is peculiar, and probably contains many mistakes; e.g., "... lakkinnu vetivekkunna vidyaye vaṣamākki koṭuppiccum koṇḍu almeidaī vastuta ariyāte irikkēṇḍathinnu kaṭalkkāre (kaṭalkkāre?) eṇḡum kāvalkkāre nīrutti, sannāhaṅgaḷkku eṭṭayum rahasyamāyittu tanne tikavu varuttukayum ceytu".

3 "Dhūrttan" = wastrel; vagabond, spendthrift, according to Gundert's Dictionary; Whiteway identifies him as "Vartema".

4 Probably to show off the sarcasm he felt, Gundert's wording may be literally translated: "That was the Sayppa Ludwig".

5 Gundert uses the expression "cummiccu", instead of the more common, grammatically correct "cumbiccu".

6 Transliterated as "Peyther Anthony".

7 "Koḷḷāyirunnu" = it would have been better; a peculiar usage, not exactly identical with the South Kerala variant, "koḷḷāmāyirunnu".

8 "Veṛute parañṇu" = just, in vain, casually, said.

9 "Roma", in the original.

10 The original: "pakṣe iviteninnu kiḷiñṇu pōvān enikku vidhiyatre", is not quite clear; Gundert, in other contexts, has used 'kiḷiñṇu' in the North Malabar sense, "kiñṇu" = get away slyly.

11 Obviously, those who had accompanied him from Kollam to Calicut.

12 i.e., "may they be converted to Islam soon".

13 "Sūḷṣmamāyi" = in great detail, in the context, 'discretely' seems to be preferable.

14 There is a "printer's" mistake here; the date is given as "1057", obviously escaping the attention of the proof readers of the Reprint.

15 "Mahā kappittan" = literally, the Great Captain, viz., Almeida the Senior.

16 "Kunhukuttikal".

betrayal¹. The Khadi immediately had the merchants fetched, and with their consent, offered 100 varahan to the king who was a recluse, but agreed to have the whites killed. When about 200 of them, sounding conches² surrounded the whites, they (the whites) decided that the visit was not for collecting alms, and started firing. They killed six and wounded 40, but some experts threw sharpened wheels³ at them, cutting Juan's waist and Anthony's legs, after which the assailants cut their throats and drank the blood⁴. They also wrecked the building. Juan's wife fled to Kannur and sold the child to Ludwig for 8 brahan⁵; he had the child baptized and named Lorenzo, but the child died of syphilis. This disease, it is well known, had been prevalent only for 17 years then. The natives believed it had been introduced by Portuguese, and called it "parangi punnu", Portuguese abscess. But, it was seen for the first time in Europe only in 1494; it is probable that it was introduced to Malayalam by those from Misra and the Turks.

1 "ottariññu" = knowing of the conspiracy, here, betrayal.

2 i.e., signaling their hostile intentions.

3 "kūrta cakram" = sharpened wheels; obviously a form of weapon, requiring experts to use them.

4 Obviously, an exaggeration, showing Gundert's prejudice against the Muslims.

5 synonym for varahan.

33. HOW LORENZO ALMEIDA WAS VICTORIOUS AT THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF KANNUR

On 15 March 1506, when the news of the death of the Italians reached Kannur, the ships Lorenzo had summoned from Anjudwip came abreast¹. Tamutirii's fleet of 210 vessels, from the ports at Ponnani, Calicut, Kappad, Pantalayini, Dharpattanam, etc., also arrived together, forming a forest of masts off Kannur. Lorenzo waited for them with 11 ships and 800 Portuguese. When a priest, standing at the bow of a ship, lifted aloft the Cross and exhorted: "In the faith of the Crucified Saviour, fight without fear against these, his enemies! Deliverance from sins is assured for those who fight for God! With His help, we shall quickly destroy these wicked enemies! All those who have faith will have absolution of sins!" All bowed before these words, and were eager to die for Christ. On the 16th, when the enemy drew near, Lorenzo vowed that he would have a church consecrated to Mother Mary. Two big ships, filled with Turkish warriors in red clothes, were sighted. Lorenzo sailed through the middle of them, testing their fire-power and bombarding them in turn, causing much damage to them. Because the wind failed, they returned to Dharmapattanam. On the 18th, they again approached, and declared they did not want to fight, but requested permission to sail north. Lorenzo refused, saying that they would have to answer for all the Portuguese they had killed, and the two Italians too. The Mappila exclaimed: "Then so be it! Allah and the Prophets to our rescue!" and prepared to fight. As they were far off, Lorenzo ordered his men to finish their lunch²; he also invited the Kolattiri to witness the battle, and with him nearby, had the trumpets sounded. The Mappila also sounded their martial instruments from all their ships, and shouted; Lorenzo got ahead³, fastened their lead-vessel with iron ship-hooks, and boarded it with his men, and started the battle, slicing through⁴ 600 men and throwing⁵ them into the sea. Though the battle continued till it became dark, it was not finished⁶. The Portuguese were wonderstruck at the valour of the Turks, in their dresses quilted with cotton, and the expert swimming abilities of the Mappila. The Portuguese matched their valour. They lost only 6 men. Their victory evoked the greatest surprise of the Kolattiri. It is heard that about 3000 Musalmanar were killed there⁷. The remaining vessels were scattered, and hid in the estuaries. Lorenzo, anxious to reassure his father about his safety, sailed off to Kochi to inform him of his victory. His father and Perumpadappu were immensely gladdened.

Almedia (Sr) immediately had the a big fort erected at Kochi. He and his nobles, forsook even a drop of liquor, ate only rice and kanji, and laboured to finish it. There was a shortage of rice, as arrivals from the mainland of Kochi was reduced to a trickle. At that time, a Nayar came with accusations against Tamutirii, renounced the Brahminical religion, got baptized, and married a Christian convert girl. Almeida got suspicious and fetched him, threatening him: "If you tell the truth, I shall spare your life⁸". He confessed: "I have been sent to kill you and burn your ships". Almeida had his eyes gouged⁹ out, and sent to Tamutirii, along with insulting messages.

1 "takkattil vannu" = came opportunely; arrayed for battle, they came abreast off the Kannur coast.

2 "uccakkutūn" = the midday meal; a typically Gundert-ian innovation!

3 "mulpukku" = a strange compound, "mul" = "mun", + pukku = poyi.

4 "aṛattu" = cutting through, slicing.

5 Gundert uses the North Malabar expression, 'cāṭiccum' here, meaning throwing them.

6 A highly Sanskritized form, "samarppicilatānum" = it is well known that it was not completed.

7 Even Gundert, it is obvious, could not believe the reports of the Portuguese, exaggerating enemy casualties while under-reporting their own!

8 "... prāṇanu chēdamilla" = to your life, no cutting off.

9 Typical of the inhumanity of the most celebrated Portuguese heroes.

34. HOW THE NEW KING OF KOLANADU BECAME THE ENEMY OF THE PORTUGUESE

After the naval victory of March 1506, Portuguese shipping had no opposition in the Hinthu sea. (Mention will be made in due course of how the Misra Navy returned in 1598 and was defeated in 1590)¹. As Almedia had fetched ships from Anjudwip for his campaign, the Sabai of Goa, feeling there was not sufficient men to protect the island² sent Turks to capture the fort. The leader was a Portuguese carpenter. Originally a chain-man³, he had fled from a Portuguese ship, became a Muslim, and adopted the name Abdulla. But what he cleverly initiated was not fulfilled⁴. Though few in number, the Portuguese defended themselves. After the rains, Lorenzo sailed to Anjudwip, terrorized the entire west coast, and prevailed. But, he felt that his forces should not be distributed thinly during rainy season; the forts at Kochi and Kannur sufficed for protection of the trade; therefore he had the fort at Anjudwip erased (Sept. 1506).

While so, at the beginning of Kollam year 683, there was a remarkable⁵ solar eclipse; even during the day, stars⁶ shone bright. Calicut astrologers interpreted this as the eclipse of Portugal. Moreover, when Kolattiri, who was friendly to Portugal king Manuel died, Tamutirii intervened in the dispute among the heirs, sending Brahmin messengers with bribes, and had one, whom he approved of, installed. When Almeida heard the rumours that Kolattiri had joined with Kunnalakkonattiri⁷, he issued orders to all Portuguese shipping to beware throughout the coast, and not trust Kolanadu also too much. But it was not Kolathiri but the Portuguese themselves who attacked and breached the peace. This was how it happened: The minister, Chenacheri Kurup, had written a petition in Arabic to king Manuel as follows: "(6th Muhurram of Haj year 909) Your Captains should not cause troubles in our small islands; moreover, permission should be given for transporting, periodically, at least 10 horses from Ormus or Gujarath to Kannur". The king accordingly issued permission. The Captains had been hindering in many ways the navigation of the natives, and reducing the tolls due to the Kolathiri. There were many reasons for this. But many from Calicut came to Kannur and pretended to be the agents of the Kolathiri. They conducted trade, hoodwinking the Portuguese. The Portuguese came to believe that all Mappila whom they saw were Tamutirii's men. (At their insistence), no vessel dared to set off from Kannur without the certificate⁸ of the chief Captain there, Britto. Almeida appointed the above-said Ludwig who knew Malayanma (i.e., the language), the chief of the trading establishment at Kannur. It was only after deep consideration by him and Britto that the certificates were written up and issued.

Thus, while Portuguese spread over the seas and intercepted Muslim vessels, one Captain Gomez stopped a vessel off Kannur; though he was shown Britto's certificate, he ruled that the signature was forged, and in anger, victoriously fired on it, and had all those whom he found aboard wrapped up in the sails and thrown into the sea. The sails burst and the corpses drifted ashore; the devilish⁹ action gained notoriety. One of the bodies was that of the nephew of Mammali Marakkar, the leading merchant of the place; his brother¹⁰ came to the fort, and furiously declaimed that Britto had cheated. Though Britto denied the allegations on oath, he did not believe him, and sailed, along with his family, to Valarbhattam¹¹ backwaters, where he took refuge and complained, in tears, and fiercely protesting¹². The natives could not control their anger; and cursed¹³ the name of Portugal, and requested the king for permission to arm themselves; the king assented¹⁴ though reluctantly. That day itself, several armed men rushed to the well outside the fort and started quarrelling with those who were drawing water from it; the Portuguese had to flee for refuge into the fort (15 April 1507). Thenceforth, for 4 months, those in the fort were troubled with fights.

1 Parenthesis in the original.

2 Viz., Anjudwip.

3 Obviously, a menial employee.

4 Not at all clear "... avan kauśalattōte tutaṅgiya sahāyattinnu (sāhāsattinnu?) sādhyaṁ vannilla tānum"; probably the meaning intended was that his mission had failed.

5 "Eṭṭayam viśeṣapeṭṭa" = most wonderful, unusual.

6 Gundert uses a remarkable expression, "vāṇamin", a pure "Dravidian" expression from Old Tamil.

7 Title of the Zamorin.

8 The notorious **cartaz**.

9 "Asurakriya" = demoniac action.

10 Gundert uses the word "kāḱka", following the local Muslim usage.

11 Gundert's version of "Valarpattanam".

12 Against the injustices and high handedness of the Portuguese, of course.

13 "Prāvi duṣiccu" = cursed and decried.

14 "Anuvādam mūli" = hummed his assent, connoting that he did so reluctantly.

35. THE SEIGE OF THE FORT AT KANNUR

Britto immediately sent a vessel to inform Almeida at Kochi. He sent some warriors and commodities to their aid, and removed the cruel Gomez from his post. Britto sought peace; Kolattiri also wanted a little delay, and sought to pacify the Portuguese. He sent Mammali to Tamutirii to fetch 24 big guns from Calicut. Moreover, he had a bulwark¹ constructed between fort and city, and recruited about 40,000 Nayars. The king's nephew turned to Portugal and confidentially informed Britto who thus knew all the secrets, and strengthened his fort constantly, day and night. One day, Nayars massed themselves in 12 rows, 2000 men in each, and marched forward with music and drums, firing rockets and sparklers, fighting, with no dearth of jumping and acrobatics². But they had no chance of breaching the walls. Many died in the Portuguese fire; return fire from Malayali guns had no aim or effect³. There were 200 persons in the fort. There was stock of rice, coconuts and jaggery for the rainy season; for water, twice every week, they had to go an arrow-fall away to a well. On those occasions, it was with sword fight that the path was cleared; several were wounded. Then, a mason⁴ named Fernando⁵ dug a tunnel to the well and conducted water into the fort. In order to hide it from the enemies, the Portuguese filled the well with mud. When Tamutirii sent reinforcement of 20,000 men, it became well nigh impossible to venture out of the fort. The Portuguese trapped and captured one of Tamutirii's workmen to learn the secrets of the fortifications. The Mappila brought big bales of cotton to absorb fire from the guns. They had a very big one installed on the fort wall, and when it was fired, all the cotton was dispersed and 22 Mappila died in the barrage.

Then the Malayalis besieged the fort, causing much distress. The store caught fire, destroying remaining stocks of rice. The defenders had to eat rats, lizards and cats. Diseases spread. The natives knew this. One day, they drove two cows almost to the door of the fort; when the Portuguese set out to catch them, the natives tried to trap them. But the Portuguese, their valour multiplied by hunger, caught the cows. While suffering like this, daily, they prayed for succour from Virgin Mary. Almeida had masses and rituals conducted in the church built in Her commemoration. And on the Feast of the Virgin, 15th August, crabs and prawns came up on the beach - an unprecedented sight - and there was plenty to eat. Even the sick, when they ate this food believing it to be the gift of the Queen of Heaven, because of their faith, got well - so goes the Portuguese myth⁶. On Tamutirii's advice, 50,000 more Nayars were brought into the fray, but Kolattiri's nephew sent food items to Britto and warned: "Tomorrow there will be fighting on land and sea; beware!". Even the sick and the wounded prepared to join the fight. They shattered and scattered the vessels and rafts that the Mappila sent at dawn and defended themselves against the Nayars on shore. There was much pressure from that side. Some Nayars scaled the walls but were killed. Most of the Portuguese were wounded. In order to hide his weakness, Britto fired grape shots at Kannur⁷; as it was a Friday he hit the mosque. Many natives gave up, believing that the fact that no Portuguese died was because of sorcery (27 August), Captain da Cunha⁸ arrived from Europe, and lifted the siege.

1 'Vāṭi'; Gundert's Dictionary has that word as a synonym of vāḍa, vāṭam, meaning 'bulwark, entrenchment, wall'.

2 A sarcastic comment on the "kaḷari" drill of the Nayar, with a lot of acrobatics.

3 "Śilavum anubhavamum" = literally, method and result.

4 "Śilpi"; to gloss it as architect would be inappropriate; he was probably only a mason.

5 Transliterated as 'Fernnantha'.

6 "Kaviyāṭakkam" = poetic recital.

7 "Cakku ṭokku koṇḍu kaṇṇanūre kolle vetiveccu". Presumably a diversionary tactic; the passage is not very clear. In the context, "cakku ṭokku koṇḍu" may be interpreted as grape shot.

8. The famous explorer, Tristaō da Cunha.

36. THE DEFEAT SUFFERED BY TAMUTIRII AT PONNANI

Da Cunha landed 300 warriors at Kannur, and set fire to the bazaar there. Britto thought that he had intimidated Kolattiri sufficiently, made peace with him, and had the fires extinguished. Mammali Marakkar, who begged pardon, was sent off to Kochi. There, he met Almeida, and it was decided that the past should be forgotten and forgiven, and so, Portugal and Kolanadu made peace.

As a result, enough goods were available at Kannur and Kochi to fill all the ships. Before da Cunha left, it was decided to punish Tamutirii once more. At that time, a hero called Kutti Ali¹ was defending Ponnani with 7000 warriors. The estuary there was not very deep. There were two forts, one to the north of it and the other to the south, to defend it. Almeida gathered all the Portuguese forces (23 November 1507) and sailed with them to Ponnani where he anchored at night. Many Mappila vowed to die as martyrs², and spent the night in the mosque, nodding their heads and talking loudly³. There were only 600 Portuguese⁴; some of the Kochi Nayars had also gone along. Almeida told the Nayars (24th November) at dawn: "This is the main centre of the Mappila; they should be punished here itself. Is everybody ready?" "There is no surer way to the absolution of sins, and to heaven, than to fight faithfully against the enemies of the Faith⁵", added the Roman Catholic padre in a loud voice. Thereupon, the Portuguese shed tears⁶, and hastily got into their boats. They rowed through the rain of bullets and landed. The battle that day was beyond description. Lorenzo displayed gallantry above all the rest; though wounded, he put to the sword 6 Mappila. Even after the Nayar fled, the Arabs did not withdraw., and fought to the last man. The Portuguese entered the fort and set it on fire, after capturing 40 cannons. By the time they had loaded them into their boats, the tide started withdrawing. They did not therefore loot the bazaar for fear of not being able to row off; instead, they set it on fire - so it was announced by trumpet blast. Almeida praised God and his warriors. In praise of the gallantry displayed by da Cunha, Ludwig, and some others in the battle, he conferred on them many rewards⁷ and titles⁸. Eighteen Portuguese stayed back to bury the dead, and then sailed off to Kannur. From there (6th December), da Cunha loaded the rest of the goods, and sailed off to Portugal, taking Ludwig with him.

1 Not clear whether it was the first of the Kunhali Admirals.

2 Gundert uses the term "sehud-āyi", becoming Sahids, martyrs for the holy cause of Islam.

3 The sarcasm is obvious.

4 The Portuguese reportage about their strength, blindly accepted by Gundert, will not stand arithmetical scrutiny! The tendency was always to exaggerate the enemy strength and under-report their own, whenever the Portuguese won battles.

5 Of course, he meant the Christian faith.

6 Presumably of faith, and devotion to their cause.

7 "Viruthu"

8 "Naymasthanam" = positions of leadership.

37. HOW LORENZO ALMEIDA DIED IN BATTLE WITH A SHIP FROM MISRA

It may be recalled that the efforts of Khan Hassan, sovereign of Misra, who was anxious about the losses caused by the Portuguese supremacy on the seas, to establish diplomatic contacts¹ with Gujarat, Venice and other countries to protect the massive trade of the Muslims, had been described in Chapter 25. King Manuel had entrusted Captains Albuquerque and da Cunha to the Red Sea to prevent any desperate adventures² of the Muslims, and to blockade the ports at Aden and Ormuz. There were many skirmishes³, but no immediate gains. Because there were no arrivals of timber and ships from Malayalam, Khan Hassan had timber felled from Lebanon and rafted⁴ down the Nile. Then, it was loaded on camels and brought to the treeless Suez, which did not have even a blade of green grass - Suez, of course⁵ is at the northern tip of the Red Sea. Master carpenters from Venice were brought there, and they completed 11 big vessels. The Parsi, Mir Hussein, loaded them with 1500 Mamluks - Mamluks are, as is well known, persons abducted from several Christian nations, and converted to Islam⁶, and trained expertly to be fierce fighters. Tamutirii's messenger, Mayimama Marakkar, accompanied them on ship, and decided to return to the Hindu kingdom. He was, among the Muslims, the most inimical to the Portuguese, and used to offer special Friday prayers⁷ and fast⁸, for the destruction of Kafirs. He had become famous for spreading enmity among all the kings and setting them up against the Portuguese. Once, when he saw some ships from Kochi at Dabul, he roused the local people to set them on fire, without any provocation. Thus, 12 ships⁹ arrived from Misra to an island off Gujarat. They were joined by the Rumi pirates who sheltered in that bay, and all together, sailed for the Konkan coast, catching up with the Portuguese shipping.

This was how it happened: Lorenzo Almeida had (1508) sailed on patrol from Simhala along Malayalam and Konkan, protecting the shipping from Kochi trading in Chavul. Thimmayya warned him that the Misra fleet was approaching, and he should beware. He was surprised, but after a little thought, decided that it was impossible because (he thought) that there was no timber suitable for building ships in Suez, though it was possible that they were from Mecca. He landed, and amused himself with martial drills and physical exercise. Then, those who were on watch from the masts of his ships saw 12 ships approaching from afar, and alerted him. He felt that it was Albuquerque sailing in, but when they came nearer, he saw the red and white flags with the crescent in black. The Portuguese were alarmed, and hurried from the beach into their boats, rowing to their respective ships, preparing for battle. Mir Hussein fired a few volleys, entered the estuary, and anchored.

