'Regent of the Sea'

Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507–1528

GENEVIÈVE BOUCHON

Translated from the French by

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G. B.
Note on Transcription

The variety of the transcriptions of the Indian words make the selection difficult. The transcription of Sanskrit presents no problem, and no satisfactory solution has been found for the vernacular languages. As often as possible I have researched and transliterated the original graphy. In all other cases I have selected the most common one, as proposed by the historians—although the latter often contradict each other.

The interpretation of the Mappila names gives way to various hypotheses which I have not discussed since, as far as I know, no onomastic study have ever been made on the subject. I have reproduced these names as they appear in the ancient Portuguese texts, although one could be tempted to put together such names as Mame Marcar and Ahmad Marakkar, İçimale Marcar and Isma’il Marakkar, Pocaracem and Fukar Ḥusayn etc. To make things easier, I have used E. Thurston’s transcription of caste names (Thurston 1909).

Place-names generally appear in their most common form, according to the English, French or Portuguese fashion, or as in the local Gazetteers. I have sometimes preferred the vernacular form, as in the case of Kollam, for which the English form ‘Quilon’ seems too remote from the original phonems. In the particular case of the Maldives islands, place-names heard and transcribed by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century neither correspond to those quoted by François Pyrard at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nor appear on modern maps. The atolls of Male, Tilladumati (pg = Tijmo or Timor), Huvadu (pg = Coaydu) and Addu (pg = Adu) are the only ones to have been identified. Since there is no study dealing with the subject, any parallel seems to be hazardous and therefore, I have quoted the names of the islands in inverted commas, whilst referring to two maps, the ancient one taken from the cartographer Bartolomeu Velho’s compilation,¹ and the modern one hereafter (3 and 4).

The explanations referring to words and sentences in italics are to be found either in the footnotes or in the index.

¹ A. Cortesão 1960.
The following table compiles the various transcriptions of the place-names. The forms used in this book are shown in italics.

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<td>Vijayanagar</td>
<td>Bsnaga, Narsinga</td>
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Darmadam
Cannanore
Kasaragod
Kavai
Kayan Kullam
Cochin
Calicut
Quilon
Comorin
Kumbhāl
Madayī
Mahē
Pandarani
Pudupattanam
Tellicherry
Valarpattāṇam
Introduction

When calling to mind a Muslim power in medieval India, it is that of the Delhi sovereigns which immediately comes to the fore, not only because of the greatness of the empires it created but also because of the wealth of writings it inspired. During the medieval period the history of India was recorded by the chroniclers of the Sultans of Delhi and of the Deccan States who were involved in the Turco-Afghan, the Bahmani and the first Moghul conquests. The light which their writings threw upon the North also shone dimly upon the kingdoms of the South, but left most of Dravidian India in the dark. This imbalance can be detected in much of the documentation dealing with the history of India, even though research undertaken over the last hundred years or so has provided a new insight into the background of the southern people.

It has to be said that the kingdoms of the South—and in particular Kerala—can only respond to the great Muslim chronicles of the North with apochryphal texts which have been altered by legends.¹ Now, while the political and military might of the sultans of Delhi was endeavouring to extend its hold right across India, a quite different kind of Islamic power was being born in Kerala, that of the communities which controlled the economy.

Little is known about this Muslim power before the Age of the Discoveries. Although the Arabian and European travellers were aware of it, it is only referred to fleetingly in the domestic literature and epigraphic documents. The early sixteenth century testimonies left by the Portuguese who were ‘discovering’ Kerala at that time reveal that not only was there a Muslim presence but also a force, the full significance of which was understood as it had to be confronted daily.

These testimonies are in the form of four classical chronicles: those of João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Damião de Góis and Gaspar Correia, all of which were written during the sixteenth century; two accounts drawn up by Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pires around 1515, and tens of thousands of documents of all kinds kept in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

Three basic concepts are common to all the texts:

— The Portuguese were not simply travellers passing from one country to the next. Many stayed in the Orient for
several years at a stretch, some for a whole lifetime.

— Portuguese documents are distinguished by their rigorous attention to detail: financial accounts, inventories, christening registers—all contain figures and dates which have been entered with the greatest care.

— The Portuguese testimonies have been written with a certain freedom of expression, at least in the first half of the sixteenth century, before the Inquisition imposed its constraints. The letters sent to King D. Manuel from India were straightforward, which was unusual at the time. In the correspondence addressed to the sovereign, the Portuguese subjects did not hesitate to report scandals, criticize the initiatives taken by their captains and make their own suggestions.

It is regrettable that in all the Indian documentation there is very little which can be used as a response to the Portuguese accounts. The chronicle written in Arabic by Zaynuddin at the end of the sixteenth century gives no clear indication as to the nature of the Hindu reaction, his purpose being rather to act as an interpreter for his Muslim fellows. Fortunately, the Portuguese archives hold a good deal of letters written by the kings of Malabar, as yet unpublished, which reveal their political attitude in a different light. At the same time the Portuguese documentation is marked by a malevolent prejudice towards Islam and a medieval mistrust of Hinduism which they saw as a cult of 'the Devil'. With the exception of Duarte Barbosa, they made only random references to the socio-religious structures. But these brief references are a constant call to further research on the history of the institutions and societies of India.

To reply to this call is to undertake an immense task. No scientific analysis of Kerala during this period has ever been carried out. Whereas the histories of Vijayanagar and the Coromandel States have inspired so much memorable literature, the only information on Kerala is in the form of elementary syntheses. The epigraphic material is dispersed in numerous collections, the most recent instalments of which are not easily accessible in Europe.

Most of the traditions were placed on record during the last century by a missionary by the name of Father Gundert—the first person ever to take an interest in the Malayali manuscripts—and by two functionaries of the Indian Civil Service, William Logan
and Robert Sewell, who throughout their working lives never tired in their quest to retrace the past of the people of Malabar. Unfortunately these pioneers were not trained in the type of scientific research which is undertaken today. They translated and analysed documents without being able to edit the original texts, and often neglected to give their references, probably because they were overwhelmed by the task to be completed. Furthermore, their limited knowledge of Portuguese meant that they were unable to make use of the vital documents relating to the sixteenth century. It seems that they were only familiar with Gaspar Correia whose chronicle contains many inaccuracies.

Too many historians who have studied Kerala have been content to focus on the works of William Logan and Gaspar Correia's text, using the occasional extracts from Zaynuddin's account. These somewhat unsubstantial books are a marked contrast to the outstanding works of some of the Malayali scholars, for example A. Shreedhara Menon, K. K. N. Kurup and M. G. S. Narayanan who record the history of their country using the most up-to-date epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological discoveries. Their writings were a starting point for my research.

I am also indebted to the Renaissance historians and particularly to those who tackled the major problems of maritime expansion in the Indian Ocean. I have used as a constant source of reference the works of Portuguese scholars who have interpreted and published a great number of documents hitherto unconnected to the history of the eastern people. Other researchers, among them David Lopes, Donald Fergusson, F. Hummerich, M. V. Magalhães Godinho and particularly Georges Schurhammer, S. J., were concerned to place the objects of their research in an Indian setting, but were confronted with the difficulties referred to above. Under the guidance of Mr Jean Aubin, the Mare Luso-indicum team set out to retrace the history of the Portuguese discoveries in the Indian Ocean from its beginnings by carrying out a comparative study of the Lusitanian and Oriental sources. Within the framework of this project, I have centred my own particular research on two different areas of interest. On the one hand I feel duty bound to complete and comment on the Portuguese chronicles by bringing into play the archive documents from the Torre do Tombo which I have systematically catalogued for the first three decades of the sixteenth century. On the other hand I have gathered together epigraphic, archaeological and literary sources relating to Cannanore in order
to present the changing fortunes of the *conquista* from a local viewpoint and to provide an interpretation of the reactions of the native people which were witnessed by the Portuguese.

This particular examination is dedicated to the leader of the Eli kingdom’s Islamic community, the one known by the Portuguese as ‘Mamale de Cananor’. Why this choice? Because from out of the mass of archive documents there emerges and stands out one figure, like a statue appearing beneath the archaeologist’s spade. The Portuguese attached to his name the title ‘Regedor do mar’ (Regent of the Sea) which was probably the translation of ‘Anderrajão’ (Malayali = Aji Rāja), and ‘Lord of the Maldives’. The Portuguese texts present him as the head of the Māppila community in Cannanore, who was the uncle and the predecessor of the Muslim princes Arakkal Aji Rāja. His political career seemed, in my opinion, to be so important for the history of Kerala and the beginning of the Portuguese expansion in India that I have tried to set him in an historical and social context.

To achieve this it has been necessary to look at the origins of the Kerala Islamic communities and to study the reasons for their growth.² I have also had to rediscover the history of the Eli kingdom and the Maldive archipelago using only rudimentary sources. My initiatives have unearthed many problems which remain unresolved. Although this second edition takes account of works published during the past ten years, many doors remain open for future research.

Notes and References

¹ The *Keralamahātmyam* in Sanskrit and the *Kēralōpatti* in Malayalam, the oldest copies of which go back to the eighteenth century.

Map 1. Kerala at the beginning of the sixteenth century
Map 2. Kōḻaṭhuṇād
Map 3. Maldivian archipelago (North)
Map 4. Maldive archipelago (South)
Map 5. Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century
I. The Kingdom of Eli

Its Origins

It was the Portuguese who first revealed the name of Kaňnanur.\(^1\) The only known mention of its existence is found in Ibn Māgid’s log-book, which was compiled ten years before Vasco da Gama’s first voyage and was used exclusively by the pilots.\(^2\) As early as 1500, even before the Portuguese ships had reached its shores, Kaňnanur’s reputation had caught the imagination of King D. Manuel who, when briefing Pedro Alvares Cabral, encouraged him to go and discover ‘Calemur’, ‘Callnur’ or ‘Canelur’.\(^3\) Upon the latter’s return Giovanni Francesco Affaitato spoke of ‘Lichinacho’,\(^4\) and Amerigo Vespucci of ‘Calnut’,\(^5\) whereas the author of the *Anonymous Account* wrote of ‘Chanonon’.\(^6\) These clumsy transcriptions, a reflection of accents which were unfamiliar to Latin ears, were nevertheless to improve. ‘Chananor’ appears in a letter dated 3 October 1502, describing the arrival in Lisbon of João da Nova’s four caravels, although this has only been brought to light by means of a copy written some ten years later.\(^7\) The name ‘Cananor’—the form with which the western world was to become familiar—is first encountered in the original *mandados* dated February 1503.\(^8\)

Although the port of Cannanore only appeared in history at the time of the Portuguese discoveries, the kingdom to which it belonged had been known of for some time. Standing on the northern border of Kerala, it had been built near the estuaries of the Canara region which had been inhabited by pirates and shipwreckers since antiquity.\(^9\) Such surroundings had inevitably affected its early development. At the beginning of the Christian era a population whose race and language were Dravidian was established in the area around Mount Eli. This promontory, a natural observation post for pirates, signalled Indian land to passing seafarers. It is not clear whether its name was given to or derived from the surrounding country.

The kingdom of Eli figured in the classical traditions of Kerala; as early as the Sangam era the exploits of the hero Nannan, king of Elimala,\(^10\) were being extolled by the poet Parañar. The discovery
of Roman coins in the region of Kōṭṭayam is evidence of its commercial dealings with the Mediterranean world. Subsequent centuries have only revealed sparse traces of its existence, taken at random from epigraphic transcriptions. For example, the list of princes defeated by Kīrtivarman I Cālukya, recorded in the inscription of Bādami (Ś. 523–4/601–2), mentions a King Mūṣaka. This name, the origin of which has caused wide speculation, was recognized in the eleventh century as that of the Eli kings. The Mūṣakavamsa, written by the poet Atula in praise of their dynasty, provides the key to their names, their lands and their titles. The Irāmakuḍam title makes it possible to identify the Eli princes in the text of three inscriptions and thus to give a historical reality to their line.

Atula was particularly anxious to reveal the exploits of his ruler, King Śrīkanta, and his brother Vallabha, and called to mind that some of the islands of the neighbouring archipelago had just been annexed to the crown. He described the splendour and the court customs and outlined the structures and topography of the kingdom. It is here that the principal towns appear for the first time: the market of Acalapaṭṭaṇa, the royal city of Māṭayi, at the mouth of the Kili (Tali paramba); Kollam and the fortified town of Valarpattana on the River Prathanā.

Thus it is the testimony of the poets alone which has provided the key aspects of the Eli kingdom and which has given an insight into the various stages of its development. The works of Paranar link it to the Sangham civilization, those of Atula supply proof of an advanced sanskritization. By disclosing the names of the princes, temples and cities, the Mūṣakavamsa gives meaning to the epigraphic documents and archaeological discoveries.

Three inscriptions are not enough, however, to retrace the history of the Eli kingdom during the medieval period. Despite the defeats referred to by two of them, it seems that the land was never annexed in a lasting way by any of its powerful neighbours. It is doubtful that it was incorporated in the Cēra Empire because the text of the Bādami inscription distinguishes between the king of Kerala and King Mūṣaka; but it is not known what became of it after the military reprisals reported in this same inscription. It does not figure among the lands subjected to Bhāskara Ravivarman Cēra two centuries later. Perhaps it was enjoying the independence glorified
by the Mūšakavāṃsa in the eleventh century, that is at the very time when this independence was beginning to be threatened once again, since the Mūšaka princes were not to be spared during the successful campaign of Rājadhirāja Cōla. All trace of the Mūšakas is lost after 1046, the date the Maṇimangalam inscription which records their defeat.\(^18\) Were they wiped out and replaced by another dynasty? A cautious approach should be adopted before making conjectures which could in the future be questioned by epigraphic discoveries.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century Marco Polo emphasized the independence of the Eli kingdom, specifying that its kings paid tribute to nobody. At that time the country seemed to be enjoying full prosperity, enriched by the cultivation of pepper and ginger which the Chinese wasted no time in loading on to their junk during the fine season. These resources were augmented by acts of pillage, organized under cover of the estuaries against the foreign vessels which sheltered there; only cargoes destined for the kingdom were spared. Such practices seem to have been common in the northern areas of Malabar during the medieval period, as was coastal privateering. Another ploy was to form barriers with twenty to thirty ships which would give chase to any vessel encountered, the crews of the plundered ships being allowed to go free.\(^19\) The Calicut kingdom owed the superiority which it shortly afterwards enjoyed over the other Kerala states among other things to the security of its ports and the honesty of its merchants for which there is unanimous praise.\(^20\)

Marco Polo did not mention the presence of Muslims, something which did not escape the attention of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who gave a lengthy description of the privileged position of those who had established themselves in the north of Malabar.\(^21\) It is regrettable that, because they refer to areas which are difficult to identify, not all the signs he gives to pinpoint their centres of activity can be used. Although the toponym ‘Hili’ is identifiable, it also raises a problem: Marco Polo emphasized that the Eli kingdom had no port, only river mouths and fairly unsafe beaches, yet fifty years later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa attributed the name of Eli neither to a mountain nor to a state but specifically to a port in full prosperity, situated on a hūr (Arabic = gulf, bay, large estuary) and accessible to large vessels. The city was inhabited by Muslims; the main mosque was ‘bursting
with light’, and was showered with gifts from the passing sea-farers; the leader of the Islamic community, who supervised the weighing of goods, shared the custody of his treasure with the preacher. Within the mosque was a college of science which was attended by students under its care; the whole complex housed kitchens, a much needed facility for foreigners and the poor. Like Kollam and Calicut, the port received customers from China.\textsuperscript{22} Wang Ta-Yuan, a contemporary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, provides further details about the area: the ground was poor but provided the best pepper in Malabar; the houses were separated by small gardens; the inhabitants, who were aggressive people, carried arms.\textsuperscript{23}

‘Hili’ was situated three parasangs from ‘Djorfattan’, which was the home of the king,\textsuperscript{24} a point which could lead to a comparison being made between Djorfattan and Valarpaṭṭanam which shared with Māṭāyi the honour of having a royal residence. The identification of ‘Dehfattan’ is more easily resolved: in all probability the place in question is Dharmapāṭam, made famous by its mosque and the conversion to Islam of a Kōvil ancestor.\textsuperscript{25} Similarly it is tempting to recognize in ‘Bodfattan’ Pudupaṭṭanam—the ‘Poudoupatana’ of Cosmas\textsuperscript{26}—also situated in a large bay but whose population, in the main Hindu, was hostile towards Muslims.\textsuperscript{27} Nevertheless, the questions raised by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s toponymy cannot conceal an essential fact: from his account it appears that in the mid fourteenth century Kōlaṭhuṇād was politically united and its shores deeply Islamized.

One century later, and for the last time, reference to the port of ‘Helly’ is made in a brief paragraph by Nicolo de’ Conti.\textsuperscript{28} When the Portuguese were to reach Kōlaṭhuṇād in 1500 it was the name of Cannanore which was to strike their ears and it was in Cannanore that they were to make contact with the king’s envoys—Cannanore, which seemed so big and powerful to them that they gave its name to the entire kingdom.\textsuperscript{29} What event, what scourge, had cast the city of Eli into oblivion and so quickly given rise to the promotion of Cannanore? What explanation can there be for the disappearance of a port as big as Eli from the map of India within the space of some fifty years and for the fact that the increasing prosperity of Cannanore was not noticed by a single traveller at that time?

The difficult nature of this problem has aroused too much interest to prevent me from exceeding the limits of my initial plan. It could
not have been known that such a digression was not an obvious one and the study of the Eli site would uncover the origins of the Muslim community.

The Ports of Eli

Were it possible to identify all the available sources on the subject, the study of Eli would stretch to more than one volume. In view of this, no attempt will be made to resolve all the problems in this connection; the facts will simply be presented as a precursor to the scientific investigation that the Eli site seems to warrant.

The area in question has never been the subject of a co-ordinated analysis and has merely been touched on by archaeologists and learned people who have been content to reveal inscriptions, ruins and poems, without ever trying to examine their discoveries more closely. Furthermore, the superficial research undertaken has often had to be abandoned because of a particularly difficult terrain which today is infested with rats and crocodiles.30 The swamps are crossed by ferry. To add to these difficulties the written sources are incomplete and an examination of most of the epigraphic documents, sometimes even the resumé of a literary work, has often had to suffice. Because no toponymical study has been carried out in the region, the uncertainty surrounding the identification of the place names has meant that it has not been possible to use all the inscriptions examined.

As it is presented however, and because of the information contained in the Portuguese texts, the Eli question seems to have provided the justification needed for an introductory study.

Mount Eli is two hundred and fifty-nine metres high and juts out into the Oman Sea. Wild cinnamon grows on its cliffs which are covered by it in the spring. The monsoon winds and sea currents combine to draw ships towards its coasts. In the Portuguese period—and probably well before—vessels from the Persian Gulf used the Eli waters as a port of call and ships from Kollam and Calicut gathered there to collect fresh water and wood before setting sail for the west.

Four rivers bathe the foot of the mountain. To the north, the Kavai and the Elimala, a southern branch of which skirts the promontory; to the south the Taliparamba and the Valarpaṭṭaṇam.
The impression is in fact one of many rivers since they all merge together behind an off-shore bar which is constantly changing. The result is a network of salt water channels and swamps which are now deserted as they are unhealthy. It was much further south, in Cannanore and Tellicherry and away from the lagoons, that the commercial and political centres of the country were to be found; but it is the area around the promontory which holds all the traditions.

According to Yule and Burnell, Elimala simply means, high mountain.\(^ {31} \) Whereas the meaning of mala (= mountain) cannot be contested, the etymology of Eli has given rise to several hypotheses due to the confusion of two Malayali words: ēlu (= seven), the word adopted by the Tamil classical texts which described Mount Eli as ‘ēl il kuṇrām’ (= hill of the seven houses)\(^ {32} \) and translated into Sanskrit in the Keralamabātyam which referred to the Eli country as ‘sapta śāila’ (= the seven hills); eli (= rat) which resulted in the most common interpretation and was adopted by the Mūṣakavamsa\(^ {33} \) (mūṣaka or mūṣika = rat in Sanskrit). The latter was in common use in the sixteenth century\(^ {34} \) and found its origin in the fact that the promontory was infested with rats which, according to tradition, were the ancestors of the Mūṣaka sovereigns.\(^ {35} \) It is probable that over time an osmosis of the different meanings of this toponym was formed which has been interpreted in the light of local legends.

It was during the tenth century that Mount Eli emerged from an obscure past. The Ramantali stone, dated Kāli 4029/927, bears the oldest inscription taken from its slopes. It reveals the name of a port, Ilangopattanam, which was prosperous enough to have attracted members of the Maṇīgrāmam.\(^ {36} \) A century later the author of the Mūṣakavamsa confirmed the existence of a commercial centre to which he gave the name Acalapaṭṭana.\(^ {37} \) The volume of archaeological remains collected from the banks of the Elimala river suggests that the city must have extended inland from the coast, between Kunimangalam and Payyanūr;\(^ {38} \) the poem of the same name, the Payyanūr Patti, which extols the ‘Kachilpaṭṭana’ merchants lends weight to this theory. One particular fifteenth century manuscript\(^ {39} \) was possibly the same one consulted by Gundert who declared it to be the oldest Malayalam manuscript he had ever seen.\(^ {40} \) This document must have itself been recopied from an earlier text because it refers to a time when the Muslims were not
yet in charge of the economy, an area which was at that time controlled by the Anjuvānṇam, the Manīgrāmam and two Cheṭṭi guilds. The Muslim only appear among the members of the crew—if this is how the term ‘Chonaka’ is to be interpreted. All these signs, which are scattered throughout the poem, point to a closer connection between the latter and the Ramantali inscription and to the fact that in the eleventh century there existed an important commercial centre frequented by the sea merchants.

This centre, which does not exist today, was soon to suffer in the face of competition from Māṭāyi, the recent foundation of which was praised in the Mūṣakavaṇṭa. The town still lies at the mouth of the Taliparamba on its northern banks. A branch of this river separates it from the suburb of Paḷayāṅgādi which itself opens onto a channel which the Portuguese called the ‘rio Marabia’ and the western waters of which merge with those of the Elimala river.

Referred to as ‘mui antiga’ by Duarte Barbosa, Māṭāyi contains important archaeological remains which have been listed by R. Sewell who discovered traces of numerous temples in the immediate vicinity of the city. At Paḷayāṅgādi stands the fortified palace of the Kōlathiris and the sanctuary of the Goddess Bhagavati—Durga protector of the dynasty. This confirms the words of the Mūṣakavaṇṭa, according to which Māṭāyi was the royal city. During the Portuguese period the sovereigns had abandoned it for Valarpaṭṭaṇam, but it was still considered to be a high seat of religion. According to Gaspar Correia the rāja of Tanor made retreats at ‘Moravia no Monte Deli’.

In Māṭāyi the Portuguese encountered a very ancient merchant population, made up of Jews and Muslims. The exodus of the Jews to India, traditionally attributed to the persecutions of Titus and Vespasion, was probably followed during the medieval period by the influx of those who came there to seek fortune. Duarte Barbosa and Francisco de Albuquerque both emphasized the secular origin of the people of Māṭāyi. It has already been seen that the presence of Jewish merchants within the Anjuvānṇam was ratified as early as the ninth century, by the privileges granted to them by Bhaśkara Ravivarma. It is probable that at the same time some of them settled around Mount Eli, the Anjuvānṇam being included, according to the Payyanūr Patti, among the ‘Kachilpaṭṭaṇam’ guilds. In Paḷayāṅgādi, in the shadow of the royal residence, there still stands a very old tank which is called the ‘tank of the Jews’
and, although a date cannot be put on it, its antiquity is emphasized by Sewell. It is regrettable that in this case, as in many others, there is no chronological reference.

Not only did the Portuguese find members of a synagogue in Māṭāyi, they also discovered a considerable Islamic community which had close connections with the town’s history. There is no doubt that the Muslim presence was very much in evidence a few years after the founding of the city. The Māṭāyi mosque bears an inscription dating its foundation at H.518/1124 and contains large blocks of Arabian marble which, it is said, were brought in by Malik Ibn Dīnār. Zaynuddīn confirmed this tradition by including the mosque of Hīlī-Marāwī among those founded by this holy personage. These venerable origins seem somewhat legendary, but confirm that the Muslims had been established in the region long enough to have enjoyed full city rights as well as the right of worship since the beginning of the twelfth century.

The problem of the Eli port is raised again here. Were W. Logan and Padmanabha Menon correct in recognizing the mosque of Māṭāyi as the one described by Ibn Baṭṭūtā? Before examining this hypothesis there are two others which should be given consideration. As the toponyms in India changed frequently, it could be thought that Eli and Cannanore were one and the same and that the first name had been abandoned in favour of the second in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Bay of Cannanore could well be the hūr of Ibn Baṭṭūtā and there is evidence to show that in 1500 an organized and powerful Islamic community lived in the town. However, the antiquity of the site is not confirmed by any document or tradition, and the absence of any archaeological remains raises serious reservations.

On the other hand the lower courses of the Kavai and the Elimala rivers have sufficient quantity of ruins to suggest that there was once a prosperous city on this site. The traditions relating to ‘Kachilpaṭṭānām’ provide evidence of the activity of sea-merchants; the mosque of Kunjimangalam which Sewell deems to be ‘of considerable antiquity’ confirms the presence of Muslim residents. But although the site described by Marco Polo is recognizable, the tortuous estuary which lent itself so well to pillaging and the soft sands on which the junks had to land, it is difficult to identify the ‘Hīlī’ of Ibn Baṭṭūtā, wide open to the sea, with a settlement positioned on the sinuous tangle of the various branches of the
Kavai and Elimala rivers. Furthermore, the Portuguese never referred to a decadent town to the north of Mount Eli, whereas they were aware of the reputation of the former grandeur of Māṭāyi.

This testimony, still alive at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was reinforced by that of the ancient topoym. In his list of the port of the kingdom, Tomé Pires placed ‘Hyeri’ between Nileśvaram and Valarpaṭṭaṇam,57 in other words where other authors generally placed ‘Marabia’. At the end of the century Zaynuddin was again associating the name of Eli with that of Māṭāyi and gave the Kōḷaṭhiri the title of the Prince of Hīḷi-Marāwī.58 This evidence dispels the conjectures favouring Cannanore and ‘Kachilpaṭṭaṇam’, particularly since Māṭāyi was in possession of religious and civil monuments and a long established trading population. Furthermore, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa provides an indication of the geographical location of the town, specifying that ‘Hīḷi’ was three parasangs from ‘Djorfattan’, the home of the king; this corresponds almost exactly to the distance between Māṭāyi and Valarpaṭṭaṇam.59

So many common features would normally be sufficient to recognize in Māṭāyi the ‘Hīḷi’ of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa if one essential element—the wide būr in which vessels from the high seas dropped anchor—were not missing. Māṭāyi is situated on a large river, the Taliparamba, whose direct access to the sea is blocked by a strip of sand which diverts the flow of the river into the Valarpaṭṭaṇam estuary in the south and to the north links up with the swamps of the Elimala, blocking the whole of the harbour area. According to the Portuguese texts, however, this was not always the case. In the sixteenth century the port of Māṭāyi was accessible via the ‘rio Marabia’, that is along the channel which still linked the Taliparamba to the sea.

There is nothing to be gained by listing the countless references made by the Portuguese to the maritime activity of Māṭāyi since they do not describe the harbour site. However, an incident reported by João de Barros and Castanheda demonstrates that the waters were of insufficient depth. In their pursuit of a group of Muslims who had taken refuge in the ‘rio de Maravia’, Simao de Meneses’ men had to take to small boats leaving their ships at the entrance to the bar;60 two other vessels had in fact run aground when they had tried to go further.61

The presence of the bar referred to by the chroniclers, and the
fact that the channel depth was only practicable for light craft, suggest that the port became silted, which led to the decline of Māṭayi and its being abandoned in favour of Cannanore in the second half of the fifteenth century.

I am most grateful to two geographers, Professors Max Derruaü and A. Guilcher, who have given support to this hypothesis with some scientific data. They confirm that unfortunately there are no accurate and modern geomorphic studies of the Mount Eli region, although the currents which pass along the Malabar coast are well known. One of them crosses the Indian Ocean from East Africa and forms two separate currents north of Mount Eli, one of which flows towards the equator, diverting the course of the rivers and directing them south/south-eastwards parallel to the coastline. The effects of this deep current are countered by the surges of the sea which come up from the south-west with the monsoon and have an overriding effect, causing a shore drift strong enough to form a strip of sand, clearly visible on modern maps. The latter is under constant pressure from the river mouth currents. Storms and tropical cyclones frequently cause breaks in the bank, freeing for a time access of the rivers to the sea; the bar is then gradually formed again and the gap closes.

Along the Malabar coast this movement is disturbed by the presence of the north-south current which starts up again at the end of each monsoon. In certain places, and particularly in Cannanore, it is strong enough to prevent the bar being formed; but around Mount Eli the projection of the promontory keeps the north-south current away from the immediate coastline making the area more vulnerable to the effects of the monsoon current.

This phenomenon suggests that sometime between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries a break in the spit had freed the vast estuary of the Taliparamba which at that time had the characteristics of Ibn Battūta’s būr. It should be borne in mind that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the bar was already re-formed and once again only allowed access to small vessels.

This supposition is not enough to allow a definitive conclusion to be drawn. The time taken for the spit to be formed should be calculated as should the frequency of its breaks. Archaeological digs should be undertaken and local poems analysed for the purpose of assembling the elements needed for a scientific study of the Eli
site. From the information currently available it can be ascertained:

— that the area around Mount Eli is a natural assembly point for ships arriving in India and coming together before departure;
— that during the medieval period the commercial centres which had existed since at least the tenth century (Ramantali inscription) shifted from the north to the south. The first which can be located (there were probably others before this) is the one the texts refer to as Acalapaṭṭaṇam or Kachilpaṭṭaṇam. According to the Payyanūr Patti and the Mūṣakavamsa it was situated on the lower basin of the Kavai and was in existence before the eleventh century.

According to the Mūṣakavamsa, Māṭāyi’s history goes back to the eleventh century. It was probably at this time that, since the mouth of the Kavai was becoming increasingly silted, the activities of Kachilpaṭṭaṇam, by moving along the southern branch of the Elimalla river, found an outlet to the sea in the Taliparamba estuary. At this time the Muslim guilds (Māṭāyi mosque) were competing with the Cheṭṭi, Christian and Jewish guilds. However, these changes did not take place overnight, and, as exemplified by Marco Polo in his account, the rise of Māṭāyi does not imply the total abandon of the ‘Kachilpaṭṭaṇam’ site. In fact Māṭāyi, which everything points to as being the ‘Hili’ of Ibn Baṭṭūta, was probably extended by suburbs which were still inhabited and which lined the banks of the Elimalla river as far as the remains of ‘Kachilpaṭṭaṇam’. It was this grouping—Payyanūr, Kunjimangalam, Māṭāyi and Palayaṅgāḍi—that should have been known as Eli in the medieval period since it was overlooked by the mountain of this name: Matteo da Bergamo, who in 1502–3 had accompanied Vasco da Gama’s squadron, named the whole coastline to the north of Cannanore ‘il ditto loco deli’.  

The advance of the spit preceded by a bar at the mouth of the Taliparamba was to lead, in the second half of the fifteenth century, to the whole area becoming silted and the town being abandoned. It seems that the phenomenon was understood because it was the Bay of Cannanore, independent of all waterways, that was then chosen. This development coincided with the period in which Vijayanagar’s requirements in horses were becoming considerable. The easy access of Cannanore meant that large vessels did not have to
negotiate a bar and could come right up onto the beach where elephants hauled them ashore.  

The topography of the royal residences follows the same movement. The oldest of the residences, the Eli Kōvilagam, overlooks the Payyanūr site. The fortified palace of Māṭāyi is situated in Paḷāyāṅgādi on the banks of the northern basin. The palace at Valarpaṭṭaṇam, the favourite residence of the Kōḷaṇṭhiris during the Portuguese period, was linked by road to the port of Cannanore.