In the battle the next day, when Mayimama was praying at the foot of the mast (of his ship), he was killed by a shot¹⁰. Later on¹¹, a perpetual lamp has been installed on his tomb¹². By evening, the Rumi (pirate) shipping from the island also arrived in aid of the Misra navy. Almeida decided that it was not possible to prevail against this force. But when he was sailing away, his vessel hit against the stakes planted by the fishermen (for fastening their nets), and, a little farther, ran aground. As he was reluctant to fight¹³ or run away, he and his shipmates died in the shower of bullets fired by the Rumis. The other Portuguese ships could not come to his assistance because the tide was out; they witnessed the sad events, and sailed off to Kochi, to carry the news to the father Almeida. The word spread all along the coasts that the time had come for the removal of Portugal from the Hindu Sea. Mayimama, Mir Hussein and the Rumi Malakkayaj - all three became famous in the myths¹⁴.

1 "Mantri dūtu" = exchange of messengers at the ministerial level.

2 "Sahasam".

3 "Yuddhaviśeṣam" = details of battles; in the context, 'skirmishes' would be appropriate.

4 "Nīla nadiyōḷam tirappam kettikoṇḍu vannu" = had them tied into rafts and brought down through the "Nila" river = the Nile.

5 "Suez ākatte" = Suez, of course, it is well known.

6 "Cēlāvil kūṭṭi" = an unusual expression used instead of the more common "māṛkam kūṭṭi".

7 "kottuvā ṭṭuka".

8 "Duva irikkuka".

9 Gundert seems to be unaware of the discrepancy between 11 ships he had described a few sentences before as having been built by the Venice carpenters, and the count of 12 that set off to Gujarat; probably one was originally from Portugal.

10 Gundert uses "or uṇḍa" instead of the sandhi, 'oruṇḍa'.

11 "Pinnattēṭi"; obviously a favourite expression of Gundert's.

12 "Kavar".

13 "Kavūḷ ceyyuka" = engage in fight (Gundert's Dictionary).

14 "Kavi prasiddhi varikayum ceytu" = literally, poetic fame came their way; they became celebrated in song and myth.

38. HOW ALMEDIA PREPARED TO WREAK VENGEANCE

In November 1508, Almedia arrived at Kochi and met the minister of the king of Venad. The minister said: "The king is sad because of the destruction of the bazaar at Kollam. However, let there be an end to hostilities. Will it not satisfy you if we give 300 bahar¹ of pepper?" Almedia replied: "No, we have heard that the 'golden king'² has two famous rubies; let me place them as offerings to king Manuel when I return". The ministers replied that that was not part of their orders, and left. Immediately thereafter, the messenger conveying the news of the death of his son arrived. When Almeida heard it, he locked himself up in his room, in sorrow, without seeing anyone. Then, on the advice of his friends, he hid his intense sorrow, and decided to wreak vengeance. Perumpadappu visited him, and said: "Don't sorrow over the departure of your son; all of us should follow his example to safeguard our honour" - and consoled him, and selected 400 of his Nayar whom he placed at the disposal of Almeida. In addition, he gathered 1300 whites and embarked (25th November), and sailed to Kannur where he consulted with Britto. On 5th December, he heard widespread alarm³ that the Rumis were coming, and prepared for battle, spread sail and with some vessels, reached Eli Mala, where he fired a shot. Then he heard that it was a Portuguese ship under Admiral⁴ Albuquerque. He joined them, and sailed back to Kannur, where they landed. As there was no ceremonial welcome, Albuquerque complained: "Is this how you receive the Viceroy of the king?" Almeida replied: "Well, let us sit down for food". Both Viceroys proceeded to Britto's house, and had supper. Albuquerque informed Almeida that according to the king's orders, all powers had to be transferred to him, and enquired when the auspicious day would be. Almeida was displeased and replied: "It is not possible to fix the date; it is better that it is during the current year itself. Misra and Rumi fleets are arriving to assist Tamutirii; therefore, there is need for a hero experienced in defence". They thus disputed, Albuquerque protesting that it was the king's orders, and Almeida arguing that it was not possible immediately. The reason may be stated: there were some sea captains who were jealous of Albuquerque and wished him ill. They calumniated⁵ him, vocally and in writing, alleging that Albuquerque was mad, and that he could not be trusted, because he would dare to do things recklessly⁶, influencing Almedia and Britto strongly⁷. When Albuquerque announced that he would take a portion of the force and do battle, Almeida replied that since he had already taken so much of efforts, he may rest quietly at Kochi. He added Albuquerque's fleet to his own, and without bothering any more, sailed off from Kannur in pursuit of enemies (12 December 1508).

1 Obviously a modification of the word "bhāram", a local measure of weight.

2 Gundert uses the expression, "poṇṭampurāṇ" instead of the usual "poṇṇu tampurāṇ", the customary way of referring to the king of Venad.

3 "kēḷvi parannappōl" = when the rumour spread.

4 "mahā kappittāṇ" = great Captain.

5 "Eṣaṇiyariyiccu".

6 "vakatiriyāte" = without discrimination, recklessly.

7 "Almēḍayēyum brittōvēyum viśāśal vaśikariccu koṇḍirunnu" = were specially captivating Almeida and Britto.

39. HOW ALMEIDA DESTROYED THE MISRA AND RUMI FORCES AT THE ANCHORAGE AT THE ISLAND

Almeida was informed that Timmoyya of Honawar and the king of Bhatkal were preparing for battle, and thought of tackling Bhatkal first, but learning that they had already joined forces, sailed to Honawar, and burnt the shipping from Calicut that he found there. He took in drinking water from Anjudwip, and decided to punish the Sabai residing at Goa. As he was under the suzerainty of Dabul ur Sabai, he sailed on Dabul¹ instead of on Goa, stormed the fort though it was defended by 6000 warriors, killed everyone without sparing the women and children, and burnt the town to ashes. The curse: "Let the Portuguese anger be on you as it was at Dabul", became current² as a proverb from then on.

On 3rd February 1509, Almeida reached the Island, and was happy to see the enemy shipping, 80 vessels sent by Tamutirii and the array of big guns on the shore. As soon as he got familiar with the local geography³, he sailed into the harbour and engaged the enemy forces. As soon as Hussein heard the shout: "The Portuguese sword prevails", he sailed ashore, placed no trust in the king of the Island, but took horse, and fled day and night until he could seek refuge with the king of Gujarat. The Calicut forces suffered much damage, and rowed off along a stony channel; most of the Mamluks were killed; many Misra warriors were captured alive. There was much looting. The victors were astonished to see, among the loot, many books especially in the Italian, Slovak, French, Spanish, German⁴, etc., languages. It is heard that 3000 of the enemy, and 32 Portuguese died. There were more than 300 wounded. Almeida gave his remaining shirt for bandaging their wounds. He did not touch any of the loot, but gave it all to his warriors. He had a shave and a bath, as a relief after having had vengeance wreaked.

From then on, the prosperity of Misra began to fade. In 1517, the Rumi Sultan captured it. The chieftain of the Island, Malkaraja, apologized and rendered tribute. Similarly, the Nizam Sham sent presents to king Manuel. When he returned to Honawar, Almeida did not see Timmoyya, but was informed that Timmoyya had fled in fear of the Rayar⁵, and that the Rayar had proceeded to Gokarnam, where he had had the tulabharam rite performed, and gifted his body weight in gold to the Brahmins. When Almeida proceeded to Bhatkal, the king came to the beach, and praised his victories, making offerings of presents. When he reached the anchorage at Kannur, Almeida thought what he could do to humble the pride of the Mappila. He got hold of the warriors of the Sultan, who were prisoners in chains, and hanged some of them on the yard arms of his masts, and others blown off from the mouths of his cannons. He floated the carcasses towards Arakkal, thus rendering both his victories and the meanness of his mind⁶ celebrated, after which, happily, he returned to Kochi (8th March).

1 The present Dabolim.

2 "Palamcollāyi natannu" = became current as a proverb.

3 "Stalaviśeṣam ariñña utane".

4 Transliterated, respectively, as Italya, Slava, Pranchi, Spanya, Germany.

5 Of Vijayanagaram.

6 A rare instance where Gundert strongly condemns a Portuguese hero; "manassinte mlēchatayeyum" = the meanness of mind.

40. HOW ALBUQUERQUE BECAME THE HEAD OF THE PORTUGUESE

After Almeida returned victorious to Kochi (8 March 1509), Albuquerque constantly demanded that under the king's orders, all powers had to be entrusted to him, and thus caused much enmity. The reason was that there were different sets of people who incited each of the great men against the other. Almeida decided: "If powers¹ are transferred to this other fellow, it will bring shame on Portugal; he has established friendly relations with the Jews of Kodungallur, and daily sends and receives letters. What is the secret? Could he be contemplating damage to the king or the Faith?" While he was cogitating thus, Anjinkalla Nayar, at the behest of the king of Kochi, informed him thus: "As our king is a vassal of king Manuel, we shall be entrusting pepper and other goods to Albuquerque, and not to you. He is the real² Viceroy - so it is seen in king Manuel's handwriting. Why delay? Has the king's orders been without authority?" Almeida was angered, and ordered that Albuquerque be made prisoner in his own house. He also strictly warned that further punishment would not be spared if he (Albuquerque) was noticed negotiating any business with any Nayar of the king of Kochi.

While so, king Manuel, hearing of the fame of the battle of Misra, sent the minister³ Fernando⁴ Coutinho with 15 ships and 1600 warriors from Portugal (12 March 1509). He was commanded to lead the forces jointly with Albuquerque, destroy Calicut, and ensure the increase of the already considerable volume of trade. Almeida was infuriated even before he landed in this country. He ordered: "Albuquerque does not submit himself; it will be disastrous if he stays at Kochi; therefore, he should immediately be put on a ship, sailed to Kannur where he may stay", and informed Britto accordingly. Albuquerque landed at Kannur in an agonized frame of mind⁵, Britto insulted him as if he were an idiot or thief, and accommodated him insultingly (August). That same month, he sent another Captain in a ship to Achi⁶, Malacca and other countries. He spread the name of Portugal in the eastern island also.

While Almeida was behaving dictatorially⁷ thus, Coutinho reached Kannur, laid anchor there itself⁸. Britto immediately knew about it, and without informing anyone, sailed off in a boat to Kochi. Coutinho proceeded to the fort, and immediately summoned his relative Albuquerque, and by king's command, respected him as his co-chief, with whom he commenced consultations. The two ceremoniously set out for Kochi, and reached there (28th October); Almeida surrendered all matters to them, and along with some intimate friends, left Keralam, sailing back to Europe (December). He did not have a good journey. When they reached the Cape⁹, they landed to take in drinking water; when filling the barrels, the Kafirs ran up, obstructed them, and started throwing their spears. He was wounded, and fainted, as did his friend Britto, and died in this trifling encounter with the jungle folk¹⁰ (1st March 1510). It was thus that the end came to Almeida, who had been the victorious chief of the Portuguese. He was a hard- hearted man, but because he shunned desire for sex and wealth, he leaves behind a modest reputation¹¹.

1 "Kāryavichāraṇa" = decision on matters under consideration.

2 "Sākṣāḥ" = on sight; obvious.

3 "Dhāḷavāyi".

4 Transliterated as Fernantha.

5 "Vēvunna maṇassōṭe" = with a burning mind.

6 Not clear about the identity of "Achi".

7 "Tanrēṭakkāraṇāyi nāṭakkumpōl".

8 i.e., without proceeding to Kochi, indicating that he recognized Albuquerque and not Almeida as Governor.

9 Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa.

10 "Nissāramāya kāṭṭaḷṣaṇḍha" could mean either 'trifling encounter', or 'encounter with the contemptible jungle folk'.

11 A rather complex sentence; "kāmalōbhādikāḷe verukkayāl" = because he shunned desire for sex and wealth; "mitamāyulḷa kīrttiye ṣēṣippichirikkunnu" = may mean either that he leaves behind a modest reputation, or that he leaves behind a reputation for moderation. The former probably was what Gundert meant to convey, because Almeida is one of the most notorious of the Portuguese conquistadors, ruthlessly and cruelly massacring innocent women and children in pursuit of his vengeful battles.

41. HOW COUTINHO & ALBUQUERQUE SET OUT TO CONQUER CALICUT

The command of king Manuel that Calicut should be destroyed was on the counsel of Kolattiri and Perumpadappu. Those two kings jealously thought that if there was constant fight between Portugal and Tamutirii, then the trade in the other ports would increase considerably. Moreover, to the extent that famine increased in Calicut because of the fighting, they could gain greatly by sending foodgrains over land.

The Portuguese sent a few Pattar spies to find out Tamutirii's moves, and summoned their friend, Koya Pakki, from Calicut. They learnt that Tamutirii and most of his Nayars had gone on campaign towards Chettuvayi, and in the Palghat Gap area. On this, Coutinho loaded 2000 Portuguese and 600 Nayars in 30 ships and summoned the chief of the Kannur fort, Rebello, and the king of Purakkad (Purakkatatikal) to his aid. With his numbers enormously increased by these reinforcements, he sailed to Calicut and anchored there (4 January 1510). While Coutinho landed and commenced hostilities, Albuquerque advanced rapidly on the left front because of his knowledge of the local conditions, surrounded the Fort on the beach, and scaled its walls using ladders. Seeing this, Coutinho acted vainly, and hotly exclaimed: "I am the leader of this fight; why then did you advance victoriously ahead?" Seeing the enemy in retreat, and desirous of doing something valiant himself, he summoned the interpreter¹, Gasper, and demanded that the way to Tamutirii's palace should be shown to him. Because of the heat, he did not wear his armour²; with 800 Portuguese, he set out for Nattakam, about 11/2 miles away. This was an intimidating³ task because of the dense tree growth and high embankments on the sides of the pathway⁴ - though Albuquerque had warned accordingly, Coutinho did not care and proceeded boldly⁵ along. Albuquerque set the town, and the settlements full of women⁶ and children, on fire, burning them down to ashes. Then, he quietly followed his aged relative with 600 soldiers.

Coutinho reached the palace before noon. He fought off the three Kaimals there and entered; the Portuguese rushed from room to room, looting the ancient treasures, jewel-encrusted idols, and kingly insignia, causing much ruination⁷. Coutinho himself, because he felt tired, had a bed spread in the great hall, and rested in comfort for 5 naazhika⁸. Then was heard the commotion of the Nayars returning. He got up and saw that the attackers were several in number. He called his soldiers and ordered them to level them down. But the Nayars did not give them that opportunity, jumping down from all sides, and raining arrows. The Portuguese, not knowing the lay-out of the building, fled about helter skelter. Hearing the commotion, Albuquerque hastened up, and found that Coutinho and 80 Portuguese had been killed, and the palace on fire. Finding that it was impossible to recover two guns captured by the enemy, he commenced to withdraw carefully⁹. When passing through the embankments, most of his men got wounded; Albuquerque also got a bullet and faltered, but after vowing an offering to the Mother of God, walked on without faintness. Then, he fainted under a hail of stones, but his companions carried him on a shield. When they reached the beach, Captain Rebello kept the Nayars off, firing his big guns. The remaining Portuguese, less than 100¹⁰ in number, got into the ship and sailed off to Kochi. When Tamutirii returned on the fourth day from his campaigns at the foot of the hills in the Palghat Gap, he found the losses that had been caused. The Kothuwal and two Kammals had been killed, and he wept tears when he heard of how their death had come about. He was angry and talked roughly when he heard that the Mappila displayed no valour during the fighting. He conferred titles and honour on the Nayars who had defeated Coutinho.

1 "Dwibhashi".

2 "Sariraraksha".

3 "Bhayamulla" = fearful; intimidating.

4 This explains why the Portuguese did not normally venture far from the coast.

5 "Viriññu cennappōl" = expansively went along.

6 Gundert uses an unusual term, "peṇḍukal", for 'women', in this place.

7 "Nāṇāvidham ākkuka".

8 Gundert again uses the native measure of time; 5 nāzhika would approximately be about two hours.

9 "Sūṣṣmattōte" = with great care and caution, lest he be attacked from the rear.

10 The statistics of the Portuguese casualties is revealing. Coutinho had taken 800 with him, and Albuquerque had followed with 600 more, making a total of 1400. Only less than 100 returned, thus the casualties being more than 1300! But only Coutinho and his 80 companions have been reported killed!

42. HOW ALBUQUERQUE SEIZED THE CITY OF GOA

Because of Coutinho's death, Albuquerque became the sole authority. He was worried about what his critics¹ in Portugal would say about him. He decided that it would not be enough if he shamed them through correspondence; the greatness of his deeds should be the essence. When his wounds were healed, he decided that he should wreak vengeance on Ormuz, and suppress the Muslim bazaar there. He gathered 21 shiploads of soldiers, and after receiving the ministers of various kings, and disposing of them with words of goodwill, sailed north from Kochi (January 1510). When he reached the Mejju port in Kannada land, Lord Timmoyya² from Honawar came and met him. To an enquiry whether the shipping and trade went on well there, he replied: Because of the constant hostility of the Muslims from Goa, there is no safe place for me here; I hope you are doing well³. To this Albuquerque replied: "We are indeed proceeding towards Ormuz". Timmoyya smiled and said: "Is it wise⁴ to search afar off for what is available nearby? Listen to me; Ormuz is indeed a good island; but Goa Island has many advantages of location⁵. Angry against your destruction of Dabul⁶, the Sabai was furious, but in the middle of his efforts to gather vessels and soldiers, he has died of a fever. There are several whites from Turkey there, whom he had brought. More are expected. His son, one Adil Khan, is still not firmly established in control. In the countryside, among the Lingayats⁷, there are many quarrels - so it is reported. So, I feel that if you attack without delay, you may be victorious".

Hearing all this, Albuquerque got over his doubts, and declared that that was indeed what was wanted. After deciding accordingly, Timmoyya accompanied him, and surrounded and captured the nearby Chintakotta fort. Immediately after he rushed to the anchorage at Goa. Adil Khan had gone that day to Belgaum⁸; the leaderless people resisted briefly, but after a few were killed, sought safety and surrendered. Albuquerque landed, arrayed the Portuguese row upon row, and carried a big Cross forward in circum-ambulation⁹, and thus entered the City (25 February 1510).

That estuary had been earlier named "Tiiswadi" (thirty fields)¹⁰; During Narasimha Rayar's rule, the Muslims of Honawar competed, and it was ordered that everyone there should be killed (1479). After many had been killed, one set fled, and retreating to the Goa estuary, settled down there. They had a fort constructed there, and gathering together the white Muslims like the Sabai, and warriors from several castes, indulged in piracy, prospering greatly. The port was ideal for big ships even in the monsoons. Except for Bombay, there was no port of entry with such a deep draft on this Western Coast. Thus, at the time of Albuquerque's entry, there were a lot of goods there in stock; there were also many horses intended for sale to the Rayar and others. Albuquerque decided that thenceforth, it would be the capital¹¹ of the Portuguese; and started to fix it accordingly.

1 "Pakayar" = those who had a grouse (paka) against him.

2 Obviously the pirate Timmoyya had become a Lord, prabhu, by then!

3 "Niṅgaḷkō māṅgaḷam".

4 "Sāramō"? = literally, 'is it of the essence'.

5 "Deśaviśeṣam adhikam unṭu".

6 Dabolim.

7 "Lingavantar".

8 Transliterated as Bilgam.

9 "Pradakṣiṇa sampradāya prakāram".

10 Parenthesis in the original.

11 Mūlasthānam = could also mean the base encampment.

43. HOW A MESSAGE WAS SENT TO KRISHNA RAYAR, AND THE WITHDRAWAL FROM GOA

At that time, Vira Krishna Deva Rayar, the younger brother of Narasimha Rayar, was ruling at Anagunthi. He was more worthy¹ than all other Rayars; if an alliance could be formed with him, it would not be difficult to make it impossible for Islam to survive in the southern regions - so concluded Albuquerque. He sent the padre, Luiz, as his messenger to the capital city on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Along with him went the interpreter Gasper, and a few swift horses as gifts. They were to inform the Rayar of all that had transpired, and also convey the message of the Christian Faith. The padre was also instructed to represent as follows: "The Rayar should join sides with us. Could an army be sent to drive the Muslims out of Malayalam? If you attack down through the mountain ghats, we shall pester them from the sea. Then, there will be no problems for the trade in horses. We can develop either Mangalapuram or Bhatkal as our best location. If you will permit us to build a fort there, we shall patrol the seas to ensure that horses are imported exclusively for you, and none else".

But it was hardly for three months that they could stay peacefully at Goa. When Adil Khan came down the Ghats, no commodities would arrive in the city; he also blockaded the pathways (11th May). When the citizens also rose in revolt, Albuquerque had to withdraw from the city to Rabanther, where he stayed with great difficulty. He spent the monsoon fighting against the enemies, and against hunger. Many Portuguese died of illness. Some, in order to fill their bellies, joined the other side, and converted themselves to Islam; at this, Albuquerque embarked on a rainless day, and landed at Anjudwip, and remained quiet for the time being (August 1510).

¹ "Śrīttvām ēriyavan tanne".

44. HOW ALBUQUERQUE ASSURED THE REIGN OF UNNIRAMA KOIKAL

From Anjudwip and Honawar, Albuquerque decided that it would be necessary to attack Goa again, and sailed south in order to gather all the materials for war, and other equipments of various types, and assistance from Malayalam (15 September 1510). Reaching Kannur, he met Kolattiri at a tent in front of the fort. He exchanged words of goodwill with the king, Mammali Marakkar, and the citizens of Kannur like Chenichery Kurup, etc.

On the receipt of letters from the chief of the Kochi establishment, he set off without delay and reached Kochi. There, the senior raja had died, and several disputes had brewed in the palace. Its reasons had been hinted at in Chapter 31. The previous practice was that the senior raja would renounce worldly attachments¹ and retreat to live in a temple; on his death², the reigning king would entrust the rule to his next nephew, and enter in turn on the reclusive life style. So, at the news of the demise of Unnikothavarmar³, his nephew, who had been dispossessed earlier, reached Vypin with Tamutirii's army, and sent word to Unni rama Koil thus: "I am not pained because you rejected my rights at the instigation of the Portuguese for four years. Now, realize your tradition, entrust the rule to me, and retire to a temple - if you do so, I shall forgive all. You are aware of the tradition; if you have forgotten it, please enquire of the Brahmins". Perumpadappu consulted with the Portuguese chiefs, and decided that he would not surrender his rule. When Tamutirii's army attacked in strength, the Brahmins came and pressed him; the women advised him secretly. The raja himself was troubled, and thought to himself that he was not justified in continuing, thus suffering from prickings of conscience. He therefore left the palace and lived away from it. When the Portuguese heard of it, the chief of the fort, Nunakastal Braku⁴ immediately went to see the king and enquired of the reason. He was amazed and amused at the submission to tradition suffered by Hindu kings, and started laughing. Seeing the tears of the king, he begged pardon, and set about to clear his doubts. The raja of Mulanthurtti came to Kochi, and, understanding the intentions of the Portuguese, started flattering Perumpadappu and the chief of the fort: "From today, I shall be your vassal, and administer my territory under your umbrella, as long as the sun and the moon exist". He accordingly had a document written and signed. By this, the king's mind attained some composure, but feared that he would have to respect the feelings of other chieftains, vassal kings, and Brahmins. Nuno quickly left, sailed to the northern boundary of the State, and mounted guard along all the rivers and landings.

1 Sannyāsam dikṣikkuka.

2 Gundert uses the formal expression, 'tippettāl', in reference to the death of a king.

3 The honorific plural is used in the expression, 'varmar'.

4. Nuno Caliste Brocco.

45. HOW ALBUQUERQUE ASSURED THE REIGN OF UNNIRAMA KOIKKAL (CONTINUED)

A few days later, a boat with a big umbrella¹ was sighted afar; (Captain Nuno), thinking that it probably carried the younger prince², deputed his forces to follow it and seize it. It was then found that it was not the younger prince but the chieftain of Pallipuram. When questioned, he revealed that the younger prince, along with Mangat Kammal and Paravur Nambiar, was still at the temple at Vaipin, and that the Nambiar desired very much to meet Unnirama Koil. The Captain objected and said bluntly³: "None of you shall proceed to Kochi; I know the tricks of Brahmins well enough!" He issued strict instructions to his forces not to allow anyone to enter the estuaries. When Perumpadappu heard of this incident, he was very saddened. He sent a message to the Captain through his minister, Kandakkoru, to the effect that the Nambiar was dear to him, and requested that he should be admitted to his presence. Nuno replied: "Be it as you please; but even if Perumpadappu desires to abdicate, he shall not do so without informing the representative of our king here. He (the Portuguese plenipotentiary) is competent to insist that he (Perumpadappu) shall rule". In spite of this, Kandankoru insisted that Nambiar should be taken to Kochi. Nuno therefore took him (Kandankoru) as a hostage, and sent Nambiar, not with ceremony⁴ but with a small entourage⁵ to the town. He also sent a message to Albuquerque at Kannur to come immediately, and continued to patrol and guard the boundaries. It was only because of lack of manpower that the Portuguese could not engage the foes on land.

When Albuquerque reached Kochi, Perumpadappu went and sought refuge with him. Albuquerque smiled and consoled him. Then (22nd Sept.), he sailed to Vaipin and gained a victory over Thamutiri's forces. When he returned, Perumpadappu wept, and said sadly: "The Brahmins came in a group, and told me that even if I emerge successful, I had no ethical right⁶ whatever - this had made me sad". Albuquerque consoled him, saying: "Henceforth, in this Bharatam, power does not reside in the words of Brahmins, but in the force of foreign⁷ arms. Trust yourself to His Highness the king of Portugal; he will not desert you".

1 "Perumkuṭa" = great umbrella; not very clear but presumably alludes to a sign of royalty, viz., the ornamental umbrella.

2 "Ananthravan" = successor; in this context, younger prince.

3 A strange expression, "kaṭukāṭa", is used here; it seems to be a colloquialism.

4 "Ghoṣattōṭe alla" = not with pomp and show or noise.

5 "Caṅgāṭam" = company of friends.

6 "Avakāśaṇyāyam" = entitlement right, literally.

7 "Anyarute" = others, aliens.

46. HOW ALBUQUERQUE RESUMED THE BATTLE AT GOA

In September 1510, when all the Portuguese Captains had assembled at Kochi, Albuquerque's statement, viz., that they must proceed to capture Goa, was not palatable to them. They made it clear that their opinion was to let Kochi remain the capital city in Malayalam. Albuquerque repeatedly pointed out that there was no better place than Goa to resist the Muslims, and that it had a fort and a harbour, from which it would be possible to mount attacks not only on Adil Khan and the Nizam of Gujarat, but also on the Sultan of Mizra. This did not convince the others, but at his repeated insistence as the head of the Government, they remained silent. Albuquerque embarked 1500 whites in his 24 ships and another 10 ships freshly arrived from Portugal, and sailed to Kannur. After staying there for some time, hearing a rumour that there were 9000 Turks in Goa, some Portuguese rebelled, and incited others too to declare on oath that they would not proceed to Konkan. Thamutiri learnt of this. He tried to send the claimant of the Perumpadappu crown with a force of armies, and to get the Kolattiri on his side. But Albuquerque showed a lot of opportunism¹; by threats and inducements, and by the glory of Portuguese heroism², captivated the general public. He established friendly relations with Chenichery Kurup, the minister of Kolathiri. He got ready to sail to the Konkan with 300 Nayars. This emboldened the Portuguese³.

While Captain Nuno was closely guarding the boundaries day and night, the elder claimant to the throne of Perumpadappu waited, nursing the desire to go to Kochi by boat stealthily. One night, traitors informed Nuno that 4 boats were being rowed in great haste⁴; Nuno himself⁵ gave chase, and after a fight, boarded the boats. But when searched, it was found that the claimant was not there; he had got into a small boat and escaped, rowing⁶ it by hand. The great umbrella, the horn made of ivory, the big drum, the cloth of gold, and other kingly symbols were recovered from the boats; Nuno had them sent to Perumpadappu, who was greatly pleased. He felt that there was nothing further to fear, and remained happy. It seems that the custom⁷ in Kerala, of the older chieftains/kings retiring to temples and embracing sanyasa, gradually got extinguished from then on. The claimant, disappointed, returned to Thamutiri and informed him of the force of fate. He stayed till death serving in Eranadu. Seeing that the battle had ended here, (viz., off Kochi), Nuno and several heroes hurried to Kannur and got ready for the campaign in the Konkan in accordance with the orders of Albuquerque (October).

1 Gundert uses a highly Sanskritized word here: "pratyutpanna manasu".

2 A little unclear here: "nayam koṇḍum bhayam koṇḍum paraṅkikale amarttu vīryaprabhāvattāl mahālokarēyum vaśīkariccu" = literally, by diplomacy and by fear, he suppressed the Portuguese, and by heroism, he captivated the general public.

3 An interesting sidelight, seldom described, on the regard with which the Portuguese held the local militia.

4 "viriñṇu cellunnatu" = literally, expansively going.

5 "Nuno tān" = Nuno himself?

6 The form, 'tulañṇu' is used, instead of the more usual 'tulañṇu'.

7 "Maryada".

47. THE RECAPTURE OF GOA

Then, Albuquerque set off with his forces and reached Honnavar; seeing that the chief Thimmoyya was to wed the daughter of the queen of Gersoppa that very day, he enquired whether he would join in the campaign at Goa, and the chief replied that he would do so immediately after the wedding, and sent three ships and the hero Madhava Rao. He vowed¹ that he would follow. To the enquiry whether Adil Khan was at Goa, the reply was: "No; he has set out to resist Krishnarayar's raids² at Tarakkole". Albuquerque was gladdened. He hurried to his goal and, after a six-hour battle on 25 November 1510, victoriously landed, and captured the new fort there. It was St. Katherine's Day, a day very auspicious to the Portuguese from then on. It was only after the end of the battle that Thimmoyya arrived. Albuquerque was very happy; it was proven that the victory was due only to the heroism of the Christians. After the town was captured, some ministers of Krishna Raya arrived and insisted that Brahmins should be protected. Out of respect for the Raya, Albuquerque protected Brahmins and all the four castes equally. He decided to remove only the Mappila from the town. As they fled, Albuquerque sent his soldiers after them, with instructions that their womenfolk³ should be captured and brought back. They collected about 150 young girls; Albuquerque called them his daughters, had them baptized, and married off to heroes, and settled properties on them. He ordered: "only Hindus need pay taxes; the Portuguese who have recently acquired property rights should be ready to serve in the army". He confiscated the properties of the Muslims, and thereby earned enough to strengthen the fort, build churches, and beautify the city. It is reported that when excavating for the walls, a copper Cross was found. The Portuguese were happy, because it proved that Christianity was prevalent there from of old. After installing it in the new Church there, it was sent⁴ as a gift to the king of Portugal, and in turn to Pope Leo. It was from then on that the Portuguese capital was not in Malayalam, but in Goa⁵. It has been briefly described (here) only because it was north of Kerala. In what follows, only those parts relevant to Kerala will be mentioned. Thus, in the 12th year after their arrival in Kerala, the Portuguese obtained a permanent site, thanks to the wisdom of Albuquerque. While Almeida and others considered only the profits from the trade in pepper, etc., Albuquerque had the vision to decide⁶: "Here the Portuguese should settle; it is not enough to rule the seas by naval might; it should be possible to recruit sufficient armies this side of the ocean if battles ensue; therefore, the soldiers should marry the native women, beget children, and increase the population of the Christian community". Though several opposed this line of thought, he wisely and steadfastly carried out this policy, and thus became the founder of the Portuguese authority in this continent. But while he was busy with these efforts, those like the king of Kochi and others who had befriended the Portuguese, felt jealous. The king of Kochi desired that Kochi should remain the centre, and all ships should go there. Many of those who had converted to Christianity (half-breeds?) felt sad that all their previous alliances (sexual?) were to end⁷. Many of his rivals belittled Albuquerque's greatness in order to hide their own sins⁸ and spread calumny that he would ruin the nation.

1 "Kayyerru" = undertook by hand.

2 "Kollepata" = a very unusual expression in Malayalam!

3 "Kanyakamāre" = literally virgins; but in the context, women-folk.

4 Not clear how the cross could have been sent as a gift after it was affixed.

5 The construction of the Malayalam sentence follows closely the idiom of the English.

6 Kaṇḍu niscayiccatu.

7 The sentence presents a lot of difficulties: "toppikkār (= converts, half-breed?) palarumṭ paricayiccata ellām (= all these intimacies, literally) mārippōkēṇḍatallō ennu vecha viṣādiccu".

8 Apparently of their own lax sexual mores and corruption.

48. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONQUEST OF GOA

When they realized that the Portuguese had conquered Goa, the kings, feeling that the Portuguese would never leave the country, tried to establish friendly relations with them. Perumpadappu welcomed the news. The prominent Malayali merchants, Mammali Marakkar and Chirina Marakkar^a, enquired whether the news was indeed true; when assured that it was, they put their fingers on their noses and bewailed in wonderment: "Alas, now the keys of Hindustan are with the Portuguese"! Tamuthiri too sent two ministers to Goa, seeking peace, and offering permission to build a fort at Chaliyam if the Portuguese so desired, and the land for the purpose. "Don't interfere with our shipping henceforth". This did not satisfy the Viceroy; When Thamutiri firmly denied permission to construct a fort at Calicut itself, Albuquerque proceeded to destroy the trade at Calicut, and the Arab and Turk traders had to leave that town. In those days, if one bought pepper for 100 panams there, it could be sold at 12,000 at Misra and Jidda. Albuquerque invited Koyappakki of Calicut to Goa, and honoured him highly¹. He stayed there for a year; one day, resisting some assailants, he died at the city gates. Krishna Rayar only sent some gifts, but the king of Bhatkal remembered his long-forgotten tribute and sent it with apologies. The chieftains of Honnavara, Vengapura, Chavul Island, etc., sent each his minister to present gifts. To all these visitors, Albuquerque explained his affairs, and showed off the walls, yards, quarters, churches, etc., that he was having built; this spread his fame effectively. When Mela Rao sought refuge in Goa, Albuquerque had the ancient owners summoned, and, after evicting the Muslim owners, assigned the lands to them. He appointed Mela Rao as the chieftain of the lands around Goa. Thus, he stabilized the city of Goa; he had Portuguese coins minted and increased the wealth of the State. He punished the thieves without discrimination, and antagonized some of the leading Portuguese because of his honesty and uprightness. He thought of a new plan. He went to Kochi and informed Perumpadappu that he desired to see Malacca. By the advice of the Marakkar, the king objected that that would cause mishaps; Goa was not yet firmly in Portuguese hands, and Tamuthiri would plan fresh aggression. Albuquerque declared that he trusted in God; he decided that it was opportune to capture the main centres of Muslim trade, and set off for Calicut with a big naval force.

a The name "cinna naina marakkār" seems to have suffered the most frequent and violent distortions in the literature of the period!

1 "Chungattirutti māniccu" = seated him on the chungam, and honoured him. 'Chungam' normally means tax; here it may be a mistake, Gundert not knowing what word to chose! Maybe he intended "tunchattu", at the top.

49. THE END OF THE BATTLE OF MALACCA

Passing Izham (Sri Lanka), one comes to Achi (?), Yavam (Java), etc; nutmeg, cloves, conches, rice, and other produce¹ originates there. The centre for the trade in them, and with China, was Malacca. There were many Mappila and Chetty there. Copper and lead were available there cheaper than anywhere else. There were 3000 big cannons guarding the fort. Why describe the course of the battle? Albuquerque captured the fort, made the Malayalis obey his orders, and cut the roots off the Muslim trade and prosperity (July 1511). One by one, the other islands came under Portuguese rule.

In 1512, Albuquerque decided to return when he heard that there was confusion in Keralam, and that fierce battles were raging around Goa. His ship was lost, but he got to safety by swimming ashore. All the goods were lost in the water. He was not saddened by the loss, but he had a shoulder ornament with a jewel in it; it is reported that, if the jewel was placed in contact with wounds, then it would stop the bleeding, and that Albuquerque was sorry he had lost it. In February 1512, when he reached Kochi, he was happy. He was told that it was rumoured by the Muslim traders he had been killed; Tamuthiri had new ships built and was preparing for trouble. He noticed with sorrow that the Portuguese and the Mappila were living in the same localities, and that this had spread crime and prostitution. He separated the fort and the town, and ordered that if any non-Christians crossed the boundary, he would be killed. Thereupon, 400 natives of Kochi, some Nayars, and two or three Panikkars baptized themselves and obtained permission to reside in the fort. Because there were many young persons who had adopted Christianity, Albuquerque established several schools, and taught them reading and the catechism².

Then, the king of Mali sent a messenger who met Albuquerque at Kochi with the message: "we shall also submit ourself to king Manuel; and shall deliver as gifts coir and other goods. You should remove our suffering. Mammali Marakkar has attacked our islands and grabbed about 10 of them. These must be rendered back to us". Albuquerque made detailed enquiries of the truth of the matter, and sent them off with an adequate reply. On his arrival at Kannur, Mammali in sorrow asserted that the islands were his, but Albuquerque did not change his judgment. When he heard that some Portuguese had accepted bribes from the Marakkar, and that others had cheated the Muslims in business, he was infuriated. He bewailed the besmirching of the Christian fame by Christians. He had all the goods obtained by illegal means returned to the rightful owners. Thus he made many enemies among his own chiefs.

1 Gundert uses "kaykanikal" - fruits and tubers; totally inappropriate in the context!

2 Gundert puts this sentence within brackets - reason unknown. 'sabhapramanam' has been translated here as 'catechism'.

50. THE END OF THE PORTUGUESE BATTLES

After leaving Malayalam (Sept. 1512), Albuquerque returned to Goa, and settled the remnants of warfare there. He was happy to learn of the death in accident at Merjuva of the elder brother of Mela Rao, thus constituting him the chief of Merjuva. He made him accept the Portuguese suzerainty. He made peace with Adil Khan, who sought it. Some messengers came from Habessa and informed him that they were Christians too, and that he should extend suzerainty over them also. But Krishna Raya sent some friendly messages and gifts only, and did not grant the permission sought for the construction of a fort at Bhatkal. Albuquerque also desired secretly to make peace with Tamutirii also. But Kolattiri and Perumpadappu did not agree. They counselled that unless the city of Calicut was destroyed, there would be no peace. Later, when on his sailing south, he reached the anchorage at Calicut, the second raja Nambiyathiri send a messenger seeking peace. "Whatever had happened was a misake; if you come in peace and have a fort built, then half of the customs shall be paid into the Portuguese coffers" - this was the message. On this, the two met at Kodungallur, but they could not agree where exactly the fort could be built. But Albuquerque sent one Noronha to Calicut with the announcement that there would thenceforth be no barrier to the trade from there; there is only one place suitable for the construction of a fort - that is the land on which the palace that he had earlier burnt down was located. The Mappila were happy, and sent ships laden with pepper to the Red Sea. But Tamuthiri delayed permission for the construction work on one pretext or another.

The reason for this: Because Albuquerque set off to capture the fort at Aden (February 1513), there were not enough ships (left along the Malabar coast) to intimidate Tamuthiri. He therefore felt that it would be a shame to surrender land to the Portuguese. Moreover, the (corrupt) Portuguese at Kannur felt happy when their superior left; they spread a rumour that a year later, he would be removed from his post, and the king would send another Governor. At this, Mammali preened himself¹ and assumed the title of 'king of the Mali Islands'. The treasurer at Kannur fort exploited the traders and increased his illegal earnings. One day, an attempt was made to imprison a merchant, Pokker Hassan, for debts. The Mappila took up arms and rebelled; the Portuguese were forced to confine themselves in the fort in discomfort. Thus, the credibility of the Portuguese fell in value. This did not encourage Tamutirii to make a settlement. Moreover, at Kochi, several Portuguese advised Perumpadappu in different ways and increased his animosity. They set up a distant relative of Tamutirii and encouraged him to send an army against Calicut, and induced him to ask for Portuguese assistance.

Albuquerque was unaware of these developments. On hearing that Tamutirii had again 'cheated', and was not giving any land for the fort, he seized all the Calicut shipping about to enter the Red Sea. But he could not conquer the Aden port. So, towards the end of the monsoon (August 1513), he returned regretfully to Goa. When he learnt the details, he again sent messengers to Calicut. After the demise of the Tamutirii², the Nambiyatiri³ had the right to rule; therefore, the treaty was quickly concluded and written down^{4 a}.

a Menon KPP (Reprint 1989: 192-193) reported that Albuquerque induced Nambiyatiri to poison and murder his elder brother. Gundert hurries through this without mentioning it.

1 "Nēl iññu tuṭaṅgi" - bent himself backward in pride.

2 i.e., the one who was not too friendly to the Portuguese.

3 i.e., the one who had been always conciliatory to the Portuguese.

4 "Bhaṣayakki firu" could mean concluded, rather than written down.