Despite all the unanswered questions, it appears that the importance of the role played by the Kōḷaṇṭhuṇād ports from an early date has generally been underestimated. The concentration of the palaces and temples around Mount Eli, the presence of the merchants’ guilds and the oldest mosque of Malabar, and the place held by the legends of this country in the traditions of Kerala, can only be compared with the mythical and archaeological wealth of Vēṇād. Two commercial centres of great importance, Kollam and Eli, had close links with the traditions of the southern and northern Kōḷaṇṭhiris, considered to be the most venerable kings of Kerala.

Kōḷaṇṭhuṇād at the Beginning of The Sixteenth Century

There is a marked contrast between the paucity of Indian sources and the abundance of Portuguese texts, and yet they all differ too much for an easy synthesis to be possible. As already mentioned, the first papers emanating from Cannanore are dated 1503, that is one year after João da Nova left a small group of people there. The first available description, however, comes as a result of Ludovico di Varthema’s visit to the town in 1506. It is surprising that Duarte Barbosa, who lived in Cannanore for most of his life, did not leave a more detailed account of Kōḷaṇṭhuṇād than the one given in the chapter he devotes to Malabar. Because of the gaps in his work specifically, the later accounts of the chroniclers have had to be consulted and, more, the archives systematically analysed. It is the references contained in the letters written by the scribes and captains, and the precise details contributed by countless mandados, recibos and conhecimentos which help to explain the main aspects of the ‘Reino de Cananor’ and the sequence of events which took place there.
Where lies the common ground for this precise yet fragmented information and that provided by Indian sources? Neither the disappointing investigation of epigraphic documents nor the sparse interest that Kōlaṭhunāḍ has aroused in archaeologists and numismatists will be recalled again. Although they only appear in recent works, the traditions will provide the essential elements here. Assembled principally by William Logan,74 and A. Shreedhara Menon75 and K. Padmanabha Menon,76 they reveal administrative and religious structures not described by the Portuguese and probably not generally acknowledged. However, the references the latter made to certain customs and the role played by certain people make it possible to ascertain that the former were in force at a specific time and to place the latter in the social hierarchy.

The Country—The Ruling Classes

The Reino de Cananor was sandwiched between the territories of Vijayanagar and Calicut. On its northern frontier stood the Kumbāl citadel.77 Its eastern boundaries, more difficult to define, probably followed the line of the highest forests of the Ghāts, the exits to the passes of which were marked out by the Vijayanagar fortresses. To the south the Tellicherry river separated it from the Calicut kingdom.

The broken relief of the shore line and the narrowness of the coastal strip had the effect of concentrating the activities of the country around the river basins and the river mouth ports. The Kavai and the Taliparamba bathed Mount Eli with the waters from their estuaries. Upon the banks of these rivers stood the highest places in the kingdom. In the shade of the northern slopes of Mount Eli stood the Eli-Kōvilagam, the second residence of the Kōḷaṭhiris. On the northern bank of the Taliparamba, the city of Māṭāyi grouped together within its walls the ancient royal palace, the temple of Bhagavati and the most venerable mosque of Malabar.

Up-stream, between the two branches of the Taliparamba, the town of the same name was a place of pilgrimage which from the fifteenth century attracted many people from all over Kerala;78 it was also a meeting place for the Vijayanagar merchants and coastal traders.79 The Valarpattaṇam, navigable in all seasons, gave access to the hinterland as far as the foothills of the Ghāts and was connected with the Coorg road. This network of communications had
stimulated the growth of the towns and found favour with the sovereigns.

Near ancient Chirakkal, the cradle of the dynasty, the Kōlaṭhiris had chosen Valarpattaṇam as their principal residence. Two leagues from there Cannanore stretched around a bay which was closed in the south-west by a rocky promontory. This area enjoyed the benefit of the mildest climate along the coast and fresh water springs. There were no ramparts to protect the city which consisted of nothing more than some cadjan-roofed buildings beside a coconut palm beach. The minaret of the mosque indicated the presence of Muslim residents. Each year approximately two hundred foreign ships came to the port which was connected to the Valarpattaṇam basin which in turn led to the inland Muslim markets, Śrīkandapuram and Irukkūr. The traders had no difficulty reaching the steep paths which, through the passes of Periahghāt and Perambadi and after a two weeks journey, brought them to Vijayanagar. There is no doubt that at the beginning of the sixteenth century these privileged conditions made Cannanore the first port of the kingdom. Tomé Pires, who judged ‘soomente ho port de Cananor...gramde, nobre, homrrado...’ considered the other coastal cities ‘cousa pouca’.

On the borders of Calicut, a large Muslim town, was built on the island formed by the confluence of the Anjarakandi and Tellicherry rivers: Dharmapatam, protected by its cliffs but accessible on all sides, may still have counted among its mosques the building attributed by legend to Malik Ibn Dinār. The western forests of Vēṇāḍ and the town of Kōṭṭayam, the meeting place for the Vijayanagar merchants, were reached by travelling up the Anjarakandi. It seems that there was no clearly defined border between the ‘Reino de Cananor’ and the lands under Calicut. According to Duarte Barbosa, Dharmapatam was the last town held by the Kōlaṭhiris, whereas Tome Pires believed Mahe to be under their influence. Upon closer examination of the text written by Barbosa—whose knowledge of this area is indisputable—it is possible to place between the Tellicherry and Kōṭṭa river, a number of small territories which, depending on the prevailing political situation, must have been under the control of one or other of these kingdoms.

Kōlaṭhunuṇād was at that time governed by the Kōlaṭhiris, the rajas
of Chirakkal, who claimed to originate from the most venerable traditions of Kerala. The first, reported in the Keralamahātmyam, dates back to a time when the holy Brahmin Paraśurāma, having lifted Kerala out of the sea, appointed a Kṣatriya to defend its northern borders. The second, recorded by the Keralōlpatti, is part of the legendary cycle of ‘Chēramān Perumāl’. Before being converted to Islam this sovereign had taken in three women, whose ship had run aground at the foot of Mount Eli, and married them all. One of them, of Kṣatriya caste, had given birth to the princes of the royal line. The two other women, of Śudra caste, are considered to be the ancestors of the Kaimals of Nerpatt and Chulali who, having settled in Śrikandapuram, defended the Coorg route for centuries.

As already seen, the Eli kingdom was in fact in existence before the period of the presumed reign of Chēramān Perumāl, although nothing is known of the palace revolutions which, as a result of Brahmanization and the medieval wars, brought various dynasties to power. There is no chronology to help trace the origin of the dynasty which reigned at the time of the Portuguese discovery, but an examination of the letters written by those to whom the Portuguese gave the erroneous title of ‘reis de Cananor’ reveals that the latter always referred to themselves as the kings of Eli and in so doing confirmed the antiquity of their family and their attachment to the traditional name of their kingdom. The only references to the names of some of these princes are to be found in the works of the poets they protected or in those they wrote themselves. It is therefore evident that in the second half of the fifteenth century the kings of Kōḻathūṇād were very well read and possessed an extensive Sanskritic culture.

The oldest member of the entire royal family, including all its branches, was the rightful heir to the throne. The law of succession followed the marumakkatāyam system which only took account of matrilineal descent. The first pretender, who bore the title of Tekkelamkūr lived in the Vatakar fortress from where he administered the southern province. The second, Vaṭakkelamkūr, was based in the Vekkolāt fortress and guarded the northern frontier. The third, Nalamkūr, managed the royal house, and conferred honorary titles. The fourth, Anchamkūr, performed the duties of aide-de-camp. As with the distribution of responsibilities, the law of succession was somewhat difficult to enforce. Although it
gave nephews intangible rights, the marumakkatayam system did not prevent the sovereigns from granting their own children considerable privileges. From time to time the Portuguese echoed the rivalries which divided the royal family by questioning the order of succession.  

The princes had several traditional residences which had probably been abandoned by the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example the Palace of Karipatt, in the region of Chirakkal, which was older even than the Eli Kovilagam. The ancient palace of Mathiyi and the citadel of Valarpataanam, where the Kolathiris seem to have settled during the Portuguese period, were reserved for the reigning sovereign. The sanctuary of Mathiyi Kava and the Kalarivattukkal, both dedicated to Bhagavati, were attached to these two royal residences.

The immediate entourage of the sovereign was under the control of the purohita—'o bramene del Rey'—the king’s chaplain, who belonged to the Areppan Nampiyattiri caste. The influence that his religious prestige must have had over the Kolathiris seems to have been so discreet that it went unnoticed by the Portuguese observers. The influence of the soothsayers on the other hand was more apparent, and yet, despite their hold over the decisions of the sovereign, they were only received in the palace gardens, since, being of Kaniyam caste, they were too contemptible to enter the royal residence.

There is little point in describing the multitude of servants, scribes and women who lived in the royal palace; attention will be given instead to the military character of the king’s entourage and to the presence of the Nayars of whom the Portuguese narrators have left graphic accounts. They were undoubtedly attracted by the strange customs of this caste of warriors, and more charmed by their exoticism than scandalized by the freedom of their lifestyle. Their number—estimated for each court at several thousand—and the services they rendered during the medieval wars had resulted in the Nayars being rewarded with considerable social privileges which were justified by their unconditional devotion to the king rather than by their obscure origin. Those from Cannanore were renowned for their military prowess and their bellicose character. At all times they were armed with swords and daggers. They protected themselves with round shields and were skilled in the use of lances, bows and arrows and, when available, arquebuses.
In times of war they fought on foot, their heads covered with tancoloured turbans.\textsuperscript{113} The knights were dubbed by the Kōḷaṭhiri himself who received their sworn statement to protect ‘the cows and Brahmans’.\textsuperscript{114} Educated from an early age in the military academies,\textsuperscript{115} they accompanied their sovereign on all his public appearances during which they took part in dazzling jousts, juggling with their arms which ‘sparkled like drops of water’.\textsuperscript{116}

Some of the dignitaries, usually appointed from the same families, assumed administrative responsibilities. The Prime Minister—to whom the Portuguese were to give the title of ‘alguazil’\textsuperscript{117}—was a Kurup of the Nāyār caste.\textsuperscript{118} The military command was given to a Chittottu Kurukkal, and the Chief Treasurer was chosen from among the Mavila Nampiyār. At a local level a Nātuvāri\textsuperscript{119}—the ‘Natório’ of the Portuguese texts—was placed at the head of each province. Directly under the control of the Kōḷaṭhiri and sometimes chosen from among the princes of the royal family, he organized the collection of the principal revenue—taxes and commercial duties, confiscated goods and the proceeds from the sale of slaves—out of which he took his own share.\textsuperscript{120} He was assisted by the Talaiyāri or Chief of Police—possibly the ‘Trabalhyam’ of Duarte Barbosa.\textsuperscript{121}

The documents examined have revealed neither the name nor the composition of the assemblies which, like the Munnuttuvar and the Ārunuttuvar of Vēṇād\textsuperscript{122} perhaps controlled the activities of the Nātuvāri. Despite this serious gap, and the others which cannot be identified, the outline sketched seems to be in keeping with the Hindu order. It is worth mentioning it as much for the purpose of defining the social functions of the people the Portuguese were to encounter as for the purpose of observing how the government structures operated in the face of the Portuguese ventures and the rise of the Muslim power.

\textit{External Relations}

The Malabar kingdoms were linked by traditional alliances and mutual commercial interests. It is important to underline here the difference between these two types of association which were handled by two distinct communities, and also observe, beyond the territorial divisions and the court rivalries, the various structures and beliefs and how the commercial activities were co-ordinated.
The Alliances

The very purpose of this study implies a need to understand how the alliances worked, alliances which were inherited from the ancient Cēra empire and brought to life by the legends of ‘Chēramān Perumāl’. The Muslim sea-merchants were forced to exploit them in order to establish a parallel network of commercial complicity. The nature of these alliances seems to have escaped most of the Portuguese observers who saw in them only the expression of mutual interests. However, despite their background of tradition, these alliances explain the ambiguous attitude shown by the Kōlaṭhunād sovereigns towards the Portuguese authorities.

The Kolathiris shared with the rājas of Vēṇād and the Zamorins of Calicut the privilege of bearing an uncontested royal title, although, as observed by Duarte Barbosa, there were 'many other great lords who wish to be called king but are not'. The financial power of the Zamorin sometimes enabled him to control the political situation, yet it could not rival the dynastic prestige of the Kollam princes, who themselves legitimised the antiquity of the Eli kings. The title of Kōlaṭhiri was in fact bestowed upon each of the leaders of these two royal houses, according to complex legends— for the most part connected with the legend of 'Chēramān Perumāl'. It is assumed that these accounts, which cannot be verified, had originated with the dispersal of a powerful family, possibly related to the Cēra emperors. A more recent tradition attributes to Adithya Varma, the king of Vēṇād, the adoption of two Chirakkal princesses, one of whom was the ancestor of the Tampurāṭṭis of Attingal. Whatever their origin, the reality of the links uniting the two families is borne out by the fact that the princes of the north are frequently adopted by those of the south, and above all by the fact that both families observe the pulasambandham, i.e. they subject themselves to the same purification rites to rid themselves of contamination after the death of one of their people.

No such tradition seems to have united the Kōlaṭhiris to the ruling family of Cochin, which was held at a distance by the three great dynasties. It seems that the politics of the Māppilla sea-merchants, and later those of the Portuguese, superficially created a network of common interest between Cochin and Cannanore. But the periodic wars which set Calicut and Cochin against each other
forced the Kölathiri to be cautious, particularly since certain obligations linked him to the Zamorin. These obligations, referred to in very vague terms by Gaspar Correia, were kept in force by the fear which the armed paraos of Calicut and the presence of its spies aroused all along the Malabar coast.

The character of the relations which united these two royal houses is symbolically represented by the tradition relating to the rānis of Nileśvaram. It is said that the first of these was a princess who was disinherited by the Zamorin, because she had been abducted by a nobleman of the Eli kingdom and made sovereign of Nileśvaram: a legendary illustration of a latent rivalry which the Kölathiri voiced when boasting that, in respect of the Portuguese, he had put right the wrongs of the Zamorin. But these opposing attitudes were superseded by the imperative alliance of commercial interests, reinforced by the solidarity of the Islamic communities. The latter made sure they had support within the Kolathiri’s family and it will later be seen how this circle was to benefit from the military aid of the Zamorin each time the position of the Muslim merchants was threatened.

From time to time local quarrels were arbitrated by the king of Vijayanagar. The internal difficulties he encountered at that time had not in any way detracted from his prestige, nor had they erased the memory of the fearful raids which had formerly taken place in the neighbouring regions. His influence was particularly evident in Cannanore where the Portuguese were to have their first contacts with the envoys of Narasimha and were to realize how effective his warnings were. Indeed, it will later be seen that the sovereign of Vijayanagar founded his authority on an economic dependence which involved both the Muslims and the Kölathiri to whom the nickname of Lord of the Horses had not been given by mere chance.

**Commerce**

Kölathunad’s geographical position and the dynamism of its merchant population were the principal reasons for its prosperity. Its natural resources were as mediocre in quantity as they were in quality. The eli ginger, which grew in abundance, could not compete with the beledi ginger of Calicut. Wild cinnamon covered the slopes of Mount Eli, but it could not claim the fine
quality of that of Ceylon. The pepper, considered to be the best in Malabar, produced a poor crop which was limited to the Anjarakandi and Taliparamba valleys. Medicinal plants were also grown in this area: cardamom, anacard, myrobalan, tamarind and other drugs, the Portuguese inventories of which have left an interesting catalogue.

The Cannanore warehouses could provide up to six thousand quintais of ordinary ginger each year, whereas the pepper, formerly so highly valued by the Chinese customers, was exported from Dharmapātam to Calicut. In trying to find among the early Portuguese statements the presence of trade which their intervention had not yet dismantled, it is discovered that local production accounted for only a minute proportion of the Kōla-θuṇād traders’ activities at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time they were involved in the economy of both the coastal towns of Malabar and the ports of the Canara country. They distributed products from Cambay and Malacca as far as the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Integrated in the rice distribution network, they stored in Cannanore and Dharmapātam cargoes collected in the Vijayanagar ports as Banda, Basrūr and Bārkūr. They also supplied Calicut directly and shipped ordinary rice to Ormuz and the Maldives where they exchanged it for local produce. The town of Cannanore took advantage of its proximity to Mount Eli by supplying the Indian Ocean seafarers, who would assemble there before setting sail for the high seas with provisions for their voyages and offer them the best nautical equipment of the country, particularly rope imported from the Maldives.

Like the trading towns of the Canara coast, Cannanore belonged to the group of ports which imported horses. This was its principal source of profit. It is significant that this fact was pointed out by Ludovico di Varthema who was writing before 1510. Several years later Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires made no mention of it because Cannanore, which had once been the ‘port of horses for Narsinga’ was no longer making money from this flourishing trade. As early as 6 December 1507, the Kōla-θhiri complained to D. Manuel about the damage the Portuguese privateering was causing to the ‘principal trato que nesteporto sempre...foi o de Gromuz de cavalos’. This resentment, which was to come to a
head with the shifting of the horse trade to Goa, was to fuel many of the conflicts which will be examined later.

These testimonies and the many references found in the corre-
respondence of the period\textsuperscript{155} demonstrate that, before the taking of Goa by the Portuguese, Cannanore guaranteed the supply of the Vijayanagar cavalry. If the hypothesis put forward concerning the port of Eli has any foundation, it is probable that its desertion coincided with the growth of this empire and the needs of its armies. The Cannanore site must therefore have been preferred for the ease of its access, which was unimpeded by an estuary bar, and its sandy bay in which horses could easily be disembarked. These animals were brought in mainly from Òrmuz\textsuperscript{156} and Arabia and were taken directly to Cannanore. The example of Bhaṭkal suggests that they were traded, at least partially, for rice and spices.\textsuperscript{157}

Upon their arrival they were taxed at a figure estimated by Ludovico di Varthema at 25 ducats, which was paid into the coffers of the Kōlaṭhiri.\textsuperscript{158} They were then taken by road to the Ghāts and on to the Kōṭṭāyam market where the Vijayanagar merchants paid gold \textit{paradaos} for them.\textsuperscript{159} The presence of horses, without which nobody could import anything into the empire,\textsuperscript{160} allowed for the tax-free buying in of other products from Òrmuz: pearls, salt and dates.\textsuperscript{161}

Apart from this activity, and by virtue of the traditional links which united Kōlaṭhunād and Vēṇād, it is probable that the Cannanore merchants had once again become involved in the profitable trade of the Kāyāl merchants which had once afforded the Pāṇḍya sovereigns a cavalry. In 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque announced the presence in Cannanore of the king of Comorin’s envoy who had been instructed to buy horses for gold \textit{fanams}.\textsuperscript{162} In addition ships specially adapted for the transport of large animals brought elephants to Cannanore from Ceylon.\textsuperscript{163}

By providing an insight into the role played by the ‘Reino de Cananor’ in the economy of Kerala, the record of these deals calls for an investigation of the merchant communities responsible for them. What emerges is the genius of those who were able to transform unproductive ground into a provision store, make use of Mount Eli’s location as a harbour for foreign ships, and reserve the right to provide Calicut with rice and Vijayanagar with animals of war. The effectiveness of their services was not without its
influence over their powerful neighbours and allowed the Kōḷaṭhiri to retain a relative independence.

THE MERCHANT COMMUNITIES

This area of activity, which was developed during the medieval period, was not exclusive to the Muslims although they were its principal protagonists. The role they played, which was made all the more impressive by their specialized knowledge of external relations, should not detract from that played by the Māṭāyi Synagogue and the Hindu castes who controlled some of the production sources at the time. The Jewish community of Māṭāyi was possibly responsible for bringing about the fortune of the ancient site of Eli before it was overwhelmed by the Muslims. Under the control of the Kōḷaṭhiri, it was still important enough at the beginning of the sixteenth century to be noticed by Duarte Barbosa and Francisco de Albuquerque. However, although the Rāvarī Nāyars’ presence around Cannanore was not specifically reported, it is probable that the members of this caste, based principally in the north of Malabar, carried on their traditional occupations. The Tiyans and the Mukkavans who, because they belonged to low castes, were drawn as much to the Muslims as to the Christians, frequently appear in the lists of converts held by the chaplains of the Portuguese fortresses. As was the case everywhere else, it is certain that they made up the largest section of the maritime workforce, and in particular the crews attached to the Muslim fleets.

The survival of ancient Jain families in Kōḷaṭhuṇād suggests that they were not uninvolved in the economy. Were they of autochthonous stock, or from Gujarāt like the Banias? It seems that prior to the setting up of the Portuguese feitoria the Banias formed Malabar’s largest foreign group, since it had its own special district in Cannanore. In addition to these well established communities there were seasonal groups of merchants who came from all over the world: Persians, Arabs, ‘Chinese, Bengalis, Chetṭis and even Venetians, like Benvenuto d’Abano whom the Portuguese brought back to Europe.

All these groups were minorities compared to the Islamic community, and yet they were responsible for upholding the prosperity enjoyed by the latter at that time. The origins of the Muslim community go back a long way. The locations of the mosques founded
by Malik Ibn Dīnār are enough to ascertain that most of them lived in the area around Mount Eli.\textsuperscript{170} This information is taken from the ‘Chēramān Perumāl’ legend, and yet the Māṭāyi mosque—the only one still standing—is dated 1124.\textsuperscript{171} The presence of this sanctuary and the remains of its wealth reveal the truth behind the words of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who bore testimony to the following that Islam enjoyed in this country.\textsuperscript{172}

The main feature of this community is that, unlike the one in Calicut, it was principally made up of Māppilaś and was more specialized in Indian commerce. These Māppilas held all the ports along the coast and relied on solid positions in the inland markets, particularly Śrikanṭapuram and Irukkūr\textsuperscript{173}. Māṭāyi which, in spite of its decline, had remained a pleasant and fertile place\textsuperscript{174} still had many Muslim inhabitants who supplied the Calicut almadias with provisions and offered them the shelter of their sandy lagoon and protection from the Portugese ships.\textsuperscript{175} Dharmapāṭām stored rice and pepper and could accommodate larger vessels.\textsuperscript{176} At first sight the town must have looked modest. Ludovico di Varthema had nothing but disdain for its ‘ugly houses’\textsuperscript{177} and Tomé Pires did not hold it in very high esteem.\textsuperscript{178} But Duarte Barbosa, who must have known it better, emphasized the beauty of its mosques. The wealth of the Māppila shipowners in the town caused him to remark: ‘If the Portugese had not discovered India this city would now have a Muslim king’.\textsuperscript{179}

A remarkable solidarity seems to have united these two ports to Cannanore. Their three names, which are often found grouped together under Gaspar Correia’s pen,\textsuperscript{180} mark the three principal seats of the Māppila community whose members never failed to help each other. Between Mount Eli and the mouth of the Anjarakandi the Portuguese ships were constantly being ambushed by the ‘Moors’ or carrying out retaliatory raids against them. The chroniclers constantly refer to these shores where the principal events of the maritime war occurred, provoked by the presence of Calicut ships which before long received the support of local craft.

While Māṭāyi and Dharmapāṭām were restricting themselves to the revictualling of the neighbouring ports, Cannanore was opening its doors to external trade. However, it is the activities of the Māppila merchants, rather than the details of this trade, which will be the focus of this study. The Portuguese writers, who observed these traders with a sharpness inspired by mistrust, have only left general
descriptions of their day to day lives and the structure of their institutions. It is probable that the Cannanore Muslims’ lifestyle did not differ greatly from that of the other Mappilas. ¹⁸¹ What is certain however is that their community was governed by a dignitary, referred by the Portuguese as regedor (regent), ¹⁸² a hereditary role which was passed on from brother to brother and from uncle to nephew, in keeping with the marumakkatayam ¹⁸³ custom. This regent had the right of justice over his co-religionists ¹⁸⁴ and represented them before the king who invited him to attend certain darbars. ¹⁸⁵ The Muslim population was grouped along the shore and in the southern suburb of Edakkad. ¹⁸⁶ The richer Mappilas owned ships to Ormuz, Aden, Ceylon and Cambay. Gaspar Correia has left a description of these ‘naos de Cananor’ which were built to sail the high seas. ¹⁸⁷

There is no doubt that the horse trade was here, as elsewhere, in the hands of the Muslims, an activity which earned them the Kola-thiri’s favours. ¹⁸⁸ It protected them from the outbursts of the rāja of Vijayanagar who was irritated by their increasing political power and who only spared Cannanore ‘because it was the stable for some of his horses’. ¹⁸⁹ Neither the influence of those who carried out this trade nor their skill at earning most of the sovereign’s favour should be underestimated. The Kola-thiri had a Muslim scribe who wrote his diplomatic and commercial correspondence in Arabic and was thus a party to his secrets. ¹⁹⁰ The Cannanore Mappilas, as they appear in the Portuguese documents, had acquired so much authority that Tomé Pires wrote of them: ‘If the power of Your Highness did not extend to this kingdom it would already be in the hands of the Moors, because a certain Mamalle Mercar has become all powerful here’. ¹⁹¹

The emergence of Mamale, in whom the ambition of the Muslim community was crystallizing at that time, and the unfolding of his activities, will enable a significant moment in the history of Cannanore to be appreciated. For more than ten years, while seeming to defend the king from Portuguese domination, Mamale ceaselessly competed with and sometimes diminished the Kola-thiri’s power, thus preparing the way for the Alī Rājas who were to reject the royal authority.

By acting in this way, he contributed to the acceleration of the movement, started several centuries earlier, which aimed at linking the Islamic community to the oldest traditions of Kerala. Because
of their ignorance of these traditions, the Portuguese were unable to assess this man whom they considered to be only some kind of a merchant. It is for this reason that the particular phenomena leading to Islam's successful penetration of the socio-religious beliefs of Koḷaṭhunād should be examined more closely. It is significant that the first signs of the presence of Islam were discovered in the entourage of the royal family. The proximity of the Māṭiyi mosque and the ancient palace proves that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Muslim area was not segregated at all,¹⁹² and it is in Dharmapāṭam that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa places the miraculous tree, the tank and the pavilions erected by a Koḷaṭhunād prince in memory of his conversion to Islam.¹⁹³

This tradition calls to mind the Chērāmān Perumāl legend which must have found circles in Koḷaṭhunād prepared to accommodate and extend it,¹⁹⁴ so that by the end of the eighteenth century the Islamic community of Cannanore had succeeded in bending it in its favour. The stages by which the traditions relating to the Muslim chiefs were developed can be followed. Diogo do Couto, Manuel de Menezes and Zaynuddin,¹⁹⁵ who were contemporaries of the famous Ali Rāja, described him as a powerful dignitary who freed himself of the Koḷaṭhīrī's control and made himself governor of Cannanore. At the beginning of the seventeenth century François Pyrard showed him to be a usurper.¹⁹⁶ But in 1727 the Dutchman Visscher attributed a completely different origin to him; he claimed that one of his ancestors was a princess of the royal family who, having married a Muslim, was believed to have received Cannanore as a dowry on condition that the descendants from the wedlock, while remaining faithful to Islam, should adopt the laws of marumakkatāyaṃ.¹⁹⁷ This tradition, as little in keeping with historic reality as with the customs of the high castes, was perhaps misunderstood by Visscher, but his suggestion is evidence of the Cannanore rulers' concern to legitimize an accomplished fact by making it dependent on the royal will. By connecting the governors of Cannanore with the 'Chērāmān' cycle, the Kēralolpatti, written some years later, endorses their consecration. It confirms that the legendary emperor invited two Muslims from Āryapuram to come and settle in Cannanore and bestowed upon their descendants the title of Ali Rāja, i.e. King of the High Seas and all the authority befitting such a position.¹⁹⁸

More probable is the version reported by William Logan. This
makes the Nāyar Arayan Kulingara—who was converted to Islam at the end of the eleventh century and took the name of Muḥammad Ālī—the Alī Rājas’ ancestor. At that time he was the Kōla-ṭhiri’s minister who, as a reward for his competence, allowed him to keep his office and to transfer it to his successors with the title of Mammali Kitavus. The latter were called to all the councils of any importance at which they sat with the points of their swords symbolically placed in a casket to signify that they undertook to finance the decisions of the assembly. The line of succession of the Cannanore Muslim chiefs will be examined in our last chapter. Were they at the beginning of the sixteenth century already basing their authority on some kind of tradition? It must be emphasized here that the contemporaries, who were content to recount the legend of Chēramān Perumāl, made no mention of the Alī Rāja legend, and yet there is no confirmation that Mamale, to whom Gaspar Correia referred as ‘Regent of the Sea’, was not already considered by his own people to be King of the High Seas and that his prestige did not give rise to talk of a legendary origin. By uncovering the facts and activities surrounding Mamale of Cannanore, the Portuguese have demonstrated just how the Muslims were progressing towards supreme power. Before turning to the Maldives, the principal stage for these activities, credit must be given to the foresight of Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires who assessed the Islamic community’s objectives with such accuracy and both foresaw the rise of a Muslim king. Although the Portuguese conquista was successful in holding this rise in check for several decades, it could do nothing to prevent its fulfilment at the onset of its own decline.

Notes and References

1 Kaṇṭūr or Kaṇṇāṉūr = town of Kṛiṣṇa (Hobson-Jobson, p. 157).
3 Fragmentos de instruções a Pedro Alvares Cabral quando foi por capitão mor de uma armada a India (1500), Alg. Doc., pp. 102, 104, 106; instructions to the same, without title,TdT, CVR nº 178, f. I a.

Amerigo Vespucci to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de'Medici, Capo Verde, 4. VI. 1501 Vignaud, Americ Vespace Paris, 1917, p. 406. There is doubt about the authenticity of this letter a copy of which is contained in the collection of manuscripts n° 1910 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence.

Paesi ritrovati, anonymous account, chap. 179.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana mss. 1910, f. 56 a. In Lisbon there is also the draft of a letter which D. Manuel is said to have written to the kings 'de Cochyn e de Cananor' commending Vasco da Gama to them. It was probably written during the preparation of the 1502 expedition. As it was neither dated nor signed its exact timing cannot be ascertained. (TdT CVR, n°71).

Mandado, Cannanore, 21 Feb. 1503, TdT CC II-7-9; id., Cannanore, 22...1503, TdT, CC II-7-1; Obrigaçam, Cannanore, 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-20.


This money, discovered in 1851, included gold coins bearing the heads of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula and Drusius. (M.J. Walhouse, Archaeological notes, Indian Antiquary, vol. 6 (1877), p. 216.


Fleet identifies these Mūṣaka with certain Mushika whose kingdom Monier-Williams places between Quilon and the Camarin Cape (Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, p. 827) which agrees with the text of the Kēralōḷpati. The Keralamahāmyam on the other hand gives the title of ‘Mushica Cshatria’ to the rāja of Kumbla (to the north of Mount Eli) (Gundert, ‘Contents of the Keralamahatmyam’, Madras Journal of literature and Science, n°32 (1844), p. 99). The error of localization made by Fleet and Monier-Williams was revealed by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (‘An Unidentified Territory of Southern India’, JRAS (April 1922), pp. 161-70) who attempts to prove that the Mūṣakas originated from the area around the Vindhyā mountains. Cf. also the identifications put forward in Epigraphia indica, vol. 20, pp. 83-4. The matter is resolved not only by the very theme of the Mūṣakavamsa, but also by the text of the Eramam inscription, in veṭṭelatthu characters of the eleventh century, which mentions a prince Mūṣaka, and who was discovered in the district of Chirakkal, where Māṭāyi and Valarpatṭaṇam are situated (Annual report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1932, n°523 of 1929-30). A closer examination of the epigraphic data would reveal more information about the Mūṣaka sovereigns; but most of the inscriptions have not been published in extenso and call for a thorough analysis of the proper names. The complicated hypotheses put together on the origin of the dynasty are based on evidence which is not substantial enough to be criticized here. I prefer to be guided by the inscriptions alone and will not attempt to follow the history of the Mūṣakas beyond the date of the Bādami inscription (601–2). More information is provided by M. G. S. Narayanan, Mūṣakavamsa as a source of History, Trivandrum, 1977.