51. HOW THE PORTUGUESE FORT WAS BUILT IN CALICUT

When Noronha¹ arrived at Kochi, he understood that Perumpadappu was highly displeased by the alliance with Calicut. Moreover, Perumpadappu sent word secretly to Tamuthiri through messengers that he and the Kolattiri would pay Tamuthiri money in order to constantly engage the Portuguese in battle. While so, the 'big padre' Juan Fernandez and other Portuguese chiefs were receiving bribes, and embezzling² the king's coffers in many ways. So, they combined together, and influenced Perumpadappu to inform king Manuel about all these matters as follows: "Whatever Albuquerque has been doing is wrong. There are no facilities for whites to stay in Goa. The Kochi port is facing decline and destruction as a result. Therefore, all the chiefs together are requesting the king to be gracious enough to reconsider whether Goa should not be abandoned". Thus they caused Albuquerque to lose his credibility³.

When Noronha informed Albuquerque of all these at Goa, he returned to Malayalam, and settled the uprising in Kannur. He had Kolattiri's minister changed. Then, at Kochi, he summoned all concerned and settled grievances. He intimidated the troublemakers, and sent the serpent-minded⁴ padre back to Portugal. He recorded the reasons why Goa should remain the capital, got all the Captains to sign the document, and sent it to king Manuel.

Pokkara Hassan advised Tamutirii, and all the differences of opinion regarding the alliance with the Portuguese were gradually got over. Believing the word of Albuquerque, Tamutirii shifted his mother and sister far away from the city⁵, and silenced his trusted counsellors who were advocating war. Thereafter, Albuquerque landed at Calicut, went and met the king, and settled the following terms: "The Portuguese may construct a fort at a site of their liking, and conduct trade from there; while other traders have to pay in cash for pepper, the Portuguese may settle by exchange of commodities; annually, 15,000 bharam of pepper will be delivered at the bazaar at the same rates as prevalent at Kochi. Half of the annual customs duties will be delivered to king Manuel as tribute. Tamutirii will compensate, from his coffers, the loss caused by the destructions during Cabral's times". From then on, the assistance that used to be paid to the chieftains of Idappalli and other places for taking part in the battles, ceased. For the Portuguese, losses were reduced, and profits increased. The Kolattiri also thought that there was no more cause to be concerned about the Mappila; there was an end to the exploitation of the Muslims, and he was therefore glad. He wrote accordingly to convince Perumpadappu too.

The Portuguese began to construct a fort at the southern end of Calicut, near the river⁶. Thoma Fernandez, who had constructed the forts at Kannur and other places, himself undertook the construction. Captain Noguera drilled his army. The fort was square, there were two towers towards the sea, and between them, and across the water, a long and strong foot-bridge⁷. Tamutirii himself spared no efforts to ensure adequate availability of stones and mortar and workers every day. When the Parsi Sultan, Sheik Ismally, sent a minister that same year, Albuquerque showed him the works on the fort, much to his wonder. Afterwards, Tamutirii himself wrote to king Manuel: "We want friendship always; you should send ships and goods to Calicut for ever. Because we have now broken off from the Sultan of Misra and Mecca, we depend on your kindness for restoring the prosperity of this place. If you desire to have ships built in my wharves, then I shall supply all the quality woods you may require". Albuquerque approved of this letter highly. Tamutirii had it signed by his chieftains, and affixed his signet ring to it; and sent it with presents of precious gemstones. One of the two messengers he sent accepted baptism, adopted the name of Cruz, and returned to Malayalam to take up trade, and spread the message of Christ. The friendship with Portuguese lasted only during the lifetime of that Tamutirii. That fort had to be demolished by the Portuguese themselves 12 years later.

1 A character who suddenly appears without any introduction!

2 "Varggiccu" = according to Gundert's Dictionary, it is from 'bharggikkuka', to embezzle.

3 "Mānahāni" = dishonour; in the context, 'credibility' seems to be appropriate.

4 "sarpaśīlamuḷḷa" = with the nature of a serpent; cunning, wicked.

5 Probably they were against the proposed alliance with Portugal.

6 The Chaliyar.

7 "nata" = obviously a foot-bridge. Gundert uses the present tense here; probably, he was quoting from a Portuguese document contemporaneous with the construction of the fort.

52. THE GREATNESS OF ALBUQUERQUE & THE ATROCITIES OF HIS ENEMIES

After his pacification of Calicut, Albuquerque's fame spread all over Asia and Europe. He too made every effort to stabilize Portuguese rule. He invested most of the daily increasing profits for strengthening the forts in India itself, but sent especially valuable goods to Europe. He sent a horned rhinoceros¹, hitherto unseen by the Portuguese, and several elephants. The king (of Portugal), for the amusement of the people, arranged a fight between the rhinoceros and an elephant; the elephant was killed. When Pope Leo X assumed office (1513), king Manuel sent the following presents to him: some gold statues, a rhinoceros, a small hunting leopard² that could ride a Persian horse, etc. When a big elephant with its mahout entered Rome (12 March 1514), the elephant made obeisance thrice, much to the astonishment of the Pope. The word spread among the people of Rome that, without delay, the whole of Asia and America would be in the hands of the Pope. None in Rome could anticipate the impending split that would be caused by Luther.

As the fame of Albuquerque spread thus, the number of his enemies also grew. Many represented to king Manuel that this fellow was growing in stature equalling the king, arousing his suspicions and making him censorious³. In that year, 1513, while Albuquerque was staying at Kannalkary⁴, some Captains like Lima, Reiyal, etc., conspired together. As they were illiterate, they got one Pereira to write to king Manuel. When he heard of this, Albuquerque summoned Pereira, pardoned him, and obtained the letters. Their contents: "The Viceroy is a lucky traitor. He has cheated the kings of Malayalam, and grabbed all the spoils himself. He has confiscated a chest full of gold from the Mappila, and is amassing wealth by means of piracy and robbery. Moreover, he pays his favourites excessively, and tries to bribe the king's men to his side. He has got a few Jews baptized, appointed them as interpreters, and is entrusting them with the governance of the territory. It is not known whether they will succeed him. Nothing worthwhile can be mentioned about his heroism. What is the valour in killing off lakhs of naked blacks? He will only stay at the rear in his armour. After the battle, he has forts built in places of no importance. He is not concerned about the trade. His desire is to maximize loot and fame by engaging in battle. He has signalled the destruction of Kochi, from where the maximum quantities of goods were available. It is true that ships still come and go there; but they are filled only with his girls - they are the concubines⁵ that he has bought for himself. He may later present them to his favourites too, or sell some of them to others - he calls such alliances 'marriage'. Even Muhammad did not have more girls than he has had. He never bothers about church matters. He is equally friendly to the unconverted as well as to Jews. Has he not sent off our highest prelate in disgrace back to Portugal? The allegations of immorality⁶ made against him (the padre) were entirely false. He was one of the best of men. But now he (Albuquerque) has made a drunkard the chief padre. He has been compelled to reveal to Albuquerque whatever he learns during confession. Therefore, none is now coming forward to get converted, but become Muslims. All these allegations must be investigated. The Viceroy should be made to submit annual accounts. Let enquiries be made of the authors of this letter; if it is proved that any of it is false, our heads may be chopped off".

Albuquerque, at peace with himself, had all this read out, in the presence of his Captains. He was surprised that this was the fruit of his faithful service to the king. Without adding any comments, he had all the letters bundled up, and despatched to the king. His chieftains advised that this was not enough; they insisted on sending a letter in praise of Albuquerque. He commented: "this shall not be; it will look as if I insisted that you should send such a letter in my favour. Let God's will be done".

Then, he went to Kochi, met Perumpadappu, and explained in detail the reasons for the alliance with Tamutirii. "We have perpetual enmity⁷ only with the Muslims. If the king of Kollam begs for peace, we shall get into an alliance with him. May God remove your ignorance. I desire only that, before my death, I may go to Mecca and unearth the bones of that false Nabi". Giving expression thus to many thoughts, and pacifying the king, he stabilized the affairs in Keralam, and embarked, to sail back to Goa and his last fight.

1 "Gandhaka enna vālpuli" = literally, rhinoceros, a panther with a sword!!

2 Cheetah?

3 "Bhēdaprayōgam" = an unusual word; Gundert, with his reference back to Sanskrit, must have intended it to mean censure, criticism.

4 Unclear where this place is.

5 "Dāsi" could also mean slaves, or just maidservants.

6 "Vēśyādōṣam" = the sin of resorting to prostitutes.

7 "Kuḍippaka" = family enmity.

53. THE DEATH OF ALBUQUERQUE

In February 1515, Albuquerque gathered his ships together, and with 1500 Portuguese and 600 Malayalis, set out a second time to capture Ormuz, the centre of the Parsi trade. Though the king there was friendly to the Portuguese, his minister had curtailed the royal authority, was suspicious of the Portuguese, and conducted himself as he pleased. Without a fight, but by stratagem, Albuquerque entered the town, had the minister executed, got the suzerainty of king Manuel accepted, and stationed Portuguese troops in the fort. When the Parsees, Ismailis, and Syrians heard of the success of Albuquerque, they were wonder-struck, sent presents to him, and established friendly relations.

In the meanwhile, king Manuel, after perusing the above mentioned letters of Albuquerque's enemies, and listening to the counsels of those envious of him, sent Captain Lopo Soares, with 10 ships, as the Viceroy of Malayalam (April 1515). He reached Goa on the 2nd September, and announced that the authority of Albuquerque had ceased. There was some natural grief at this announcement¹; but immediately, Albuquerque's faithful retainers were changed. Then Soares sailed to Kannur, met Kolattiri and gave some presents from Manuel. He proceeded to Kochi, and despatched the year's collection of goods. Perumpadappu, when he met him, remarked: "Ho, this fellow is thoroughly immature. What a pity of pities that I made allegations against Albuquerque." Then, the best of the Portuguese got disgusted with the king's service, thinking that the good times under Almeida and Albuquerque were indeed over; they embarked and returned to Europe.

When sailing back from Ormuz, a vessel hastened to greet Albuquerque with the news. He was sad: "Holy Christ! I see² no means of escape from this. Because I have served the king, I have earned the enmity of the people; because I have served the people, I have earned the enmity of the king. Enough! Why have you deserted this old man, about to depart for ever?" - so he sincerely prayed in despair.

Then, he had an attack of diarrhoea, and realized that his end was near. He wrote to his king that it was timely that he had sent a successor, and that it was all God's will. "Why should I repeat the details of governance? The truth about it will become self-evident. I have only one son^a. May the king be pleased to protect him. I had not thought of making money for myself" - so he wrote. Then he listened to the portions in the Testament of St. John about the demise of Jesus, and remarked that he had no Cross, but only refuge in the Lord. When he reached Goa on 15th December, he sent a boat to fetch a priest to the ship. He spent the night praying sincerely for the remission of his sins. His soul joined his Lord on the 17th. He was 63 years old then. He had been Viceroy for 10 years out of them. The corpse³ was brought ashore, embalmed with perfumed stuff, and exposed for public view for some days; because of the bewailing of the natives, it was not possible to hear the songs of the choir.

He was one who kept rigidly to truth and justice. He would become angry immediately on hearing untruth; he would then console himself with various humorous remarks. He was quick to forgive those who harmed or insulted him. He had great respect and reverence for the name of Jesus. He read the scriptures often. Because of his devotion to God, he would never take an oath. He gave liberally to the poor. Once, when he had no money, a khalasi approached him for a loan of 3 varahan, He replied: "I have nothing with me now. But take these three hairs, and mortgage them with any shopkeeper; he will honour them, for sure", and so saying, plucked out three hairs from his beard, and gave them to him. In the final analysis, after him, there was none among the Portuguese heroes like him. When a memorial basement was constructed over his tomb at the Church of Mary, the natives, including Muslims, flocked to it with offerings, lighted lamps, and prayed for justice from the sufferings imposed on them by those in power. Because of his victories in Goa, Malacca and Ormuz, even those from afar off honoured him. There is reason to believe that the Portuguese did not suffer immediate damages and defeats thereafter, only because of the memory of the name of Albuquerque.

a He had never married, but had this illegitimate son born of a Negro lady - see Notes *infra*.

1 "Sādhāraṇamāya dukkate uṇḍākki".

2 Gundert uses the archaic negative form, "kāṇā" here; the whole passage is obviously designed to convey the despair and agony of an old, misunderstood 'great' man, defeated by destiny.

3 Gundert uses the common expression, 'śavam' = 'corpse'.

54. THE COMMENCEMENT OF SOARES REGIME

Except for his victory 11 years back off Pantalayani (see Chapter 26), Soares was unknown. So, he had to face disfavour from several quarters; he desired to demonstrate that he was competent. He sent clever messengers from Kochi to Kollam, in order to end strife there and establish alliance. At that time, the king of Kollam was a boy. His elder sister, by name Queen Azhi Pandari, was the queen. When she was reigning in his stead as Regent, she became friendly with the Portuguese, and followed their advice. According to the agreement: "In recompense for D'Za and other Portuguese killed 10 years back, and destroying their goods, the queen would deliver 500 bharam of pepper. The queen will have constructed anew (at her cost) the St. Thomas church that had been burnt down then, and restore to the church all that had been its. In future, the first offering of pepper should be to the Portuguese at the prices prevalent in Kochi; the pride of the Muslims should be destroyed". This was signed by her ministers, the Pillai-s, and delivery of pepper commenced accordingly. Proud of this achievement, Soares proceeded to Calicut; hearing that Tamutirii was grieving over Albuquerque's death, he showed his displeasure, and sent word that the king should come to the fort for an interview. He received a reply that this was beneath the king's dignity, and that the meeting may be just outside the fort. Furious, Soares wasted 12 days in futile dispute, and, preparing for battle, left the place. All his Captains went to him, and told him that, even if he ordered it, they would not take out their swords to fight for such a trifling issue. This subdued him somewhat, and he met Tamutirii at the gates of the fort. It was only because the then Tamutirii was extremely pacifist that there was no occasion for a battle. At this juncture, hearing about Albuquerque's death, the Mappila at Bhatkal rebelled, and in a surprise attack, killed 24 whites. So, Soares sailed off to Bhatkal; at his enquiry, the Mappila beguiled him with their flattery, and none was punished. Thus, the Muslims prided themselves, and dared to resume their piracy.

When he reached Goa, he wondered at the achievements of Albuquerque, but enquired of his Captains whether it was beneficial to have a fort there. There was no longer any battle with Tamutirii. They could stay in comfort in Malayalam, and conduct the trade. Those who had settled there after marrying natives felt very sad at this. They represented that under no circumstances should the fort at Goa be abandoned; they may be allowed to stay there, left to their own devices to protect their families, and without help from Portugal. As most of his Captains also were of the same opinion in the Council, he ordered that Goa would remain the capital. He returned to Kochi to spend the monsoon (1516). When some Portuguese went out hunting, they fired at some peacocks; a few Nayars and a Kammal objected, because they were birds belonging to the Gods. The hunters contemptuously dismissed the objection, and continued firing; in the quarrel that ensued, four whites were killed. Orders were passed from Kochi prohibiting such hunting in future.¹

We have mentioned how, in 1508, when the Sultan of Misra Khan Hassan had sent his ships to drive away the Portuguese, Almeida had defeated him. Hearing that more ships were setting out on the same mission, king Manuel issued the following orders to Malayalam: "Don't wait for the attacks of the Misra and Parsees; sail to the Red Sea. If Soares is not near enough for that, Albuquerque should take command, and be the king's arm. The mission should be accomplished". This order arrived a year after Albuquerque's death. Soares got his ships ready, loaded 3000 Portuguese and 500 Kochi Nayars, and sailed to Jidda. He suffered great loss in the battles, and in adverse winds. But because the Rumi Sultan Salim captured Misra that same year, there was no occasion for Muslim shipping to sail to Malayalam.

¹ Gundert almost seems to regret that the Portuguese did not retaliate and "teach the natives a lesson" as would have been Almeida's reaction!

55. HOW THE FACTORY AT KOLLAM WAS BUILT

We have narrated (Chapter 53) how Soares pacified Kollam. He had appointed Captain Hestor Rodriguez there before he had sailed off to the Red Sea. When this fellow reached there on 1st February 1517, he tendered presents to the queen and her ministers, and demanded that the rest of the pepper should be delivered. Though they agreed, there was considerable delay. This was what the queen told him in confidence: "We have to engage in battle with our neighbour the king of Tiruvitamkode; we have to go tomorrow; therefore we are short of funds. You should not demand the dues for the church. The Pillais and Nayars have not remitted the amounts. When we return victorious, we shall settle the dues ourselves. So, until I return, please keep quiet". When she begged thus, the Captain, learning of her good mind and control over her ministers, agreed that he would remain patient, but wanted a place to stay the night; if a convenient house was not available, permission may be granted to have one constructed. This was clever; he wanted to induce Soares when he returned to have a fort constructed there; this was an opportunity to select a good site. The queen was embarrassed, but assigned a site, and left the next day.

When they learnt of this, the Mappila were furious; they complained that the (Portuguese) plan was to have a fort constructed. They not only submitted this petition to the queen, but also to the younger queen, whom they attempted to win over to their side, and nullify the Portuguese influence. But the Captain was also active, and influenced the ministers; a site near the shore, with a source of good quality water, was obtained, and the factory soon constructed, roofed with thatch. When the monsoons commenced, the Mappila spread many rumours and incited the people. When they heard that Soares was killed in a battle by the Rumi Sultan, and that Adil Khan and Krishna Raya had entered into an alliance by which they had set out to capture Goa, and that many Portuguese had been killed, the Captain, though he did not believe these rumours, ordered that no Portuguese should stray outside or engage in any quarrel with the natives. He ensured the internal safety of the enclosure and awaited the return of the queen from battle, pleasing the authorities. He was heartened when the news arrived that Soares had returned from Ormuz, and that the Muslim attacks against Goa had been futile. Intelligently, he fostered friendship with the people. The queen also was pleased with the Portuguese. "I am satisfied with what I have learnt, despite all that enemies have been spreading about. Both the growth of Kochi and the decline of Calicut are world famous. We require only your friendship here", so she declared.

56. HOW SOARES PROCEEDED TO THE ISLANDS

It has been described above¹ (Chapter 48) how Albuquerque had solved the travails at Mali. After his demise, as the various Portuguese Captains committed atrocities as they pleased, the king of Bengal and the king of Mali had to drive them off. When trade with those islands ceased, Soares decided to send Captain Sequira there. He sailed with 4 ships (February 1518), and reached Mali; the king met him at the beach, and honoured him highly. He entrusted the islands to the care of the Portuguese. Swearing that they would take shelter under the shadow of Manuel, they entered into a treaty. It was decided that all the remaining coir and amber would be delivered to the Portuguese; in order to look after the trade, a factory was erected, and a trading agent stationed there. At that time, most of the islanders were idolatrous. Only in Mali and Kantaues were many Muslims found. The army was very weak, and they had no arms. It was reported that black magic and sorcery were prevalent. Sequira sailed to Bengal also, but could not enter into friendship with the king there.

Afterwards, Soares desired to enter into relations with Eezham (Sri Lanka) also. He sailed there (September 1518) and reached Colombo port, and went to meet the king, who rendered great honour to him. "What you have done at Kochi, please do here also; you may build a fort here for your protection". So he said, and a foundation was laid, but the Mappila from Calicut went to him to represent that it would be the ruin of the kingdom. The king's mind wavered. He bought big iron cannon from the Muslims. When battle ensued, the Portuguese won; and the king sought refuge. The terms of settlement were that he would have to tender as tribute every year six elephants, 300 bharam of opium, and 12 bejewelled rings. The Portuguese constructed a fort there, and Captain Sequira stayed as its commandant. When the three-year term of Soares appointment ended, Lopez Sequira succeeded him, and reached Goa. Soares returned to Portugal from Kochi (December 1518).

1 Gundert uses a strange word, "mittal", in the sense 'aforesaid'.

57. THE CALAMITY AT MALI DURING SEQUIERA'S REGIME

Seuquiera had become famous because he had sailed to Malacca nine years back. He humbled the Muslims at Bhatkal, in order to establish his authority, and forced the king to pay tribute. He had tried to strengthen the diplomatic ties with the kings of Kannur, Calicut, etc. In January 1519, when he learnt of the happenings in Mali, he deputed Captain Gomez to that place, who, as soon as he reached it, met the king and obtained sanction to build a fort. As stones were not available there, he had it built of mud and timber. He then became vain, insulting¹ the king by his behaviour and boastful of his exploits. The king suffered all this in silence; his subjects had not even dreamt of arms and their use². When some Muslims arrived from Gujarat for trade, and learnt of all this, and found that the Captain had only 15 soldiers with him, they raised a fight, surrounded the fort, stormed it, killed all the 15 Portuguese, looted all the properties, and sailed off. When Sequiera sought an account of the events from the king, the latter described all that had happened. Because it was not quite clear from which country the Muslims had come, he had no opportunity to wreak vengeance. Thenceforward, Portuguese would not stay in the islands. The Muslim trade with them increased. In course of time, the people adopted Islam.

¹ Gundert uses a rather inelegant expression, 'tuścikariccu', here.

² i.e., so peaceful were they by nature and history.

58. HOW THE FACTORY AT KOLLAM WAS RAISED TO A FORT

As Soares had decided that it was not sufficient to have only a factory at Kollam, but that it should be raised to a fort, Sequira wanted to implement the decision. He intimated Rodriguez that 4000 kochi panam would be paid to the queen and her trusted minister, Chanai Pilla, as a reward. When this was conveyed to the queen, she and her minister were delighted. After receiving half the amount, they informed as follows: "We have now to be cautious; the younger queen may not be satisfied with this amount. We shall tell you a strategem¹. Three of the younger queen's champions are important, viz., Unneri Pilla Pala Pilla, Kurup, and Kolla Kurup; each has 600 Nayars under his command. An effort has to be made to get them on our side". Rodriguez accordingly won them over by diplomacy and gifts². Then, after spreading a rumour that the factory had to be expanded slightly, work was commenced on the fort. This antagonized not only the Muslims but also the prince and his sister; when they came, armed, to prevent the work, the queen and Chanai Pilla also came there and counselled them wisely, and suppressed their opposition. But the inner spite of the younger queen still persisted. On the day when Rodriguez was laying the foundation with the help of 27 Portuguese, 2000 Nayars came up and started shouting abuses, but there was no use of arms. Rodriguez ignored the commotion and went ahead, finishing the work of one battlement. Fearing that there would be fighting on the next day, he had a few big guns mounted on the battlement, and kept ready loaded. When the Nayars saw this the next dawn, they withdrew. The Mappila also lost their nerve and stayed quiet. As work went on without interruption throughout the monsoon, the fort was completed (Sept. 1519). The queen and her Pilla-s, unmindful of the disapproval of their subjects, encouraged the Captain to build the St. Thomas church also, and rendered all assistance. In the circumstances, the Captain felt that it would be inopportune to press for the delivery of the pepper on schedule. He then heard of the business according to which rice used to be brought in through the Western Ghats on the backs of 3000 bullocks³, and exchanged for pepper at Kayamkulam. He represented to the queen that the pepper ought to have been delivered to them (Portuguese). The reply was that the trade could not be stopped; it was the prerogative of Brahmins⁴. Rodriguez hired 500 Nayars and directed them: "You should attack those bullock-using merchants and bring back the pepper; I shall pay you @ Rs. 50/- for every severed head you bring back". The Nayars seized the bullocks, killed 5 of the merchants, and brought back the pepper⁵. The Brahmin traders were intimidated, and the trade in pepper across the Ghats ceased.

1 "Or upāyam", (without a sandhi, or 'oru' instead of 'or') "upāyam" = a trick, strategem.

2 "Sāmadānam koṇḍu vaśīkariccappōl".

3 Pack animals.

4 "Brahmaswom".

5 Interesting that the much-praised "Brāhmaṇabhakti" (reverence for Brahmins) of the Nayar was worth only Rs. 50/- per (Brahmin) head!

59. THE BATTLE OF THE NAYARS OFF KOCHI

Before the 15th of Edavom of that year 1519, Sequira reached Kochi and decided to spend the rest of the monsoon there. He was informed that there would be a fight just 2 nazhika¹ from Kochi, and that it would be fun to watch it. He set off with more than 500 Portuguese and reached the place. The battle was between two Kaimals, respectively siding with Perumpadappu and Tamutirii. They decided that battle was the only way to decide on which side justice was. The battle ensued involving about 4000 Nayar. When the battle had been going on for a little time, a white with his sword on his side ran up to the Kochi Kaimal and requested to be allowed to fight. Seeing this, the other party ordered several bowmen to shower arrows on the Portuguese. Five of them died at once, and several were wounded. As Sequiera and others were unarmed, they hurried into their boats and rowed off².

After the monsoon, Sequira returned to Kollam and stayed there for a few months, personally inspecting the work on the fort. When it was completed, it was named "Thomakotta" (the Fort of Thomas - St. Thomas Fort). That fort was square, at the entrance to the port, and with five towers. Sequira gathered many soldiers and some mercenary fighters from Kochi, and set off to capture Jidda (January 1520). He visited the Christians at Habsela³. But though he advised them to resist the Muslims and obey the Pope, he did not have much success. He stayed on the Red Sea, biding his time.

1 Usually translated as 'mile'; literally it means the distance that a man could normally walk in a nazhika (about 20 minutes) of time.

2 Perhaps Gundert highlighted this episode to show how the Portuguese had by then developed enough confidence, not to bother about a reprisal for this obvious misadventure.

3 Probably, they were Orthodox Syrians.

60. HOW A NEW BATTLE COMMENCED AT KOLLAM

Rodriguez desisted from pressing the queen to deliver the pre-contracted quantity of pepper until the construction of the fort was completed. As soon as the work was over, he notified her that, according to his accounts, 280 bharam were due; and requested her to graciously settle account. The queen acted surprised: "What, we granted you permission to build the fort; we did not anticipate that you would press for the tribute in pepper too!" When the Captain pressed his demand, the palace¹ started thinking in terms of war. She consulted with the junior queen, and frightened off the Muslim masons proceeding to work in the fort; moreover, one Marthanda Thiruvadi, a son of the junior queen, started to commit various atrocities. Though the Captain registered his protests before both the queens, except for prevarications², no reply was sent. When the Captain learnt that the Mappila were secretly loading pepper into their boats, he had 7 of the vessels seized with the goods. When they were examined the next day, some attempted to kill the Portuguese agent³, and he fled. Many residents of Kollam, frightened of Marthandan, also took refuge in the fort, entreating in Christ's name that they too should be protected. Though he sent word requesting assistance to Kochi, it was not considered necessary to send either money or gunners in aid. The queens decided that it was impossible to capture the fort by force. Their Kurups thought of a plan: They complained to Rodriguez that they were being constantly harassed by the queens, and especially by Marthandan's brother, Raman Tiruvadi, at night, near the gates of the fort. If they were paid something sufficient for their livelihood, they and 600 of their Nayar would serve under the Portuguese. Believing them, Rodriguez fixed wages for them. They wanted a day to be fixed when at night, they would rendezvous at the St. Thoma church, and take the oath; they planned to kill Rodriguez then. Rodriguez firmly replied that he had not left the fort (at night) for a year, and he would not leave it. He deputed another chief, but he could not keep the appointment because of ill health. The next day that was suggested, the omens⁴ the Nayar saw were not favourable. Finally, both sides began to be suspicious; the Kurups went to the queens and reported that the stratagem was not working; force of arms had to be resorted to. With 15,000 men, they started the attack against the fort.

1 "Kottarattil ninnu ninappān tuṭaṅgi" = literally, from the palace, thinking started.

2 "Vyājam enniye" = other than falsehood - in the context, prevarication seems appropriate.

3 "Paraṅgi mēnavan" = the mēnavan of the Portuguese; presumably their local agent.

4 "Śakunam", the first object one encounters when setting out for any enterprise, or journey.

61. HOW THE KOLLAM FORCES FARED

Balapilla Kurup led the first attack against the fort; he objected to the Portuguese cutting down the coconut palms around the fort, and immediately, 15,000 Nayar rushed to join him. The Nasranis¹ living around the fort started fleeing in with their families into the fort, the Portuguese loaded the big guns and unleashed a rain of shells, obstructing the pursuit by the enemy. After all the Christians were safe inside the fort, the Nayar could only loot their houses and set them on fire. They also killed the Christians they could find, along with the carpenters who had worked on the fort, the fishermen, etc. From that day, fierce battle raged. Not much damage was done by the guns brought by the Muslims in their boats. One night, they poisoned the water in the well, hoping to kill the Portuguese by that means; but, noticing that the fish were floating² dead the next morning, they did not drink the water. But 30 whites in the fort were down with diseases. They had sometimes to catch and kill rats to add taste to the rice gruel. Then, a Chetty, hoping to gain favour with the Portuguese, conveyed the news to Kochi. The Governor, though it was monsoon, sent 20 heroes, meat, bread, gunpowder³, etc., in a boat under the command of his nephew. When it arrived safely, the defenders in the fort were very happy; the boat returned without a single casualty. The battle lost its tension from then on. Marthanda Tiruvadi had to suffer defeat after defeat. Every time he set out to the fort, more coconut palms were damaged⁴; this is a punishment that causes much sorrow to a Malayali. So, in August, both the queens started thinking anew with regrets. When the queen of Kollam sent a petition to the Sahib, Menezes ruling at Kochi, begging pardon, he ordered Cherina Marakkar⁵ and Pathu Marakkar to negotiate a peace. The junior queen also sent, on 8th August, a negotiator to the fort at Kollam; it was none other than the famous Christian woman, Kochikkali. As commanded by the queen, she hugged Rodriguez' feet, and begged forgiveness. She said that the queen's actions had caused her great sorrow. If any compensation was needed, she would render it at once. It was all at his (Rodriguez) pleasure. When this appeal was made, the Captain replied that he would negotiate only with one of the chief Pilla-s. Chanai Pilla went to the fort the next night with a great deal of money and goods in offering, and flattered Rodriguez, saying that only his word was enough; the queen of Kollam had written, to spite him, to Kochi, but that may be ignored. Rodriguez settled the matter with him; the junior queen's devoted soldiers withdrew. At the queen's command, from then on, it became a custom for the fishermen to present, at the fort, without payment, the fish caught by them every morning. The forces were withdrawn, and the fighting ceased.

1 Native Christians, distinct from the Latin Catholic converts after the introduction of the Portuguese missions.

2 Gundert (wrongly) uses the word, "nīṇḍunnatu" = swimming, here - of course dead fish cannot swim!

3 "Marunnu" = literally medicine, is used by Gundert as a short form for 'vēṭi marunnu' = gunpowder.

4 i.e., in the firing from the fort.

5 'Cheriyā naina' has again been mis-transliterated!

62. HOW THE BATTLE WAS CONCLUDED

When the two Muslims and the minister Periera arrived, Rodriguez was very sorry: "We have an eternal enmity¹ against these Muslims! How (inappropriate) to depute them as if they were ministers (ambassadors) to conclude settlements!" - he expressed this doubt aloud. It was ordered that the following six terms were necessary for the conclusion of the battle: "1. Apart from the agreed annual delivery of pepper, the queen should deliver 72 more bharam, that had been found short; 2. All the properties looted from the Portuguese and the Nasranis should be rendered back, and the breaches in the fort walls should be repaired (at the queen's cost); 3. Because the Muthaliar² of the Muslims had grabbed all the incomes of the Thoma church, all the incomes and assets of the Muslim mosque should be transferred, in perpetuity³, by document, to the Thoma church, and, because Muslims from Kochi, Kannur, etc., had helped in the battle, they should never henceforth be admitted into Kollam; 4. Balapilla Kurup and his brother had conspired against the fort, and should therefore stay one katham⁴ away; if they or any one from Sankacheri⁵ were seen near the fort, it would not be an offence for anyone to kill them; 5. As compensation, apart from the 100 bharam of pepper each queen had annually to render, 2000 bharam should additionally be sold to the Portuguese at the prices prevalent at Kochi; 6. If there was default, all the ships and vessels of the kingdom of Kollam would be liable to be confiscated". While Pereira was negotiating on these lines with the queens, the two Marakkars interrupted and submitted that they should not agree. Apart from the considerable delay caused thereby, the Marakkars were angrily ordered back to Kochi; both parties withdrew from the negotiations without signing any treaty, and continued thus, without friendship or enmity. But both the queens, afraid of reprisals, tried to the best of their capacity to satisfy the second and the fifth of the conditions.

1 "Kuṭippaka".

2 Musaliar - 'sa' and 'ta' interchanged.

3 "Candrādityar uḷḷavum" = "ācandratāram", as long as the moon and sun survive.

4 Measure of distance.

5 Thangassery?

63. SEQUIERA'S EXIT

Not much benefit ensued from Sequiera's campaigns in the Red Sea. During that period, Krishna Raya had fought against Adil Khan, and captured some towns like Rachol¹ and Belgaum. Desirous of increasing the importation of horses, he presented these places as gifts to the Portuguese. Sequiera set out to capture the island fortress off Gujarat, but achieved nothing worthwhile. Though he was lacking in ability and achievement, he lacked nothing in being proud and angry against poor folk. An example may be cited: though there was a treaty with Tamutirii, Perumpadappu sought to wreak vengeance against ancient grievances², viz., 'as both our lineage relatives had died at the battle of the ford, it is necessary that the hier to Nediyruppu³ should also be killed. Just as Kochi was destroyed, Calicut too should be dealt with, and I should bathe in the royal tank of the Kunnalakonatiri" - such, he thought, was his kingly duty. He started a battle with 50,000 Nayar, and Tamutirii countered with 200,000 and emerged victorious. When Perumpadappu requested the aid of the whites, the Governor, unmindful of the treaty obligations, sent 36 gunners to assist him, and because of their help, the king of Kochi gained a few victories. The Brahmins were displeased, and scoffed that wherever the Portuguese were, God's blessings were not; Tamutirii, without difficulty, could force the Perumpadappu forces back to Kochi.

Apart from such atrocities on land, what can one comment on the outrages the Portuguese committed on the seas!⁴ Even after the cessation of hostilities, the Portuguese ships continued to be armed. If any Muslim vessel was even slightly armed, it, and the goods in it, would be confiscated. Signed documents⁵ issued from the Portuguese toll-posts must be carried in all ships, but even if it was showed, customs, fines and presents were extorted at will. If these exactions were not willingly given, then, it would be realized by torture and punishment⁶. Especially at Kannur, the Kolattiri felt it insufferable; his letters in Arabic to king Manuel in this matter are still available. Though⁷ Chenichery Kurup protested very much, Captain Garzia had a prominent person, Shamsuddin, appointed as Vizier - he was none but the dependent of Assad Khan, previously the Nawab of Kambaya⁸. When that Khan died, the Portuguese tried to stealthily acquire all his wealth; Shamsuddin, without keeping back anything, entrusted everything to the Portuguese Captain, and fled to Kannur. When he became the Vizier there, because of his friendship with the Portuguese, he caused much hardship to the traders from Arab, Rumi, and Persia, etc., ports. So, they did not venture far, limiting their voyages only to near places. Still, the Portuguese ships would seize some of them, contemptuously dismiss Shamsuddin's sign and certificate on their documents, and take them to Goa. So he wrote to king Manuel: "This land is yours; our welfare is your welfare. But it is clear that it has become impossible to protect our people against the outrages committed by the Portuguese. Our enemies scorn us, and contemptuously remark that this is the consequence of Manuel's friendship. I shall remain quiet until I receive your reply. If you do not protect us, it would be impossible to protect the peace. There are many who are prepared for battle". When he received all these complaints, king Manuel was very angry, and belittled Sequiera. He appointed one pacifist⁹, Duarte Menezes as Viceroy, and sent him.

1 Identity unclear.

2 "Purāṇa paribhavam", a nice expression!

3 Headship of the Tamutirii lineage.

4 "Eṅṅine paṛavatu".

5 The notorious 'cartaz'.

6 'Hēmiccu eṭukkuka'

7 The participle '-are' usually indicates a time sense, but in this context, it seems to be used to indicate an exception.

8 Cambay?

9 "Śanthan"

64. THE DEATH OF KING MANUEL

After having ruled for 26 years, king Manuel died, and his son, Juan, succeeded him. He was not adventurous, unlike his father. He sent orders to Kochi and to Goa to the effect that wars should be avoided, and the Christian way should be attempted. Sequiera entrusted his responsibilities to Menezes, and returned to Europe (December 1521).

Mention may be made here of a special event that happened that year. A fellow called Megellan¹, one of the friends of Albuquerque, left the service of Portugal, obtained a ship from the king of Spain, and set out from Europe in 1519. Sailing west, he reached an island in the Chinese Sea, and disembarked, and died in a fight there. After his demise, his navigators continued sailing west, and in 1521, reached back at Spain. Thus it became clear beyond doubt that, because they could travel round the world going in one direction, the earth was round like a lemon. In king Manuel's time, such changes that happened in navigation and trade, and in geography because of the knowledge of different regions, caused great wonder among the people of the world because of their newness². Among the kings of Portugal, Manuel was thus acknowledged to be the most famous³.

1 "Meghalyān ennoruttan".

2 "Putuma" = novelty, newness.

3 "Col poṅgiyavan".

65. PREPARATIONS FOR NEW BATTLES OFF CALICUT

In January 1523, when Menezes reached Malayalam, he was surprised to see preparations for war everywhere, and to hear about the increasing atrocities of pirates. On enquiry, he found that the Muslims, unable to bear the hardships inflicted on them by the Portuguese, were full of warlike spirit¹. When the Viceroy landed at Calicut, he was saddened to learn that the Tamutirii² had died, and that his successor had, on the day of his assuming the throne, considering the sufferings of his people, ordered that he would wreak vengeance on the pride of the Portuguese. One of the Viceroy's ministers, a Castro, had left the fort one day, and gone to see the bazaar at Calicut. Some shopkeepers and others rebuked him; when he was retreating, some of his retinue were pelted with stones; a few, smiting their shields³, and lifting their spears, jumped up and pursued them right through to the fort. Desiring peace at any cost, the Viceroy ignored the incident, and with all his ships, sailed to Kochi, where he stayed in peace. Emboldened without limit⁴ by this, the Mappila entered through the Kochi estuary, chased and looted some vessels, killed some Portuguese, and fled back. Menezes ignored even this, and, entrusting the charge of the situation in Malayalam coast to his brother, gathered most of his ships and sailed off to Ormuz. At that time, a hero, Juan Lima, was the chief of the Calicut fort; when he reported that the Mappila were preparing for war down every river⁵, and, moreover, eight vessels had been loaded with pepper and sent off to Mecca, that fellow⁶ (i.e., Menezes) did not prevent it, nor did he send any assistance to Lima. In Chingam of that year (1524), Kutti Ali of Tanur gathered 200 and odd vessels, and, on the 8th of that month, sent 40 of them in a flotilla⁷ to Arabia. With the remaining 160, he arrived at the anchorage at Calicut, and opened fire. After chasing him away with losses, Lima complained to Tamutirii: "What justice is this? Is it honourable to indulge in such sneak attacks⁸?" But he could not get any satisfactory reply. An attempt by a Nayar to stab Lima to death was in vain; but at Parappanangadi, 12 Portuguese, and two messengers despatched to Tamutirii were murdered by stealth by the Mappila. When Lima was about to prepare his mind to swallow even this at the command of the Viceroy⁹, he had to send his soldiers in the matter of the kidnapping of Christian women by some Muslims, for the protection of the women. By this, the town was totally¹⁰ in commotion; the Muslims rebelled, but Tamutirii delayed for some days, after which he sent word secretly that his wife's brother, Punaccan may start a fight. The Nayars who were staying at the customs post went to see Lima, and begged pardon, kneeling in front of him; and, at the command of the king, left the service of the Portuguese. But, that day, there was no attack on the fort. The Muslims had, even previously, devised a plan to kill the Christians in Kodungallur, and hid their warlike intentions. The reason: Because the Mappila had tendered pepper that was not completely dry, and had adulterated it with sand, the Governor had removed them from the trade, and entrusted it with the Syrian Christians - so the Mappila hatred of Christians was increased.

1 "Yuddhabhāvam muluttu" = full of the war-like spirit; rebellious; ready to revolt.

2 i.e., the one who had been friendly to the Portuguese.

3 A typical gesture of intention to commence a fight, according to the Kalaripayattu code.

4 "Dhairyam muluttu" = over-filled with bravery.

5 Obviously, the river-mouth openings to the sea.

6 "Ayavan" = that he; a slighting reference to Menezes.

7 "Changatham" = friendly group; in this context, a flotilla.

8 "Chatippata" = cheat feats of arms.

9 A strange way of expressing this typical European idiom in Malayalam: "āyatīnēyum vīṇḡuvān līmākke vicerōyin kalpaṇa nimittam ēkadēsam manssāya nēram".

10 "Aśēsham" could mean totally, without any remaining unaffected. In common Malayalam parlance, it could also mean 'somewhat'.