There does not appear to be a complete edition of the Mūṣakavamsa, merely


18 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 3, p. 56; *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 4, p. 217.


22 Ibid., pp. 81–2. It should be noted that at the end of the thirteenth century Abû-l-Fida‘ referred to the promontory as *Ra’s Haili*, but did not mention any town of the same name (II/2, p. 116).


24 Ibn Baţţûţa, vol. 4, p. 82.

25 Defrémery has transcribed the Arabic *kwil* by ‘Coueil’ (Ibn Baţţûţa, vol. 4, pp. 83–5). It is believed that the word in question is in fact the Malayalam *kōvil* = prince.


27 Ibn Baţţûţa, vol. 4, p. 87.

28 Nicolò de’Conti (in Major, *India in the XVIth Century*, London, 1857, part 2, p. 6) states that ‘Helly’ was situated in the ginger growing country, on the coast.

29 The Portuguese have only ever referred to the promontory as Eli.

30 Although there were rats all over India, the Portuguese had been particularly surprised by the large number of nests to be found around Mount Eli (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; Correia, I/1, p. 68).


33 Emeneau, op. cit, n° 710.

34 Correia, I/1, p. 68. This etymology is defended by Logan, vol. 1, p. 6 and Subrahmanya Aiyer, *An Unidentified Territory*, loc. cit., p. 171.

35 S. Aiyer, loc. cit., pp. 166–7. It is also worth remembering that the god
Ganeśa is sometimes portrayed riding a rat, which suggests that the Eli kingdom was consecrated to him.

38 Ramantali inscription, in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1932, n° 474 of 1926. The Manigrām was a merchants' guild the headquarters of which was at Kollam.

37 S. Aiyer, loc. cit., p. 175.


41 Ibid., p. 15.


43 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79. Barbosa transcribes 'Maranel' whereas the other Portuguese writers write 'Marabia', 'Maravia', sometimes 'Morabia', the retroflexed T being interpreted as R.

44 R. Sewell, Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of the Presidency of Madras, Madras, 1822, pp. 242–3; C. Achyuta Menon, A Note on Kali or Bhagavati Cult of Kerala, K. Aiyangar commemoration volume, p. 237.

45 Correia, IV/2, pp. 692–3.


49 Gundert, loc. cit., p. 16.

50 Sewell, Lists, p. 242.


52 Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 22.


55 Ibid., p. 243.


58 Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 25.

59 Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, vol. 4, p. 82.


62 Logan, vol. 1, p. 4; G. Kuriyan, 'Some Aspects of the Regional Geography


65 Varthema/Schefer, p. 146.


70 The Kōḷaṭhirī to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400; mandado, Cannanore, 20 June 1513, CA, VI, p. 87; Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Barros, I/5–10, p. 220; Correia, I/1, pp. 257–8.

71 *Vide supra*, p. 2.

72 Varthema/Schefer, pp. 141–3.

73 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 79–84.


77 Barbosa writes that Kumbła (Cumbola) belonged to Vijayanagar (vol. 2, p. 79). This is contradicted by Pires (vol. 2, p. 358) who includes Kumbła (Combula) among the king of Cannanore’s possessions. We are more inclined to believe the former who had a better knowledge of Kōḷaṭhirīdād.

78 A pilgrimage takes place every year, in March, to the Temple of Tiruchem-


81 ‘A qual ponta da banda do sul faz grande habia (sic), que he ho porto de suas naos que nom tem barra, e da banda do norte he piçarra de penedia, em que bate o mar...’ (Correia, I/1, p. 168).


83 Varthema/Schefer, p. 141; Correia, I/1, p. 68.

84 Correia, I/1, p. 170.

85 João de Avila to D. Manuel, (sumário), Cannanore, c. 1510–12, CA, III, p. 321.
86 Varthema/Schefer, p. 140.
90 ‘Quatetagam’ near the Kuthuperamba of today, Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 82, n. 2; Logan, vol. 1, p. 11.
91 The names of the towns are listed by Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pires in the same order but in a slightly different form and are comparable with the modern toponyms. Thus, although it is difficult to identify ‘Tiramuingate’ (Barbosa, vol. 2, p. 84) on the south side of the Tellicherry river mouth, Mahe, which Pires places in the ‘Mailariavi’ area of Cannanore’s influence (vol. 2, p. 359) is recognizable, as is Cômbal (‘Combaa, ibid.) which the same writer includes in the Calicut kingdom. According to Duarte Barbosa these two cities (‘Manjaim’ and ‘Chamobai’) were no longer under the influence of the Cannanore kingdom (Dames, vol. 2, p. 84) but were definitely not an integral part of the Calicut kingdom. The state of Calicut begins at a rive which he calls ‘Hopadirpatão’ (‘Putupatanam’, according to Pires, which can be identified with the Kōṭṭa the mouth of which is marked by the port of Putupaṭṭanam). Obviously, attempts to establish the border of the various kingdoms must be restricted to the coastal areas, the inland frontiers being more difficult to trace.
95 ‘el rey dely’ (The Kōlaṭhithi to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400); ‘Kultari–Hili’ (The Kōlaṭhithi to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais, n° 50.
The royal succession was still patrilineal in the eleventh century, as in the Mūsakavamsa (A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 170). For information on the marumak-katāyam system in general, cf. Innes, Malabar and Anjengo, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 95–100.


P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 194, Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79, places the king’s nephew, the guardian of the northern frontier, in the Kattakuiam fortress.


Logan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 283. The Chirakkal palace is still standing (Innes-Evans, Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar, Madras 1951, p. 422). The Eli Kōvilagam was abandoned when the royal family split into two branches: the Udayagalam, which no longer exists, and the Palli which has survived to this day.


Varthema/Schefer, p. 143; Castanheda, I/81, p. 171.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 143; Albuquerque estimated the Kōḷaḷhiri’s forces at more than sixty thousand Nāyars (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 184).

Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 46.


This title of alguzil frequently conferred by the Portuguese does not imply any specific duty and was given either to ministers or governors.
This information was given to M. P. Menon by Radjaravivarma Mavalikkara, a descendant of the Kola Thiris (P. Menon, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 194-5). It cannot be affirmed that the structures existing in the sixteenth century were identical to those he describes and it should not be assumed that the Cannanore dignitaries were included in them. It is likely, however, that most of them already existed: the names of the offices conveyed by the Portuguese leave us in no doubt in this respect.

According to the Portuguese texts, it seems that the Natuvari ('natori', 'natorym', 'outulim') was also responsible for judicial matters. 'Elrey de Calicut, e assim todos os outros reys do Malabar tem hú regedor que tê cargo da justiça....' (Castañeda, I/14, p. 37). The same person is referred to by Correia as Gozil (justica mor do reyno I/2, p. 713). One should not attach too much importance to the various names given to him by the texts, but rather to recognize his duties; the identity of the regedor and the natori appear in the following letters: Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 359-60; Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1506, CA, III, pp. 175-6.


'Talai' (Hobson-Jobson, p. 892); 'Talaiyari' (Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of Useful Words Occurring in Official Documents, London, 1855, p. 506); Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 48.


Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 6, confirmed by Castanheda, I/14, pp. 35-6.


'elle (the Kola Thiri) nom tinha obrigação de lhe dar obediencia senão seu tempo certo, que então lhe hiria dar, como sempre fazia' (Correia, I/1, p. 177).

A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 181; Logan, vol. I, p. 235. At the time when Duarte Barbosa was writing, the rajah of Nileshvaram (Miraporao) had revolted against his uncle the Kola Thiri who annexed his land (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 79).

The Kola Thiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 22 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400: 'el rey meu tyo...porque nam quis que em os estranhos reynos diseserm que todos os reys de malabar eram maos e sem verdade, mandou loguo seus homes a cochym a roguarle que se viesem por aquy, e Pedralvares que entam are capitam, se veo aqui....'

Particularly at the time of the siege of the Portuguese fortress, vide infra, chap. IV, pp. 92, 94, 102. The assistance was reciprocal; Dharmapatham and Cannanore sent Nayars and ammunition when the Zamorin, who had been put in a difficult position by Duarte Pacheo in 1504, saw his army being decimated by an epidemic (Castañeda, I/81, p. 171).

Vide infra, chap. IV, p. 94.

For information on the Devaraya incursions (1406-22) in Kerala, cf. N. Sastri, A History of South India from the Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar, London, 1966, p. 270; for information on the massacre of the Honavar Nayayats

133 Vide infra, chap. IV, p. 81.

134 Logan, vol. 1, p. 277. The Samorin was ‘lord of men’ and the Kōlathiri of Vēṅād ‘lord of the elephants’.

135 According to Varthema, all that grew there were cucumbers and marrows. (Varthema/Schefer, p. 141).

136 Ibid., p. 142; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 83; Correia, I/1, p. 167.


138 This was the cinnamonum iners which Francisco de Albuquerque described as ‘acerba’ (in Cessi, loc. cit., p. 242). Garcia found it to be bad (Colóquis dos simples e drogas da India, Lisbon, 1891, I, p. 206) and smaller than that found in Ceylon (ibid., p. 212).


140 The pepper was so rare that G. Correia wrote that there was none (I/1, p. 167); Logan, vol. 1, p. 11.


142 Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 49. During that year the feitoria purchased four thousand quintais and could have bought six or seven thousand.


145 Barbosa lists the towns with which Cannanore had commercial relations: Cambay, Ormuz, Dabhol, Chaul, Banda, Goa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p.81). Correia states: ‘as navegadores de Cochym e Cananor, qui hião carregados de roupas, com que corrião a Malaca, Maluco, Banda e per outras partes, donde tornavão carregados de drogas, e canella que tornavão em Ceylão a vinda’ (I/2, p. 622).


147 Correia, I/1, p. 362.

148 Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 30 Dec. 1505, CA, II, p. 361; Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122; the same to the same, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513: ‘na terra he muito arroz, e tramapapatam e cananor ho abastaceram sempre em granme abstanca...as naos de calecut se varam em tramapapatam...’ CA, IV, p. 177).

149 For an overall picture of the activity of the Malabar ports, cf. G. Bouchon,
152 Varthema/Schefer, p. 141.
153 Ibid.
154 The Kölathiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.
155 The Kölathiri to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, Cartas orientais n° 50; the same to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço III 130, f. 1 b, published hereafter, doc. n° 7.
158 Varthema/Schefer, p. 141; the Kölathiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III 130, f. 1 b.
159 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 210. We shall not attempt to assess the price put on the horses by the Cannanore merchants. The only reliable statements are those concerning the Goa trade and are post 1510, that is after the Portuguese had taken over the horse trade and had begun to keep accounts.
160 Castanheda (II/16, p. 245) adds that the horse importers were exonerated from all due rights across Vijayanagar. This is confirmed by Góis, II/6, p. 22.
161 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 94.
163 The Kölathiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III 130, f. 1 b.
166 Pyrard de Laval was to see Malabar Muslims from the north serving on the ships: ‘Moucois and Tivas and other drudges’.
167 A. S. Menon, op. cit., p. 90.
168 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 73.
169 According to Amat di San Filippo, his real name was ‘Del Pan’ (Biografia dei

170 Those of Māṭāyī, Śrīkaṇḍaṇuram, Valarpāṭṭanam, Dharmapāṭṭam are situated in Koḷaṭhunad, and those of Bā RKūr, Mangalore and Kasaragod towards the south of Canara.

171 R. Sewell, Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Madras, 1882, p. 242


175 Correia, I/1, p. 291, II/2, p. 864, III/1, p. 284; Castanheda, VII/92, p. 164.

176 Castanheda, VII/90, p. 159.

177 Varthema/Schefer, pp. 150–1.


179 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 82.

180 Correia, I/2, pp. 592, 622, 740.


182 This office is expressed by the word regedor (Correia, II/1, p. 391, II/2, p. 861, III/1, p. 16); Poca Amane to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I–38–84, f. 1 a. a.) or mouro principal (The Kōḷaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, TdT, Śão Lourenço, III/130, f. 2 b). See documents, n° 6 and 7.

183 Poca Amane to D. João III, ibid.; Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 65. According to the same writer most of the Cannanore Muslims had adopted the marumakkatāyam (p. 27).


185 Vide infra, p. 36.


188 The Kōḷaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, Śão Lourenco, III/130, f. 1 b and 2 a.

189 Pero Fernandez Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 15(06), CA, III, p. 176 ‘porque era estrebaria d’alguns cavalos seis’.

190 A letter from the Kōḷaṭhiri to D. Manuel, undated but probably written in 1505, bears the signature of the secretary Samsuddin (‘Sun of the Faith’) TdT, Cartas orientais, n° 50.


192 Logan, vol. 1, p. 194.

Particularly since at the end of the sixteenth century the place where Chēramān Perumāl made his farewells was thought to be Dхаrmapaṭṭam (Zaynuddīn/ Lopes, p. 21). One version of the Chēramān Perumāl legend deals with the origin of Māṭāyi. It is cited here for interest only as its source is somewhat unreliable. It is taken from the Keralamabātmyam which was written in the eighteenth century and in such bad Sanskrit that Gundert himself was not sure of the accuracy of his interpretation given in ‘Contents of the Keralamahatmyam’, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, vol. 32 (1844), pp. 101–3. The account, which is very confused, is probably a compilation of several legends. A Buddhist woman who came from the country of the seven hills—that is Eli—seduced a rishi by whom she had a son. She secretly exchanged this child for the son of the eleventh Kōlāthiri. The stolen child was named Mammali and brought up under the protection of Kṛiṣṇa. The minister Kroda, who knew what had happened, stayed with the heir apparent and trained him to be king, but on the coronation day the goddess Bhadrakāli refused to protect a prince whose mother was Buddhist. In spite of this he reigned and founded the town of Māṭāyi where he built a Buddhist vihāra (the poem’s index refers to it as a mosque). This twelfth Kōlāthiri changed the law of the land; although he was tolerant and generous towards the Brahmins, he surrounded himself with Buddhist dignitaries and extended his control along the coast. He had been reigning for thirty-five years when Parāśūrāma returned. He drove out the Buddhists and cut off the king’s hands and feet which grew again when the latter prayed to his father, the rishi. With the help of thirty-five spirits he built the town of Valarpattanaṃ where he reigned with the Buddhists (the poem’s index refers to them as Māppīlas). He stole the sacred sword of Taliparamba so that his sovereignty could not be contested, but he was unable to escape punishment. While he was being held by Śiva, who was in disguise, his wife was making advances to Kroda, the minister. As the latter refused to succumb, she took revenge by accusing him of attempting to seduce her. Before going to his punishment Kroda was lifted into the air and disappeared, directing the king to go to Mecca in order to worship Viṣṇu in all his forms and thus save his soul. The king obeyed, leaving his favourite to rule Māṭāyi with the Buddhists. Some years later, Kerala having been attacked by a demon, the nephew of a Kulaśekhara was invited by Kāli to build a palace to the south-east of the seven hills so that she could manifest her power there. This then was the origin of the Māṭāyi palace.

What can be learnt from such information? It is clear that no attempt should be made to link the name of Mammali, given to the legitimate prince, to that of some Aḷī Rājas of Cannanore. But it is possible that, as a reaction against the exploitation by the Muslims of the Chēramān legend, the Brahmins invented this version to prove that the sovereign converted to Islam was not legitimate. Moreover, the mixing up of vihāra with mosque and Buddhist with Māppīla would suggest that the people recalling the events confused Buddhism with Islam. Attaching to the town of Māṭāyi is the memory of a power which was foreign to Hinduism and which entered into direct conflict with the established Brahminic society.


Zaynuddīn/Lopes, pp. 69–70; Couto, VII/6–4, VII/7–3, VII/10–19; Manuel de Menezes, Chronicado muyto alto e mutyo esclarecido prinipe D. Sebas-
tião decimo sexto Rei de Portugal, Lisbon 1730, vol. 1., pp. 57–8.


199 M. V. D'Souza has studied other traditions of the Alji Rājas—and in particular those concerning their tharavad—although they were not observed until after the sixteenth century. ('Social Organisation and Marriage Customs of the Moplahs of the South West Coast of India', Anthropos, vol. 54 (1959), pp. 495, 505).

200 Correia, II/1, p. 391.

II. The Islands

The Laccadive and Maldivian archipelagoes cover more than two thousand six hundred kilometres from the north to the south of the Arabian Sea, and are separated by two wide channels on either side of Minicoy. The toponymical differentiation is recent. The northern islands are commonly referred to as the Laccadives and those to the south as the Maldives, which is somewhat surprising since the Laccadives which in Sanskrit means ‘the hundred thousand islands’, consist of no more than about fifteen islands, whereas the Maldives, which are made up of several thousand, simply take their name from Male, the capital island. In fact the Laccadives must originally have included both archipelagoes as did the Dibajat, the name given to the islands by the Arab travellers during the medieval period. For, although a distinction was sometimes made between the ‘Dib-al-Kanbar’ and the ‘Dib-al-kuzah’, by al-Biruni for example, the term Dibajat is the one most often referred to in writing by geographers. Similarly, the native inhabitants called them Divi—the islands—which is how the two archipelagoes will be described throughout this study.

Travellers described these islands as innumerable, most of them only being visible at low tide—roving islands, so low that ‘they are born and lost at the whim of the tides’ which from time to time uncover fords which can be crossed on foot. They lie so close together that the tops of the palm trees on one can be seen as soon as one leaves another. If a ship loses its way, it will be unable to enter the archipelago and the wind will carry it towards Ma’abbar or Ceylon. The Maldives consist of nineteen atolls, some of which are under water. ‘These atolls are quasi-round or oval and are arranged in a line one after the other from the north to the south. They are completely separated from each other by sea channels, some wide, some very narrow. From the middle of an atoll can be seen all around that great stone bank which surrounds and protects the islands from the impetuosity of the sea. But it is a frightening experience, even for the bravest, to approach this bank and see coming from afar waves which dash furiously all around...’ These reefs made sailing perilous—‘labirinto de navegar antre eles...’.

The history of the Maldives has been documented by two
Indian Civil Service agents, A. Gray and H. C. Bell, neither of whom were disheartened by the unhealthy climate which was so debilitating that the British Crown exempted its representatives from living there. In 1922, H. C. Bell supervised an archaeological operation the objective of which was to identify the remains of Buddhist monasteries in the southern atolls. These discoveries, like the philological studies of W. Geiger, confirmed the belief that the equatorial archipelago had formerly been under the control of the Indo-Europeans of Ceylon. But the Sinhalese influence, which probably continued to be exerted in the medieval period, was soon replaced by that of Islam.

From their earliest expeditions to the Far East, the Muslim seafarers ran into the Dibajāt. It had become their practice to rest there in order to take on board fresh water, repair their ships and even replace any parts lost in the storms. The islands' inhabitants had in fact made the most of their only natural resource, the coconut palm, and had succeeded in establishing a rudimentary naval industry. They built small galleys with pointed bows—gundras—the planks of which were stitched together with coir as were all the ships of the Indian seas. The same fibre was used to stitch the sails and make the ropes which were renowned throughout the Indian Ocean countries as they did not disintegrate upon contact with sea water. The islanders also learned how to preserve fish, in particular bonito which was in plentiful supply around the atolls. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes in length the preparation of this red-fleshed fish, pieces of which were hung from the branches of the coconut palms to dry in the sun before being given to the passing seafarers or exported to India and China. The most modest of the archipelago's natural resources—shell-fish—was also turned to profit; once emptied and washed, it was used as money, particularly by the people on the east coast of the Gulf of Bengal who preferred it to coins of common metal. The products of this primitive economy were mainly bartered for rice which was not grown on the islands and was brought in by Bengali ships.

The islanders had lived from this trade from time immemorial and the visits by Arab ships had given new life to their economy. The spread of Islam probably began very early, by means of temporary marriages to native women, but did not definitively replace Buddhism until the twelfth century, in other words when it appeared with a new force in Kerala. The island converts adopted
the malekite rite, but did not abandon their own particular beliefs and continued to worship the spirits.

The Muslim travellers and in particular Ibn Baṭṭūta who lived there for four years, provided the first descriptions of the Dībajāt. The detailed account he left of his stay there can only be compared to that written by François Pyrard three centuries later; three centuries during which time seemed to stand still, so similar were the customs of everyday life and the routines of commercial activities. These texts demonstrate the slowness of a development which was barely discernible and both compensate for the brevity of the sixteenth century travellers by filling out their accounts.

Nevertheless, and in spite of their lack of detail, the writings of Mamalé’s contemporaries had been used as a basis of my study: Girolamo da Santo Stefano, who ran aground on the Maldives in 1497; Duarte Barbosa, who was probably informed by the Cannanore merchants; and mainly Valentim Fernandes, who, it seems, acquired information about one of the first Portuguese reconnaissance missions to the islands.

At the time when the latter was writing, the number of islands was estimated at twelve thousand. About ten atolls had been discovered in the equatorial archipelago—‘ten or twelve’ according to Barbosa, but more probably thirteen, a number corresponding to the ‘climates’ of Ibn Baṭṭūta, the atollons of François Pyrard, and the patanas of Alvaro Fernandes. Their population had been reduced by fever and poverty. Basically an Aryan people, who had been affected by Dravidian and Semitic settlers, they had two languages: Mahl, in which Sinhalese can be detected, was widely used in the archipelago; Arabic was understood in the merchant circles and used by the traders in their business dealings.

The islanders grouped themselves around the fresh water wells, which were generally well distributed, although in certain areas they had to be content with water from the ponds. The huts were built on stilts to keep away the rats and were so unstable that they could be easily demolished. The only objects they contained were copper utensils in which they prepared their meals which were based on fish, coconut oil and fruit, and sometimes enriched with the eggs and flesh of an emaciated poultry. The absence of any cereals forced the islanders to import rice, of which every foreign ship had to hand over the equivalent of ten paras, by way of a tax, as soon as it arrived. This requirement
affected the islanders' entire external trade and forced them to make the most of their natural resources in order to attract the rice-producing countries. In addition to their three traditional resources—coconut palm, bonito and cowries, they also offered ambergris, the monopoly of which was held by the Male Sultan who punished with death all those who tried to take it from him. The local craftsmen made what they could out of the resources available: tortoise shells were split into fine blades; cotton, silk and gilt fabric threads, brought in on ships, were cleverly woven into small pieces of cloth with which it was the fashion to make turbans. Certain atolls specialized in the manufacture of tunics. The cotton was delivered by boats from Cambay and bartered for tortoise shells, dried or smoked bonito and most of all for rope which the ship builders of Gujarat preferred to all others. Each year five or six large Bengali ships came to the islands in search of cowries which were in plentiful supply on the beaches. They were traded for rice and sugar, silk and light cotton, gold and silver. The junk from Sumatra were loaded with bonito, those from Java with slaves, in exchange for rice. The latter probably also carried goods destined for the Chinese customers of Malacca, as did the Cambay ships which occasionally opted to go to the islands rather than Malabar. It is not known what kind of money the Red Sea seafarers used to pay for the naval equipment and the bonito, but it is possible that they used copper and precious metals as a means of exchange.

From September to May, the Malabar traders added to this high seas traffic by travelling to and from the markets of the archipelago. Their role as middlemen for the producing countries of India, the diversity of the merchandise they offered and the closeness of their home-ports guaranteed them a privileged position. They brought salt, copper jugs and rice and in exchange received large quantities of coir and roping which they sold in all the Malabar ports and supplied to the Calicut fleet. They sold ambergris at a profit and stored bonito fillets in their entrepôts for later distribution to the crews of departing ships.

Trading was more active in the northern atolls of the Maldives and particularly in Male, the capital. Unhealthy and polluted by an overcrowding of graves, it was nonetheless the only island worthy of such a designation since on it stood the fortress and the royal residence. The principal function of the Sultan was to collect
the funds to which he was entitled, such as the profit he made from his ambergris monopoly and the tribute, which his subjects paid to him in cowries, the foreign traders in gold and silver.77

Valentim Fernandes’ informant had found the whole archipelago under the control of one prince.78 Had he examined the political situation more closely, its instability would have been apparent. The royal power was in fact constantly being disputed by the descendants of the first Sultans. The absence of a coherent law of succession favoured a regime which was made all the more anarchic by the fact that women were not excluded79 and which made it possible for the offspring of each rival branch to make claims to the throne. Although the travellers were able to witness the power enjoyed by the Sultan of the Maldives, they did not realize that the only dynastic law in force was that of the strongest: he who secured for himself the possession of Male became the Sultan.80 Moreover, the claimants had to gain the support of external powers and particularly that of the Cannanore81 merchants who were then beginning to control the archipelago. It is not difficult to imagine the kind of influence which resulted from such greed and the inevitable interest which was shown by some of the claimants in this new Portuguese force. It is through the solicitations of one such claimant that the internal affairs of the islands are brought to light82 and make it possible to check the veracity of the autochthonous sources.

The unique but rudimentary inventory of sources compiled by H. C. Bell, makes no mention of any contemporary document; the latest lomafaru is dated 1357, the oldest fatkulu 1573.83 But there are two chronicles which sum up the islands’ history.

The Ta’rīh, the original of which was destroyed in 1752 when the troops of the Ali Rāja of Cannanore plundered the palace of Malé, was rewritten in Arabic around 1820.84 The Rādavali, which confirms and completes the first, was discovered by Bell in the same palace in 1922. It exists in three different versions: an ancient manuscript in tana characters and two other variations in dives akuru and modern tana.85 It was probably reproduced from an older document, in keeping with the custom of the tropical Indian countries whereby archive documents were copied before they were destroyed by mildew. Despite the errors that such a method implies, the information contained in the Ta’rīh and the Rādavali makes it possible to retrace the thread of an account without which the Portuguese documents would have been meaningless.
Upon examining that part of the Ta‘rīḥ dealing with the end of the fifteenth century, the reader is bound to be confused by the unrest revealed therein. In twenty years—from 1491 to 1513—eight Sultans occupied the Male throne; and if account is taken of the obstinacy of Kalu Muhammad who succeeded in occupying it from 1494 to 1510, that is for fifteen years, it can be calculated that each of the other seven reigns lasted for an average of one year. It is worth pausing to look at the relatively long span of Kalu Muḥammad’s reign since it was as a result of his intrigues that the Muslim community of Cannanore was able to intervene in the political life of the Maldive archipelago. He was the descendant of a line of Sultans and succeeded to the throne in 1491.

Nine months later he was removed from office by his cousin Yūsuf—who died after ten weeks—and was then unable to prevent the claimant of a rival branch from seizing the Male palace and having himself invested under the name of ‘Alī. Kalu Muḥammad then appealed to the Muslim chief of Cannanore who successfully secured his reinstatement in H.900/1494. It is not known what price was paid for this positive assistance, but it may be assumed that the Cannanore merchants then granted themselves the sole rights to the trade in coir and dried bonito which were only to be found in their entrepots along the Malabar coast. It seems that the agreement established was respected throughout the fifteen years of Kalu Muḥammad’s second reign because the Sultan’s authority appears to have been uncontested in the eyes of the foreigners who visited Male at that time. In reality he was at the mercy of the Muslim chief of Cannanore and the conspiracies of the other claimants.

The fact that the dynastic crisis of 1494 marks an important stage in the seizure by Cannanore of the Maldive islands does not mean that there were no former influences. According to the Mūsākavamsa, the first links of dependence established between the islands and the kingdom of Eli date from the eleventh century. They probably refer to the Laccadives whose language and socio-religious structures are testimony of long-established relations with the people of Kerala. It is probable that the Kōlaṭhunād’s zone of influence, which went beyond the northern archipelago, included the atolls around Minicoy, although such a hypothesis is based on very questionable evidence. The apocryphal chronology of the Ta‘rīḥ would have carried the uncertainties of a legendar-
history to the end of the sixteenth century had not the Portuguese documents once again provided more accurate information about the islands. By revealing the ventures of Mamale, they retrace the steps of the domination that the Muslim chiefs of Cannanore enjoyed over the whole equatorial archipelago.

Notes and References

2 Between the eighth and ninth parallels.
3 Lakkadviya. The Laccadives consist of fourteen atolls, the main ones being: Androth, Chetlat, Keltari, Agathi, Kalpeni, Kadamth, Amen and Minicoy (or Malikup) (Census of India, 1961, vol. 21, map).
4 Alternative etymologies have been put forward. According to Caldwell, Male was an abbreviation of 'Malebar'. Yule's interpretation contains more imagery: the southern archipelago takes its name from the Sanskrit mālā = collar, or, according to the Madras Glossary from the Malayalam mālviyā= black islands, which ties in with the colour of the soil (Hobson-Jobson, p. 547).
5 This is the opinion of A. Gray, in The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies, London, 1887–9, WHS n°76, 77, 80, vol. 1, p. 323, n. 1.
6 The word dib is derived from the Sanskrit dvipa = island, to which is added the Persian plural suffix djāt (according to Ferrand, Relations de voyage et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècles, 2 vol., Paris, 1913–4, vol. 1, p. 35, n. 5; cf. same work, relations between the islands, pp. 35, 97, 163, 171, 177, 202, 205, 338, 364, 394, 432).
8 Gray, ibid. This practice was copied by the Portuguese, at least during the first few years. D. Manuel wrote 'o arcipeleguo das XII mil ilhas' (D. Manuel to D. Francisco de Almeida, sl. 1506, CA, III, p. 276); in 1507 Valentim Fernandes used the pleonasm 'as ilhas de Dyve' to describe them (in H. Fizler, Die Maldiven im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert, Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, vol. 10 (1935), p. 249), as did Pires (vol. 2, pp. 362, 363). The expression 'ilhas de Maldio, de Malandiva ou de Maldiva' appears after 1510 but refers to the entire archipelago. Duarte Barbosa was probably the first to distinguish between the islands of 'Palandura'—that is of Divanduru (derived from Androth, in the northern archipelago) and the 'Malandiva'; these two names are reversed however in the text included in Ramusio, which suggests that Barbosa's manuscript was badly compiled by his first publishers (cf. Dames, vol. 2, p. 105, and Gray op. cit., vol. 1, p. 323, and vol. 2, p. 477).
10 Valentim Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 249; Pyrard, I, p. 175.
11 Ma'bar; term used by the Arab travellers to describe the Coromandel—quotation from Ibn Baţţūta, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 111. The Chinese referred to the Maldives as Līu, 'islands of currents' (Wang Ta-Yuan in Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, Toung Pao', vol. 16 (1915), p. 387). These currents,
which were well known to the sailors, were present between June and September (H. C. P. Bell, *The Maldives Islands, Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy*, Colombo, 1940, p. 12) and sometimes turned away the Portuguese ships.

13 Pyrard, I, p. 172.
14 Barros, IV/8–4, p. 68. The danger was increased by the low lie of the islands. Valentim Fernandes observed that 'the sea seems to be higher than they are and it is only the palm trees, which grow in great numbers, that prevents the ships from getting lost'. loc. cit., p. 250).
15 A. Gray, *The Maldives Islands*, London, 1878. Pyrard observed that 'fever is very common there...but is very dangerous if caught by strangers to the islands' (I, p. 307).
17 W. Geiger, 'Maldivian Linguistic Studies', *JCBRAS*, vol. 27 (1919), p. 5, emphasizes however that the historical writings of Ceylon make no reference to a surrender by the islands.
18 At the time when Valentim Fernandes (loc. cit., p. 249) and Pyrard (I, p. 191) were writing this was the common belief.
19 Goundra, or candura, the Portuguese form of the Sinhalese gundura and the Arabic kundura meaning a ship with three masts, a pointed bow and equipped with oars. The gundras were described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 121) and by Barbosa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p. 108) illustrated in Mookerjee, *Indian Shipping*, London, 1912, p. 251, plate 3.
20 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. The belief that the reefs had a magnetic effect meant that no metal was used in the ships (Mookerjee, op. cit. p. 21).
21 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253. The quality of these ropes held in repute in China (Rockhill, loc. cit. pp. 388–9) was praised by Garcia da Orta (Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India, Lisbon, 1891, vol. 1, p. 237) and by G. Correia (I/1, p. 299). The preparation of the coir has been described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 121 and Pyrard, vol. 2, pp. 653–5.
23 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, vol. 4, pp. 112–13. This exportation is confirmed by Wang Ta-Yuan and Ma Huan in Rockhill, loc. cit., pp. 388–90. The main diet of the sea-men consisted of dry bonitos (Correia, I/1, p. 341).
26 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa experienced it (vol. 4, p. 125). Such marriages still exist in the Maldives where one can get a wife for two pieces of material, Rs 2 and 8 annas (V. D'Souza, 'A unique custom regarding mahr (dowry) observed by certain
Indian Muslims of South India", *Islamic Culture*, vol. 28/29 (1954–5).