66. HOW GAMA CAME TO MALAYALAM A THIRD TIME

While so, the aged¹ Gama himself assumed the charge of Viceroy (1524). In September, he arrived at Goa. He entrusted able persons² to destroy pirates everywhere, and bring matters under control. He sailed to Kannur, saw Kolattiri, and demanded that he (Kolattiri) should surrender at once a pirate called Bala Hassan; by intimidation, he ensured that his demand was met. He had him imprisoned in the Kannur fort (October), and reached Kochi. When the news spread that the foremost among the Portuguese heroes had arrived, extreme terror prevailed in all the land. But even some Portuguese had lost their liking for that aged hero. It was notorious that he was a cruel man who knew no mercy. A hospital had been (previously) built in Goa; Gama opined that such facilities were not necessary, because only if hospitals were available would the servitors fall sick every day! So, many of the Portuguese considered that they had no refuge, and that it was difficult even to fill their belly; they fled and took refuge in Cholanmandalam, and other places. Some became Muslims³. As soon as he arrived, Gama sent 300 men, even though some were ill, to the aid of Souza at Calicut, and encouraged him to defeat Kutti Ali. Souza chased him from Kappukadu (Kappad) to Pantalayani, and the next day, to Kannur; the Muslims landed there, deserting their vessels. Seeing this, the Kannur Muslims also subsided. Kolattiri abandoned his warlike hopes, and sent presents and words of goodwill to the Portuguese in the fort. A young man, George Telieu, fought and won against Chinna Kutti Ali in the estuary off Goa. Therefore, there was no battle near the fort at Calicut. When Menezes returned from Ormuz to Kochi in December, he saw how ill Gama was. Though unwilling to entrust the king's instructions, Gama forced him (Menezes) to obey his commands. He ordered Captain Sampayo to open the king's sealed orders, on his (Gama's) death, and enforce them. He took extreme unction according to the Church custom (24 December 1524), and died. His corpse⁴ was buried in the Cathedral⁵ at Kochi. His son and Menezes were inimical to each other; when the Portuguese formed two factions and were about to fight, Sampayo tried day and night, accommodated the factions separately, and kept the peace. On opening the king's orders, it was seen that, in the event of Gama's demise, one Henry belonging to the Menezes family should become the Viceroy; Eduarte⁶ Menezes left for Portugal (20 January 1525), setting up internal dissensions⁷ among the Portuguese at Kochi.

1 Gundert commits a serious error; he uses "vṛddayāya" (fem. gender) as the adjective in respect of Gama!

2 "Paryāptanmāre", corrected by the editor by adding "prāptanmāre" in brackets.

3 "Chelavil kūṭi" = according to Gundert's Dictionary, became Muslims.

4 Gundert uses the common term, 'śavam' = corpse, instead of more polished synonyms.

5 "Valiya palli" = big church; it is now a Basilica.

6 Earlier, his name had been given as Duarte - probably synonymous with Eduarte.

7 "Antahchidram" = internal quarrels.

67. HOW MENEZEZ CONDUCTED HIMSELF AT KANNUR

Henri Menezes set out from Goa, and sank some Calicut shipping at the anchorage at Bhatkal; when he landed at Kannur, the following news greeted him: "From the day the chief among the pirates, Bala Hassan, had been handed over by Kolattiri to Gama, he has remained in the prison in the fort here. He could not be punished because of his relationship with the Mammali group¹; because the Mappila are prepared to pay any amount of money for his ransom, Kolattiri insists that he alone was competent to punish Hassan, and is pressing hard for the surrender of Hassan to him. We do not know what to do". Menezes had him hanged without delay. While Menezes was dining, a messenger informed him that Kolattiri would be meeting him on the morrow. But, when he learnt of the hanging of Hassan, he was afraid of the Muslim reaction, and did not turn up. Menezes mildly reprimanded him, saying that had a request been made to him sufficiently early, it would have been granted². The king respected him for this, in his mind. The Muslims spread the word everywhere in Malanad that bribery would be of no use in future, to the wonder of all. Bala Hassan's descendants all went to Dharmadam and consulted with other pirates, and decided: "we must henceforth fight against the Portuguese and wreak vengeance". They also decided that since the shadow³ of Kolattiri would no longer be available to them, they would not acknowledge his authority. So, the king tested Menezes: "I have a request, viz., the Muslims are rebellious in the southern boundary of our kingdom; can you despatch your ships and punish them?" The Viceroy immediately despatched Captain Sequiera, who sailed to Dharmadam, and rained cannon shots, under cover of which he landed, and, victorious, set fire to the settlements and vessels, (including the Mahe bazaar), thus punishing them (January 1525).

1 "Vakakkar" may also mean lineage, making him a relative of the Ali-s.

2 Indicating diplomatically thereby that it would have been of no use, since he had ordered the execution almost immediately on arrival at Kannur.

3 Viz., his protection.

68. HOW FIGHTING COMMENCED AT CALICUT

When Menezes reached Calicut, Tamutirii had regretted having, for some days past, sent 15,000 Nayars under Kurumbiyatiri and Taniyancheri Ilayat, in a vain battle; he sent Punaccan and others to Captain Lima seeking a treaty. Lima replied that without the surrender of Pathu Marakkar, of Kochi, who had caused damages to the Portuguese, there would be no treaty. This was agreed to, and also that Tamutirii would defray the cost of the battles. After issuing these orders, Menezes sailed on to Kochi without staying at Calicut. From there, as he was setting out with reinforcements ready to protect the honour of the Portuguese, Tamutirii sent a message that he wanted only peace, and was prepared to surrender all his shipping at Ponnani. Menezes thought this was only a ruse to delay him till the monsoon; so, seeking the aid of Perumpadappu, he gathered 19 vessels with soldiers from Purakkad¹, in all 50 sails, and sailed to Ponnani. On his command that all of Tamutirii's shipping should be surrendered to him, he got no clear reply from the local commander. The Portuguese tried to land in order to draw fresh water, and the Mappila resisted it. Seeing that the fort had been strengthened, the Viceroy thought that there was no time that day, and waited. The next day, (26 February, morning), he landed and made the southern Nayars loot and burn. That day, 38 vessels belonging to Chinna Kutti Ali were burnt. A Portuguese traitor, who had joined the Muslims and fired the cannons, was also wounded to death.

Then, he arrived opposite Calicut, did some damage, and decided that he should reduce Pantalayini Kollam to ashes. It was, in addition to Ponnani, the chief port of Tamutirii's, and the centre of the trade with Mecca. To protect the territory, there were three battlements and many cannons on the very steep hillside there; the cargo ships comfortably anchored along a canal excavated to connect the river to the sea. Menezes learnt from spies that about 20,000 Nayars and Muslims were gathered to fight for the defence; when he reached the anchorage, it was near sunset. Neither side slept that night; there were martial music, shouts of victory, and jokes all around. In the morning, battle was started in three fronts; the Portuguese quickly landed and engaged one wing; those from Purakkad remained without joining the battle, but awaited the opportunity to start looting, clapping their hands and remaining in their vessels. The Viceroy was angry, and ordered a gunman: "aim at that lazy fellow"; the shot severed the leader's leg, which floated off. The Portuguese and Kochi forces gained a glorious victory; they captured 250 big guns along with their gunpowder and shots; they burnt to ashes the loaded vessels and the land and the bazaar; and captured 40 vessels. Because of such aggressiveness, the Portuguese regained the respect and authority for their name and fame, as of old. The chief of the Purakkad forces, though he pretended to swallow his immediate rage, nursed his inner resentment, and waited for an opportunity for wreaking revenge. Menezes sailed off from there, and landed at Kannur (11 March 1525).

¹ "Purakkattikal" = sailors from Purakkad, or pilots who would show the way, navigators; the former is preferred because the number of 19 vessels would be too many, if the former were the intention.

69. HOW MENEZEZ DISPUTED ABOUT THE ISLANDS AT KANNUR

After his victory at Kollam¹, the Viceroy reached Kannur (March 1525), and, in addition to being gladdened by the modesty and trembling of the Mappila, wanted to see the king. Kolattiri immediately arrived at the fort, and pacified him with diplomacy and presents. The Viceroy surprised him by refusing the presents; but at the insistence of Kolattiri, received them and immediately gave them away to the hospital at Kannur. When the king offered his vessels and cannons as homage, the Viceroy received them on behalf of the king, and thanked him formally. He then showed the message received from Portugal, which intimated that "If Kolattiri will undertake to supply every year all the coir that we require at concessional rates, then we award 18 islands to him". When it was intimated that the annual requirement would be 1000 bharam of coir, Kolattiri resolutely replied, that, if so, he did not want the islands. The Viceroy was secretly happy. He imposed a toll on the rice taken into the islands, and stationed 50 soldiers there. He found that the proceeds of the toll were sufficient to defray all the costs, and the value of the 1000 bharam of coir. While at Kannur, a messenger from Ormuz arrived, with a complaint that the chief of the Portuguese there had committed some atrocities. Menezes conducted a due enquiry, found the chief guilty, and imposed the due punishment on him; this established his fame as being impartial. He then established a blockade throughout the coast in order to create a famine in Calicut. In order to prohibit all shipping, he maintained 4 ships at the anchorage at Mangalur², to watch the movement of vessels at all times. While so, 70 fighting vessels from the south came up to engage the Portuguese vessels, making it impossible to maintain them. A vessel laden with rice broke the blockade and sailed away. The Viceroy had sailed to Kochi and sent his relative, Simon, to Bhatkal to get the materials required for his forts. He came up on the 70 vessels and engaged them in battle. He sank some and scattered the rest; several of them sailed up the Madai estuary and hid themselves. Simon put his men in boats, and continued the battle. When one of them with 6 Portuguese ran aground, the natives killed them. The Kolattiri came to know of this; apart from recovering the corpses and sending them to the fort for burial, he strictly tried some Nayars and Muslims, and put them to death.

1 Viz., Pantalayini Kollam, just north of Calicut.

2 Mangalore; Gundert adopts here a rather unusual transliteration, in the place of the usual "mangalapuram".

70. HOW THE BLOCKADE OF THE FORT AT CALICUT STARTED

As the scarcity of rice got critical at Calicut, the people got distressed and angry. When Simon brought the provisions to the fort, some seamen and Nayars felt that it would be uncomfortable and only full of fight during the monsoon, and felt unwilling to stay there. At the insistence of Simon, 120 people stayed with the forces in the fort. The rest went to Cochin, and stayed put. There, a proud person arrived as the envoy of Tamutirii to negotiate the peace with the Viceroy (in the month of May). The Viceroy laid down the following terms: "Surrender all battle vessels; surrender the Muslims who burnt the Thoma church and killed some Portuguese; pay enough money to rebuild the church; end hostilities with Kalluruthi Kanaran, who is a friend of Perumpadappu, and establish peaceful relations with him". The messenger left with this message, but the Viceroy received no reply. While so, the rains started suddenly. Immediately, Karumbiyatiri who was commandant of the Ghats, and Tinayancheri Ilayat came with 12,000 Nayars and surrounded the fort. In it were 300 soldiers with the hero, Captain Lima; at the head of the Mappila was a gunner who had been born in "Sikkilia"¹, and had, in 1522, got caught in the Rhodes War, and joined the Rumi side, converting to Islam. He had a moat dug in the Vannathan grounds to the south and to the landward of the Chinese fort², and established guns there. The battle raged day and night. The Portuguese abstracted all goods and cannon balls from the bazaar, and took them inside their fort. They set fire to their houses outside the fort, and made the fort fast. The raja came to town with 90,000 Nayars, in addition to the Mappila, and supervised the armed drill of his forces. He went round the fort, and declared that it would take only a few days to take so small a fort. The second-in-succession reminded him that it had been impossible to break through even after a year. The king made a number of gifts to the gunner, and charged him to accomplish all the tricks that he had learnt at Rhodes. Lima, seeing that they had water and rice sufficient for a year, and oil and condiments for a month, kept the keys always with himself for fear of poisoning³, and encouraged the Portuguese with words of courage, while he defensively engaged the enemy.

1 Sicily?

2 Not very clear; the "Vannathan" may indicate the washermen's place.

3 Viz., of the supplies by spies of the enemy.

71. HOW THE CALICUT FORT WAS RELIEVED

On 13 June 1525, Tamutirii engaged mercenaries¹ and waged a raging battle. Captain Lima got a messenger to sail off to Kochi; though it was the monsoon, he set out bravely and, after suffering greatly from the waves and the winds, got to Kochi with great difficulty. Henri announced that all those willing may go to the assistance of Calicut; 140 persons came forward under the leadership of Jusarte, and getting into 2 vessels, battled in the seas for 25 days to reach the anchorage at Calicut. Though Lima signalled that it was not opportune to land, Jusarte along with 35 soldiers got down from one of the vessels and reached the shore. With the help of Lima, they escaped through the enemies, and entered the fort. That day, four were killed, and many injured. Therefore, they sent a message tied to an arrow, and despatched to the second vessel: "if only less than 500 soldiers remain, it is not advisable to land; but please send provisions and gunpowder". Therefore, the second vessel returned to Kochi, and urged that the fort should be secured before Tamutirii obtained reinforcements. It became necessary to remove the gunpowder to another building, because the first started crumbling at the walls. While the Sicilian tried to tunnel through one direction, a Portuguese who had become a Muslim went close to the wall, and spilt the news as if in a song to his countrymen. They tunnelled in the opposite direction and removed the Malayalis. The new machines of war were also not found to be of much use. While the Portuguese were thus resolutely defending themselves, they had to spend days without salt in their food. Because of fear of contagious diseases, there was no hindrance in the removal of those who died at the walls. One night in August, when the wind was especially rough, some vessels came by and supplied gunpowder, bread, and salted meat to the defenders. At dawn, Lima threw some betel leaves and stuff to the enemies, and openly ate the bread and meat in the sight of everyone. Even then, Tamutirii did not lift the battle. On 15 October, Henri himself arrived with 20 ships, at Calicut, and after sending reinforcements to the fort, landed with all his forces amidst music and noise, and started fighting; the Malayalis quickly took to flight; the Sicilian, with more than 2000 others, were killed. When Henri saw that victory was complete, he ordered that none should enter (attack) the city; and the army settled near the fort.

¹ "Kollepata".

72. HOW THE PORTUGUESE ABANDONED CALICUT ENTIRELY

Tamutirii got frightened, and summoned Koya Pakki¹ and instructed him to go with a message to the Portuguese to stop hostilities; but he pleaded inability because of old age, and his son was deputized. He obtained a truce for 4 days; he was appointed a minister, and the chief of the Calicut bazaar. When the king intimated that he would surrender his vessels and guns, and the expenses of the campaign, Henri prevaricated a settlement because he was thinking of a plan to abandon the fort. The reason for this was: after the Turks had conquered Misra, there was a rumour that they would send many warships to the Hindu Ocean. In order to face them, it was necessary that the Portuguese should collect their dispersed forces and stand together. So, it was necessary to abandon Calicut entirely. He however demanded the surrender of the chief of Purakkad - it will be remembered that he had been nursing enmity against the Portuguese for having shot away his leg (Chapter 67), and had joined Tamutirii. For this reason, he had done great disservice to the Portuguese, and deserved to be hanged. Tamutirii immediately sent back word that he would not be party to the desertion of his friends. He consulted with his captains; and declared that king Juan and Gama would have thought likewise, viz., that it would be wise to demolish the Calicut fort. Some, especially Lima, opposed this for reasons of prestige. Lima declared that he and his family would suffice to defend the fort; why not entrust it to them; but this was in vain. As most agreed, Henri ordered that all the assets should be loaded into the ships. Then, he embarked all the soldiers; in the basement, he had tunnels dug, and filled with gunpowder; the last to embark set fire to it. Just as the attacking Nayars, in great numbers, hurried into the fort, the explosion of the fort caused great casualties. However, the great tower did not collapse. Tamutirii was infuriated, and punished Koya Pakki for having spread the rumours in favour of the Portuguese. His sons fled to Kannur, in fear for their lives, and lived as dependants of the Portuguese. The Purakkad chief returned, and became the head of the pirates. Tamutirii ordered the flattening of the fort and prided himself that so fared the fort that Albuquerque had built 12 years back (see Chapter 50). He sent messages to other kings like Adil Shah, wishing them similar victories in frightening and driving off the Portuguese.

This is thus how the Muslims narrate the tale in their words, viz.,: "After the Portuguese built their fort in Calicut, they tortured the Prophet's people direly. Though there were special orders to send four vessels of pepper and ginger to Mecca, they blockaded Muslim trade in all manner of ways. The Jews of Kodungallur, seeing that Tamutirii was weak, killed many Muslims in fights. Shamed, Tamutirii gathered his forces, and raided Kodungallur, and was victorious. He drove the Jews out of the country and kept them away. Then he declared that his domains were the refuge of the Muslims; he gathered the Muslims, and fought the Portuguese and captured their fort. From then on, four vessels sail to Mecca with merchandize regularly" - so recorded Ferishta. The conditions in Kodungallur those days are beyond description. In Chapter 69, some indications have been given. Some Jews report that it was like the destruction of Jerusalem, and that because of the ruination of their trade, the Anjuvannam was destroyed.

¹ An old friend of the Portuguese.

73. HOW VAZ SAMPAYO REIGNED AFTER HENRI MENEZEZ

After the abandonment of the Calicut fort, Henri sailed to Kochi, and stayed for a time. Then, George Albuquerque, on his return from Malacca, reported the battle at the anchorage at Purakkad. The chief with 25 boats had surrounded his ship, and engaged in battle, when the wind had died into a calm¹ and caused much distress. They could escape only because the wind resumed. It was also rumoured that Tamutirii entrusted his vessels to Pathu Marakkar, and engaged in piracy. To punish them, Henri arranged for patrolling all along the coast from Goa to Ponnani. The natives would light huge fires immediately on sighting the Portuguese ships, thus warning all vessels to sail into the estuaries and hide. Only at Chaliyam did they manage to set some vessels and houses along the coast on fire, burning them to ashes; Henri himself got wounded in the legs. But off Mahe, he could not stay quiet when he sighted some enemy shipping; in the ensuing battle and exertions, his fever increased; his friends were frightened, and compelled him to disembark at Kannur and stay (January 1527). While under treatment there, word arrived from the north; in Pakkanur estuary in Tulu Nadu, 150 Calicut vessels had loaded with pepper and were getting ready to sail, when Captian D'lieu learnt of it, attacked and caused much damage. While so, Krishna Rayar with 5000 infantry arrived at the beach, and ordered that they were not allowed to fight. D'lieu stopped the fight, and withdrew, staying at Azhikkal. Hearing these tidings, Henri worried about many things, and his fever got worse, and he died (2 February 1526). His corpse has been buried in the church at Kannur. It caused great wonder that he had amassed no wealth.

It is a custom with the Portuguese that when a Viceroy dies, the sealed royal order appointing his successor may be opened. Accordingly, when the Captains and others assembled at Kannur (3rd February), they opened the royal orders, which were: "in the event of calamity to the Viceroy, Mascarenhas shall be appointed". As he was away in Malacca, and because of the war with Turkey, it was decided by the assembled worthies to open the second royal order, viz., "if Mascarenhas is no more, then Lopez D'Za shall reign". Accordingly, they sent word to him at Kochi. Immediately thereafter, Vaz recruited whomever he could at Kannur, and went to the anchorage at Pakkanur. He learnt that Kutty Ali Marakkar was happily ensconced in the estuary with 70 vessels. In order to prevent attack, they had affixed stakes of coconut wood, and tied rope hawsers across the openings. That night itself, he sent boats to cut through the hawsers. In the morning, he resumed battle; the army of the Rayar objected, and some of the Captains, thinking that it (Vijayanagaram) was an ally, desisted; but Vaz persisted in the fight, and was victorious. Without causing any damage to the countryside or the populace, he burnt down the 70 vessels and captured many guns. Then, he sailed to Goa, and began suppressing the pirates. News arrived, when a vessel from Mecca had been seized, and enquiries made, that the naval force sent by the Turks from Misra would arrive soon. The Kannur fort was strengthened; the walls were extended to include the well, and made grand; war materials were gathered from Kochi; and battlements constructed on the western side as well. While these efforts were being made, it was rumoured that Mascarenhas would be arriving soon, and that he had been removed from power by the king. The Portuguese at Kochi were in different camps²; a Dominican priest, Horo, openly declared during prayers in church that Vaz was the chief; those who sided with Mascarenhas were great sinners and fit to be consigned to hell. This strengthened Vaz; he eased³ members of the other party out. The dissention deepened. There were not sufficient men to sail against the Turks; but among the Turks too, as among the Portuguese, there were internal jealousies and conflicts; so they could not capture the Aden fort, and their campaign ended in disorder. The Portuguese were happy, and decided that there should be no delay in informing the king. Someone set off from Ormuz, and travelling through the Rumi territory, reached Portugal in three months, and conveyed the information. That journey was a great wonder in those times. Now, of course, steam ships take only a month to go that way.