28 V. D'Souza, loc. cit., p. 268.

29 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported on the superstitions of the Maldivian people (vol. 4, p. 129). So did Barbosa (Dames vol. 2, p. 104) and Pyrard (I, pp. 299–307).


31 Pyrard, I, p. 171–442.


33 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 103–8. Castanheda's brief description should also be pointed out (IV/35, pp. 437–8); he visited part of the archipelago.

34 Valentin Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 249–55. A German printer from Moravia, he lived in Lisbon, where he is known to have resided after 1495. The text dealing with the islands to which we refer is taken from a collection of manuscripts covering the discoveries which he compiled in 1507 and which is kept at the Staatsbibliothek of Munich (Cod. Hisp. 27 f. 67–85). It has been edited by A. Baião, *O manuscrito Valentin Fernandes*, Lisbon, 1940.

35 The figure of twelve thousand is given by Valentin Fernandes who states that eight thousand of them were inhabited, and by D. Manuel whose letter to D. Francisco de Almeida (s. 1. 1506, CA, III, p. 276) is an indication of the information received upon Lopo Soares' return. In 1497, Girolamo da Santo Stefano estimated that there were about seven or eight thousand (in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42, 44).

36 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104. This passage only makes sense if the meaning of atoll is given to the word island.

37 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 111.

38 Pyrard, I, p. 172.


41 Bell, op. cit., pp. 13, 16; Geiger, loc. cit., p. 3.

42 Valentin Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250. Geiger, loc. cit., p. 21 finds similarities between Malh and twelfth century Sinhalese; G. A. Grierson lists Malh in the index of *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1903, I/1, p. 478, but does not
undertake a special study of it.  

43 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250. The linguistic duality of the Maldives is expressed by two different alphabets. Apart from Arabic, the gabāli tāna is written from right to left and mixes Persian cursive characters with more archaic Arabic characters. In addition, ancient tombstones have been found bearing inscriptions in dives akuru written from left to right (Geiger, loc. cit., o.21; Bell, op. cit. p. 198).

44 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

45 Ibid.


47 Pyrard, I, p. 213.

48 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

49 Ibid.


52 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250, reports that a certain amount of milho (sorghum?) was grown which was not sufficient to make up for the total absence of rice all the chroniclers agree with this (Santo Stefano in Longhenia, loc. cit., pp. 42, 44; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104; Bell, op. cit., p. 97). Ibn Baţţūţa, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 122 and Wang Ta-Yuan (in Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 388) state that rice was imported from Bengal and was bartered for cowries.

53 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. According to the same author 1 para = 8 kottei, i.e. 720 Portuguese reis (p. 255).

54 As reported by Valentin Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 253–4, the coconut palm was put to good use—wood for building, food products, rope, alcohol, vinegar, coal etc; the same writer describes the fishing and how smoked bonito was prepared (pp. 252–3); a description of how cowries were prepared is given by Pyrard, I, p. 190.


56 V. Fernandes, ibid.


58 Ma Huan/Mills, p. 150; Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 106; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252; Pyrard, 1, p. 394.

59 The tunics of the islands are already mentioned by the author of the Relation de la Chine et de l’Inde (ed. J. Sauvaget, Paris, 1948, p. 3) and by al-Idrisi (mentioned by Ferrand, Relations de voyages, vol. 1, p. 178). Valentin Fernandes describes the black and white striped cotton tunics worn by the women, loc. cit., p. 250).
V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252.


Ibid., p. 106; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 252.

V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253. In 1525 the Maldivian babar of coir was worth 300 fadées in Cambay, whereas that of Malabar was only worth 180 (Lembrança d’algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaca, e assy nas outras partes da India, 1525, in Subsídos para a historia da India portugueza, Lisbon, 1868, p. 42).

V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254.

Ibid., p. 253.

Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, pp. 158–9; Pires, vol. 1, pp. 168–70; Meilink Roelofs, Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630, The Hague, 1962, pp. 114–15. This slave trade was particularly severe in the atoll of Fua Mulakku where the Parmentier brothers made their landing. They observed ‘that they (the inhabitants) seem to have moved their belongings, wives and children inland fearing that they may be taken by force’. (Le Discours de la navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier de Dieppe, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1883, p. 53). Valentim Fernandes reported that certain islanders sold themselves or handed over their children in order to pay their debts, and were freed again once these debts were cleared (loc. cit., pp. 251–2).

V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 254. These Cambay ships sometimes chose the archipelago route in order to dispose of their products in the Malaccan markets. Their role as intermediaries saved the Chinese in particular the trouble of travelling to the islands as they used to do in the fifteenth century (Ma Huan/Mills, p. 150).

These were in fact the principal goods requested by the Indian merchants (Godinho, Economie, pp. 620–1).

Correia, I/1, p. 342.

Barbosa, vol. 2, pp. 105–8; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 253, estimated that between twelve and fifteen ships were loaded with rope for Malabar and Gujarat every year.


Pyrard, I, p. 192.

V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 250.

Pyrard, I, p. 207.


V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 251. These riches were intended for the royal treasure, of which A. Fernandes also points out the importance (letter to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520 in Às Gavetas, vol. 4, p. 125). V. Fernandes claims that the name of Male (Dyve mahal) means ‘treasure island’ in Arabic. Bell suggests ‘island of the Sultan’ (op. cit., p. IV) but does not justify his interpretation.

V. Fernandes, loc. cit. p. 251.

The author of the Relation de la Chine et de l’Inde had found the islands under the rule of a woman (op. cit., p. 3). Ibn Battūta was staying in the Maldives during the reign of the sultaness Khadija (op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 130–1); this is confirmed by a lomasfanu dated the sixteenth year of her reign (H. 758/1356–7) and by
the chronology of the Ta‘rib (in Bell, op. cit., pp. 5 and 21).

80 V. Fernandes, loc. cit., pp. 251.

81 Barbosa (ed. Dames, vol. 2, p. 104), wrote that the king of the islands was chosen by certain Moor merchants from Cannanore and was replaced as and when they wished.

82 Vide infra, chap. V, p. 124.

83 Bell, op. cit., pp. 179 and 187. Lomasanu are documents inscribed on sheets of copper, fatskul on ola.

84 Bell, op. cit., pp. 201–4.

85 Ibid., pp. 198–200. Unfortunately Bell has not translated these two texts but has merely provided an analysis of them which we have used. More information is to be found in Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, Tārikh islām Dībā Mahāll, ed. Hišoichi Yajima, Tokyo, 1982.


87 Ibid., p. 24.

88 According to the author of an anonymous account kept at the National Library in Florence, there was more fish in Cannanore than in any other part of India (in A. Teixeira da Mota, A viagem de António de Saldanha em 1503 e a rota de Vasco da Gama no Atlântico sul. (Agrupamento de estudos de cartográfica antiga, secção de Lisboa, nº 64 (1971), p. 49).

89 Santo Stefano in Longhena, loc. cit., pp. 42 and 44; V. Fernandes, loc. cit., p. 251.

90 Vide supra, chap. I, p. 3.

91 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104; W. W. Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford, 1908, vol. 16, pp. 86–7. The legendary origin of how they were peopled is connected to the history of ‘Chēramān Perūnl’ several companions of whom settled in the archipelago upon their return from Mecca. The Laccadive inhabitants spoke Malayalam, using Arabic characters when they wrote. They were Mappilas and were divided into four sub-castes.

92 For example in the fourteenth century Wang Ta-Yuan had observed that the people of Eli wore their hair short like the inhabitants of the Liu islands and dressed themselves in cottons from the archipelagoes (in Rochhill, loc. cit., p. 454).

93 That is up until the Zaynuḍdīn chronicle (ed. Lopes, p. 169).
III. The Feitoria of Cannanore

The first news from the East that Portuguese ships had reached the Indian shores is to be found among the correspondence recorded in Girolamo Priuli’s Diarii. The fact that their arrival in Calicut had been known in Cairo must mean that the event had not been underestimated by the Red Sea merchants; but it is probable that, like the peoples of the Christian world, who received it with scepticism, the trading circles of Kerala were unaware of just how important it was. The notes made by Alvaro Velho during his stay in Calicut suggest that the arrival of the small Portuguese squadron aroused no more than a little surprise. They show clearly that the newcomers were disappointed by such a reaction, as indeed they were by the presence of Maghreb Moors who greeted them with a somewhat unabashed familiarity as soon as they landed. These Moors, ‘who know and despise us’ were the only people who could understand the languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Did they really, as is shown by the chroniclers, warn the Muslim community against the Portuguese? It seems more likely that they wanted to minimize the importance of their venture and ridicule the words of Vasco da Gama. When the latter boasted to the Zamorin of the magnificence of his king, who was ‘richer and more powerful than any other’, and had so much gold and silver that his only concern was to seek out other Christian kings’, it is probable that the Maghrebins put D. Manuel’s fortune and prestige in better perspective. Similarly, they openly mocked the rustic gifts the Portuguese offered to the Zamorin. These presents, which were ‘hardly worthy of the poorest merchant of Mecca’, were a timely justification of their warnings. The courteous reception of the Zamorin and the Calicut dignitaries was followed by a more ambiguous attitude which troubled Vasco da Gama and his companions, who could not fail to notice the smiles behind their words and actions during the royal audiences, nor the reluctance to accommodate and entertain them. To make matters worse their goods were regarded with disdain. Their hostility towards the Muslims grew from the first contact, a hostility which was fuelled not only by the humiliation they suffered, but also by the attitudes they encountered in their dealings at the local level—the slowness with which all new trade was handled, and the zealous
curiosity of the eastern people which the Portuguese interpreted as greed and malevolence. 8

Such a climate inevitably led to incidents which were reported from port to port. The Kōḷaṭhunāḍ Muslims had already been put on their guard on 18 May with the passing of the Portuguese squadron off Mount Eli. 9 Gaspar Correia was the only one to report the presence of the Portuguese off the Cannanore beach and the fact that the Kōḷaṭhiri had been warned too late to send out his observers, 10 although some of his men probably slipped unnoticed among the numerous boats which set out from the coast in the direction of the island of Anjediva, where they arrived in September, to inspect the Portuguese ships which were using it as a port of call before returning home. 11

In Lisbon an attempt was being made to counter the first impressions and dispel any misunderstandings. It was important not to present a poor image of Portugal and to refute the allegations, put forward by the Muslims at every opportunity, that the Portuguese were pirates. The second expedition was prepared with the utmost care. On March 1500 a fleet of thirteen ships commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral and manned by a crew of fifteen hundred took to the sea. On board was all the artillery needed to deal with potential aggressors and the merchandize and gifts worthy of the markets and sovereigns of Malabar. 12 The instructions were clearly set out and the objectives—to establish their position in the spice trade and to develop Christianity in India—both implied the expulsion of the Muslims from the Indian Ocean. But the experience of Vasco da Gama and, more specifically, that of the informants that he had brought back with him, suggested the possibility of exploring other kingdoms, with priority being given to the one known as ‘Callenur’ or ‘Callnur’. 13 The 1500 expedition was in fact to have long-term consequences: when Pedro Alvares Cabral left the Indian soil the dies were cast, hostilities had opened up in Calicut, an alliance had been established in Cochin and an interest awakened in Kōḷaṭhunāḍ. As Cannanore was the Portuguese armada’s last port of call, it is worth looking at the events leading up to its ‘discovery’. On 13 September Pedro Alvares Cabral entered the Calicut waters, all ships dressed and all guns firing. But it was the gifts of jewellery and precious cloth more than this display which ratified his mission. 14 With the presents was a letter, the spiritual statement of which had to be accepted by an Indian sovereign even
though it exalted the pre-eminence of Christianity. D. Manuel invited the king to praise God for having granted them the favour of living at a time in which they could meet and become acquainted with one another. The people of their countries, who had been so distanced from each other from the beginning of time, had lived in this hope, and now it was God's will that it be granted. The temporal objectives of the expedition were more discreetly expressed. As a precaution D. Manuel's letter had been written in Arabic and Portuguese in order to avoid any tendentious translations by the Muslim interpreters. The content did not escape them however and, although it did not include any hostile reference to Islam, it hinted at an alliance which was likely to upset the order of their affairs.

The position hardened when the feitoria was installed, despite the dilatory tactics which the Muslims endeavoured to employ. The Portuguese soon distinguished between the 'Mouros da Meca' and the 'Mouros da terra' and recognized in the first their real enemies. The Māppīlas, who were in a minority in Calicut, considered the introduction of these new clients into the scheme of things as being of some interest as they were believed to have established a position in Africa not far from the sources of gold. The Māppīlas were anxious to reach an agreement with anyone who could one day compete with the merchants of Mecca. And yet, the attitude of their leader, Koya Pakki, who saw his own destiny as being firmly linked to that of the Portuguese conquista, does not seem to have been shared by other members of the Māppīla community who retained a cautious approach which was soon to be justified by an incident which united the Portuguese with the Zamorin against one of their people. Most of the records agree that the cargo of a vessel which was sailing towards Cambay belonged to a Māppīla merchant from Cochin. It was carrying a fighting elephant which the king of Calicut had been unable to purchase despite the high price he had been prepared to pay for it. When asked to seize it, Pedro Alvares Cabral was more than willing to oblige. D. Manuel later wrote that the capitão wanted to build on the still precarious relations and show his gratitude for the favourable treatment the feitor was enjoying at that time. When the vessel, which was defended by a group of archers, was off Calicut, only a small caravel commanded by Pero de Ataide (nicknamed Hell) was sent out to intercept it. A chase ensued
which ended in the port of Cannanore where the Cochin ship took refuge for the night and received immediate protection from a flotilla of paraos which had sailed out from the nearby shore. It surrendered the following morning, after a battle conducted before the crowd assembled on the beach, and was dragged out to the open sea in the tow of the small caravel which then returned to Calicut. It is probable that Pero de Átaiide’s performance impressed the Cannanore authorities, who saw the power of the Zamorin strengthened by an alliance with the Portuguese pirates.

This incident did not disarm the Calicut merchants who were more concerned about the favour that the newcomers finally seemed to be enjoying, although, since only two Portuguese ships had been loaded with goods in three months, it was probably superficial in nature. It is difficult to judge the terms of the negotiations which were entered into at that time because of the linguistic difficulties which forced the Portuguese emissaries to make use of interpreters. The messages exchanged with the Zamorin were translated twice, from Portuguese to Arabic and then from Arabic to Malayalam, and the information provided by the Malabar people brought back to Portugal by Vasco da Gama was of little use since they all belonged to low castes and had not had access to the royal palace. How certain was it, therefore, that the king of Calicut had given his interlocutors an absolute guarantee that their ships would be loaded first, before those from the Red Sea? What is clear is that the Portuguese understood this to be the case and that their impatience forced the Muslims to fill up their own holds secretly. It is impossible to determine the extent to which the misunderstandings, deceit and instances of rash behaviour incited Cabral to seize a boat of spices and the population of Calicut to have recourse to violence. On 16 December the feitoria was attacked, the feitor, Aires Correia, and forty other Portuguese massacred while fleeing to their ships. By way of reprisal the port was put ‘a fogo e sangue’ and the armada, which was lined up along the shore, bombarded the town for a whole day.

Like Zaynuddin and his followers, the Portuguese chroniclers emulously dramatized this tragic episode, although all they conveyed was a feeling of reciprocal resentment in the face of an incident which was to be the pretext for bitterness and demands for decades to come. The use of artillery certainly had an intimidating effect,
particularly since the people of Malabar were not used to aggression of this type; but it did not prevent those frustrated by the hegemony of Calicut from rejoicing. While Cochin welcomed Pedro Álvares Cabral with open arms, Kollam and Cannanore sent emissaries who returned bearing promises of visits in the near future. The offers from Cannanore were reiterated when the armada passed by the port before taking to the high seas. On 15 January Cabral entered the port to complete his cargo. He was immediately greeted by a royal official and surrounded by a flotilla of boats so loaded with cinnamon ‘that we did not know where to put it’. The merchants of Bruges and Antwerp who received it later found it coarse, and its mediocre quality may explain the keeness with which it was offered. Was it a local cinnamon or what remained from the Ceylon harvest of the previous year? The Kōḷaḷhiṛi announced that because of the losses suffered by the Portuguese in Calicut the payment of four hundred quintais already loaded onto their ships could be delayed until the arrival of the next armada. Cabral insisted on paying in cash, however, making a point of showing the king’s envoy his gold-filled coffers. He requested permission to take an ambassador back to Lisbon and later that same day set sail on the return journey in the company of a Gentile ‘gentleman’.

The eagerness with which these negotiations were conducted was surprising, particularly in view of the incidents which during the preceding weeks had marked the first contacts between the Portuguese and the Cannanore kingdom. Neither the attack on a friendly vessel within the harbour, nor the pillage of two ships loaded with rice, were considered serious enough to prevent the Cannanore authorities from seeking the friendship of the Portuguese, and the reasons for their insistence are open to speculation. The Kōḷaḷhiṛi’s explanation came in the form of an assurance to D. Manuel that he had only offered such warm hospitality to the Portuguese in order to correct the unfortunate impression they had formed of Calicut and to show the world that the kings of Malabar were not all sovereigns without honour. According to Gaspar Correia the approaches of the Kōḷaḷhiṛi had been inspired by the predictions of his soothsayers. Jealous of the pressure exerted on the king by the Muslims, they had recalled an ancient prophecy according to which the people of Malabar would one day have to submit to white men from the sea. When the Chinese
had visited the ports along the coast the people of Cannanore had believed that the prediction had come true. This reference to the expeditions of Zheng-He gives some plausibility to Gaspar Correia’s account.\textsuperscript{35}

By recognizing the Portuguese as the heroes of the prophecy, the Valarpattanam omens had therefore given the Kolathiri arguments which nobody had dared to challenge. It is equally probable that the Kolathiri’s initiative had been motivated by a twofold desire: to reach an agreement with a potential enemy and to counterbalance the increasing influence of the Cannanore Muslims with a rival power. The fact that he had sent an ambassador to Portugal was a demonstration of his intention to establish a political alliance; he would not have taken the same trouble had he merely wished to conclude a cinnamon deal with passing merchants. The Māppilas themselves did not stand in the way of the first negotiations; perhaps, like the Cochin merchants before them, they saw a chance to benefit from the eclipse of Calicut by trying to compete with the Red Sea merchants and the possibility of turning the efficiency of the Portuguese fleet to their own profit.

With the arrival of each monsoon, the Portuguese braved the perilous crossings to load their ships with Indian spices. At the end of the summer of 1501 four more ships arrived at the port of Cannanore. Without waiting for Pedro Álvares Cabral’s return, D. Manuel had despatched this small squadron under the command of João da Nova. It was made up of two ships belonging to the king and two other vessels. One was financed by D. Álvaro, the uncle of the Duke of Bragança and the other was sponsored by the Florentine financier Bartolemeo Marchionni. D. Manuel was thus sanctioning an association which had been in existence for several years\textsuperscript{36} and which was going to enable foreign businessmen to take part in eastern trade. The *regimento* given to the captain had been based on the already out-of-date reports of Vasco da Gama who had left India two years before it was written. Because of the time taken up with the long crossings, the squadron captains would in the future have to deal with unforeseen situations and find solutions which were not covered by the instructions received. There is no trace of those written for João da Nova; they seem to have disappeared with all the other documents relating to the expedition.\textsuperscript{37} However, it is safe to assume that he did not expect to discover a message from Pero de Ataide hidden in a shoe in a
bay along the African coast. This is how he came to know of the events which had taken place in Calicut, and which were shortly afterwards confirmed by a letter from Cabral and given to him by a degredado who had been left in Quiloa.

João da Nova dropped anchor at Cannanore, having earlier seized two Muslim vessels which had been cruising in the region of Mount Eli. The Cannanore authorities made every effort to persuade the Portuguese to take their entire cargo from their port and not to go to Cochin. Using the excuse that he could not abandon the agents of the small feitoria posted there by Cabral, João da Nova left Cannanore after four days, having ordered the cinnamon and ginger he would be taking back with him. His return there was hastened by the embarrassing situation he found in Cochin. The king could not forgive Cabral for having taken his hostages, and the pepper merchants, had refused the Portuguese products because they were only prepared to accept cash. As the flagship's coffers were empty of gold, João da Nova was happy to return to Cannanore and accept the spices for which the Kōlaṭhirī granted him credit. In exchange it was agreed that a feitor be installed there to dispose of the unsold goods.

Meanwhile, the Calicut fleet, which had been unsuccessful in combat against Cabral, was determined to exterminate João da Nova's small squadron, and assembled around Cannanore where the four Portuguese ships, supported by their artillery, managed to dismiss it. This was the second success off Cannanore, but the first naval victory achieved by the Portuguese. It had come just in time to enhance their prestige; the booties from this battle and other random seizures meant that the ships returned to Lisbon 'tam carregadas de vitoria como de especearia'. Even though the Venetian Girolamo Priuli, emphasized that the returning cargoes included only a few spices. However, they were sufficient to confirm the resolution of the Portuguese to exploit the Indian market.

It was with this objective in mind that those left in Cannanore set about their task: two casual labourers and a degredado who were under the management of Paio Rodrigues, D. Alvaro's feitor, and the Italian feitor of Bartolomeo Marchionni. The Kōlaṭhirī allowed them to live outside the town on the rocky headland which overlooked the port and upon which stood a few fishermen's huts which had been evacuated by order of the king. The
coconut palms were cut down and their wood and palms used to build a hamlet which was fortified by a palisade encompassing the full width of the headland. It was lined on the inside by an embankment of debris, which was made into a rampart-walk, and on the outside by a ditch which separated the rocks from the land. Set into the enclosure was a grilled gate which was locked at night. This arrangement was approved by the Kōlathiri who was pleased that his guests had settled a reasonable distance from the native population. Nobody was authorized to go to the headland for any reason other than to take provisions or to trade goods. Six Nāyars guarded the area surrounding the rocks and were at the feitor's disposal.  

Meanwhile in Lisbon the exploitation of the maritime route to India was being questioned. João de Barros reported the disagreements which, following Cabral's return, were becoming evident among the members of the royal entourage. Some were in favour of pursuing the discoveries, others were more concerned about the recklessness of the undertaking, the hostility of the Muslims and the risks involved in dealing with an unknown terrain. D. Manuel favoured the former view because of his loyalty to the ideal of his dynasty but also because the profits accruing from Cabral's expedition were significant enough to allay any doubts. For a long time his resolve had found expression in his titles: to that of 'senhor de Guiné' he had added 'senhor da navegação, conquista e comercio da Etiópia, Arabia, Persia e India'. The fulfilment of this plan was entrusted to Vasco da Gama who was sent to Malabar a second time bearing the title of Admiral. He took with him a fleet of twenty ships divided into three squadrons, one of which was to stay in India under the command of Vicente Sodré, the maternal uncle of the expedition leader. The Admiral reached Anjediva on 18 August 1502, well supplied with gold from the tributes negotiated in eastern Africa. On 28 August the fleet set sail and took up position at the foot of Mount Eli so that the crew could rest and the ships undergo repairs. This site had been chosen because of the ease with which provisions could be obtained from the neighbouring ports and water and wood from the mountain. Mount Eli was the best observation post along the coast from which to site vessels returning from the Red Sea. Vasco da Gama, who had not forgotten the humiliation suffered in Calicut, had resolved to avenge the murder of Aires
Correia and his companions and to demand reparation for the pillage of the *feitoira*. The fleet was ordered to spare only the ships from Cannanore. The sight of the Portuguese forces deployed along the shore inevitably alarmed the Kōḷaṭhiri.\textsuperscript{57} Not until 29 September did news come of a major casualty, the *Meri*, which was returning to Calicut with a cargo of mercury, opium, copper, pieces of velvet and Muslim currency to the value of six thousand ducats. On board were two hundred crew and numerous pilgrims returning from Mecca. It was stopped and, after three days of combat and negotiations, plundered.\textsuperscript{58} The booty was taken for the king of Portugal,\textsuperscript{59} the *Meri* set on fire. As for the passengers they were either burned to death or drowned, with the exception of about twenty children who were spared and immediately baptized before being sent to Portugal to join the young monks of Nossa Senhora de Belem.\textsuperscript{60}

The Renaissance period offers other examples of merciless reprisals which were generally approved of by the contemporary writers, although Tomé Lopes, who had witnessed them for himself, was clearly shocked by them.\textsuperscript{61} His horror was shared, there is no doubt, by the Muslim populations of Māṭāyi and Cannanore who had seen the Mecca pilgrims executed in their waters and their young co-religionists baptized. The Kōḷaṭhiri, who had put himself out neither for Cabral nor for João da Nova,\textsuperscript{62} was eager to invite the Admiral to meet him at the port of Cannanore. His concern was confirmed by the report of the ambassador whom Cabral had taken with him to Portugal and who had returned with Gama’s squadron: while in Lisbon this ambassador had met the envoy from the Republic of Venice who had warned him against the Portuguese and had advised him to rely on the power of Venice rather than on those who were only able to finance their expeditions with the gold of foreigners and conquer by force that which they were unable to obtain through the art of negotiation.\textsuperscript{63} The presence in Cannanore of an agent of Marchionni the Florentine and the recent visit of the Venetian Benvenuto d’Abano,\textsuperscript{64} must have given an element of plausibility to his comments.

Having rejected the peace offers proposed by a Calicut envoy, and having despatched a survivor from the *Meri* to the Zamarin bearing a threatening letter, Vasco da Gama prepared himself for an official visit to the Kōḷaṭhiri. A pavilion draped in coloured cotton, was built at the end of a wooden jetty which jutted out into
the waters of the port as far as the magnificently dressed flagship. Escorted by his parasol bearers and two elephants, the Kölaṭhiri was carried to the shore in a litter, accompanied by several hundred Nāyars wearing red shields. The meeting was heralded by trumpets, cymbals and Portuguese gun-fire. Discussions began after the exchange of gifts, but the sovereign, playing on his advanced years and weak health, soon evaded the difficulties of a discourse. Using as an excuse the discomfort of the heat and his inability to deal with commercial matters he retired, ensuring his interlocutor that he would recommend him to the Muslim merchants who were in control of the spice trade. None of the texts mentions who in fact attended the meeting held the following day. Was Mamale among them? Although the presence of someone to whom no written reference is made until 1507 cannot be proved, it can be assumed that one of his family was present—the Muslim community chief—who was already managing the affairs of the Maldives. These merchants began by presenting the Portuguese with a fact which they had difficulty in grasping: the Kölaṭhiri was not, like D. Manuel, a sovereign who involved himself in trade. He was content to collect the taxes, but was unable to intervene in an area that was not his responsibility or to fix the price of other people’s goods. The Muslim chiefs were in sole charge of the spice trade. They made the strength of their position quite clear by adopting a harder attitude than that of the king. They tried to impose higher prices than those enjoyed up to that time by the agents of the feitoria and apologized for slighting the Portuguese merchandize which they were finding it difficult to sell. Upon hearing this the Admiral became angry and sent the negotiators away. He was solicited again but, exasperated by the delaying tactics which he suspected would last until his departure, decided to precipitate matters. He sent word to the Kölaṭhiri that he was not fooled by his casual manner and that it was obvious to him that peace with Portugal was of no great concern to the king since he had used its worst enemies to act as delegates—‘these Muslims who fostered a secular hatred towards Christians’. He went on to say that he would only deal with the sovereign and that he had made up his mind to send back, the very next day, the few bags of spices already taken on board with as much shell fire. Paio Rodrigues, who was alarmed by this message, went on board the flagship and offered to act as mediator. The Admiral instructed him not to go back on shore
since relations had been broken off with the king. Paio Rodrigues refused to abandon the interests of his master, D. Alvaro, and succeeded in obtaining a letter in which Vasco da Gama placed under the Kōlaḻhiri’s protection the Christians of the feitoria, threatening to make ‘those pagans’ pay for the slightest act of violence perpetrated against their person or their honour.69

Some days later Paio Rodrigues was able, by skilful means, to send a message of peace from the Kōlaḻhiri to the Portuguese fleet which was sailing to Calicut. Part of Vicente Sodré’s squadron had been left in the waters of Cannanore to protect the feitoria, but the Kōlaḻhiri showed no wish to intensify the misunderstandings. For his part the Zamorin sent emissaries bearing peace offers to meet the armada which stopped off Calicut. The Admiral immediately demanded reparation for the damage caused to Aires Correia’s feitoria and as a reply was not forthcoming quickly enough, he sacked the port and bombarded the city, hanging about thirty Muslims in his shipyards.70 If João de Barros is to be believed, he was hesitant about sacking the town as he did not want to antagonize the Zamorin.71 But the hostility of the Muslims in Cochin, where he landed at the beginning of November, caused renewed difficulties. The discussions to settle the prices for the pepper and spices were adjourned several times. The differences could only be resolved by the mediation of the king who personally went on board the flagship to show how much he valued the friendship of the Portuguese. This display of confidence meant that the negotiations could be continued and an agreement was reached the clauses of which remained undisputed for some time.72

Meanwhile the Zamorin had sent his Brahmins to try and unite the principal rajas of Malabar against the Portuguese. He recommended to those who did not have sufficient forces to keep negotiations going as long as possible and not to give in on the spice prices, the purpose being to keep the Portuguese in India and to leave them stranded by the monsoon. Their ships would then be forced to come closer to the coast and the lighter boats would have to take shelter in the rivers where it would be easy to set fire to them.73 But the Zamorin’s arguments were not strong enough to prevent the king of Cochin from siding with the Portuguese. The Kōlaḻhiri, not content with having ensured Paio Rodrigues of his good intentions, despatched an ambassador to Cochin,74 he earnestly requested the Admiral to send him three ships without delay and he would
have them loaded with goods at the prices fixed in Cochin. As the Italian merchants travelling on Marchionni's ships had refused to sail for the little pepper to be found in Cannanore and for the mediocre quality of a 'triste sorte di canella', Gama sent three of the king's ships there with the intention of joining them later.75 The Zamorin attempted a final negotiation by sending a Brahmin on board the flagship. This envoy was shortly afterwards convicted of treason and because the texts are somewhat contradictory on this point it is not known whether the body found later hanging at the end of the shipyard was that of the Brahmin's son or the Brahmin himself.76 This punishment, undoubtedly regarded all along the coast as an ignominious sacrilege, did not stop the Portuguese from winning the struggle and from gaining in Cannanore the satisfaction which had been refused to them on their first visit. The Cochin agreements had weakened resistance there: the prices were fixed and the feitoria reinforced.77 Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who had been in Cochin since 1501, was invested as feitor of Cannanore with Bastião Alves and Diogo Godinho as his secretaries.78 He was accompanied by his nephew, Duarte Barbosa, who spoke Malayalam79 and had the assistance of some twenty men, among them Francisco Correia and João de Avila whom Castanheda claimed to have met.80 The feitor's duty was to buy and store ginger, pepper and cloves, indigo and medicinal plants. He also had to purchase rope and naval equipment as well as rice, dried fish, sugar, nuts and coco oil81 so that he could supply the armadas which would from now on be using Cannanore as their first and last port of call in India. The payments made to the feitor's Indian assistants were fixed,82 the fragile rampart at the headland was rebuilt in stone and part of the artillery was taken off the ships and set into the new wall. The gate had to be locked at night and the key entrusted to the king's functionaries. Full instructions were given on how to warn of fires which the malevolent attitude of the Muslims had turned into a major threat.83

Vasco da Gama left Cannanore on 22 February,84 leaving Vicente Sodré's small squadron with the double task of defending the feitorias against acts of aggression and stopping vessels from the Red Sea entering Calicut. Gaspar Correia reports that Sodré had already distinguished himself in the Cannanore waters through acts of pillage on the Muslim ships and had adopted the role of the Kōlāthīri's justiciary by mutilating a rich Cairo merchant who
had neglected to pay his taxes. Such a resolute attitude would have discouraged the Zamorin from taking action had Vicente Sodré not pushed his taste for adventure to the point of abandoning the coast he was supposed to be guarding and engaging in privateering off the Red Sea. However, he must have known of the rumours which were circulating in the ports of Malabar and which had not escaped Matteo da Bergamo’s receptive ears. On 30 March 1503, while off Mozambique, the latter wrote that the Zamorin was preparing to destroy the Cochin kingdom before his influence over it was lost. These suspicions were soon to be confirmed by events. As soon as Vicente Sodré had departed the Zamorin began to put pressure on the king of Cochin to hand over the forty Portuguese men who had settled on his land, but the king refused, saying he would prefer to forfeit his throne rather than break the laws of hospitality. This gesture, which in the eyes of D. Manuel’s entourage demonstrated the most noble precepts of chivalry, inevitably added a note of esteem to the common interests which had until now united Cochin to Portugal. Crushed by the Zamorin’s troops and abandoned by most of his vassals, the sovereign was forced to take refuge with his proteges on the island of Vaipin where they awaited the arrival of the next armada. The perseverance with which the Portuguese tackled the perilous crossing each year was the surest guarantee of their presence in India. The certainty of seeing their ships appearing with the next monsoon clearly affected the determination of the king of Cochin and the attitude of neutrality observed by the Cannanore authorities. The latter’s caution was also motivated by one of the clauses negotiated by the Admiral and according to which the Kōḻaṭhiri had undertaken to stay on good terms with the king of Cochin and not to risk any hostile activities which could be interpreted as acts of war against Portugal.