1 Thus making it impossible for the huge Portuguese sailing vessel to manoeuvre.

2 "Taṅgaḷil eṭaṇṇu" = quarreled among themselves.

3 "Kalavūtam cheytu" = fraudently dealt with them.

74. HOW VAZ TORMENTED¹ MASCARENHAS

When Mascarenhas, after concluding his victories in the eastern islands, started off, and reached Kochi, the Portuguese acknowledged him as the Viceroy. At the anchorage at Kochi (28 February 1527), the chief of the treasury, Messiah, gathered the soldiers on the beach. Mascarenhas arrived unarmed in a boat, and requested to be permitted only to pray in the church. Messiah cut him with his sword, and wounded him; he got into his ship and sailed to Goa. Vaz, without meeting him, ordered him to sail to Kannur; when he objected, he had him in chains, and taken to Kannur, where he was kept imprisoned. When the conflict heightened and reached its climax, the head of the Franciscans declared himself from the church that he was with Vaz, and cursed the opposite party. Many thought that this too was intolerable. Feeling that all the moves of Vaz were adventurous, some of the earlier chiefs of Kannur released Mascarenhas from prison, and honoured him as the Viceroy, and, gathering in the church, swore allegiance to him. The Kolattiri called on him. By the end of July, all over the territory, quarrels and calumny were spread extensively; both the two great men desired to establish confidence through 13 mediators. They gathered in Kochi; while many were preparing for battle, loading their guns, and raising battle cries, the mediators gathered in the church. Most of them were afraid of the people of Kochi. They therefore declared that Vaz had the right to reign. Mascarenhas had guessed that this would be the decision; he had all his belongings secured in a ship, and, as soon as he heard of the decision, set off for Portugal (21st December).

Tamutirii learnt of all these happenings. He believed that the Portuguese would annihilate one another; and sent Pattars to Venad and Kolanad, with messages that this was the opportune time to capture Kollam and Kannur respectively. At Kannur, the Muslims happily sought to join Tamutirii. Therefore Captain D'Za sailed to Mangalur, and did some damage there. He singled out the Calicut shipping and burnt it. When Chinna Kutty Ali attacked with 60 vessels, D'Za himself boarded his boat, and wounded him; when he jumped into the sea, D'Za had him picked up, and captured most of the vessels (March 1528). In order to have Kutty Ali released, the Muslims of Kannur had to give as ransom 500 gold measures and other gifts. He also had to swear on the Kuran that he would not attack the Portuguese in future. The infuriated Muslims took the leadership of Hajji Kutty Ali of Dharmapattanam, and through the monsoon, gathered about 130 vessels. Hearing of this, Vaz himself set out (28th October). Off Elimala, the wind died, but using oars, that ship manoeuvred around the ships and fought a mighty battle. By the failure of his captains, Vaz was often put to difficulties in beating off the enemy; in the end, he captured 22 vessels, sank some, and drove off the rest. Because of the heavy casualties suffered by the Muslims, in north Malayalam too, there was a cessation of war-like intentions².

1 "P'ilukkiyatu" = squeezed; tortured; outmanoeuvred; outwitted; got the better of.

2 "Yuddhabhavangal" = war-like attitudes.

75. HOW THE PURAKKAD CHIEF WAS PUNISHED

After his victories at Elimala, Vaz sailed south; he stayed at Chettuvaya, wreaking vengeance for past wrongs, and stationing some captains to protect the opening into the sea there, frightening Tamutirii's naval personnel. An unusual¹ east wind blew very hard (September 1528); some vessels were broken and sank; and some ran aground; the natives killed all the Portuguese they could get at; so, Vaz landed and put the countryside to fire, and reduced everything to ashes. Perumpadappu was striving to conquer Kodungallur, and Tamutirii was strengthening his defences with a big force; Vaz sailed there and advised several stratagems² to repulse the enemy, and then sailed off to Purakkad. It has been described already (Chapter 66, 71) how the chief there had become inimical to the Portuguese. Vaz realized that this was the best opportunity to destroy the enemy. After the chief and his Nayars had set off for a campaign in the east, he landed his forces; though the town was well-fortified with water and slush, the Portuguese went through and surrounded the palace. They confiscated all the gold, silver, and guns and other treasures that that pirate had accumulated by his robbery. They abducted the wives³ and the sister of the chief (15 October 1528). Each of the 1000 whites who took part in that day's battle got 800 pieces of gold as his share of the loot. It is reported that the chief suffered⁴ a loss about one lakh. The Portuguese set the town on fire, and cut down the coconut palms, after which they sailed off to Kannur. From there, Vaz sent his nephew Melieu to the Madai estuary, where he destroyed 12 vessels belonging to Tamutirii. In Elikkara too, he set his soldiers to hunt⁵ down and kill the people, and to set the settlement called Madai on fire. While engaged in such military activities along the coast of Malayalam, Vaz did not forget the mercantile interests; he imported fine horses into Goa, and earned much money by selling them to the Moghul chiefs as well as to the Rayar, and greatly strengthened the forts and battlements. While so (1529), Nuno da Cunha arrived at Kannur from Portugal (18 November 1529). Without entering the fort, he intimated Vaz about his having been appointed the head; Vaz at once got into a boat and went to the ship to enquire of his welfare⁶. Cunha had indeed gained fame 22 years ago, when he had come with his father and joined the battles at Kannur and Ponnani; learning of some irregularities alleged to have been committed by Vaz, he conducted a detailed enquiry as had been commanded by royal order, and finally had him imprisoned. Thus was he punished for having tortured Mascarenhas and imprisoned him (January 1530). He was sent back to Portugal. There too, he was subjected to enquiry; the judgement was that all his salary taken by him as the head for the past three years should be paid to Mascarenhas. In those days, it is reputed, the annual salary of the head was 10,000 varahan. He (Vaz) had no trouble paying the amount, because he had so much of the loot from Purakkad. Later, the chief of Purakkad begged pardon from Cunha, paid him much money, recovered his wives and his sister, and from then on, remained as the friend of the Portuguese without vacillation⁷. Even 132 years later, when the Dutch captured Kochi (6 January 1663), and ended the Portuguese rule, there are several reports that those of Purakkad fought in support of the Portuguese.

1 "Asamgatiyāyittu" = uncaused, unprecedented. Grammatically, it should have been 'asaṅgataṁyāyittu'.

2 "Örönnine upadēsiccu" = advising one thing and another.

3 Gundert uses the Sanskrit expression, 'dāraṅgaḥ', which is always in the plural. It need not necessarily mean that the then chief of Purakkad had many wives.

4 "Sādhiccu" = obtained, experienced, suffered.

5 "Nāyaḍiccu" = made to hunt.

6 i.e., exchange greetings.

7 "Bhēdam varāte" = without change.

GUNDERT - NOTES

1. Pacheco's Defence of Kochi

One of the impressive feats in the history of warfare is Duarte Pacheco's defence of Kochi. With a small force of 150 Portuguese soldiers, many of whom were wounded, and a few Nayars, he withstood a four-month siege by 60,000 soldiers of the Zamorin and his allies, inflicting heavy casualties on them while suffering very few himself.

In 1504, Koya Pakki, a Calicut Muslim who was an informant of the Portuguese, reported that the Zamorin planned a great attack on Kochi in collaboration with many kings of Kerala including Kolattiri and Venad. As it was time for the fleet to sail back to Portugal with merchandise, most of the captains were keen to go home. Pacheco was left with the fort and two ships with which he was expected to defend the place. Pacheco took early precautions; he went to Kannur and gathered a large quantity of rice that he stocked in Kochi. He reassured the king, boasting that with just his 150 soldiers, and himself, a Christian, he could defeat any enemy. He found that the Muslims of Kochi, under a friend of the Zamorin's, Ismail Marikkar, were preventing the import of rice and spreading alarmist rumours. Pacheco summoned all the merchants, and warned that if any one tried to leave Kochi or suspend business, then Pacheco would have him immediately hanged. Gundert has dramatically described this episode. Pacheco set up a network of spies who kept him informed of all the movements of his enemies. On 16 March 1504, the great force reached Idappalli. Pacheco gathered 60 of his Portuguese and selected 500 Nayars from the 5,000 placed at his disposal. Gundert has also described Pacheco's contemptuous replies to the Pattar messenger.

The Zamorin's first attack was with about 20,000 men, but many of them were handling firearms for the first time and the fire was ineffective. His big guns were defective; the velocity of the discharge was only about the same as that of a hand throw. As the Nayars were massed for attack, Portuguese retaliatory fire had deadly effect; the attack fizzled out. Pacheco used the interval to fix sharpened stakes on the water-approaches to Kochi, so that the Zamorin's ships would not be able to sail through. He organized lightning raids with his small force in the interior undefended regions of the territory of Idappalli Raja, the Zamorin's ally - Zamorin had to divert some of his forces for the defence of this territory. The Portuguese killed and carted off cows, which had a demoralizing effect. Acting on information received, he was able to manoeuvre his men with lightning speed, anticipating the massed attacks of the Zamorin and achieving great surprise by his counter-attacks. In fact, so demoralized did the enemy become that the very sight of the Portuguese was often enough to make even large contingents turn back and flee in fright. The Nayars were unaccustomed to night fighting, and in one such attempt they exterminated themselves by fighting one another.

Gundert has adequately, and humorously described the Nayar misadventure with the Pulaya farmers.

An interesting sidelight on Pacheco's character is in the following episode. He suspected that some Kochi Nayars were conspiring to kill him; they were imprisoned, and two of them were tortured to death; the rest were condemned to die on the stake. This caused a revolt; the Nayars protested that such punishments were against the caste-code. Pacheco thought discretion was the better part of valour, and desisted from further punitive actions. He made much of his magnanimity to gain favour from the king. His treatment of Muslim traders at Kochi, was extremely cruel. He did not stop with merely frightening Ismail Marikkar; he had him brought to his presence, and had each hair of his beard plucked, before imprisoning him.

The last great engagement that the Zamorin tried was a combined attack by land and water, with 30,000 soldiers, 110 big vessels, 110 armed rafts, 80 boats, and 8 'turreted craft' - the last was an ingenious contraption, designed by one Khoja Ali of Idappalli. He made rafts of several boats, and erected towering multi-storied structures, accommodating several archers in them. He also devised a few wooden rafts, smeared with inflammable tars, set them afire, and pushed them on to the Portuguese shipping. Pacheco countered them by tying the masts of his ships well in front of them, to serve as bumpers, so that the turreted craft could not approach near enough for the effective discharge of the arrows. To alternate between defence on land and water, Pacheco would lead his men on lightning forays on land, and then have them scamper back into their boats. As soon as the fireboats approached, they hit the 'bumpers', and were turned back on the Zamorin's own shipping. At a critical juncture of the battle, one of the cannon shots from the Portuguese ships squarely hit the biggest of the turreted craft, setting it afire. It ran against the other craft of the Zamorin, setting them on fire, and causing utmost confusion. Two Portuguese captains, Christopher Jeusart and Simoa Andraide, supported by 1,000 Nayars under the Elaya Raja (the second prince) foiled all attempts by

the Zamorin's forces to land. They fought all day, and caused great casualties among the men and shipping of the Zamorin's.

The consequences of the victory over the Zamorin were far-reaching. Gundert has only hinted at them. The Zamorin's reputation as the invincible potentate of Malabar was ruined. Portuguese ships went on piratical raids on ships sailing out of Calicut, confiscating their goods, and sinking the craft. Many Muslim traders went back to Arabia, etc. Some migrated to Kochi, to take advantage of 'boom' conditions there. It was the beginning of Perumpadappu's long climb into kingship and independent identity, albeit as a dependent of the Portuguese. Gundert has described the rewards that the grateful Perumpadappu heaped on heroic Pacheco in detail, but he does not specifically mention that the king of Kochi also granted him the Portuguese title of "Dom". He has only hinted at the slight regard he had in his own native Portugal. No special honours were conferred on him by the king of Portugal. On the other hand, several offences were charged against him, and he was imprisoned. Only when the allegations were disproved was he released; he lived in comparative poverty till his end.

Most of the sources agree on the major episodes in their accounts, more or less in similar terms.

[Source: Menon KPP (original edition 1914) Reprint 1989, Mathrubhumi Printing & Publication, Calicut. Menon warns that Portuguese accounts tend to be highly exaggerated, though, undoubtedly, Pacheco's victory was indeed of the highest order of merit.]

2. Portuguese Arms & Methods of Warfare

Most of the "great battles" described by the Portuguese historians were not much more than magnified street brawls. The Portuguese had cannons with iron projectiles, as well as of stone. In contrast, most Kerala potentates had only inferior pieces used to fire ceremonial blasts for the sound - Zamorin himself had only two in 1502, but those manning them had no idea of aiming, and took long to re-load. When he attacked Kochi, he had some iron guns that shot stones as hard as a man could throw them; the Portuguese caught them by hand, 'as if they were bowles'. Matchlocks (guns which could be carried by foot-soldiers and were ignited by applying a match) were introduced in 1512. The ingredients for making gunpowder had to be imported. Indian guns were generally of iron, and could easily burst when discharged, causing more damage to the user than the enemy. Aim was very erratic; Indians did not know how to design sailing vessels that could withstand the recoil from the discharge of the big guns. The Sinhalese were ignorant of gunpowder, and the noise of the cannon sufficed to drive away all thought of resistance from their minds.

The main arms of the Indian forces were lances, swords and shields, generally highly decorated. The swords were of iron, some curved, some short and round, and the point was seldom used, as they did not fence, but only cut and slashed. From the handle, about one-third of the length was strengthened by an extra backing of iron; there were no hand guards, but only small pieces of elaborately moulded iron that barely covered the fingers. They were also adorned with several brass rings and bells, which rattled during swordplay. They wore coats wadded with cotton, and similarly wadded caps or turbans to protect their heads. The armies were formed in close columns with the swordsmen in front, their shields touching each other. The archers came behind; there were also soldiers who threw projectiles of wood, iron and stones by hand. The lance men with spears and javelins brought up the rear. The fighting was in the open plain, and drumbeats marked the commencement and halting of the battle. When the ranks on any side broke, the slaughter was very great, so it was when Portuguese cannon shot ploughed their way through the massed ranks. The Zamorin was among the first to learn that the traditional courtesies of fighting were wasted on the Portuguese, and surprised them in 1530 by abandoning the custom of sounding trumpets and drums to signal the commencement of his attack. The Portuguese wore armour, but found body armour difficult to keep clean in the moist Indian climate; leather cuirasses replaced them. Albuquerque prescribed detailed instructions for the upkeep of arms and ammunition, as well as armour. He emphasized that "men must be encouraged to take pride in their arms".

Portuguese accounts generally under-report their own losses. Only about 60% to 70% of the ships that sailed out from Portugal returned safely. They developed the dockyards at Kochi, so that large ships could be launched from there. However, the large vessels proved to be unsuitable for pursuing enemies up the estuaries and rivers, and when becalmed, became easy targets of the agile *Paro* rowboats of the Kunjalis. So, the Portuguese designed and had boats that could either sail or row, and carried only 30 fighting-men.

In addition to being pirates themselves, the Portuguese issued 'licences' to individual merchants and sailors to engage in piracy, in return for a share in the spoils. These private 'entrepreneurs' did not care for the 'cartaz' issued officially by the Portuguese local authorities, and boarded and looted all ships they could

overpower. Muslim shipping was the preferred prey, because they contained gold as well as perfumes and other valuable merchandise; high ransom could also be demanded for the release of the prisoners.

The Portuguese military system consisted of "fidalgos" (officers) and soldiers; the latter was subdivided into married and single. The single soldiers were recruited from the dregs of Portuguese society, and constituted the lowest ranks. Some were paid a lump sum on appointment, and nothing periodically thereafter. They were encouraged to loot wherever possible, and this was the most important source of income for them. The officers were also entitled to a share in the profits of the trade. The pay of a captain was £ 850/- for three years, but the profits, £ 57,000/-, in a typical case. Another method of rewarding service was by the grant of a 'voyage' - all the profits from that could be taken by the grantee.

[Source: Whiteway RS (original 1899) Reprint 1989 Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.]

3. Afonso Albuquerque "the Great"

Some of Gundert's best passages are in praise of Afonso Albuquerque. He became the Portuguese Governor of India in 1509, when he was about 56 years old, but had been in India for a long period. In 1503, he had commanded a squadron of ships from Portugal to India. He was partly responsible for picking up Duarte Pacheco as the best man for the defence of Kochi. As described by Gundert, he had to suffer a great deal of hardship because of the way Almeida ill-treated him, when appointed as Governor in his place - he even had Albuquerque imprisoned in his own house. It was only after Marshal Coutinho came with the definite orders from King Manuel that he could assume charge. Gundert has adequately described the personal greatness of this character. He attended meticulously to minute details of governance and administration, his main priority being to root out corruption that had set in among the top Portuguese. He was the first Portuguese in authority who thought of a permanent presence in India - his predecessors had been preoccupied with trade, fighting, and making money. He discovered the advantages of Goa over Kochi; the geography was more suited for year-round shipping; it was more easily defensible, and he did not have to counter the constant rebellion that he had to face in Kochi. In his own words:

By it (Goa), we got a foothold in India and destroyed the dockyard of the Moors. Now no one can order us not to touch the Moors, nor can the Raja of Kochi demand the life of a Portuguese for that of a cow. It is the chief port of India for the Deccan, for Vijayanagara, and for Europe. In Kochi, you cannot get supplies for 500 men; there is no fish and no flesh, and fowls there are sixpence each. In Goa, 2,000 men extra are hardly noticed. In a foreign country, you cannot cut a stick without permission, and in the bazars, if you do not pay what you owe, or if you touch a Moor woman or wound a man of the country, swords are drawn at once and the fortress is besieged."

He had an easy means to finance the new capital; he confiscated the properties of all the Muslims around. He befriended Malhar Rao by appointing him to offices of considerable profit, and thus endeared himself to the Hindu potentates, and to the powerful Rayar of Vijayanagaram. He was a competent military commander, as his victorious conquest of Malacca shows. He opened up the Indonesian archipelago for trade.

Gundert has also described how Albuquerque created enemies by his strict insistence on honesty and fairness, and how these enemies calumniated him before the king. He however inspired a great deal of confidence and devotion among the rank and file - in his despatches to the king, he was careful to point out how bravely they had discharged their duties, particularly in the recapture of Goa, one of his most gallant achievements. Leading from the front, though bespattered with the blood of a companion who had been shot dead while standing just near him, he berthed his ships a gunshot from the walls, so that his crews got over their fear of the artillery. His worst cruelties were reserved for the Portuguese renegades, whom he compelled the enemy to give up on condition that their life would be spared, and discharged this condition by having them maimed, their limbs mutilated and amputated, and their ears cut off - of the 19 who had surrendered, half died under the torture, and at the end of three days, the survivors were hardly human in form (this has not been mentioned by Gundert).

He had a wry sense of humour. When some of his soldiers complained that the medical staff were not treating them properly, he had the doctors fetched; their explanation was that they did not understand the nature of the men's disease; Albuquerque had them put to work the whole day in the sun, manually working at the building of the fort, and told them that they should by then have understood the nature the men's disease! Gundert had related the story of how he gifted three hairs from his beard to an indigent person, so that he could mortgage them in a shop and get what he wanted. The aftermath, which he did not include, as recorded by Whiteway, was that the 'native' recipient did borrow money on their strength, and the next payday, the lender produced them for redemption; Albuquerque redeemed them from pawn by paying out of his own pocket. When sure that his death was near, he made a will, to be executed by his successor, in which he noted: "I beg that he (the successor) will not put up my goods to auction; I do not wish my ragged

old breeches to be seen". Lopo Soares, the successor, did put up his goods to auction, but they were so poor that they fetched no purchasers, thus redounding to Albuquerque's credit as an honest man who did not make money despite the dictatorial powers he had on one of the richest territories in the world, during his times.

Albuquerque had been criticized even by his contemporaries for his policy of encouraging inter-marriages between Portuguese men and Indian women. Albuquerque had begun his experiment with banished men, and the sneer was that from a banished criminal and a low-caste woman, nothing good would come. He explained that he was careful to select captive Muslim and Brahmin women for the inter-marriages. None was allowed to retain a woman of either of these classes as a slave, except on the understanding that she was to be given up to anyone who desired to marry her. But, in actual practice, this was not enforced too strictly, and captive women, irrespective of caste, were mated to the Portuguese soldiers to produce half-castes.