Towards the end of August 1503 two squadrons were to be seen in the region of the island of Anjediva heading towards Cannanore. The first, commanded by Pero de Ataide, consisted of four ships from Vicente Sodré’s armada. Ignoring the advice of the inhabitants of the Curia and Muria islands, the latter had been caught up in storms which had engulfed his ship and that of his brother Brás. The second had come directly from Lisbon and consisted of only two boats which were captained by Francisco de Albuquerque and Nicolau Coelho. Two documents from Cannanore, dated 28 and 30 August, reveal that Francisco de Albuquerque, having
taken on fresh supplies,\textsuperscript{90} had given help to the shipwreck survivors and ordered Goncalo Gil Barbosa to provide tar for the repair of their ships.\textsuperscript{91} It was important to assemble all the available forces as quickly as possible in order to avenge the king of Cochin of whose downfall they had just learned. This was the unforeseen event which upset the order of the \textit{regimento} in which it had been stipulated that the construction of a fortress should be negotiated with the king of Cochin. The success of this particular mission was helped by circumstances which enabled Francisco de Albuquerque to succeed in restoring the kingdom of Cochin by some lightning raids. He was aided in this by the arrival of three ships commanded by his cousin Afonso de Albuquerque who, having left Lisbon first but having been delayed by bad weather, did not drop anchor until 16 September.\textsuperscript{92} Despite the continual quarrels that divided the Albuquerques, the fortress was built in a few weeks. During this time attention had to be given to the needs of the small Portuguese community as it was no longer receiving its rations from Cochin which was now in ruins. The Cannanore \textit{feitoria} was able to offer assistance and on 29 September, as documented in the archives, Nicolau Coelho was despatched to Cannanore to load the \textit{Santa Maria de Fayal} with rice and dried fish for the members of Francisco's crew who were dying of hunger, exhausted after their work building the fortress. However, he did not receive the provisions until 9 October,\textsuperscript{93} whereas the \textit{feitor} of the \textit{Rainha Nova}, who had travelled with him, received several thousand \textit{reis} from Goncalo Gil Barbosa.\textsuperscript{94} The advantage of the Cannanore \textit{feitoria}'s dated \textit{conhecimentos} is now made clear. It was the \textit{feitoria}'s duty, as purveyor, to record the movement of all ships: the truce negotiated between Francisco de Albuquerque and the Zamorin can thus be pinpointed. Whereas a letter from Lourenço Moreno, dated 9 January 1504, announced that Pero de Ataide had gone ahead to Lisbon bearing the declaration of peace,\textsuperscript{95} a \textit{conhecimento}, dated 23 December 1503 and signed in Cannanore by the very same captain, who was collecting supplies for his return journey,\textsuperscript{96} confirms that hostilities must have been suspended some days before this date. On 25 December they began to smoulder again\textsuperscript{97} and recommenced in January in the backwaters of Cochin.\textsuperscript{98}

Afonso de Albuquerque, who had just conducted a reconnaissance in Kollam where he had left Antônio de Sá to act as \textit{feitor}, joined his cousin in the Calicut waters at the end of December.
Together they sailed to Cannanore where their passage has been recorded. On 26 January Afonso de Albuquerque asked Goncalo Gil for a pilot and took on board masts, sails and provisions for the return journey. Francisco began his preparations for departure on the same day. The vouchers available give some indication as to the provisions supplied by the feitoria: rice and dried fish, medicinal drugs and naval equipment. These documents, dated 26 and 31 January 1504, were the last he signed before he was lost at sea.

The attention of the Portuguese chroniclers was turned away from Cannanore by the importance of the events taking place in Cochin in the months following the Albuquerque’s departure. Listing the combats which were reported by Alvaro Vaz and which later gave rise to so much epic literature is of little relevance here. Suffice it to say that the forces brought together by the Zamorin to launch a second attack on the kingdom of Cochin were held in check by the enterprising strategy of Duarte Pacheco Pereira and the tenacity of some two hundred men. The spies of the Cannanore authorities must have given particulars of the fights which were centred around the fords of the Cochin lagoon. It is said that the Portuguese settled in Cannanore were subjected to gestures of hostility and threats of death. The Kolaathiri allowed a contingent of archers and Muslim arquebusiers to leave Cannanore and Dharmapatham to go and reinforce the Zamorin’s army, but he was careful not to take up a stance. He had to think of the future and take into account the obstinacy of those for whom neither disorientation nor poverty were causes for despair. The decisive battles had been fought before the monsoon. The foreign traders were fleeing Calicut and at the end of June the Zamorin had retired to a sanctuary. It is not known whether this was voluntary or one which had been motivated by the rivalry which was making itself felt within his own family. The Indian maxim, according to which ‘princes are like crabs and eat their parents’ is a perfect illustration of the instability of the rāja’s position; his sovereignty could be challenged by the members of his family who had been known to pass sentences of abdication or death. It will be seen later how Afonso de Albuquerque was able to make such customs work in his favour; but it is evident that after 1504 Duarte Pacheco’s victories went further than the defence of Cochin. The Zamorin’s misfortune was a reminder to the other
Kerala kings of the price which had to be paid for military set-
backs. The time was right to turn away from conflict. The Calicut
allies returned to their lands and focused their attention on their
religious duties and the preparations for the *onam* which was
celebrated with great rejoicing during the last days of August,108
in other words at the very moment when the Portuguese ships
were appearing in the Eli waters.

Unaware of Duarte Pacheco’s success, D. Manuel had despatched
a prestigious armada, made up of captains chosen from among the
greatest names in Portugal. In early September 1504 thirteen vessels
dropped anchor outside Cannanore.109 The capitão-mor, Lopo
Soares, immediately invited Gonçalo Gil Barbosa on board his
ship, and then requested an audience with the Kōḷaṭhiri. The
following day he disembarked in a great flourish, surrounded by
the dressed fleet. His barge was detached from the flagship along
with a skiff on which an organ had been placed, the sound of
which was soon followed by trumpet playing and artillery fire. In
full apparel, Lopo Soares entered the cerame which had been set up
on the beach, and presided over the presentation of gifts, among
which was a European-style bed, with mattresses and curtains—
D. Manuel’s gift to the Kōḷaṭhiri. The latter arrived shortly after-
wards, preceded by elephants and escorted by more than a thousand
Nāyār lancers and archers. The chroniclers give lengthy descrip-
tions of this splendid prelude but do not deal with the subsequent
talks.110 The areas of discussion Lopo Soares is likely to have
proposed are mentioned in the undated instructions which are
identifiable as those of the *regimento* prepared for the capitão mor.
Thus, having expressed the king of Portugal’s gratitude to the
Kōḷaṭhiri for his loyalty, he had to give him a letter, the content of
which remains a mystery. However, the main purpose of the
meeting was probably to remind the Kōḷaṭhiri that the agreements
and prices fixed by the Admiral were not to be disputed.111

Hardly had the talks finished when Calicut began sending
messages of peace. The royal family took advantage of the Zamo-
rin’s retreat to suggest the new captain resume the discussions.112
Lopo Soares left Cannanore on 7 September113 and went to
negotiate on the spot. The Calicut princes consented to the com-
penstation requested and agreed to return the Portuguese prisoners;
but the discussions were soon curtailed because of their refusal
to hand over two Italian artillery smelters who had deserted the
messages of peace. The royal family took advantage of the Zamo-
rin’s retreat to suggest the new captain resume the discussions.112
Portuguese army during the first invasion of Cochin, and whose technical expertise was of value. As a result of this breach Lopo Soares bombarded the town. After a month of respite spent in Cochin supervising the cargoes and organizing his captains’ missions, he attacked Cranganore which the king of Cochin had always coveted. The Zamorin had reinforced the city defences and had deployed a strong squadron of armed *paraos*. Lopo Soares succeeded in putting them to flight and began to burn Cranganore which was only saved by the pleas of some Christian inhabitants and by the prince of Cochin who wanted to spare any potential taxpayers. Having dealt with the war fleet the *capitão mor* attacked the merchant ships: after a violent struggle he burned about fifteen vessels loaded with goods which were preparing to set sail for the Red Sea. The chroniclers do not agree on the exact location of this fire: Castanheda, Góis and the author of the *Crónica* place it in Pantalāyini Kollam, Barros in Ponnāni and Correia in Dharmapātam.

Among the documents signed in Cannanore by Lopo Soares is a *mandado* dated 5 January in which he states that he set the ships on fire in ‘Capocate’ (Kappatt), near Calicut. He recommended to his *feitor* that nothing should be spared those who had been wounded in this battle whom he was leaving in his capable hands. This document not only throws light on the battle site, it also places on record the origin of the Cannanore hospital.

Other documents from the archives refer to this brief visit to Cannanore which must have ended on 6 January. Among the usual seizures of provisions and medicinal drugs the earliest trace of a ginger cargo is uncovered: three hundred and sixty *quintais* for the *Leitoa Nova*, three hundred and sixteen for the *Ferros*, one hundred and eight for the *Batecabello*, one hundred and sixty-seven for the *Sant’ Espírito*, all provided by the *feitoria*.

The security of the Cochin kingdom seems to have been assured by the significant damage inflicted at Calicut, and yet Lopo Soares did not leave Cannanore without feeling some concern. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa had made it clear to him that the Muslims had not lost any of their pride. Each day the Portuguese of the *feitoria* had to endure their threatening contempt. In spite of the assurances given by the Kōḻāṭhirī, who had left his residence to bid farewell to the *capitão-mor*, they knew they could not count on his help. They were under no illusions about this friendship even though it
had been one of the first to be offered spontaneously. The kingdom of Cannanore was the seat of the most influential community of ‘Mouros da terra’ in Malabar, a community which was determined to defend at all costs the control it had acquired over the royal power.

Notes and References

3 Castanheda, I/19, pp. 50–1; Barros, I/3–9, pp. 161–5.
5 These presents consisted of twelve pieces of striped cloth, twelve coats with hoods, six hats, four coral twigs, six basins, one box of sugar, two barrels of oil and honey (Diário, pp. 45–7).
6 Ibid., pp. 54, 55, 58, 59.
7 Ibid., pp. 43–6, 54.
8 Ibid., pp. 55–6.
9 Diário, p. 35; according to Castanheda the Portuguese ships coasted a ‘high lying land’ on 17 May (I/13, p. 33).
10 Correia, I/1, pp. 68–9. This author adds that in November 1498, Vasco da Gama visited the port of Cannanore and was received by the king with whom he signed an agreement on gilt leaf (I/1, pp. 114–19). Correia’s account of this first journey contains many inaccuracies and has been severely criticized by F. Hummerich, ‘Estudo critico sobre o roteiro da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama’ (1497–9) in Diário da viagem, vol. 2, p. 427 sqq. (translated from the German Studien zum roteiro der Entdeckungsfabt Vasco da Gama 1497–9, in Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, vol. 10, pp. 53–302). A letter from the Kōlaṭhiri to D. Manuel (Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507) states that Pedro Álvares Cabral was the first to reach Cannanore (CA, II, p. 400).
11 Diário, pp. 68–71.
12 Libro terzo de la navigazione de Lisboa a Calichut, in Paesi ritrovati, chaps. 172 and 174 (this anonymous account—the name which will be used for this document—has been translated into English by Greenlee, The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India, London, 1937, WHS 2nd. series, n° 81, pp. 53–94, and into Portuguese by J. Cortesão, A expedição de Pedro Álvares Cabral, Lisbon, 1922, pp. 260–97). Cf. also Castanheda, I/30, pp. 71–2 and I/35 pp. 80–1; Barros, I/5–1, pp. 180–2; Góis, I/54, pp. 126–8.
13 ‘Instruçôes a Pedro Álvares Cabral quando foi por capitão mor de uma armada a India (1500)’, in Alg. Doc., pp. 101–2; poder assigned to Cabral to establish peace with the kings of India, TdT, CVR, n° 178.
14 Anonymous account, in Paesi ritrovati, chaps. 173 and 174; Castanheda, I/35, pp. 80–1; Barros, I/5–4, p. 192; Góis, I/58, pp. 142–3.
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16 In Arabic, according to Barros, I/5–5, p. 195, in Arabic and Portuguese and written by Duarte Galvão according to Castanheda, I/35, p. 78.
17 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 174; Castanheda, I/36, pp. 81–3; Barros, I/5–5, 6, pp. 197–200; as a young man Góis had met Koya Pakki in Lisbon (I/58, p. 143).
18 This vessel came from Cochin, according to the Crónica and Góis, I/58, p. 143. According to Castanheda, I/37, p. 83, it belonged to Pate Marakkar of Cochin, and according to Barros, I/5–6, p. 199 it belonged to Mamale and Cherian Marakkar.
19 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 174; Crónica, p. 21; Castanheda, I/37, pp. 83–5; Barros, I/5–6, pp. 200–2; Góis, I/58, p. 144.
21 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 174; Crónica, p. 22; Castanheda, I/37, pp. 84–5; Barros, I/5–6, p. 202; Góis, I/58, p. 144.
22 Crónica, p. 22.
23 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 174; Crónica, p. 22; Castanheda, I/37, p. 85; Barros, I/5–6, p. 202; Góis, I/58, p. 144.
24 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 172.
25 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 177; Castanheda, I/38–9, pp. 85–9; Barros, I/5–7, pp. 145–7. According to the Crónica, the bombardment of Calicut lasted three days (pp. 23–4).
26 Zaynuddin deals with the bombardment fairly briefly (ed. Lopes, p. 36), but his indignation with the Portuguese is released between pages 44 and 47.
27 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 178; Crónica, p. 25; Castanheda I/40–1, pp. 89–90; Barros, I/5–8, pp. 207–13; Góis, I/60, p. 149.
28 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 179.
29 G. Priuli, Diarrii, p. 175.
30 According to Garcia da Orta, Ceylon cinnamon more than one year old is coarse. (Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India, Lisbon, 1963, vol. 1, p. 214.)
31 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 179; Castanheda, I/41, p. 91. According to a letter from the Kōḻaṭhiri, Cabral had taken on board 50 bahars of cinnamon for which he had ‘rightly’ paid.
32 Anonymous account in Paesi ritrovati, chap. 179; Castanheda I/41, pp. 91–2; Barros, I/5–9, pp. 213–14, Góis I/60, pp. 150. Correia (I/1, pp. 167–8) agrees here with the author of the Crónica that the first feitoria was established in Cannanore by Cabral—a fact which is negated by the silence of the anonymous account and the chronicles, and particularly by the Kōḻaṭhiri according to whom the first feitoria was established in João da Nova’s time, that is between 1501 and 1502 (The Kōḻaṭhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Nov. 1507, CA, II, p. 400).
33 Crónica, p. 24; Castanheda, I/40, p. 89 These two ships, which were seized off Pantalāyini-Kollam probably came from the Kōḻaṭhunād ports which supplied Calicut with rice. The Calicut-Pantalāyini-Kollam-Cochin itinerary is confirmed by the letter from D. Manuel to the Catholic kings, loc. cit., in J. Cortesão, op. cit.,
p. 322. But Barros places this seizure off Cranganor, I/5–8, p. 206.

34 The Kólaštiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 400; Barros, I/5–9, p. 213.

35 Correia, I/1, p. 69.

36 At least since the reign of D. João II, according to Jaime Cortesão, A expedição de Pedro Alves Cabral, Lisbon, 1922, p. 117. Bartolomeo Marchionni had been a banker of the Medicis. The latter had tried to interfere in the affairs of Alexandria, but the loss of the Tyrrenian Sea ports meant that the Levant route had been closed to them. The fall of the Medicis (1494) and the confusion which accompanied it strengthened the interest of the Florentine businessmen in Portuguese ventures. For information on their involvement in the first voyages of discovery, see Canebrini, Intorno alla relazioni commerciali de’Florentini co’Portoghesi avanti e dopo la scoperta del capo capo di Buona Speranza (Archivo Storico Italiano, series I, vol. 3, appendix pp. 93–110); Peragallo, Cenni intorno alla colonia italiana in Portogallo nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI, Genova, 1907; J. Cortesão, op. cit., pp. 117–43; V. Rau, Una famiglia de mercadores italiani em Portugal no sec. XV, os Lomellini, in Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, vol. 22, 2nd series/2, (1956); Verlinden, La colonie italienne de Lisbonne et le développement de l’économie métropolitaine et coloniale portugaise, in Studi in onore de Armando Saporiti, Milano, 1957, vol., pp. 615–28; Godinho, Economie, pp. 677–9.

37 To our knowledge no document has survived the expedition of 1501. The name of João da Nova is mentioned for the first time the following year by Matteo da Bergamo (Peragallo, Viaggi di Matteo da Bergamo in India sulla flotta di Vasco da Gama (1502–3) in Studi bibliografici e biografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia, Roma, 1875, p. 115). By making reference to the ‘tempo do feitor de Dom Alvaro que veo na frota de João da Nova’ (CA, VII, p. 87), a mandado from J. de Melo (20 June, 1513) lends positive support to the chroniclers’ statements. Cf. G. Bouchon, A propos de l’inscription de Colombo (1501). Quelques observations sur le premier voyage de João da Nova dans l’Océan Indien, Coimbra, 1980.

38 Castanheda, I/43, p. 93; Barros, I/5–10, p. 217; Góis, I/63, p. 155. Degredado = man convicted by common law who agrees to carry out dangerous missions by way of punishment.

39 Crónica, p. 27; Barros, I/5–10, p. 218; Correia, I/1, pp. 246–9.

40 The custom was that no ship entering one port could then go and collect goods from another (according to Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 103).

41 Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Barros, I/5–10, pp. 218–19.


43 Castanheda, I/43, p. 94; Correia, I/1, p. 252; Sanuto, Diarii, vol. 4, pp. 664–5.

44 Castanheda, I/43, pp. 95–6; Barros, I/5–10, pp. 220–1; The Crónica makes no reference to this feitoria (p. 28). For a financial evaluation of this expedition, see Godinho, Economie, pp. 564–5 and 631.

45 Crónica, pp. 27–8; Castanheda, I/43, p. 95; Barros, I/5–10, p. 220; Correia, I/1, p. 256. According to D. de Góis, the battle took place in the waters of Cannanore, but João da Nova did not call there a second time (I/63, p. 157).

46 Barros, I/5–10, p. 221.

47 Priuli, op. cit., pp. 242–3; in 1501 he was already writing; ‘Pocho per hora
importava la quantidade delle spetie, ma la importantia hera il viazo trovato e il trafeo che ogni anno se trazevam o piu quantidade di spetie’ (ibid., p. 171).

The figure of five men given by Barros (I/5–10, p. 220) was probably exceeded, because he adds (p. 221) that when he called there the second time João da Nova strengthened his ‘team at the Kōlažhiri’s request. Castanheda gives no details, and according to Correia, Rui de Mendanha was captain and not Paio Rodrigues (I/1, p. 257). A Franciscan was probably attached to these men for the purpose of celebrating mass and performing the sacraments. According to G. Correia, the Brothers were given accommodation and a chapel dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição (I/1, p. 168).

All these details are given by G. Correia, I/1, pp. 168, 169, 183, 258.


Ibid., p. 227. D. Manuel had been using these titles since 1499 (cf. the second letter from Girolamo Senigi to a Florentine gentleman (1499) in Ravenstein, A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, London, 1898, p. 141) which is confirmed by SANTU (Diarii, vol. 3, p. 862, dated 13 July 1500).

João da Barros (I/6–2, p. 232) must be right on this point and not Castanheda (I/48, p. 103) and Correia (I/1, p. 339) who both state that the title of Admiral was conferred on Vasco da Gama upon his return to Lisbon. The documents drawn up in Cannanore in February 1503 were signed by his hand ‘ho almirante dom V’ (Mandados, Cannanore, 21 and 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II–7–1, 19–20). A. Braamcamp Freire has established that Vasco da Gama had been admiral since 10 January 1500 (‘O Almiranteo da India’. Data da sua criação, in Archivo Histórico Português, vol. 1 (1903), pp. 25–32).

For a description of this expedition, we have used the accounts given by some of the people involved in it in addition to those found in the chronicles: Tomé Lopes (in Ramusio, f. 143 b–156 a), Matteo da Bergamo (in Peragallo, loc. cit.) and the more laconic text of the Flemish author of Calcoen, a Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama to Calicut, printed in Antwerp circa 1504, ed. J. P. Berjeau, London, 1874.


According to Correia, the Portuguese purchased a mast in Māţaṭi (I/1, p. 291).

Barros, I/6–3, p. 237.


Matteo da Bergamo, ibid. chronicles, ibid.

T. Lopes, f. 148 a.

Only Gaspar Correia speaks of an official reception during which Pedro Alvares Cabral was received by the Kōlažhiri (I/1, pp. 169–83). This interview is mentioned neither by the author of the anonymous account nor by any other chronicler.

Crónica, p. 29; Barros, I/6–2, pp. 233–4, adds that the Venetian diplomats had made the Indians believe that Venice had financed Gama’s expedition.
According to the *Crónica*, the ambassadors of Cochin and Cannanore both died during the journey; this is contradicted by T. Lopes who states that the Cannanore ambassador was present when they arrived at Mount Eli (f. 147 b).

64 *Vide supra*, chap. I, n. 169.
65 Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 102; T. Lopes, f. 148 a; Calcoen dated 20 October; Castanheda, I/45, p. 98; Barros, I/6–4, pp. 239–40; Correia, I/1, pp. 294–7; *Crónica*, pp. 31–2.
66 T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros I/6–4, p. 240. The *Crónica* simply concludes that the two interlocutors could not agree.
67 Two ‘Heathens’ and two Muslims according to Barros, I/6–4, p. 241; only Muslims according to T. Lopes, f. 148 b. Castanheda (I/45, p. 98) did not guess any misunderstanding, and Correia claims that an agreement was signed without difficulty between the Admiral and the merchants who were accompanied by the king (I/1, pp. 297–8).
68 T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros, I/6–4, p. 241.
69 T. Lopes, f. 148 b; Barros, I/6–4, p. 242.
70 T. Lopes, f. 150 a; Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 104; Castanheda, I/45, pp. 97–9; Barros, I/6–5, pp. 242–5; Góis I/68, p. 165; *Crónica*. pp. 32–3.
71 Barros, I/65, p. 245.
72 A letter from Gaspar Pereira, written in Cochin in January 1506 (CA, II, p. 368) echoes the grievances of Cherian and Mamale Marakkhar who maintained that in 1502 Vasco and Estevão da Gama, Pero de Aguiar and Vicente Sodré had asked them for twenty-five *bahars* of cinnamon and had paid nothing for it.
73 The *Crónica* (p. 37) and Castanheda (I/47, p. 101) reveal some of the correspondence exchanged between the Zamorin and the king of Cochin, but do not disclose their sources. Cf. also Barros, I/6–6, p. 247.
74 According to Barros, the Kólaštír had agreed to respect the prices fixed in Cochin during Paio Rodrigues’ final negotiations (I/6–6, p. 242) and may even have agreed to pay his merchants to make up for their losses (I/6–6, p. 246).
75 Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 105.
76 The Brahmin’s son and a Náyar, according to Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 121; the Brahmin’s son, according to the *Crónica*; the Brahmin, according to Castanheda, I/46, p. 100; the son, the nephew of the Brahmin and a Náyar, according to Barros, I/6–7, p. 254; the Brahmin, his son and his nephew, according to Góis, I/69, p. 167.
77 Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., pp. 119–20. In Cannanore the price of pepper was fixed at 210 *fanam* per *bahar*, plus 2 *fanam* of duty per *bahar* (in Cochin the price was 150.5 *fanam* per *bahar*, plus 9 *fanam* of duty, but it should be remembered that at that time one Cochin *bahar* was worth 3 *quintais* and 22 *arrateis* whereas the Cannanore *bahar* was worth 4 *quintais*). These figures are confirmed by the *Lyvro dos Pesos da India* of António Nunes (in *Subsidios para a historia da India portugueza*, Lisbon, 1868) with a few minor differences (pp. 33 and 34). Other Cannanore prices are given here by Matteo da Bergamo: indigo—50 *fanam* per *farazola*; ‘mirobolans’—7 *fanam* per *farazola*; ginger—55 *fanam* per *bahar*,
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plus 6 fanam of duty per babar.


79 ‘Aprendo tanto a lingoa dos Malabares que a fallava melhor que os proprios da terra’ (Correia, I/1, p. 335). G. Schurhammer distinguishes between this character and his two homonyms, one of whom was a pilot, the other Magellan’s companion (Doppelganger in Portugiesisch—Asien, in Aufsätze sur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte, I (1960), re-edited in Gesammelte Studien II, Orientalia, Rome 1963, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., vol. 21, pp. 121–213). Duarte Barbosa was assisted for eight months by Balthazar, son of Gaspar da India, who could speak several languages and offered his services to the Cannanore feitoria on 5 Feb. 1503 after he had been baptized (Gasper to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 202.

80 Castanheda, I/48, p. 102. The archive documents contradict the chronicler’s words here. In fact, a João de Avila was secretary at the Cannanore feitoria, where his presence was confirmed in 1510 and 1511 (mandados, Cannanore, 22 Sept. 1510, CA, IV, p. 306; 16 Oct. 1510, CA, IV, p. 320; 1 Dec. 1510, CA, VI, p. 402; 10 Dec. 1510, CA, VI, p. 405; 24 April. 1511, CA, V, pp. 168–9; two letters to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, pp. 321–6): but he had already been dead for several months in January 1513 (Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, pp. 50–1). As Castanheda did not arrive in India until 1528, it must be assumed that another person of the same name—relative or god-child of the former secretary—was then employed at the fortress.

81 Correia, I/1, p. 299.

82 Each of the ten Nāyars who kept watch and carried messages received 50 fanam per month, the secretary who had to transcribe the commercial transactions onto ola received 10 fanam. The Nātuwãrĩ, who was in control of the ginger, received ten cubits of red velvet for every cargo. Correia, I/1, pp. 298–9.

83 Ibid., p. 336.

84 Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 120; Tome Lopes (f. 154 b); these dates agree with those appearing on the documents signed in Cannanore by the Admiral, Obrigação, Cannanore 22 Feb. 1503, TdT, CC II–7–20. The dates of 12 February 1503 and 28 December 1503, given by the author of Calcoen, Castanheda (I/48, p. 103) and Góis (I/69, p. 169) respectively, are clearly erroneous.

85 Correia, I/1, pp. 306–8. This same author devotes several pages to Sodrê’s stay in Cannanore at the beginning of 1503 (ibid.), pp. 345–9.

86 Matteo da Bergamo, loc. cit., p. 123.


92 Castanheda, I/55–8, pp. 115–21; Barros, I/7–2, pp. 261–6; Góis, I/77–8, pp. 181–6. The date is given by a protesto, Cochin, 16 Sept. 1503, TdT, CC II–7–165.
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94 Exactly 189 reis, receipt, Cannanore, 9 Oct. 1503, TdT CC II-7-169.
96 Conhecimento, Cannanore, 23 Dec. 1503, TdT, CC II-7-199.
99 Mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, CA. II, p. 49. The departure date was 27 January according to Giovanni da Empoli (in Ramusio, p. 159).
100 Medicinal drugs for Mestre Diogo, the armada doctor, conhecimento, Cannanore, 28 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-44-115; provisions for the São Miguel mandado, Cannanore, 29 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-8-16; fish, rice, naval equipment, lamp oil, mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, TdT, CC II-8-17; thirty thousand reis for Francisco de Albuquerque's feitor, mandado, Cannanore, 31 Jan. 1504, CC II-8-17.
101 Crónica, pp. 71-113; Castanheda, I/65-85, pp. 135-83; Barros, I/7-5 to 8, pp. 275-88; Góis, I/85-92, pp. 197-221, Correia, I/1, pp. 418-89.
103 Castanheda, I/91, p. 193.
104 Ibid., I/81, p. 171.
105 Ibid., I/86, pp. 183-4.
107 Basham, The Wonder that was India, New York, 1954, pp. 92-3. In Kerala, abdication was normally followed by the king's suicide.
110 Crónica, p. 132; Castanheda, I/91, pp. 193-4; Correia, I/2, p. 496.
111 Undated document, CA. III, p. 191. As stressed by V. Magalhães Godinho, the conditions set by Vasco da Gama were subject to various modifications (Economie, p. 632). If Simão Botelho is to be believed (Tombo do Estado da India, 1554, pp. 28-9 in Subsidios para a historia da India portugueza, ed. R. J. de Lima Felner, Lisbon, 1868), Lopo Soares asked for and obtained permission to build a fortress. The matter was probably raised, but it seems that no firm agreement was given before D. Francisco de Almeida's intervention (Vide infra, chap. IV, pp. 77-8).
112 Castanheda, I/91, p. 194; Barros, I/7-9, pp. 290-1; Góis, I/96, pp. 232-3.
113 According to the chronicles, Lopo Soares arrived in Calicut on 7 September. (Castanheda, I/91, p. 194; Barros, I/7-9, p. 290; Góis, I/96, p. 233); this is backed up by two archive documents signed in Cannanore by Lopo Soares on the same date (Mandados, Cannanore, Sept. 1504, TdT, CC II-9-3 and CC II-9-4).
114 Castanheda, I/91, p. 195; Barros, I/7-9, p. 291; Góis, I/96, p. 233. Ludovicco di Varthema had consorted with these two characters who were assassinate in 1506 (Varthema/Schefer, pp. 255-8 and 271-2). V. Magalhães Godinho suspects them of having been agents from Venice (Economie, pp. 733-4).
115 Among the Cannanore papers there is evidence of Pero de Mendoca's mission which was mentioned by Castanheda (I/92, p. 196): rice and fish for the Leitoa Nova, mandado, Cannanore, 13 Oct. 1504, TdT, CC II-9-11).
119 Correia, I/2, p. 510.
120 '... na peleja que ouve em Capocate juntó de Callecut em que queymey as naos....' Mandado, Cannanore, 5 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-38.
125 Conhecimento, Cannanore, 4 Jan. 1505, TdT, CC II-9-32. For the period 1503–5, V. Magalhães Godinho has drawn up a schedule of the Cannanore feitoria's activities, Economie, p. 626.
127 Cast. I/97, p. 201.
128 Barros, I/7–11, p. 298.
IV. The Fortress and the First Conflicts

Even though its contribution to the Portuguese expansion was significant, Afonso de Albuquerque’s first assignment in India had been overshadowed by his subsequent ventures and has therefore not received the attention it merits. The restoration of the Cochin kingdom was the joint achievement of Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin, although it was the former alone who briefed and advised King D. Manuel upon his return to Portugal. It is probable that the political genius of which he was later to prove himself on so many occasions contributed in influencing the decisions taken by the king during the winter of 1504–5.

The Albuquerque’s victorious raids had stiffened opposition to the Portuguese. Just as the Zamorin was preparing to launch his troops on Cochin for the second time, news were reaching Venice that this military offensive had been reinforced by a diplomatic move. The various plots devised by Mameluk Egypt and Venice since 1501 had found in Kerala the collaboration of the Muslim communities. The events of autumn 1503 had cemented the alliance of those who saw their interests threatened by a Portuguese intervention, a development which was supported by the Zamorin of Calicut and the Sultan of Egypt who had been provoked into action by the meagre spice cargoes of 1504. While the Zamorin was employing all his forces to destroy the Portuguese on his own territory, a Spanish Franciscan from Jerusalem was sent by the Sultan to plead with Pope Julius II for his intervention by calling on the sovereigns of the Iberian Peninsula to put an end to the continual acts of aggression against Islam. This request was accompanied by threats against the eastern Christians and their freedom of access to the Holy Land. D. Manuel was ready with his reply: the Sultan’s protests would be worthless because he would not be able to manage without the substantial taxes he collected from the pilgrims to the Holy Land or those accruing from the spice trade which the Portuguese would be intent on destroying. When Brother Mauro reached Lisbon, in June 1505, he had to accept that his mission was a failure. Three months
earlier a squadron of twenty ships had set sail, commanded by D. Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, whose task it was to secure control of the Indian Ocean for the Portuguese forces by the permanent presence of a fleet and by the construction of fortresses.6

The *regimento* contained numerous instructions concerning Cochin and Kollam. It made little reference to Cannanore,7 and yet it was in Cannanore that the first problems occurred. As soon as the armada had arrived in Anjediva on 13 September,8 one of Gonçalo Gil Barbosa’s messengers informed D. Francisco that the ambassador of Vijayanagar was waiting for him in Cannanore. Some days later this news was confirmed by Pero Leitão who gave the Viceroy an account of the visit he had just made to that empire in the company of his uncle, Brother Luís. Had this person been secretly ordered to make contact with the Rāya and initiate him in the Christian faith? Or had he simply replied to an invitation extended by the sovereign? Whatever the circumstances, it is evident that the interest of the Rāya had been awakened sufficiently to send an official delegation to the Viceroy. To Pero Leitão’s regret, D. Francisco seemed to attach little importance to this news.9 He drew his attention to the terms of his *regimento*, which made the construction of the Anjediva fortress a priority and left him free to deal with ‘Narsinga’ when he judged it to be appropriate.10 The other motives of this apparent indifference are questionable. Was D. Francisco anxious to placate the Kollam princes whose permission he would be seeking for the construction of a fortress and who would probably react badly to the fact that he had had a prior meeting with their enemy?11 There were so many aspects to be investigated that the Viceroy had probably not yet assessed the power of Vijayanagar or the strength of the common interests linking it with Cannanore. It is likely that D. Francisco’s informants encouraged him to recognize the advantages of an alliance which would consolidate the position of the Portuguese in this town. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, for one, made sure to recall the attempts which had been made on his life as he wanted to convince the Viceroy of the need to build a fortress for which he had secretly prepared the foundations.12 Furthermore, the Muslim merchants had challenged the spice prices and were asking two hundred and fifty *reis* more than the agreed figure for one quintal of pepper.13
On 21 October D. Francisco decided to devote himself to the affairs of Cannanore rather than go directly to Cochin as recommended by the *regimento*. The delay had to be compensated by great speed. One is amazed at the Viceroy's activities during the five days he spent in Cannanore. On the day following his arrival, he entertained the Vijayanagar delegates on board his flagship with all the appropriate honours. There is no record of the discussions which took place as they were kept secret. This very much annoyed Pero Fernandes Tinoco who was on an official mission to the Rāya but was being kept at arm's length by D. Francisco deliberately.

Once Vijayanagar's affairs had been dealt with, the Viceroy met the Kōḷāṭhiri who granted him permission to build a military edifice for which purpose he offered materials and labour. The construction of the fortress was commenced the same day; *fidalgos* and subalterns worked together to build the surrounding wall in five days. There is little information about what the original building looked like; it may have had the triangular design that can be seen today. Gaspar da India was probably exaggerating in considering it to be stronger than the Rhodes fortress, but it is certain that at least part of it was built in stone, because Pero Fernandes Tinoco complained to the king for having to 'carretar a pedra pera a fortaleza' instead of fulfilling his ambassadorial duties in Vijayanagar.

On 27 October, D. Francisco departed for Cochin, having left behind him in Cannanore two hundred and fifty armed men and two caravels to defend the fortress to which he gave the name *Sant' Angelo* because, like the Castle of Rome, it stood beside the water. Lourenço de Brito, the great cup-bearer of the king, was appointed captain, assisted by an *alcaide-mor*, the Castilian Guadalajarra. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was replaced at the *feitória* by Lopo Cabreira and returned to Portugal in the command of a ship.

The Muslim merchants looked on in dismay as the fortress grew. How would they now be able to explain the destination of the rice cargoes they would be collecting in the Canara ports and supplying to Calicut, and which would no longer escape the control of the Portuguese? The traders had been assured that they would receive safe conducts signed by the fortress captain provided they did not carry spices to the Red Sea or Ormuz,
a condition which threatened the relations established with the Persian Gulf and was potentially damaging to the horse trade. As if to confirm their concern, the Portuguese fleet had just seized a ship which was transporting horses to Honāvar, an incident which was followed by acts of violence. Other events were soon to bring the dissatisfaction of the merchant community to a head.

As soon as he arrived in Cochin, at the beginning of November, D. Francisco learnt of the assassination of the Kollam feitor, António da Sá, who had been attacked by Muslim merchants and burnt along with his twelve companions in the chapel where he had sought refuge. This attack provoked instant reprisals. Under the command of the Viceroy’s son, D. Lourenço de Almeida, most of the fleet lined up off Kollam. D. Lourenço then sent word that all those ships whose home port had an alliance with Portugal were free to sail out to sea. But the Muslim crews preferred to face combat. They formed a chain with their boats—sterns to land—to confront the attack, but were unable to prevent them from being shelled or set on fire. Twenty-seven of their vessels went up in flames, six of them large Cannanore ships loaded with elephants and valuable merchandise. The blaze was so great that it lasted all night and it is said that the Portuguese crews dined by the light of the inferno.

When they knew the extent of the damage they had suffered, the Cannanore Muslims caused a riot. The more eager among them set off to attack the fortress which was relieved by the Kōlaṭhiri’s forces. But the latter was to go on being troubled by the merchants’ protests. In December a new incident erupted which, surprisingly, is not mentioned in any of the chronicles.

From the reports written from Cochin at the beginning of 1506 and the correspondence addressed by the Kōlaṭhiri to D. Manuel, the details of a crisis emerge which was to foreshadow future conflicts. The causes for it are set out in an undated letter, written in Arabic and kept in the oriental department of the Torre do Tombo. The Kōlaṭhiri complained to D. Manuel about the seizure of a ship load of horses from Ormuz which the Portuguese forces had rerouted to Cochin. He expressed in vehement terms his concern at seeing the safety of a trade which had been prosperous for a long time threatened by such a precedent. It had caused him to lose sleep and his appetite and meant that he had sacrificed the friendship of the neighbouring countries in favour of a sworn
allegiance to D. Manuel; he could not conceal the shame that this incident had brought upon him and called upon João da Nova, who had seen what had happened, to bear witness to it.33

On 6 December 1507 the king's nephew and successor recounted the same facts, adding that the owner of the seized ship had been sailing without a safe conduct.34 From his letter in which all this was recorded, it is clear that the earlier mentioned missive must have been written before 1507. A report written by Gaspar Pereira gives more precise information and reveals what occurred. On 26 December 1505 Gaspar Pereira recorded the arrival in Cochin of the Frol de la Mar, captained by João da Nava who had accompanied D. Lourenço to Cannanore. He brought with him news of the troubles which had erupted around the Cannanore fortress, the construction of which had just been completed. The Kōḻaṭhirī had not judged it necessary to transfer the feitoria there, with the result that it had been attacked and pillaged and the feitor and his scribes threatened with death. They were saved by the intervention of the king, and more specifically that of the Nātvāri who had always given them his support.35 He belonged to the royal family36 and had played down the differences which had set him against the Kōḻaṭhirī so that he could stay in Cannanore and protect the Portuguese.37 Lourenço de Brito's resolution had been strengthened by these assurances, especially since they were soon backed up by more positive help, as revealed by Pero Fernandes Tinoco. In his account of the incidents of December 1505, he wrote that the Nātvāri had received a letter from the king of Vijayanagar who had been informed of the bad treatment to which the Portuguese at the feitoria had been subjected. The Rāya threatened to exterminate the Islamic community if such harassment continued, adding that it was only because Cannanore stabled some of his horses that he had until now refrained from destroying it. The excessive tone of this missive, which was also directed at the Kōḻaṭhirī, had the effect of calming the riots. The Muslims laid down their arms and the Nātvāri found renewed favour with the king.38 Thus ended a crisis which was serious enough to have been considered by Afonso de Albuquerque to be the first siege of the Cannanore fortress.39

The events proved Pero Fernandes Tinoco right; he had continually condemned the Viceroy for neglecting Vijayanagar.40 His letters, like all those exchanged on the subject of the Cannanore
crisis, are evidence of the plots which were being woven at that time. The factions which had already divided the Portuguese captains in Africa had not broken up in India. Pero Fernandes Tinoco accused the Viceroy of abusing his rights and of being so intolerant of those who were undertaking missions for the king that he had removed them and replaced them with his own creatures. Such was the case with the Castilian Guadalajarra who had been appointed alcaide-mor of Cannanore in place of João Pegas because he and the Viceroy had both lived in Crato. Gaspar Pereira was soon to join this group\textsuperscript{41} which was loyally served by Gaspar da India. While Pero Fernandes Tinoco reproached D. Francisco for submitting to the influence of this cristão novo and for being more concerned with commercial profit than the conversion of the Indian sovereigns to Christianity,\textsuperscript{42} Gaspar was rejoicing at being able to serve men of honour. He denounced the illicit traffic which was being negotiated under the feitor’s nose and was horrified at the attitude of most of the captains who were ‘stealing’ what belonged to the king by dealing directly with the native people.\textsuperscript{43} This correspondence not only uncovered the Portuguese quarrels, it also disclosed the differences which were dividing the Cannanore authorities. It revealed the existence of a Portuguese party, grouped around the Nātuvāri and his uncle and supported by Vijayanagar. Despite the declarations of friendship he lavished on D. Manuel, it seems that the Kōḷaṭhiri was not part of this movement. He was distanced from it by the person of the Nātuvāri with whom he was embroiled for reasons which have remained a mystery. Furthermore, he was beginning to assess the price he was paying for the Portuguese alliance, which was threatening to deprive him of the taxes raised on the horses and was exposing him to the incessant interference of the Muslim merchants. He was alarmed at the mistrust his policies had aroused in foreign ports.\textsuperscript{44} His own family was not spared in the conflict since the Islamic community had gained for its cause a rival prince to the Nātuvāri.\textsuperscript{45} Despite the Viceroy’s promises\textsuperscript{46} of prosperity, the king was beginning to fear that the ‘sugar’ of the Portuguese friendship would turn to ‘poison’.\textsuperscript{47}

The warning from Vijayanagar had reduced the Muslim party to silence but had not pacified its resentment. Cannanore and Dharmapāṭam had continued to supply and help Calicut during the last months of 1505.\textsuperscript{48} The Viceroy cut short by offering his
protection to the local flotillas which each year undertook their long journey to the ports of Gujarat where they collected textiles which, from April to September, were exchanged for spices from Malacca and cinnamon from Ceylon. The shores of Konkan were not too safe; they had been inhabited since antiquity by pirate communities who often sold their services to the country’s rajas. The Portuguese had already assured themselves of the neutrality of Timoji, the king of Honavar’s corsair; but they had to be wary of the pirate boats from Goa and Dabhol which would hide along the winding coastline and spring out when the Malabar ships passed. In January the Viceroy instructed D. Lourenço to escort the ships sailing from Cochin, Dharmapatanam, Cannanore and Māṭāyi to Cambay, ordering him not to make any seizures, thereby avoiding any acts of reprisal. This was D. Francisco’s way of both responding to the confidence of the Cochin and Cannanore kings and trying to gain that of the Māppila merchants. At the same time he was keeping a watchful eye on the coast through the presence of Portuguese ships interspersed with local craft. It seems that the escorts never went further than the Indian shores. One of them, which was accompanying a Cochin trader to Malacca, had been forced to turn back after a hostile encounter with Coromandel merchants. But as well as protecting the Malabar ships, the Portuguese were also becoming familiar with the commercial routes of Malabar and those lands yet to be ‘discovered’.

The Calicut threats still jeopardized all ventures which mobilized the armada far from the fortresses. While waiting for the fleet promised by the Sultan of Egypt, the Zamorin was making efforts to increase and perfect his navy. His preparations did not escape the attention of Ludovico de Varthema who was living in Calicut at that time, posing as a Muslim. Having spent several years in the East, he felt he would like to return to Europe and decided to offer his services to the Portuguese authorities. On 5 December 1505 he gave the slip to two Persian merchants who had escorted him to Cannanore and presented himself at the fortress. He was received by D. Lourenço to whom he gave information about the two Italian deserters whose company he had kept in Calicut and who had been appointed as the Zamorin’s military engineers. In so doing, Ludovico di Varthema was taking his place within the Portuguese ranks and becoming the principal witness of the events for which Cannanore was to become the setting.
Calicut’s hostility was not apparent for some time. Its forces had not supported the rebellion of the Cannanore Muslims and the feitores had been able to ensure the peaceful loading of the ships which had sailed to Africa in January. The Viceroy was in Cochin supervising the rebuilding of the fortress while D. Lourenço was spending the time cruising up and down the coast, frequently calling at Cannanore where the first long-awaited confrontation was to occur. The Calicut fleet had set sail on 12 March, and was travelling north along the coast which was heavy with ships from Ponnāni, Kappatt, Pantalāyini-Kollam and Dharmapāṭam which joined the fleet as it passed. Two hundred strong the convoy arrived off Cannanore on 16 March⁵⁷ ‘like a vast floating forest, casting a shadow on the sea’.⁵⁸ As it approached, D. Lourenço called together the fidalgos and captains to take advice and to read them a letter from the Viceroy which gave instructions to accept combat if necessary. The armada included only eleven ships, two of which were galleys and one a brigantine, and was faced with the prospect of confronting eighty more large ships and one hundred paraos.⁵⁹ This imbalance was felt to be something of a challenge. ‘Everyone wished to die in this battle’⁶⁰ and all prepared for this ‘festival of fire and blood in which they longed to take part’.⁶¹ It seems that on this occasion the chronicles have not exaggerated the attitude of the captains whose excitement can be explained by their youth. The account given by Ludovico di Varthema, who was there, gives some indication of the forces driving them at that time. They were in fact motivated by pride to demonstrate their bravery as they wanted to gain the admiration of the king of Cannanore⁶² and the crowd of people who were beginning to gather on the shore. The exhortations of D. Lourenço, like those of his chaplain, called upon the faith of the combatants. The notion of Christianity superseded that of the fatherland and the fact that it was Good Friday was a sign of an ordeal to come which would confuse the forces of Islam.⁶³

The wind having dropped, the Calicut fleet had come to a standstill overnight, thus enabling its adversaries to assess its strength at their leisure. The dressed ships were well equipped with artillery and manned by archers, lancers and arquebusiers. The silk tunics of the Nāyars⁶⁴ were mixed with the red quilted coats of the Muslim warriors.⁶⁵ But it appears that the display of this military equipment was merely designed to discourage a
potential attack, since the war paraos could not hide the merchant vessels,\textsuperscript{66} a point which raises doubts about the aggressive intentions which the Portuguese captains attributed to their enemy. The Calicut fleet had the appearance of a great convoy, bringing together the ships of the principal coastal towns and protected by an armed squadron. The latter was equipped to defend itself and to stand up to the barrage of the Cannanore fortress in order to re-establish its control over its traditional sea routes.

In a message sent to D. Lourenço at daybreak on 17 March, the nakhodas requested a free passage and denied that they wanted to fight the Christians. D. Lourenço refused all negotiations,\textsuperscript{67} calling to mind the massacre of 1500. He let the enemy fleet enter the Cannanore bay so that the Kōḻaṭhiri could follow the changing fortunes of the battle. He then charged towards the two largest vessels and chained his own ship to one of their anchors. This was the signal for a furious skirmish in which the Portuguese struggled, twenty against one, taking most of the ships by boarding. Their accurate gunfire made holes in the sambucos which sank one after another, taking down with them merchants, elephants and bags of spices.\textsuperscript{68} Ludovico di Varthema, who was on board Simão Martins' brigantine, recorded the flight of the 'Mouros' after a battle which lasted until the evening. Some tried to reach the shore, others threw themselves into the water and were pursued all night by the Portuguese long boats and slain with arrows and lances.\textsuperscript{69}

As a thanksgiving, D. Lourenço donated a new fortress chapel. It was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Vitória\textsuperscript{70} and stood at the edge of the rocks on the very spot where the rampart serpe had once been placed.\textsuperscript{71} The chronicles convey the admiration of the Kōḻaṭhiri who came to congratulate the victors.\textsuperscript{72} There is little point in questioning the sincerity of his words but it would probably be true to say that the Portuguese victory consolidated his own political position and resulted in his opponents adopting a more cautious attitude.

The course of events which followed this battle are not easy to follow. The 1506 documents are sparse and leave gaps. The report sent by D. Francisco to the king in December only remains in the form of a sumário\textsuperscript{73} which confirms the account of the chronicles even though few of them ever agree on the date of the discovery missions.\textsuperscript{74} On the other hand they are keen to go into the details
of the day-to-day activities and intrigues. Gaspar da India describes these with complacency in a long letter which refers to the conditions under which the Portuguese adapted to the realities of Indian life.75 The truce which the monsoon imposed on the maritime war was turned to profit in order to resolve the practical problems of their installation. For the first time there was a large fleet in India. The Viceroy ordered the ships to be repaired on the shores but, fearing they would be set on fire, refused to have them brought on land and covered with cadjans as was the custom of the country.76 He preferred to have them put straight back into the sea where they could be protected by the fortresses which were just being completed. They had brought from Portugal chapel ornaments and Flanders tapestries to hang in the captains' rooms.77 The soldiers were housed in straw huts built under cover of the rampart.78 A building was erected near the citadel gate as was a warehouse for storing provisions.79 The Portuguese had to adapt to the local food, using palm oil instead of olive oil, rice instead of corn.80 The absence of bread from their diet was hard for them to accept, even though the sacks of wheat occasionally delivered to the feitoria by the Cambay vessels meant that they did not go entirely without it.81 Wine was reserved for the sick; everyone else had to be content with palm wine82 and a meagre ration of chicken and fish.83 The fact that red meat was not available sometimes forced the men to slaughter cows, which deeply shocked the Hindus.84

The rainy season was to favour the first contacts with the local population by isolating the garrisons of Cochin and Cannanore from each other. The former, being under the direct authority of the Viceroy, was obliged to obey his strict orders. But the Cannanore garrison was completely free to infringe upon them, so much so that when the monsoon ended Gaspar Pereira was sent there, in the company of Gaspar da India, to inform D. Francisco of the frauds which had been committed.85 In his capacity as interpreter, Gaspar da India was given the special task of making enquiries among the Muslim merchants who seemed to be happy with the deals negotiated with the officers at the fortress. The Castilian Fernão Bermudes, captain of the Taforea anchored off Cannanore, was trading off the gold from the Mombassa booty for his personal gain procuring safe-conducts in return.86 Varthema was to discover that such documents were also granted to the
Calicut merchants who travelled with those from Kōḻathūṇād in order to sail with impunity. Secure in the friendship which linked him with the Viceroy, Guadalajarra, the alcaide-mor, concealed from him the arrangements worked out with the Māppilas and sold for his own profit the feitoria's coral, even though its exploitation was a royal monopoly, and other goods which were so numerous 'that they cannot be recorded on four sheets of paper'. He had become very rich and had bought two slaves whom he treated like servants by paying them ten cruzados per month in wages and provisions. As quadrilheiro-mor of the Mombassa booty, he was in league with Diogo Correia, who traded in women's African jewellery, and with Rui Freijre, who, it was reported by a Muslim, had purchased pearls and sinabafos for several hundred cruzados of gold and silver. The area covered by these transactions extended to Bhaṭkal and the neighbouring ports of Calicut where the captains went ashore as soon as the weather permitted. Although he was filled with genuine indignation, Gaspar da India made it clear that the Muslims got something out of these deals and that the collaboration of interests forged real ties. It would appear that D. Francisco was aware of this fact and that the need to win over his captains was not the only reason for the favours they enjoyed. He himself had been approached by some of the merchants who had offered him the chance to make money from the freedom of their ships.

The easy ways of the Malabar women posed different kinds of problems. Anxious to respect the recommendations of his regimento D. Francisco began by punishing those who were caught with 'pagans'. He guarded against any scandal which might discredit his men and jeopardize the well-being of their souls. For although the Pope had recently lifted the ban on dealing with non-Christians, it was still very much an offence to frequent Heathen girls. The fear of mortal sin was soon superseded by the attraction of the Malabar women who would prowl around the fortress and would sometimes succeed in setting up home with the soldiers of the garrison. These were women of the Tiyan and Mukkuvan castes—the Nāyars being banned from the towns—who were used to attaching themselves to foreigners for personal gain. The Viceroy had no option but to have the more beautiful ones baptized and to allow them to cohabit with their men. Gaspar Correia, who recounts these facts, adds with a somewhat naive
self-satisfaction that there was a sudden plethora of proselytes, that mothers would offer their daughters and that the Muslim women would defy their husbands in order to be converted to Christianity and share the life of the Portuguese. The first unions do not appear to have been sanctified by marriage, as was the case later, but they saw the origin of the Luso-Indian villages which soon appeared around the fortresses. The changes they brought about in the low castes had a harmful effect on the interests of the Nāyars who found themselves deprived of the duties and services that the Tiyans and Mukkuvans could no longer guarantee once they entered the Christian community. In 1507 the Kōḻaṭhirī complained to D. Manuel regarding the problems that such a situation was causing in terms of social hierarchy.

The newly converted did not escape attack. In Cannanore a recently baptized man had been killed by order of the Muslims and the Kōḻaṭhirī had to sentence one of them to death. More serious grievances followed. The Muslim resentment was rekindled by the discovery missions which the Portuguese undertook at the end of August. The territory they were now beginning to explore corresponded exactly to the Cannanore Muslim’s zone of influence. In early 1503 the latter had already expressed alarm at Vicente Sodré’s expedition to the region of the Maldives and at the seizure of four gundras, the booties of which had revealed the archipelago’s resources. Upon leaving Cannanore, Afonso de Albuquerque had asked for a pilot to guide them through the islands, but the lateness of his departure suggests that this plan was never followed up. The expedition commanded by D. Lourenço took him to Male, ‘Quymdiquel’, and as far afield as Ceylon where the Cannanore traders, who held strong positions there, looked on with no little concern while D. Lourenço obtained an initial cinnamon tribute from the king of Kōṭṭē. The Viceroy made no mystery of his intention to gain control of Ormuz and so complete the disruption of the horse trade and the downfall of the Cannanore merchants.

D. Lourenço’s squadron, which was to sail for the Persian Gulf at the end of November, never left the Indian shores. It is not known what event forced D. Francisco to change his plans, but it is easy to understand the reasons for his caution. Having waited in vain for the arrival of the armada from Lisbon, he must have resolved to carry on with his own forces and to forego the risk
of undertaking long expeditions. The euphoria which had followed the March victory had subsided. The men's morale was deteriorating with each day, whereas the Muslims' joy was evident. They made a point of spreading the predictions of the soothsayers who had recognized in the eclipse of the sun in January 1506 the imminent downfall of the Portuguese. In addition to these prophecies it was rumoured that the Rumes were coming from Egypt. The return of the dry season put off for several months the fear of seeing a new armada relieving the Viceroy's troops which already included a considerable number of crippled, burnt and sick men. In order better to regroup his forces, D. Francisco was obliged to dismantle the Anjediva fortress which had just been besieged by one of the Sabayo of Goa's fleets in the command of a Portuguese turncoat. The spice merchants were again discussing the prices and this involved Gaspar da India in constant negotiations. When speaking of Cannanore, Lourenço de Brito was not afraid to express to D. Manuel his despair at not being able to put an end to the Muslim power: the Calicut ships sailed as they pleased, the friends of Portugal were ruined, its king discredited, India lost.

The time was right for a renewed revolt by the Islamic communities, although they still lacked the backing of a sovereign. The king of Calicut had been reluctant to take any risks until the death of the Kolaithiri at the beginning of April 1507 gave him the opportunity to use his influence at the Valarpaṭṭaṇam court and to put in a prince of his own choosing. The claimant he favoured had continually supported the Muslim party and would not fail to make use of the hostile forces of a particularly active population. The ploys of the Zamorin resulted in the prince's victory over the Nātuvāri who had been asserting his legitimate claims of inheritance even though he had incurred the disfavour of the dead sovereign.

Before being crowned, the Kolaithiri was obliged to observe a thirteen day period of mourning, during which he was forbidden to take any political initiative. It was at this time that the tide began to wash up on the Cannanore beach the bodies of shipwrecked Muslims. It was soon discovered that Gonçalo Vaz de Góis, who had been cruising off Mount Eli a few days earlier, had stopped and searched a ship which he suspected was from Calicut. Probably obsessed by the abuse of the safe conducts system and by the
hoaxes which, being too subtle, had escaped most of the captains, he would neither believe the nakhoda, who protested he was from Cannanore, nor give any consideration to the seguro presented to him. Despite the fact that the document had been signed by Lourenço de Brito, the nakhoda was killed, his ship towed to Cochin\textsuperscript{116} and the crew sown up in a sail and thrown into the sea. The action of the water soon broke the rope from the corners and freed the drowned men who were carried on the current to the Cannanore beach. The crowd rushed to identify the victims among whom the nephew of Mamale, 'one of the chief merchants of the town', was shortly afterwards identified.\textsuperscript{117}

It is at this point that the Portuguese chronicles first refer to this character who suddenly detaches himself from the 'Mouros de Cananor' to emerge as their leader. Was he already the 'regedor do mar' known by Gaspar Correia? Was he the instigator of the attacks and riots which had been perpetrated over the two preceding years and the self-appointed governor of the Maldives who had negotiated the agreement of 1494? It is not known whether he inherited or was the innovator of the expansion policy of the Cannanore Muslims. 'Mamale',\textsuperscript{118} 'Mamaly',\textsuperscript{119} 'Mamele',\textsuperscript{120} 'Mamalle Mercar',\textsuperscript{121} 'Malmavicar'\textsuperscript{122}—it is not clear what his name really was, but it was probably derived from Muḥammad Áli, to which was added, in keeping with Māppila custom, that of his household\textsuperscript{123}—Arakkal—which Tomé Pires may have confused with the title of Marakkār.\textsuperscript{124} None of the documents helps in determining his age or the duties he performed in 1507, although it is evident that at that time he enjoyed a fairly considerable authority which enabled him to benefit from an exceptionally favourable situation. He brought together all those who had been injured when the ship had been seized and went to protest vociferously to Lourenço de Brito, accusing him of having misled them as to the value of the safe conducts he had issued.\textsuperscript{125} He then led a group of widows and orphans, crying and wailing, before the Kōṭathiri.\textsuperscript{126} Mamale was aware that the mourning restrictions deprived the sovereign of any authority. He knew the reprisals he was about to seek would not be refused and hurriedly wrote to the Muslim chiefs of Calicut, asking them to obtain military aid from the Zamorin. Twenty-four pieces of artillery were immediately sent to Cannanore\textsuperscript{127} while eighteen thousand Nāyars, who had come from all over Malabar,\textsuperscript{128} gathered around the city. It appears
that the Nātvāri made no attempt to approach the Vijayanagar sovereign as he had done some months earlier when order had been re-established. Narasimha was in fact too busy controlling the rebellions following the assassination of his predecessor\textsuperscript{129} for being concerned with the Portuguese fortress. However, the Nātvāri did inform Lourenço de Brito of the imminent danger.\textsuperscript{130}

The headland was already cut off. By order of the Cannanore authorities, a ditch had been dug to isolate the fortress from the city. A narrow path was left however to allow the Portuguese garrison to gain access to the fresh water well which it normally used\textsuperscript{131} and which was located ‘a stone’s throw’ from the rampart.\textsuperscript{132} This apparent convenience was merely an ambush since the well was soon guarded by artillery which the Nāyars and Muslims placed along the trench. Lourenço de Brito confined his men to barracks as any further visits to the town to conduct business would now mean certain attack.\textsuperscript{133} April went by, bringing the first storms. The Viceroy’s son, who was cruising along the Konkan shore, was informed by Timoji of the fortress’s critical position.\textsuperscript{134} When he reached Cannanore he released about sixty men and some munitions\textsuperscript{135} and then headed for Cochin where he arrived on Holy Thursday. Having been immediately alerted, D. Francisco did not wait for the end of the office of Tenebrae. He took on board his best fighters and began to gather in provisions, going from hut to hut inviting each person to give up part of his ration for those about to be besieged. Some handed over all their arms, keeping back only their breeches and doublets.\textsuperscript{136}

During this time Lourenço de Brito was reinforcing his defences. Opposite the well he had a palisade built in the form of a barbican; this was protected by a moat which was traversed by means of a drawbridge held by two chains. The guns were placed on small bastions made of earth.\textsuperscript{137} The cadjans were removed from the huts and used to cover the fortifications to protect them from the torrential rain. The look-out tower was hoisted on a caravel mast fixed to the postern.\textsuperscript{138} Near the palisade a large straw hut was built and fitted with benches to shelter the guards.\textsuperscript{139} All the work was carried out by the soldiers, helped by slaves and some of the women converts who were provided with food.\textsuperscript{140} D. Lourenço soon arrived, offering help, but Lourenço de Brito turned him down as he was not too anxious to see his authority challenged by the Viceroy’s son,\textsuperscript{141} who had no choice but to return to Cochin
after four days spent off-loading men and munitions. The hurricanes began to block the coast, cutting off the Cannanore fortress completely.

The reinforcements from Cochin brought the number of men in the garrison to three or four hundred, among them a small number of Malabari people. The positions of command were held by the feitor Lopo Cabreira, the alcaide-mor Guadalajarra, Pero Fernandes Tinoco, Gonçalo Vaz de Góis and some of those who later distinguished themselves at Albuquerque’s side: the brothers Fernão and Simão de Andrade, António Raposo and João Gomes Cheiradinheiro. Ludovico di Varthema was also with them. They were divided into captaincies which took it in turn to keep watch as they did at sea. While some defended the rampart others protected the headland to which the paraos could still have access and where the feitoria and the converts’ hamlet stood. The food—rice, sugar and coconuts—had to be distributed by each captain. Twice a week a squad would venture to the well, each time exchanging blows with the ‘Mouros’ who lay in ambush around the fortress. After 27 April the skirmishes became more and more bloody until before long they degenerated into open warfare. Some months later the Kolaithiri was to defend himself to D. Manuel by saying that since his period of mourning had not expired he had been unable to intervene and the tension had led too quickly to irreversible action.