Gundert has mentioned that he was 62 or 63 years old at the time of his death. He was the second son of Goncalo de Albuquerque and Donna Lianor de Menezes, his wife. He was described as being of medium height, well-made, spare of flesh, with a long face, high colour, and a beard reaching to his waist that turned white as he aged. He was never married, but left an illegitimate son by a Negro lady. Though pitiless like most of the Portuguese of those times, he had a keen love of justice. His door was kept closed only during the short interval when he had a nap after lunch; the rest of the time, any one could enter and seek to meet him. It is reported that he investigated the complaints even from 'mere Mohammedans' against the Portuguese captains of galleys, and did not desist from punishing the latter when found guilty. He used to ride on his horse every day, and any complainant could stop him on the way; if his complaint was serious enough, Albuquerque would not have his breakfast before he settled the issue. He reported to his king: "I am known all over India as a man of my word". Barros, a Portuguese historian, summed up: "Whoever fights has the glory of conquering his enemies, but he who governs only acquires the hatred of his subordinates".

[Source for all the above, including the quotations: Whiteway op.cit., Chapter VIII, pp. 128-178.]

4. Portuguese King's Orders appointing successors to incumbency of high offices

Gundert had referred to 'the breaking open of the seal' regarding the appointment of officers in succession to the incumbency of high offices under the Portuguese. The system was instituted when Vasco da Gama came out as Viceroy. Considering his advanced age, and the possibility of his dying while in India, the orders had been sent in a sealed bag kept in the custody of a high official; the bag would be marked that it should not be opened until the death of the person, named and identified, as Viceroy or Governor. In the bag would be several sealed envelopes, each with the king's signature, each marked serially as "First succession: not to be opened until the death of X, Second succession: Not to be opened until the death of Y (i.e., the person named in the first document as the successor of X), etc. On the death of an incumbent, and before the funeral, in the presence of the corpse, and usually in the church, the bag was brought, its seals examined by those present, and an attesting document drawn up and signed; the required envelope was withdrawn from the bag, which was again sealed, and a similar attestation furnished in regard to the name revealed in the contents as the next incumbent.

[Source: Whiteway, op.cit.: 213.]

5. The Rani-s of Kollam according to Nagam Aiya and others

a) When the Queen of Kollam heard of the liberality with which Gama had treated Perumpadappu, she sent a message requesting him to send two of his largest ships, and promised to load them with pepper on the same terms as he had established at Kochi. Gama replied that he had promised Perumpadappu not to do anything without his leave and pleasure; the queen therefore addressed Perumpadappu who gave his consent. They loaded at Kayamkulam and returned full in only 10 days. The queen also sent a present to Gama of several silk pieces of various colours that had been made in her country, and were of great worth. By the time Albuquerque visited it, Kollam was a great port and a large city, "peopled with heathens, with not a single moor in it, nor any foreigner except the brother of Cheinamercar of Kochi, who had gone thither just lately to reside" (Nagam Aiya, 284). Albuquerque and his men were well-received by the local Christians, and the king. The following description is interesting:

b) "As we (Albuquerque and his men) began to think of departing, a meeting between the king and the captain was resolved on, and upon the day fixed, the captain ordered out six boats armed and elegantly decorated The whole being arranged, were ordered to lay close in with the beach and await the coming of the king. In an hour, the king came down, attended by an innumerable concourse of people, ... in their several degrees; the whole closing with the king, seated cross-legged on an ivory chair, and carried by four Brahmins. The king was dressed in silk, embroidered with an upper robe of gold muslin; he wore rings

of a considerable value, and had on his head a crimson velvet cap ... long chains of pearls and brilliants hanging from the top of the cap, with his hair flowing loose upon his shoulders. There were a number of elephants, and Persian horses ... A number of various war-like instruments joined in the procession ... Immediately on arrival opposite to where the boats lay, they made a halt; the captain made the signal for a salute from the ships; he then was rowed to the shore to have the honour of kissing the king's hand ... "

- c) Gundert has not described this scene; but has reported consequent treaty and other arrangements.
- d) After Albuquerque was temporarily superseded by Almeida, his captain Homem violated the peace by confiscating masts and rudders of Arab shipping at Kollam. The Nayers and Muslims attacked Portuguese captain D'Za, who had to escape by fleeing to a Bhagavati temple, which was set fire to by the Nayers. Hearing of this, Almeida deprived Homem of his command, and put it under his own son, Lorenzo. Gundert has described how the winds drove his force to Sri Lanka, and of his exploits there. He was also able to terrorize Arab sailors. By the time of Soares, the contracting party at Kollam had become the queen. A treaty highly favourable to the Portuguese was entered into. The special mention of "Governors of the land" as parties to the treaty probably refers to semi-independent chiefs, including perhaps Pillaimar. Rodriguez was appointed captain at Kollam in 1517.
- e) Aiya's account of the letter of apology sent by the queen is substantially as in Gundert's account, but Aiya is silent about the Junior Queen, and her envoy, "none other than the famous Christian lady, Kochikkali".
- f) Menon A Sreedhara in a long footnote (p. 103) argues that the queen concerned was the Rani of Attingal, who was the seniormost female member of the Venad royal family. She arrogated to herself the right to negotiate with foreign powers and conclude agreements with them. Menon does not mention Junior Queen and her emissary.
- g) Gundert's rather confused mention of the miracles attributed to Mar Thoma narrated by the Kollam Christians, are explained somewhat more clearly in Menon p. 115. The great church there was reputedly built miraculously by the apostle, just before he departed from earthly existence.
- h) Gundert glosses over the 'conversion' of the Syrian Christians of Kollam to the Roman rite, and how they became resoundingly noisy as a result. The story is much more complicated (Menon KPP 1983:II, 45 et. seq.). In 1500, four patriarchs - Mar Mardina, Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma and Jene Alley - were the heads. In 1550, the Portuguese ordained that no Syrian priests should enter the church. A bishop, Alexio, took a lot of trouble at reconciliation, including the payment of 30,000 ducats to the King of Kochi, as a persuasion to induce the Christians in his territories to migrate to Kollam. The Christians, unable to endure the persecutions, submitted to the Bishop and thus became reconciled with the Portuguese.
- i) In the episode about the discomfiture of the Rani-s of Kollam, Gundert makes an intriguing reference to Kochikkali, a "famous Christian lady of Kollam", who went as an independent emissary of the Junior Rani to Rodriguez, the Portuguese factor. According to Gundert, she promised complete satisfaction of the Portuguese demands as the price of peace. Other references, e.g., Nagam Aiya, Menon AS, etc. do not make any special mention of the Junior Rani while describing the episode, and of course, no mention at all of Kochikkali. Menon KPP (History of Kerala, Vol. 2, Reprint 1983, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, p. 46) mentions that on 8 August, 1517, the Junior Rani, who and her brother, the minor Raja, had been earlier annoyed at the Portuguese failure in negotiating with them, had "sent an envoy by name Kochikkali (*kocchikkālī* = *koccu* + *ikkālī*), a well-known Christian lady", who pleaded that her mistress was not privy to what had happened and that she was willing to supply them with provisions, etc. Gundert had reported that Rodriguez refused to deal with a lady envoy and demanded that a male minister should negotiate on behalf of both the Rani-s. Menon, however, has it that Chana Pillai was sent as the emissary of the Junior Rani, and negotiated only on her behalf, denouncing the Senior Rani, and offering to withdraw that part of the besieging force which was under the orders of the Junior. But as regards Kochikkali herself, the records have nothing further to offer.

6. The Destruction of the Portuguese fort at Calicut - Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen account

Gundert had made a rather slighting reference to the Muslim accounts about the destruction of the Portuguese fort at Calicut, and quoted Ferishta, with a comment that the report is not sufficiently authenticated to be believed. Menon KPP (op.cit., pp. 146-147) has the following from the *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, by Zein-ud-din of Ponnani:

"Now, at the time when the fracas took place in Calicut between the Franks and certain of the Mohammedans of Fundreeah, and in consequence of which the Zamorin had resolved to attack the former, he himself was absent from Calicut, being engaged in carrying on war against certain other enemies at some distance; at this time, therefore, he was content with despatching the

prime minister, who was called Baluz, against the Franks, with instructions to attack them. Thus commissioned, this person began to act against them with great vigour, taking his measures with prudence, and collecting together the Mohammedans and the Nayers soldiers of the Zamorin, the former flocking to his standard (to fight for their religion and the cause of God) from various towns. And the Zamorin himself setting out for Calicut, and the provisions of the Franks at this time being expended, they did not await his approach, but evacuated their fort and embarked all that it contained on board their ships; to facilitate their doing this, they made an opening in the wall from within the fort, and in a part which was not visible to those who were without, and abandoning the fort, they set sail in the ships and went away, which event happened on the 16th day of Muhorrum in the year 932. And they were slain, from the commencement of the war to the victory of the Nayers, of the Zamorins and soldiers, officers, and of the Mohammedans, upwards of a thousand persons! Nevertheless, the rage of the Franks increased ten-fold, whilst their animosity towards the Mohammedans was heightened to the last degree from this capture of their fort".

In order to compensate for this, Portuguese negotiated with Chaliyam king, and with the assistance of Tanur king, a fort was built at Chaliyam along with a church. It was armed with heavy artillery and named Santa Maria de Castello, with Diogo Periera as the first captain. According to Muslim accounts, Tanur Raja effected reconciliation between Periera and Zamorin. The fort at Chaliyam was strategically more advantageously located, as it commanded the estuary, and the internal waterways, enabling the Portuguese to command the water-borne commerce. The Muslim records narrate that an existing mosque there was demolished, and the materials used in the construction of the Portuguese fort.

7. *The non-military aspects of the early Portuguese Period*

So much has conventional historiography been concerned with battles and kings that the contributions of the Portuguese to the non-military aspects of life are generally glossed over. Gundert has mentioned how the accidental discovery of Brazil resulted in the introduction into Kerala of several important crops like pineapples, cashew, etc.

The first extra-territorial jurisdiction that the Portuguese gained was at Kollam, where the local Christians were put under their jurisdiction, in matters of administration of justice, as early as in 1503. By the agreement of 1516, if the natives of Kollam were found guilty on account of quarrels with the Portuguese or the local Christians, then after judgement by the local authorities, they would be handed over to the Portuguese captain, there, for punishment. In 1520, a further treaty gave the Portuguese the monopoly rights over the pepper originating from Kollam - this treaty continued to be in force till 1543. The Portuguese established weighing centres at Kayamkulam, under the factor at Kollam.

Though militarily, the Portuguese identified the Muslims as their implacable enemies in trade, they depended on them very largely. Albuquerque had reported in one of his despatches to his king that only among the Muslims, there were large-scale traders and entrepreneurs, with whom the Portuguese could do big business; the Hindus and the Christians could manage only little investment funds, and did not have adequate capital. The copper given as payment by the Portuguese had to be exchanged at Cambay for the best terms; the Hindus and Christians, having no contacts there, had to dispose it off to the Muslims, who had such contacts, and suffer a loss (Whiteway, *loc.cit.*). Cherianina Merquar (Marakkar) and Mamala Marakkar were their agents for the storage of pepper until the arrival of ships after the monsoon. They were sometimes paid in terms of rice and copper in advance. Influential Muslim merchants of Kochi used to accompany the king during his visits to the Portuguese Viceroy. The merchants went all over Malabar to procure produce for the Portuguese at the cheapest prices, and delivered to the respective factories. The Muslims had the best sailing crews, and even Christian and Hindu shippers had to depend on them. So, despite all the apparent hostility on the political front, the Portuguese had to make peace with the Muslims on the mercantile. Nino Marakkar of Kochi hired his ship to the Portuguese for their trade with Malacca, in 1506 - they also carried textiles from Gujarati merchants in Cambay for export to Malacca, in exchange for spices. The vessel of Chikay Marakkar of Kochi was used to transport elephants to Goa and to Portugal. Interestingly, the Portuguese found the local merchants more trustworthy than their own officers ("fidalgo" = the trusted people). Albuquerque recorded that his officers could not be trusted with cash in advance. Though historiography foregrounds the Governors and military commanders, the factors (managers of the trading centres) were very important to the economics of the Portuguese rule. They came to be appointed directly by the king of Portugal, and reported directly to him.

Local people, especially those converted to Christianity, tended to settle in the vicinity of the Portuguese factories and forts. At Calicut, because the fort was the scene of constant fighting and attacks, a local community did not arise. The most significant of the Portuguese contributions to public welfare was the construction of hospitals at such settlements for the care of the sick. The hospitals were provided with food, clothes and everything needed for the treatment of the sick by the Portuguese Government. The hospital at Kannur was considered the best in India because of the good quality of the air and the water. The surgeon attached to this hospital had to look after the sick at Calicut too.

In addition to hospitals, an institution to look after the poor, sick, orphans and widows, was established in Kochi by about 1527, and called the Holy House of Mercy (*Santa Casa da Misericordia*). Dona Leonora, sister of Dom. Manuel and the wife of the king of Portugal, had founded the institution that managed it, in 1498. Churches were established wherever the Portuguese had a presence. The first Portuguese church to be built on Indian soil was at Kochi, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew, in 1503. Gundert had mentioned the founding of the churches at Kannur and Calicut, as well as the renovation and restoration of the church at Kollam.

Monasteries of various orders also came up in Kochi, adding to the development of urban institutions. The monasteries of St. Francis and of St. Anthony were established as early as the beginning of the 16th century. Later, other congregations like the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, were also established. They started and managed schools for teaching children to read and write, at Kochi, Kannur and Kollam, without distinction of caste, community or religion. The school at Kochi had about 100 students in 1512 under a married Portuguese settler paid by the Portuguese; the Portuguese Government, gave the poor students food and other necessities during the time of Albuquerque, though his successor - Lopo Soares - stopped this assistance. Later on, in Kannur and Kollam, they were raised to the status of "colleges". These special favours led to the conversion of about 10,000 to 12,000 Nayars, Panikkars, etc. to Christianity in 1518. There was a special officer *pai dos Christaos* (= Father of the Christians), appointed and paid for by the Portuguese Government.

As the first western power to establish such close military and political presence in India, several of their practices continued to be adopted by the subsequent entrants, including the British. Some of the administrative measures adopted by Albuquerque were closely studied by the early British administrators, and became part of the mythology of governance as practiced by them. The policy of divide and rule was perpetually the best strategy adopted by them to gain a wedge of influence that could be levered into power. The greatest sociological innovation of the early Portuguese that was not immediately followed up by their western successors was the attempt at reducing the caste differences among the Indian population. After Pacheco, none seems to have tried to convince an Indian king to grant upper-caste identity to members of the lower castes, however gallant they had been. It was through conversion to Roman Catholic Christianity that they sought to introduce a basic equality among the humans - an effort that was somewhat watered down by the later Protestant Missions that retained caste labels (e.g. "Nadar Christians"), in order to maximize conversions.

[Source: Mathew KM in Menon TM (Ed.) **A Handbook of Kerala** Vol. I, 2000.]

A NOTE ON -āre: THE PERSON-NUMBER-MARKING SUFFIX IN GUNDERT'S WRITING

Hermann Gundert in his *Kerala Palama*, which is a history of Malabar from AD 1496 to AD 1531, published in 1863 and reprinted with spelling corrections, provides finite verb-endings in Malayalam. About 125 occurrences were listed and the nature of the endings is analyzed so that disappearance of the p. Nog. (person-number and gender) suffixes in Malayalam finite verbs can be gauged.

Use of the suffix -āre in finite verbs is found mostly in this work which appears to be based on the diary of the Portuguese in Malabar.

The following classes of occurrences are available in this text.

a) Subject

Epicene plural third person *finite-verb* ending in *āre*, third-person epicene plural:

Avar ariyiccāre

b) Subject third-person singular while referring to 'king' or to 'noble' and the finite verb in third-person epicene plural:

avan (tāmudri) kalppīccāre

Incidentally, the reference to a king with a third-person singular pronoun is a practice found in the Sangam classics and in their colophons. Portuguese captains like Gama, Albuquerque, etc., are included in this category.

c) Subject third-person singular and finite verb with *āre*.

mukkuvan ariyiccāre (mostly servants and low-caste people)

In this example, the masculine singular subject takes -āre, third epicene plural finite verb.

The pattern of (1) is predominant, 60; (2) less, 48, and (3), least 8.

avan ('respectful') and *avan* third masculine singular ordinary, though less in frequency, indicate the free use of -āre with singular subject leading finally, to its zeroing.

In finite verbal nouns like *vannavar*, the reference to the subject with person-number marking is found even today without any confusion in the subject in modern Malayalam-writing. In poetry, first- and second-person finite verbs with p. Nog. are found infrequently. These are survivals of an earlier stage of finite verbs ending in p. Nog. in Malayalam.

Classical Tamil also has at least one finite verb-ending in -um taking all person-number and gender subjects.

<i>avan</i> (he)	}	varum (will come)
<i>aval</i> (she)		
<i>avar</i> (they)		
<i>nī</i> (you)		
<i>nīn kaḷ</i> (you) all		
<i>nān</i> (I)		
<i>nān kaḷ</i> (we)		

The other finite verbs will have p. Nog. according to the subject. Modern Tamil mixes plural subject with the singular finite verb, which is not resented by hearers. Television/radio announcers say:

avai vantatu

'They (neuter-plural) came' - 'it' (neuter-singular)

The sequences of disappearance of p. Nog. in Malayalam may be:

First Stage: Subject and finite verbs have concord in p. Nog.

Second Stage: No concord between subject and finite verb p. Nog.

Third Stage: Dropping of finite verb p. Nog.

F.N.

1. In a quote by T. Madhava Menon, the suffix *-āre* is found which led me to scan the whole of *Kēraḷa Paḷama* of Gundert. Now, T.M. Menon is translating the book into English on my advice.
2. In colloquial Malayalam, *nī vannēre* 'You (singular) come' is heard in conversation. Reconstructed form will be *nīr vannīre* to *nī vānīrē*. Since *nīr* is replaced by *ninkal*, 'you' and *nīr* > *nī* 'you' (singular), the finite verb still retains *-īre*, the plural p. Nog.-ending for a singular subject.
3. The regular change of *s* > *t*: *saamudri* for *taamudri* 'the King of Calicut' will confirm my early statement on the change of *s* to *t* in late middle Malayalam.

Second stage: no observed reaction subject and time very short

Third stage: observed reaction subject and time very short

1. The reaction of the subject to the first stage of the test was observed and recorded.
2. The reaction of the subject to the second stage of the test was observed and recorded.
3. The reaction of the subject to the third stage of the test was observed and recorded.
4. The reaction of the subject to the fourth stage of the test was observed and recorded.
5. The reaction of the subject to the fifth stage of the test was observed and recorded.
6. The reaction of the subject to the sixth stage of the test was observed and recorded.
7. The reaction of the subject to the seventh stage of the test was observed and recorded.
8. The reaction of the subject to the eighth stage of the test was observed and recorded.
9. The reaction of the subject to the ninth stage of the test was observed and recorded.
10. The reaction of the subject to the tenth stage of the test was observed and recorded.

The following table shows the results of the test for each subject. The first column shows the subject's name, the second column shows the subject's age, the third column shows the subject's sex, the fourth column shows the subject's race, the fifth column shows the subject's education, the sixth column shows the subject's occupation, the seventh column shows the subject's religion, the eighth column shows the subject's political affiliation, the ninth column shows the subject's social class, the tenth column shows the subject's income, the eleventh column shows the subject's health, the twelfth column shows the subject's personality, the thirteenth column shows the subject's intelligence, the fourteenth column shows the subject's creativity, the fifteenth column shows the subject's leadership, the sixteenth column shows the subject's communication skills, the seventeenth column shows the subject's problem-solving skills, the eighteenth column shows the subject's decision-making skills, the nineteenth column shows the subject's time-management skills, the twentieth column shows the subject's stress-management skills, the twenty-first column shows the subject's conflict-resolution skills, the twenty-second column shows the subject's negotiation skills, the twenty-third column shows the subject's persuasion skills, the twenty-fourth column shows the subject's influence skills, the twenty-fifth column shows the subject's power skills, the twenty-sixth column shows the subject's authority skills, the twenty-seventh column shows the subject's control skills, the twenty-eighth column shows the subject's dominance skills, the twenty-ninth column shows the subject's assertiveness skills, the thirtieth column shows the subject's confidence skills, the thirty-first column shows the subject's self-esteem skills, the thirty-second column shows the subject's self-worth skills, the thirty-third column shows the subject's self-respect skills, the thirty-fourth column shows the subject's self-discipline skills, the thirty-fifth column shows the subject's self-control skills, the thirty-sixth column shows the subject's self-motivation skills, the thirty-seventh column shows the subject's self-direction skills, the thirty-eighth column shows the subject's self-reliance skills, the thirty-ninth column shows the subject's self-sufficiency skills, the fortieth column shows the subject's self-actualization skills.



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