The assailants sometimes came in force, two or three thousand at a time, brandishing arms. Glowing in the light of their fireworks and excited by their own cries and the noise of their instruments, they rushed towards the first defences of the fortress and were soon dispersed by the Portuguese artillery. These raids demoralized the garrison less than the cunning ambushes at the well. After the first strikes, Lourenço de Brito had decided to have the water duties protected by the guards whose job it was to occupy the enemy. These sorties resulted in so many dead and wounded that they had to be drastically reduced. The thirst, made even worse by the intense heat of the month of May, soon became unbearable, and the men began to risk death to go and fetch water, creeping out to reach the well surreptitiously. These breaches of discipline forced the captain to authorize more frequent sorties which always resulted in a life being taken. This situation, which before long had exhausted the Portuguese forces, was reversed
by the ingenuity of Thomas Fernandes, the fortress architect. He had the idea of digging a tunnel which would lead to the wall of the well, just above the level of the water. In order to trick the adversary’s vigilance more effectively—it was suspected that poison might have been poured into the well—he fitted a wooden board below the curbstone; he then blocked up the external opening with branches mixed with earth. The soldiers then pretended they had discovered another water hole on their own land and stayed within their walls.¹⁵² The monsoon had just begun, causing everyone to return to their positions. The enemy advance guards had taken shelter in a coconut palm wood to the west of the town. The slippery earth, soon channelled by bogs, made all sorties dangerous.¹⁵³

The prolonged silence of the Indian army, which made the Portuguese suspicious, could not be explained by the rains alone. Lourenço de Brito’s only informant was the Nātvārī in whom he had not yet placed all his trust. He decided to take a prisoner and had a wolf trap set up by the fortress carpenter. He then sent out about forty arquebusiers who proceeded to the enemy camp and, once they had been spotted, fled, drawing their pursuers towards the trap, which had been concealed in front of the palisade gate and which ensnared a Nāyār chief. The latter revealed that the Kōlāthiri was preparing a major offensive for which the Muslims had conceived the idea of protecting the combatants with bales of cotton and coir.¹⁵⁴ This information was shortly afterwards confirmed by an envoy of the Nātvārī who landed on the headland at dead of night with two almadias filled with hens, figs and coconuts.¹⁵⁵ This gesture by the prince dispelled all the reservations that the Portuguese captains had once had about him. The jewels of gold and silver that they gave to the messenger were an expression of their gratitude.¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to specify the political role held by the Nātvārī in these circumstances because there is no record of the royal councils; it is unlikely that he openly supported the Portuguese cause for fear of being discovered. At any rate account should be taken of the words of Castenheda and Damião de Gois according to whom the prince tried to discourage the Kōlāthiri from attempting a victory which all the Zamorin’s might had failed to achieve. The chroniclers add that the sovereign had not wished to listen to him and was more receptive to the bellicose plans of the Muslim chiefs.¹⁵⁷
The Nātuvāri had recommended to Lourenço de Brito that the land in front of the fortress be cleared in order to extend the battle field and keep the assailants at a distance.\textsuperscript{158} The confrontation took place one June evening,\textsuperscript{159} when the first cotton bales approached the fortress, each one being pushed by two men and being of sufficient size to afford them shelter. Together they formed a front line barrier which protected those whose job it was to build the cadjan huts of the military camp all along the trench. Lourenço de Brito ordered the guns to be fired but it was soon apparent that no damage was being done to the cotton bales and that their advance could not be stopped. Such a method of defence, devised by Muslim strategists, enabled the rear forces to convey the artillery on carts and take up position for the next day’s battle.\textsuperscript{160}

At nightfall those under siege pretended to conduct noisy festivities in the hope that the enemy would not suspect how worried they really were.\textsuperscript{161} The battle, which resumed at dawn, soon confirmed the advantage held by the assailants. The Portuguese bombardiers had stopped counting the wasted cannon balls absorbed by the cotton bales, the advance of which nothing seemed to be able to check. The second line of combatants filled the trench with branches so that nothing could break of thrust of those preparing themselves for the assault. The Portuguese artillery missed its target at every strike and each time this was greeted with cheers and shouts of joy from their enemy.\textsuperscript{162} Then, just as Lourenço de Brito was beginning to exhaust all the available weaponry, he remembered that there was a serpe\textsuperscript{163} in the fortress and sent for it. Although all the chronicles are unanimous on this point, it is difficult to believe that the captain had forgotten about such a powerful gun and had waited until the last moment to use it. It was Damião de Goís’ informant, the Flemish condestable, Rutger de Gueldre, who was given the ‘honour’ of setting light to it and seeing the flocks of cotton from the ripped bales flying through the air, mixed with dismembered bodies. The serpe soon shattered the assailants’ ingenious apparatus and caused panic throughout much of their army.\textsuperscript{164} By mid-day the rout was complete. There were more Nāyar and Muslim bodies than branches in the ditch.\textsuperscript{165} Lourenço de Brito’s caution, however, held him back even though he was very keen to pursue the enemy and force them to take flight, but Guadalajarra was able to persuade him with such insistence that he agreed to refer the matter to the council of captains
who immediately adopted the alcaide-mor's plan. The night was black and wet. The noise of the rain allowed the bombardiers to deploy their weapons all along the trench without being heard by the enemy and to position the camelo\textsuperscript{166} on an advanced post overlooking the camp. At the head of about a hundred men, Guadalajarra slipped silently along the path and swooped down with a cry of victory on the Náyars who lay asleep, curled up under the coconut palms. At this signal all the guns were fired together, startling the enemy who fled as quickly as was possible on ground which was slippery and soft under foot. In the morning the soldiers whose duty it was to collect the booty counted more than three hundred dead on the Malabar side; they seized seven iron guns and abandoned food, and burned what was left.\textsuperscript{167}

The provisions were welcomed by the besieged who had exhausted their reserves. They were still to experience hunger, however, as the result of a mistake made by one of Lopo Cabreira's young clerks who carelessly left a candle burning in the feitoria buildings. The fire consumed all the merchandize and reached the adjoining huts, the burning cadjans setting the whole headland ablaze. All the garrison now had to live on, until the end of the monsoon, were some bags of food which Lopo de Brito had stored in the fortress warehouses. He quickly proclaimed that there would be enough for everyone, as he wanted to reassure those whose condition was weak\textsuperscript{168} and prevent them from going over to the enemy; but he could not conceal for long a reality which became increasingly distressing as each day went by. Before long there was not a dog or a cat left within the walls of the citadel which had not been devoured, even rats and lizards were being hunted. The men were wasting away, exhausted by hunger and the night watches.\textsuperscript{169} Some Malabaris could not be prevented from flying and rushed to inform the Cannanore authorities of the deprivation suffered at the Portuguese garrison.\textsuperscript{170} All the adversary needed to do was to wait for the moment when hunger would force out the besieged. The opportunity came on 25 July, Saint James' day, when Lourenço de Brito sent a squad out beyond the trench to collect information about the intentions of the enemy and to scrape together some food. The Náyars, who were lying in ambush in the wood, immediately attacked. They decided to seize Lourenço de Brito's nephew, whose coat of arms they had recognized and whom they had taken to be the fortress captain. Help
was needed from the garrison to release the prisoner who was about to be taken before the king. Gonçalo Vaz de Gois was killed in this encounter, Pero Fernandes Tinoco and Fernão Peres de Andrade wounded, and the captain's nephew scarred.\textsuperscript{171} It had taken so little to crush the Portuguese that the king resolved to encourage them to leave the fortress more often. But was it the king's idea to release two cows along the entrenchment to attract the starving people? The chroniclers' account will have to be interpreted here, because it is unlikely that a Hindu sovereign would ever accept that a sacred animal should serve as bait. It is more probable that this stratagem was the work of the Muslim authorities who were bound to benefit from it whatever the outcome. The Portuguese succeeded in catching the cows, and were quite prepared to risk their lives every day for a feast of this kind; but they were dishonoured for committing such a sacrilege and disgraced in the eyes of the local people.\textsuperscript{172}

The besieged were not so concerned with causing a scandal as with looking for signs of providence, and were therefore struck with wonder when on the day following the mid-August storms they found a mound of lobsters stranded on the sand of the headland.\textsuperscript{173} It was the day of the Assumption and the thanks they offered to Our Lady strengthened their hope. There was enough shell fish to keep them going until the swell subsided bringing in its eddy the Cochin ships.

The Cannanore authorities were resolved to exterminate the Portuguese garrison before the intervention of the Viceroy and the Onam holiday. The weather did not yet permit sailing on the high seas, but did allow a coastal attack. The Nātvuvarī made it known to Lourenço de Brito that the Muslims and the Kōḷathiri had received help from Calicut and were attempting to throw all their force behind a final onslaught. Thus it was that one morning the fortress found itself surrounded. The ground was thick with warriors, the sea covered with \textit{paraos} and \textit{tones}. Mounted on rafts made from almadias, two wooden bastions, similar to those that the Zamorin had previously used against Duarte Pacheco's caravels were seen approaching. Each one carried about a hundred archers and arquebusiers and weaponry placed at a good height so that it was in the firing line of the fortress rampart-walk. So weakened were they by their hardship, that the Portuguese had by this time stopped counting their sick and wounded; and yet, in spite of their
difficulties, they were not prepared to give in without a fight. Their victory was due to the inaccessibility afforded to the enemy troops by the rocks around the fortress and to the precision of the *camelo* and above all the *espera* which cut to shreds the coir-filled bulwarks of the rafts and blew to pieces the wooden bastions even before they reached the headland. When the smoke cleared the besieged were able to assess the extent of the aggressors’ losses by the number of wrecks. It seems that the conflict on land had been less intense, the Nāyars having become discouraged as soon as they had lost hope of a successful landing.

The prospect of an imminent return of the Portuguese ships swayed the sovereign towards a more moderate approach. The determination of the Muslims still had to be broken. This was achieved the following Friday when the fortress guns fired on the mosque and succeeded in knocking down part of a wall onto the praying crowd.

The king of Cochin’s spies had kept the Viceroy informed of the vicissitudes of the siege. D. Lourenço’s intervention, which was anticipated with hope as each day went by, was again delayed by adverse winds. On 27 August Lourenço de Brito’s dinner was interrupted by the noise of the guards: the red crossed sails of a Portuguese armada were appearing off Mount Eli. This was Tristão da Cunha’s armada which was no longer expected. A messenger was sent before the captain who immediately sent to the fortress a few rowing boats manned with knights clad in iron armour.

Peace was now only days away. The richest merchant of Cannanore—referred to as ‘Malmavicar’ by Varthema—was delegated to go to the fortress. It is probable that this was Mamale, but the conditions of his capitulation are not known. It seems that the *status quo ante* had returned and that the dealings which had been interrupted five months earlier had been resumed immediately.

It is appropriate at this stage to draw some conclusions from the fortress siege. There seemed little point in interrupting the flow of the account as documented in the chronicles and Ludovico di Varthema’s all too brief report with too many critical comments, particularly since the absence of any Indian sources rules out a comparative analysis. A letter from the Kōlaṭhīrī, dated 6 December 1507, is the only document which contradicts the Portuguese version, and even this is moderated by well chosen words and by
the sovereign's concern to justify himself to D. Manuel. Some of the main points arising out of the Portuguese sources are therefore worth highlighting:
— The chroniclers' unanimity means that the facts cannot be doubted. Only Damião de Gois gives the name of his informant—Rutger de Gueldre, the *condestabre* of the fortress—whom he met during his stay at the Antwerp *feitoria*. It is not out of the question that João de Barros and Castanheda knew about this testimony, although it is more likely that Castanheda collected his information in India from among the veterans. Their stories probably supported the account of Gaspar Correia, sometimes inclined to confuse people and distort events. Nevertheless, his version is comparable in essence with the three others, and they are all faithful to Ludovico di Varthema's testimony written some months after the events.
— The same confidence cannot be placed in the chroniclers when they claim to know what happened on the Indian side and when they attribute to the adversary intentions and remarks which cannot be verified. However, some consideration should be given to the attitudes portrayed in their accounts even if they are a little prompt to accuse the enemy of cowardice and to exaggerate the number of their dead. The tactics of war, the military apparel and equipment, the socio-religious constraints of the sovereigns and warriors are as described in the epic Indian literature.
— Taking the above into account, it appears that the siege was the initiative of the Muslims alone and that the Kōḻathirī merely sanctioned their action. Mamale's diplomatic moves at the outset of the conflict, the presence of Muslim dignitaries at the royal councils, the absence of the traditional Brahmin negotiators, and of the king on the battle field, and even the delegation responsible for requesting peace are all factors which demonstrate the authority of the Islamic community and give some indication as to the strength of its political power.

The Cannanore Muslims could make no further attacks on the fortress. Two new movements shifted the rival forces of Portugal and Islam towards the Persian Gulf and the shores of Cambay. On the one hand, Socotra, the Oman countries and Ormuz had been explored and partly brought under control by Afonso
de Albuquerque and Tristão da Cunha; on the other hand the Mameluke fleet, commanded by Amir Ḥusayn had finally appeared in the Indian waters and was arriving on the shores of Gujarat.\footnote{186} The hopes of the Muslims had been revived by the rumours, then the confirmation, that the Rumes were coming.

The Kōlathiri was once more trying to seek D. Manuel’s favour, as witnessed in a long letter dated 6 December 1507.\footnote{187} He began by summarizing the history of their relations and of the crises which had affected them. He then declared his loyalty and asked only of the king that he take into account the changes in the prices of goods and that he see to it that the social order, which was under threat as the result of all the conversions among the low castes, was respected. This conciliatory attitude was motivated among other things by the clauses of a peace treaty unknown to the chroniclers and according to which the feitor was obliged henceforth to give the sovereign one half of all the goods seized in the waters of his kingdom.\footnote{188}

In March 1508 the Mameluke fleet, which was anchored off Diu, left its home port and made for Chaul where it surprised the Portuguese fleet. D. Lourenço was killed in the battle. Nevertheless, subtle negotiations took place between D. Francisco de Almeida and Malik Ayaz, governor of Diu. Their collusion was to destroy the forces of Amir ʿHusayn a year later,\footnote{189} giving the Portuguese that control of the sea that they had always sought as a condition necessary to their presence in India.\footnote{190}

Upon his return from the Diu battle, the Viceroy received a triumphant reception in Cannanore. The Muslim dignitaries went out in person to meet him, travelling in parāos covered in foliage, while the Rumes prisoners were hanged in the flagship’s yard and others were fired from cannons like missiles. The dignitaries went straight on board D. Francisco’s ship and offered him oranges and the congratulations of the Kōlathiri.\footnote{191} The disappointment which lay beneath these gestures of courtesy is entirely understandable when it is known that at that very moment Mamale was among those helping the Sabayo of Goa to rebuild the Rume’s fleet.\footnote{192} The Viceroy was probably not taken in and asked his best captains to travel from Cochin to Cannanore during the monsoon because he suspected a siege.\footnote{193}

The 1509 documents only uncover the day to day running of the feitoria. The gunpowder factory and the hospital were con-
structed once the repairs had been carried out on the citadel.\textsuperscript{194} The Cannanore water was ideal for refining the saltpetre which was procured in Honāvar through Timoji. Sulphur—another component of cannon powder—was in plentiful supply locally. A building was set aside for grinding charcoal and for the manufacture of a better quality powder than that produced in Portugal. Beside the apothecary’s shop and near Nossa Senhora da Vitória stood the hospital among the coconut palms and the standards taken from the Rumes which had been set into the ground around the church.\textsuperscript{195} Although it cannot be traced before 1510\textsuperscript{196}, it is probable that the hospital was built after the siege, as the infirmary was not big enough to accommodate the large number of wounded and sick. It was discovered early on that the cool climate and the Cannanore waters had a curing effect and could heal certain tropical fevers.\textsuperscript{197}

On 5 December 1508 Afonso de Albuquerque disembarked in Cannanore to take up his position as Governor. But D. Francisco refused to hand over his powers and in so doing delayed the release of those in authority at the citadel.\textsuperscript{198} Guadalajarra, however, exhausted by the ordeals of the siege, obtained permission to return to Europe\textsuperscript{199} and the feitor, Lopo Cabreira, was replaced by Gonçalo Mendes.\textsuperscript{200} Lopo de Brito stayed at his post as his successor designate, D. Afonso de Noronha, had been detained in Socotra through ill health.\textsuperscript{201} On 9 September 1509 the Viceroy directed him to hold Afonso de Albuquerque secretly in the fortress dungeon and to see that he did not communicate with any Malabar sovereign.\textsuperscript{202} This imprisonment brought the conflict of priorities to a head, but did not prevent the captive from finding support, escaping and taking refuge in one of the huts on the headland.\textsuperscript{203} On 1 December, through the intervention of Marichal D. Francisco Coutinho, he received justice. D. Francisco and Lopo de Brito were forced to return to Portugal.\textsuperscript{204}

The resentment which Afonso de Albuquerque must have felt towards Cannanore was probably influenced by the bad memories of this enforced stay, but more especially by all the factors which had contributed to his indignation. During the three months wait he had plenty of time to assess the feitoria’s meagre profit, to unravel all the intrigues and to recognize the inconsistency of the Kōlaṭhiri and the hostile resolve of the Muslim authorities.
Notes and References

1 Barros, I/8–2, pp. 305–8.
3 Priuli, ibid., pp. 335–40.
6 Barros, I/8–3, pp. 309–10; Castanheda, II/1, pp. 207–9; Góis, II/1, p. 1–2.
7 Regimento que levou D. Francisco de Almeida quando foi por capitão mor para a Índia, 5 March 1505, CA, II, pp. 272–334.
8 Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 201; Castanheda, II/9, p. 228.
12 Castanheda, II/15, p. 241; Correia, I/2, p. 582; Góis, II/5, p. 20.
14 Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 295; Gaspar da Índia, ibid., CA, III, p. 201.
15 Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochin, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, p. 343; Castanheda, II/17, p. 249; Correia, I/2, pp. 580–1; Góis, II/7, pp. 24–5; *Crónica*, p. 136.
16 Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, ibid.
17 Gaspar da Índia to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d. (1505), CA, III, p. 202; Castanheda, II/17, p. 251; Barros, I/9–4, p. 378; Góis, II/7, p. 25; *Crónica*, p. 135. According to Figueroa (in Augur, p. 67) and Correia (I/2, p. 583) the Viceroy only requested of the Kōḷaṭhirī that the feitoria be strengthened and then transformed it into a fortress, leaving the king with the fait accompli.
18 Castanheda, II/17, p. 251.
21 Pero Fernandes Tinoco, s.l., 15 Jan. 1506(0), CA, III, p. 172. He was finally sent to Vijayanagar in December 1508 (conhecimento, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1508, TdT, CC II/16–13).
The Fortress and the First Conflicts

22 Castanheira, II/17, p. 251; Barros, I/9-4, p. 378; Góis, II/7, p. 25; Correia, I/2, p. 728; Figuereoa/Augur adds a galley to these two ships (p. 66).

23 Lourenço de Brito must initially have been captain of the Kollam fortress (Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 312; Castanheira II/7, p. 251).

A statement of the accounts, transcribed by Simão Botelho from an undated document which was probably written after the fortress had been constructed, gives a breakdown of the wages. The captain received 400,000 reis per annum, the feitor and the alcaide-mor 100,000 reis each, the secretary 30,000 reis, the steward in charge of the warehouses and provisions 20,000 reis, his secretary 15,000 reis; the officer of justice 15,000 reis, his four soldiers 3,600 reis each; the night watchman 18,000 reis and 4,800 reis worth of provisions; the porter 12,000 reis, the gaoler 12,000 reis; the chaplain 20,000 reis; the four beneficiados 12,000 reis each. A further 18,000 reis were allocated to the church (wine, wax, wheat, oil, laundering); and 36,000 reis for alms. (Simão Botelho, ‘Tombo do Estado da India’, 1554, in Subsídios para a historia da India Portugueza ed. R. J. de Lima Feiner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 29-30).

24 Regimento, 1505, CA, II, p. 326; Castanheira, II/21, p. 256. D. Manuel had great respect for Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and advised Lopo Soares (Undated document, CA, III, pp. 191-2) as well as D. Francisco (Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 327) to trust his judgement.


26 Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 318.

27 Castanheira, II/13, p. 236, II/14, pp. 237-9; Barros, I/8-10, pp. 343 and 346; Góis, II/4, pp. 16-19; Correia, I/2, pp. 565-6, 578-9.


29 Twenty-seven according to Figuereoa (in Augur, p. 67), Castanheira (II/9, p. 253) and Góis (II/7, p. 26); twenty-four according to Pero Fernandes Tinoco (CA, II, p. 340) and Barros (I/9-4, p. 380).

30 The Kólaithiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

31 Castanheira, II/19, p. 254.

32 The Kólaithiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.

33 The Kólaithiri to D. Manuel, s.l., TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50. Apart from João da Nova, Gonçalo Gil and Brother Luis witnessed these events (Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, p. 176) and probably also D. Lourenço and Gaspar da India (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, pp. 360 and 368).

34 The Kólaithiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401.


36 Vide infra, the ‘natory’ prince’s claims to the throne, note 114.

37 Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, ibid; Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, p. 176.

38 Ibid.

39 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, pp. 38 and 55.

40 Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochin, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, pp. 341-4; the same to the same, s.l., 15 Jan. 15 (06), CA, III, pp. 170-3. The conflict between Pero Fernandes Tinoco and the Viceroy become so serious that the latter had to justify himself by showing the text of his regimen (D. Francisco...
de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 902–3).

41 Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, s.l., 15 Jan. 1506(06), CA, III, pp. 171–2. It should be noted that the Viceroy had the right to appoint his alcaides (Regimento 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 321). Guadalajarra was only the nickname of a character whose real identity is not known (Castañheira, II/48, p. 313; Góis, II/16, p. 53) and whom Correia portrayed as being outwardly friendly: ‘(era) muyto gracioso em seu falar e muy valente cavalheiro’ (I/2, p. 699).

42 Pero Fernandes Tinoco to D. Manuel, Cochin, 21 Nov. 1505, CA, II, p. 343. The author of this letter was referred to as a ‘trouble maker’ by the Viceroy (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 902).


44 The Kōḷaṭhīri to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50.

45 Correia, I/2, p. 582.

46 The regimento advised D. Francisco that they should be punctilious in paying their dues to the Indian sovereigns (CA, II, p. 329) but that they should not give them any presents (ibid., p. 326). According to Castanheira (II/7, p. 250) and Correia (I/2, p. 583), the Viceroy did in fact give the Kōḷaṭhīri some pieces of the Mombasa booty. Gaspar Correia writes on several occasions that the Kōḷaṭhīri received his share of the maritime takings (I/1, pp. 373, 412) although the sovereigns’ share was not provided for in the 1505 regimento (CA, II, pp. 325–6). According to Castanheira, the Viceroy asked the Kōḷaṭhīri for the reciprocal abolition of all duties, claiming he would make no demands and refrain from making any conquests (Castañheira, II/7, p. 250). Although it is not known exactly how many benefits the Kōḷaṭhīri drew from his alliance with Portugal, he certainly received an income of three hundred pardoas per annum, that is 90,000 reis, a figure which was uncovered by Simão Botelho from an undated document, probably post 1505 (Tombo do Estado da India, loc. cit., p. 30).

47 The Kōḷaṭhīri to D. Manuel, TdT, Cartas orientais No. 50.


49 Barros, I/10–4, p. 407; Castanheira II/24, p. 263; Correia, I/2, pp. 619–23.

50 Barros, I/8–10, pp. 346–8; Castanheira, II/9, pp. 233–4; Correia, I/2, pp. 565–79.

51 Correia, I/2, p. 622.

52 Correia, I/2, pp. 621–3.

53 Correia, I/2, p. 622.

54 Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, Cochin, 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 378; Barros, II/1–4, p. 27.


56 The date of 6 December is given by Varthema himself who adds that he was then sent to see the Viceroy on the galley commanded by João Serrão (Varthema/Schefer, pp. 262–8). In fact João Serrão made a voyage to Cochin just before the Cannanore riots broke out in December. (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 January 1506, CA, II, p. 360). According to the chroniclers the interview between Varthema and D. Lourenço took place in February 1506 (Castañheira, II/24, p. 264; Barros, dating according to the context, I/10–4, p. 407; Góis, II/12, pp. 39–40).
According to the account written by Ludovico di Varthema (ed. Schefer, pp. 272–3) who was involved in the battle. It agrees in the main with Castanheda’s account, but according to the latter the Calicut fleet arrived on 15 March (II/25, p. 265), to Barros on 17 (I/10–14, p. 412), to Figueroa on 12 (in Augur, p. 265).

This comparison is found in the texts of both Varthema (p. 273) and Castanheda (II/25, p. 68).

On the one hand eleven ships (four ‘naos’, five caravels and two galleys) carrying seven hundred men in total (Crónica), p. 146. On the other hand (Varthema’s version) two hundred and nine, of which eighty were ‘large ships’ (p. 273). Castanheda gives a figure of two hundred and eighty vessels specifying eighty-four large ships and one hundred and twenty-four paraos which actually makes a total of two hundred and eight; Góis gives the same figures (II/2, p. 40), whereas the Crónica has them down as sixty ‘naos’, eighty sambucos and one hundred and fifty paraos.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 274; Castanheda, II/25, p. 266.

Barros, I/10–4, p. 409.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 274.

Ibid., p. 274; Castanheda, II/25, pp. 265–6.

Castanheda, II/25, p. 265.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 275.

Ibid., p. 277.

Ibid., p. 275; Castanheda, II/26, p. 266.

Varthema/Schefer, pp. 276–7; Barros, I/10–4, pp. 408–11; Castanheda, II/26, pp. 266–70.


Barros, I/10–4, p. 412; Castanheda, II/26, p. 270.

Barros, I/10–4, pp. 410, 412.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 278; Barros, I/10–4, p. 412; Castanheda, II/26, p. 269.


This question has already been discussed in Les rois de Kōṭṭē au début du XVIe siècle (Mare Luso-indicum, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 74–5) using the dates given by Martin Fernandez de Figueroa (in Augur, p. 68) and Gaspar Correia (I/2, p. 646). According to both these authors this expedition took place in August–September 1506, whereas according to Barros it occurred in the spring of the same year (I/10–5, p. 414), and according to Castanheda and Góis in November 1505 (II/23, p. 256 and II/11, p. 36).


Correia, I/2, p. 624.

Ibid., p. 643.

Ibid., p. 624.

D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 December 1506, CA II, pp. 391, 395.

Correia, I/2, p. 624.

Correia, I/1, p. 183. Since 1508 the Portuguese had been able to purchase corn in Chaul in exchange for various goods—25 reis worth of goods for one alqueire of corn (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 914; Figueroa/Augur, p. 96).
83 Castanheda, II/28, p. 272.
84 The king of Cochin to D. Manuel, s.l. (1509), CA, IV, p. 44 ‘e o Visso-rey mandava matar muitas vacas, e eu mandava me queijar a elle... E esta he a mor desonrra que nesta terra he’.
85 Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 373.
86 Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, ibid., pp. 372–4. The town of Mombassa had been pillaged in August 1505.
87 Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.
90 Regimento, 5 March 1505, CA, II, p. 319.
91 Correia, I/2, p. 624.
93 Correia, I/2, p. 624.
95 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 50.
96 Correia, I/2, pp. 524–625.
97 The Kōlāthiri to D. Manuel, loc. cit.
98 Ibid., p. 401.
100 Mandado, Cannanore, 26 Jan. 1504, CA, II, p. 49.
In 1502 the educated Court circles had expressed an interest in the publication of Valentim Fernandes’ work entitled ‘Marco Paulo, ho livro de Nycolao veneto e trallado da carta de hũu genoves das ditas terras, imprimado per Valentim Fernandes alemãoa, Lixboa, 4 Feb. 1502’. This ‘trallado’ was none other than Girolamo da Santo Stefano’s text containing the first description known to the West of the Maldiv archipelago.
104 Gaspar da India, loc. cit., p. 380.
105 Barros, II/1–1 to 3, pp. 1–26; Castanheda, II/30–31, pp. 276–81; Correia I/2, pp. 659–88; Góis, II/15, p. 47.
106 D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, sumário, 27 Dec. 1506, CA, II, p. 391; Barros, II/1–4, p. 27.
107 Barros, II/1–4, pp. 26–7.
108 This was how the Anatolians who fought in the Mameluke army were
nicknamed.

111 Gaspar da India to D. Manuel, s.l., 16 Nov. 1506, CA, II, p. 372.
112 Lourenço de Brito to D. Manuel, sumário, Jan. 1507, CA, II, p. 397.
113 This prince was so Islamized that he wore a long beard like the Muslims (Pires, vol. 2, p. 359).
114 The unsuccessful pretender referred to in the chronicles and the 'Natórym' in the archives are one and the same. This is evident from the sumário of Antonio de Saldanha's letters, CA, III, p. 334, in which the claims to the throne made by the 'notory, principe de cananor', are clearly set out. He is also described as 'a principe de Cananor ha nome Natourym' in the Crónica, p. 158.
115 The Kólaţhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, p. 401; Castanheda, I/14, p. 37. This is confirmed by Barbosa, who states that this retreat lasted thirteen days, during which time a Kaimal dealt with the day to day affairs. For a whole year the king had to abstain from betel and could not cut his hair, his beard or his nails (Barbosa/Danes, vol. 2, pp. 12–14).
116 The Kólaţhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, pp. 401–2; Crónica, p. 157; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Barros, II/1–4, pp. 27–8; Góis, II/15, p. 48. Following this incident the Viceroy withdrew from Goncalo Vaz de Góis the command of his ship (Barros, II/1–4, p. 28). Correia gives a different version of the facts; according to him D. Lourenço sank two Calicut ships (II/2, pp. 691–8). Seguro = safe conduct.
117 Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48.
119 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, Cannanore c. 1510, CA, III, p. 323.
120 Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48.
122 Varthema/Schefer, p. 282.
123 Thurston, Castes and Tribes of South India, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 491.
124 Pires, vol. 2, p. 359. This hypothesis is based on the fact that the traditional name given to the Ali Râjas was Arakkal, the name by which their palace was still known at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Logan, vol. 1, p. 359). It is doubtful whether Mamale bore the title of Marakkar; although it was frequently employed in Calicut and Cochin it was not a title found among the Kólaţhunâd Muslims.
125 Barros, II/1–5, p. 31; Góis, II/15, p. 48. According to the Crónica, the Viceroy ordered an investigation which the Kólaţhiri refused to carry out (p. 157).
Góis, II/15, p. 48.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 280; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Góis, II/15, p. 49. Close family ties linked the Arakkals to the Calicut Muslims, as the women of this family were obliged to marry men from that town or from Tellicherry who, according to the marumakkatayam custom, had to follow their wives and settle in Cannanore. (D'Souza, Social 'Organisation and Marriage Customs of the Moplahs on the South West Coast of India', Anthropos, vol. 54 (1959), pp. 487–516).

Figueroa/Augur, p. 68.


Castanheda, II/43, p. 305; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 49.

Crónica p. 158; Castanheda, II/43, p. 304; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 49. To understand the chronicles all of which affirm that the ditch was dug out between the town and the well—which would have been absurd—the layout of Cannanore should be studied. The town was situated on the bay and was closed to the south-west by the protruding headland. The ditch did not separate the well from the town, but must have been dug out in the space between the town and the fortress.

The range of a cross-bow according to Varthema (ed. Schefer, p. 281).

Castanheda, II/43, p. 305; Correia, I/2, p. 692.

Correia, I/2, p. 694.

Barros, II/1–5, p. 32.

Barros, ibid.

Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Crónica p. 158; Castanheda, II/45, p. 307; Góis, II/16, p. 50.

Correia, I/2, pp. 701–2.

Castanheda, II/45, p. 308.

Correia, I/2, p. 702.

Castanheda, II/45, p. 305; Barros, II/1–5, p. 32; Góis, II/15, p. 50.

Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.

200 men in all according to Varthema (ed. Schefer, p. 280), 400 men according to Castanheda (II/43, p. 305) and Góis (II/15, p. 50).

Castanheda, II/48, p. 314; Barros, II/1–5, p. 36; Góis, II/16, p. 53.

80 men who took it in turns to keep watch, at the palisade and at the headland (Castanheda, II/45, p. 307); six captaincies of 50 to 60 men each (Correia, I/2, p. 701).


Varthema/Schefer, p. 280.

Correia, I/2, p. 702.

Varthema/Schefer, pp. 280–1. Góis gives the same date, II/16, p. 50.


Castanheda, II/45, pp. 308–9; Barros, II/1–5, pp. 32–3; Góis, II/16, pp. 50–1.

The tactic of exhausting the enemy through thirst was classic in India (Basham, The Wonder that was India, New York, 1954, p. 134).

Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Castanheda, II/46, p. 309; Correia, I/2, p. 702.

Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Castanheda, II/46, pp. 309–10; Góis, II/16, p. 51.

Crónica p. 158; Barros, II/1–5, p. 33; Góis, II/16, p. 51. According to
Castanhedo only one almaida (II/46, p. 310).

156 Castanhedo, II/46, p. 310; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

157 Castanhedo, II/47, p. 311; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

158 Barros, II/1–5, p. 33.

159 Castanhedo, II/47, p. 312.

160 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34; Castanhedo, II/47, pp. 311–12; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

161 Castanhedo, II/47, p. 312.

162 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34; Castanhedo, II/47, p. 312; Góis, II/16, p. 52.

163 A piece of artillery which Balarin de Raconis translates by 'the Serpent' (in Varthema/Schefer, p. 281) and which must have been some kind of large cannon. Three of these guns came from Portugal with the Viceroy's armada, 'Relação da artilheria que foi pera India na armada de D. Francisco de Almeida', in Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na Africa, Lisbon, 1962, vol. 1, p. 138.

164 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34; Castanhedo, II/47, p. 312; Góis, II/16, p. 53.

165 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34.

166 The cameló (= camel) fired cannon balls of 10 to 12 kilos. Some specimens are exhibited in the Lisbon military museum.

167 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34; Castanhedo II/48, p. 314; Góis, II/16, pp. 53–4.

168 This translation of the Portuguese expression 'gente baixa' requires an explanation. These were not just people of low caste who had joined the Portuguese ranks, but all the unstable elements of the army who might be tempted to respond to offers made by the enemy. D. Francisco de Almeida made known to the king the danger of such desertions and the importance of the advantages offered to renegades (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 913 and 920). Deserters were considered to be so useful to the ancient Indiân army that there was a special corps for them (Basham, op. cit., p. 128).

169 Barros, II/1–5, p. 34; Castanhedo II/49, pp. 315–16 and 50, p. 318; Góis, II/17, p. 54.

170 Castanhedo, II/50, p. 318.

171 Castanhedo, II/49, pp. 316–17; Góis, II/17, p. 54–5.

172 Barros, II/1–5, p. 35; Castanhedo, II/50, p. 318; Góis, II/17, p. 55.

173 Barros, II/1–5, p. 35; Castanhedo, II/50, p. 318–19; Góis, II/17, p. 55. These crustacea are periodically thrown onto rocks of the headland (Innes-Evans, Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar, Madras, 1951, vol. 1, p. 420).

174 Barros, II/1–5, p. 36; Castanhedo, II/51, p. 319–21; Góis, II/17, p. 55–6. These chroniclers estimate the entire enemy forces at fifty thousand men.

175 Castanhedo, II/52, p. 321; Góis II/17, p. 56.

176 Varthema/Schefer, p. 282; Barros, II/1–5, p. 36; Castanhedo, II/52, p. 322; Góis, II/17, p. 56–7

177 'All equipped with white harnoys' (Varthema/Schefer, p. 282). A 'white harnoys' was an ordinary polished iron breast plate.

178 Varthema/Schefer, p. 282.

179 The Kōḻathiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1607, CA, II, pp. 400–2.


Among others that of someone who had been at the Cannanore feitoria since 1503 and whom Castanheda refers to as João de Avila (I/48, p. 102). Vide supra, chap. III, n. 80.

The original edition of the Vartherma's Itinerario is dated, Roma, 1510.

Their presence at these councils, confirmed by tradition (vide supra, chap. I, p. 36), is endorsed from this period by several letters 'Cartas orientais da Torre do Tombo'.

On the role of the Brahmins during the 1503–4 war, cf. in particular Castanheda, I/70, p. 187, p. 142.

The king of Calicut himself took part in some of the battles in this war (Castanheda, I/75, pp. 157–60).

Kōjaθhiri to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 6 Dec. 1507, CA, II, pp. 400–2.


...que ElRey mandase tall armada que desfezese todas naaos da Imdia porque doutra maneira nom pode ser senhor della....' (Diogo Fernandes Correia to Afonso de Albuquerque, Cochin, 25. Dec. 1503, CA, III, p. 212); '...toda vossa força seja no mar....Saiba certo que em quanto no mar fordes poderoso tereys a India por vossa, e se isto nom tiverdes no mar, pouco vos prestera a fortaleza na terra' (D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, pp. 906–7).

Castanheda, II/102, pp. 441–2.

Castanheda, III/43, p. 107.

Castanheda, II/102, pp. 442.

According to Correia, the fortress was then rebuilt in stone (I/2, pp. 714–15, 727–31). As the testimonies of 1505 agree that it was very strong built, the Viceroy probably carried out some repairs and re-arrangements.

Correia, I/2, pp. 728–9. The existence of the Cannanore powder factory is confirmed as early as 1510 by a mandado (from the Frol de la Mar, 8 Feb. 1510, CA, II, p. 74).


Correia, I/2, p. 729.

Correia, II/92, p. 419.

D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 919.

Gonçalo Mendes was feitor of Cannanore from 6 Nov. 1508 until the end of 1512 (Braamcamp Freire, 'Cartas de quitação del-Rei D. Manuel', in Archivo historico portuguës, vol. 3 (1905) pp. 75–6).

Castanheda, II/93, p. 421; D. Francisco de Almeida to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 921.


204 Both were to be massacred some weeks later by a group of Kafirs from South Africa (Castanheda, II/123, p. 485; Figueroa/Augur, p. 152).
V. Mamale and Albuquerque

Afonso de Albuquerque’s adventurous spirit was apparent from the moment he came to power. Within a month of his departure from Cannanore he had become embroiled in raid on Calicut but had to abandon his attempt to take control of the town.¹ A few weeks later he commissioned a fleet of twenty-two ships and headed for the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to consolidate the Portuguese position there.² On 6 February 1510 he stopped in Cannanore for the purpose of handing over the command of the fortress to Rodrigo Rabelo.³ He also took the opportunity to despatch Frei Luis to Vijayanagar⁴ to reassure the sovereign that the Portuguese designs on Ormuz did not conflict with his interests and that horses would continue to be shipped to his ports.⁵ But the planned expedition was soon forced to change course; while the squadron was sailing towards Honāvar,⁶ Timoji made contact with the Governor and renewed the warning he had given to the Viceroy some months earlier.⁷ The Sabayo of Goa had commissioned a powerful fleet, manned by ‘turcos’,⁸ which was intent on destroying the king of Portugal’s bases.⁹ The operation in hand was therefore cut short and the conquest of Goa now became the objective. The Sabayo had just died and Isma’îl Âdil Khān, his successor, was busy defending his inland borders.¹⁰ Afonso de Albuquerque immediately saw the advantage to the Portuguese of having a stronghold in preference to the tolerable, but unstable alliance with the Malabar kings. During a council held off Mount Eli on board the *Frol de la Mar* he succeeded in persuading most of the captains to head for Goa.¹¹

The operation had been kept a secret¹² and there was therefore considerable surprise all along the coast when it was learnt that Goa, the port of horses, over which the Bahmanid princes and the Vijayanagar rājas had been fighting, had yielded to the Portuguese without resistance. This news disturbed Mamale of Cannanore and the Kölaṭhiri who had formed an alliance with the Sabayo and had both offered to finance the campaign he had been preparing against the Portuguese. Mamale had not released the money he had promised, however,¹³ probably because the Goa pirates had seized one of his ships and massacred its crew.¹⁴
During the months following Albuquerque’s entry into Goa, the Cannanore Muslims remained as reserved as the local sovereigns. The rāja of Bankapur ignored the advances made by Albuquerque who offered to buy saddlery and harnessing in his country.\textsuperscript{15} Krisṇa Deva Rāya, who had just succeeded Narasimha, was in no hurry to support Goa which he hoped one day to recapture. He had turned a blind eye to the assassination on his own land of Frei Luís\textsuperscript{16} and deliberately delayed meeting with Lopo Chanoca, the ambassador sent by Albuquerque after the capture of Goa.\textsuperscript{17} The Governor was unaware that the Rāya was negotiating a truce with the Ādil Khān,\textsuperscript{18} who immediately sent his forces to Goa. For three months they besieged the Portuguese troops who found themselves trapped in the rivers of the town, all exits of which had been blocked by the monsoon.\textsuperscript{19}

On 26 August Afonso de Albuquerque was forced to bring his exhausted men back to Cannanore.\textsuperscript{20} This did not mean that he had given up his intention of conquering Goa, but he still had to win over his captains who found it hard to accept his intransigence and challenged his policy. The two parties whose conflicts were continually to impede Albuquerque’s exploits were beginning to emerge at this time: that of the Governor, whose aim was to build an empire for Portugal, and that of the Malabar veterans who were slowly becoming somewhat Indianized and thought it wiser to follow the policies of the Viceroy and exploit the local resources.

The situation which Albuquerque found in Cannanore could only aggravate these differences. The hospital was overflowing with patients, some of whom had been there for three or four years, and in addition had to treat the wounded from Goa; and, although the army still contained professional soldiers, it was for the most part made up of New Christians who had come to try their luck in India but showed no enthusiasm for serving the king of Portugal.\textsuperscript{21} To add to this burden young men were being recruited who were not yet old enough to carry arms but nevertheless had to be paid and fed.\textsuperscript{22} Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos’ troops, who had arrived on 16 August, were despatched to Malacca. Duarte de Lemos’ men arrived in Cannanore on 31 August, bringing bad news. The Santa Cruz,\textsuperscript{23} which was returning from Socotra, had sunk off the coast of Cambay. Those who had survived had been taken prisoner at the court of Champaner, but the Governor’s nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha, who had been on his way to take
up his post as captain of Cannanore, had been drowned. This
disaster gave Afonso de Albuquerque the opportunity to negotiate
with Gujarat, and his opponents the pretext to give these discus-
sions priority over the Goa conquest.24

There was concern not only for the councils which had to discuss
this question but also for the local conflicts which had to be settled.
The Cannanore citadel was the scene of the most dastardly plots at
that time. A letter from the chaplain, Julião Nunes, dated 10 October
1510, exposed the persecution to which he had been subjected for
trying to put a stop to the licentious behaviour of his priests. He
had despatched one of them to serve on board the armada as he
had been living openly with his mistress and the son he had
fathered. He had banished another to Socotra for the same sin and
for drunken behaviour, including the use of vulgar language in
church. Rodrigo Rabelo—the kind of captain ‘who wished to be
adored like the gods’.25—had requested that the latter be pardoned
and had not forgiven Julião Nunes for refusing to do so. The captain
did not accept that the chaplain had the right to pass judgment,
even though it was claimed to have been received from the vicar-
general, and dismissed him. Julião Nunes then sent Albuquerque a
letter of protest which he entrusted to some Brahmins who were
travelling to Goa. However, Rodrigo Rabelo managed to intercept
this missive together with letters from the feitoria’s secretary
which exposed other scandals. He read them out before an assem-
bled garrison and had those who had written them thrown in
prison. The enquiry which followed was to bring to light copies of
the letters which Julião Nunes had addressed to D. Manuel and
which questioned the fortress authorities. When he knew the
facts, the Governor became guarded as he did not wish to become
involved in any scandal which might worsen his problems. Under
the circumstances, he was content to refer the matter to the vicar-
general and to promise to make amends to the chaplain who
agreed to go with him to Goa.26

The Cannanore authorities adopted a cautious position. The
Kōlaṭhiri’s attitude was an apparently friendly one which had
been encouraged with presents of jewels and sugar.27 On 27 August
he had entertained the Governor in a tent which had been pitched
on the beach. Mamale, the Minister and some of the kingdom’s
dignitaries had also been present. Each had tried to exceed the
courtesy of the other and Afonso de Albuquerque had symbolically
handed over to the king the keys of the fortress. According to Gaspar Correia, the Governor followed up these discussions and sometime in September met with Mamale to negotiate the replacement of the mooring and ropes damaged by the rains and during the long spell spent in the rivers of Goa. Aware of Mamale’s total control over the Maldives he ordered him to renounce it on the grounds that the archipelago, like Cannanore, was under the sovereignty of the king of Portugal. Rather than have his concessions questioned, Mamale made sure of the support of the Kōlaṭhiri and Rodrigo Rabelo, offering to deliver every year to Cochin and Cannanore one hundred bahars of coarse fibre and another hundred of fine fibre. It will later be seen that this generosity was inspired by a fear that the Portuguese would intervene in the affairs of the islands where a dynastic crisis had just erupted. Albuquerque, for his part, had urgent matters to attend to, therefore accepted the contract, being content to receive from Mamale a guarantee that all Portuguese and foreign travellers to the islands would be allowed to conduct their business freely.

It could be considered that the moderate attitude adopted by Mamale and the Kōlaṭhiri was dictated by the uncertainties of the future. It was not yet known how the three men who had just come to power—Isma’īl Ādil Khān, Albuquerque and Kṛiṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar—would deal with the Malabar kingdoms. Furthermore, it was confirmed that the Mamelukes of Egypt were commissioning a new fleet of Rumes, while the kings ofOrmuz and Cambay were coming to terms with the Portuguese. The confused political situation encouraged some to reach agreements, but the Portuguese party remained faithful. As he was suffering from leprosy, the Nāṭuvāri could no longer make a contribution and let Nambiar, who had been the previous Kōlaṭhiri’s Minister, rejoin the Governor’s partisans. This character—the ‘alguazil velho’ of Portuguese texts—had a following of about a hundred warriors. This move, like the news of the break in the truce between the Ādil Khān and Kṛiṣṇa Deva Rāya, inevitably influenced the councils which Albuquerque constantly convened in an attempt to get his captains to agree to recapture Goa. At the beginning of November the armada left Cannanore and headed north; on 25 November Goa was conquered.

Now the Governor has turned the key and opened the door of
India to his king’ declared Mamale from Cochin when he heard the news. Although to some it seemed precarious, Afonso de Albuquerque’s success encouraged the authorities of Cannanore to pay court to D. Manuel. António Carneiro’s *sumário* mentions seven letters, probably written in the last quarter of 1511 by members of the royal entourage as well as by the fortress agents. It is regrettable that their content is only conveyed through a brief analysis which does not enable the facts to be placed in chronological order but merely lists the incidents and positions taken. The *regeredor* boasted that his quarrels with the Zamorin would last ‘until the judgment day’ because of his devotion to the Portuguese cause. The Nātuvarī, who considered himself to be the legitimate heir to the throne, declared a loyalty which earned him the enmity of his uncle the king. He promised D. Manuel two thousand *quintais* of pepper and four thousand of ginger each year, provided the latter put pressure on the Kōḷaṭhirī to have him appointed Minister. But at the same time João de Avila was advising his sovereign not to contemplate befriending a prince who was plagued by illness in preference to the Kōḷaṭhirī. In fact, the latter was openly making moves to improve his relations with D. Manuel whose letters were announced to the sound of trumpets before they were read out publicly and posted in the mosque. He had responded to his gifts by sending an extremely valuable necklace and a delegation of two negotiators whose arrival in Lisbon was never confirmed. He had foregone the opportunity of being paid in cash for the ginger and had allowed Rodrigo Rabelo to exchange it for Portuguese goods.

These concessions did not warrant the bad treatment he was receiving from the Portuguese and he complained to D. Manuel that several of his ships had been seized. One of them had been taken on the pretext that it was carrying two Calicut sailors, even though it had been authorized to sail and had been given a safe conduct by Rodrigo Rabelo. Two others—loaded with rope and probably owned by Mamale—had been intercepted and searched and then allowed to proceed by order of the Governor who had paid for the goods. Because of the lack of continuity in the text of the *sumário*, it is not clear if it was following this incident that part of the town was pillaged by the Portuguese and a sanctuary desecrated. Two women, one of whom was betrothed to the Kōḷaṭhirī, had been abducted and forcibly baptized. According to João de Avila, the sovereign’s indignation, which was already acute, had reached its
peak when Afonso de Albuquerque had asked him for five thousand cruzados and the right to pass judgment on the Muslims. This latter demand would have particular consequences for Mamale who was described in this same letter as 'justica dos mouros', but it appears that he was never deprived of his rights in favour of the Governor.

The Kōlāthīri's grievances did not, however, lessen his interest in the economic expansion promised by Albuquerque's conquests and plans or from showing his wish to benefit from them. To compensate for the loss of money resulting from the new agreement on Portuguese goods, and the alienation of the horse trade, he asked D. Manuel for the right to supervise the safe conducts issued at the fortress so that he could put pressure on the Muslims and try to extract money from them. By gaining this kind of control, he would be able to find out which boats were going to collect ginger and separate those supplying Calicut. To render his collaboration more effective he asked D. Manuel to give him a gold ring bearing the royal seal which would validate documents in his absence, a favour which João de Avila dissuaded his king from granting.

Finally, the Kōlāthīri requested a wider field of activity for the Cannanore merchant fleet, free access to Ormuz and protection for the horse traffic which was constantly being disrupted by the maritime activities of the Portuguese. He suggested to D. Manuel that he strengthen the Calicut blockade, the result of which, he felt sure, would be to force the ships from Bengal, Sumatra and Malacca to go to Cannanore. This view was shared by the feitor and the secretary who condemned the fact that the surveillance of Calicut had been relaxed; twenty-seven ships from Arabia had recently been loaded with goods and had returned to the Red Sea without let or hindrance. It was important in future to prevent them from turning towards the Oman Sea and so force the Indian merchants to place their goods in the Portuguese feitorias.

João da Avila's report to the king included the observation that trade was beginning to pick up again. He attributed this to the good will of the Kōlāthīri and the Governor, although he made it clear that the advantage won in the political field was being jeopardized by the confusion reigning at the citadel. With the feitor and the chaplain he expressed deep regret that it was now overflowing with sick and crippled men whom nobody knew what to do with nor wanted to repatriate. Those who were fit enough made vain requests to be allowed to return to Lisbon.
and complained that they had not been paid. Some deserted to the enemy and others married Indian women. In five months Julião Nunes counted eight such marriages; the small Christian community which had already formed the Chagas fraternity was in fact thriving on these unions. The number of conversions angered the Kōḻaṭhiri, whose indignation was heightened by the fact that once they had become Christians his subjects no longer felt under any obligation to the Hindu community. It is probable that the main cause of the excesses revealed in this correspondence was the crisis sparked off by the death of D. Afonso de Noronha who had been due to take over the fortress command. Three captains then succeeded each other in one year. In mid-December 1510, Rodrigo Rabelo was relieved by Manuel da Cunha, who had just been dubbed a knight on the Goa battlefield. This young captain had no hesitation in opening the royal correspondence and letters addressed to Albuquerque, his purpose being to cover up the plots which his friend Duarte de Lemos had instigated against the Governor in Cochin. The Kōḻaṭhiri’s aversion to him resulted in his downfall; he was dismissed, sent to live in Goa and replaced at the beginning of March by Diogo Correia. The fact that the latter was a prisoner of the king of Cambay on parole did not embarrass Albuquerque, who was more concerned with halting the unrest among his captains and posting them judiciously before sailing for Malacca.

While the Malabar merchant communities were discussing the consequences of the capture of Goa, Mamale of Cannanore was being requested to deal with the dynastic struggles which were taking place on the islands. The Taʾrīḥ, discovered in Malé by H. C. Bell, mentions a series of palace revolutions which occurred between H.915/1509 and H.918/1513. The dubious chronology of an apocryphal text more than three hundred years old would probably not have attracted any attention had not the Portuguese testimonies referred to the events recounted in them. It is quite clear that the Lusitanian writers never managed to break through the complexity of a crisis which spread right across a vast archipelago and of which they were only able to grasp the more significant incidents. Thus, in comparing the sources, the intention is not to piece together at any price facts whose sequence is unclear, but
simply to give an authenticity to certain characters, using the exact dates given in the Portuguese documents. It must be stressed that it is through the latter that the chief role played by Mamale of Cannanore in the history of the islands is brought to light.

None of the sources specifies the date of Mamale’s first intervention in the affairs of the Maldives. All that is known is that in H.900/1494 the one known as the Āli Rāja of Cannanore in the Ta’riḥ—and who must be considered to be the leader of the town’s Muslim community—had helped the Sultan Kalu Muḥammad to regain his throne which was occupied by his brother Yūsuf, then by his cousin Āli.66 This fact was confirmed by Mamale, in 1512, when he explained to Albuquerque that the king of the Maldives had asked for his help against a usurper and had given him some islands by way of acknowledgement.67 If the Ta’riḥ is to be believed, Kalu Muḥammad was indeed twice dethroned and twice reinstated by the Muslim chief of Cannanore—in H.900/1494 and H.918/151268—it is not clear which restoration Mamale referred to. The Radawali states that in 1494 Kalu Muḥammad had taken refuge in Cannanore,69 and this was confirmed in 1512 by Albuquerque, who reported that Mamale had extorted from the dethroned Sultan all his privileges, detaining him in the town.70 This fact is worth remembering, but there is nothing to suggest that it took place in 1494 rather than in 1512, or that the same circumstances were found on both occasions. If it is certain that the second intervention was the work of Mamale, the hypothesis that the first one was carried out by his predecessor cannot be excluded.

Whatever the sequence of events, it is certain that in 1512 Mamale was the principal and probably only beneficiary of the 1494 agreements and that such a privileged position helped to establish him as Cannanore’s leader. At that time he was already carrying out the duties of ‘justica’ of the Muslims,71 which gave him superiority over ‘Hacem Mohramed’, ‘Pocaracem’ and the others whose names appear on the Portuguese mandados and recibos,72 and even over ‘Moussa Mame’ whom João de Avila commended to the generosity of D. Manuel.73 Like them, Mamale took an active part in the commercial activities of the city. It is known that he traded horses with the rājas of Vēṇāḍ,74 and that he sold rice to the Portuguese feitorias.75 He was probably involved in other business transactions, but it is not clear what these were. The documents available all concur on the single objective of these activities: to
control the Maldives.

As a result of the Portuguese expansion, the commercial exploitation of the islands now underwent a new development. D. Francisco de Almeida had already been advised that a large number of Asian ships sailing from Indonesia were avoiding an encounter with the armadas by keeping away from the Malabar towns and using other ports of call. 'The pepper and drugs which go to the Levant', he wrote to D. Manuel in December 1508, 'do not come from this coast, but from Malacca, Sumatra and Pedir... and I am well aware of the route they take and when...' The Viceroy did not expressly name the Maldives in this letter but Castanheda claimed that he knew very well that the ships stopped there on their way from the Malay archipelago and that he had sent D. Lourenço there to seize them.77

The Malabar ports were becoming increasingly deserted as a result of this shift which, given a successful campaign by Albuquerque in Malacca, was likely to become more pronounced. The Straits of Karaidu and Haddumati (opposite the ports of Sumatra) opened up another spice route to the Red Sea. By securing his hold on the islands, Mamale controlled a sea route to the West and disrupted the Portuguese plan by opening up markets outside their blockades. It is not known whether he was aware at that moment of the fullness of a scheme which he was to try and fulfil some years later. But it is certain that the prospect of the money to be made from the geographical position of the Maldives drove him to take the lion's share for himself when the troubles broke out in Male around 1510. These troubles suited him so well that it is tempting to believe that he instigated them.78

According to the Ta'rih, the Sultan Kalu Muḥammad, of the Hilal dynasty, who had regained the Male throne in 1494, had reigned until H.915/1509, that is until a new conspiracy brought his nephew Ḥasan to power.79 After some months the latter died of natural causes and was immediately succeeded by an Arab from Mecca, Šīḥ Aḥmad, who was deposed in his turn in H.918/1512-13 by Ālī, Kalu Muḥammad's cousin. Ālī's sister, Buraki Rani, who was also making a bid for the throne, decided to marry Kalu Muḥammad so that they could reign together. She joined him in Huvadu, the place to which he had been exiled by Ālī, and made contact with the Portuguese authorities to make sure of their support. She had also bribed a devoted servant, Kalu Ibrahim of
Gafaru, to go to Male where he lured the Sultan Áli into an ambush, tied him up 'ham strung' and left him for dead.\textsuperscript{80}

The Ta'\textit{rîh} gives no hint as to the role played by Mamale of Cannanore in this family drama, whereas the Portuguese texts focus on this point and make it possible to ascertain the degree of accuracy of the Male chronicle. The three principal protagonists in the conspiracy are referred to in a letter from Alvaro Fernandes: the usurper Áli, Muhammad Rasquim—the king Muhh\textit{m}mad in Mahl—reinstituted and married by Mamale to an all powerful sultaness, possibly Buraki Rani.\textsuperscript{81} This letter does not put a date on the varying fortunes of the crisis, but it does indicate the benefit Mamale reaped from it; tribute to the value of ten thousand \textit{pardaos} per year, payable in coir, amber and pieces of gold and silver—in other words half the archipelago's income. It was also said that some atolls—'Candaluz', 'Camdical' and 'Tilladumati'\textsuperscript{82}—had been given to him as payment, a fact which Mamale confirmed himself when he declared that certain islands had been offered to him by the Sultan. The list of these concessions gives some credence to the words of Gaspar Correia who presented Mamale as the 'lord of the Maldives', made rich by the monopoly in coir, with which he supplied all the ships of the west coast. Apart from the goods handed over in tribute, Mamale obtained cowries, dried fish and silks by exchanging them profitably for salt, cooking pots and rice.\textsuperscript{83} By extending the Canara rice trade to the Maldives, Mamale finally brought the archipelago under his economic dependence.\textsuperscript{84} This dependence was all the more profitable since he provided the islands with a black rice from Kumbla, the quality of which was so bad that only the poor people accepted it willingly.\textsuperscript{85}

Although an exact date cannot be put on the origin of Mamale’s advantages, there is evidence to show that he was enjoying them in 1512 and that he was making every effort to have them converted into legitimate rights. The circumstances were in his favour. Repeated crises were throwing the Male princes into confusion. Afonso de Albuquerque had departed for Malacca, while Goa was once more under siege from the Ādil Khān’s troops.\textsuperscript{86} It was even said that the Governor was dead and his army ruined.\textsuperscript{87} Furthermore, the rumour was being spread that a new squadron of Rumes was on its way: Amir Ḥusayn had been freed from his detention in Gujarat upon the death of Mahmud I, on 23 November 1511, and had immediately written to all the Malabar sovereigns that he
would only be going back to Egypt in order to return and annihilate the Portuguese. His campaign therefore had to be supported in the interests of retaining the freedom of the Red Sea and Gujarati fleets. It was these very ships which Mamale hoped to attract to the Maldives, and so, with this in mind, he set out to meet the Rumes, accompanied by a flotilla of war paraos. But he waited in vain and had to be content with stopping some vessels from Ormuz which he towed to Cannanore, using a Portuguese safe conduct.

It was essential that he act quickly however, before the arrival of the Rumes and the return of the Portuguese forces, so that he could present them both with the fait accompli. He therefore decided to place his own brother, Icapocar, on the Male throne. As he was concerned to make this usurpation look legitimate, he had the new sovereign invested by the Kōlaṭhiri.

The questionable chronology of the Ta’īḥ overlooks one important fact. Against which Sultan was the coup d’état organized by Mamale directed? Was it Hasan (H.915-16/1509-11) or the Arab Šīh Aḥmad (H.916-18/1511-13) that Mamale proposed to overthrow after imprisoning Kalu Muḥammad, now a refugee living in Cannanore, and forcing him to surrender all his rights? Was it Āli he wished to remove, by attaching little importance to the claims of Kalu Muḥammad? It appears that, initially, Mamale wished to oust one of the usurpers by putting forward a challenger, Kalu Muḥammad; in other words a rival whose rights and territories he had confiscated and whom he had made his puppet. Having been reinstated, had the latter honoured his commitments? Or was he too weak to stand up to the plots of the other claimants? Mamale had resolved to settle the question by putting in Icapocar. But the latter’s authority was not really recognized in the Maldives, for in 1512 Kalu Muḥammad decided to assert his rights and exclude Mamale from the affairs of the islands.

At the beginning of August 1512 ‘one of the Maldives kings,’ envoys went to Cochin and requested an audience with Afonso de Albuquerque. He was from Ormuz and his name was Bābā Ābdullāh. The nature of his mission is revealed not only by Portuguese archives but also by a letter written in Arabic and signed in his hand. This letter recounts how the Ormuz ambassador presented Bābā Ābdullāh to the Governor and invited him to explain the political situation of the islands. Bābā Ābdullāh
asked Albuquerque to call on Mamale to stop collecting tribute from weak and frightened people and to give an undertaking that the revenue from the Maldives would henceforth be paid to the King of Portugal; this is how the Governor had interpreted the situation and accordingly announced to D. Manuel that the Sultan of the Maldives had proclaimed himself his vassal.

It is significant that, in his account of this mission, Castanheda employed the expression ‘dhum rey das ilhas de Malíva’—an indication that the dynastic struggle were not yet over and that several claimants were still disputing the archipelago. Who had Bábá Abdullah appointed to act as delegate to the Portuguese authorities? The archives are no more specific on this point than the chronicles; but there is no doubt that the Sultan formerly defended by Bábá Abdullah was Kalu Muḥammad, the one who had been supported by Mamale against a usurper. It seems that, after his return to the archipelago, Kalu Muḥammad had recovered a fairly nominal authority over some of the islands, and this authority was being challenged by the claims of Mamale and his brother, supported by the presence of their agents and their governor. Weary of the tyranny that he had suffered for fifteen years, the Sultan requested the protection of the Portuguese forces whose recent victories had been a source of reassurance to him.

The Governor was aware of the privileged position enjoyed by Mamale on the islands; a recent incident had in fact served as a reminder of the situation. In January 1512 his squadron, which was returning from Malacca, had stopped and searched a ship in the waters off Ceylon which was travelling without a safe conduct. Albuquerque summoned the captain and dignitaries on board his own ship and ordered Simão de Andrade to take command of the seized boat and to hold it with about fifteen men. But the Muslim pilot was determined to escape captivity and headed for the Maldives where he took refuge on the atoll of ‘Candaluz’. The local governor, a man called Mammali, had recently given shelter to Muḥammad Mesri, a rich merchant from Cairo who had strayed into the archipelago during a storm and who was one of the principal architects of the alliance between the Zamorin and the Sultan of Egypt. With a group of Calicut Muslims, he rushed on board and seized all the Christians. One of Giovanni da Empoli’s servants, who came from Lyons and have been on the ship, states that they were brutally treated, dragged to the ground
by their beards and sold like slaves. Simão de Andrade and his companions had to wait three months before they were repatriated by order of the Kōlāthirī.  

This unhappy incident had heightened Albuquerque’s mistrust of Mamale. It had revealed at one and the same time his hide-out of ‘Candaluz’ and his collusion with Muhammad Mesri. Bābā Abdullah’s mission came at the right time to remind him that Mamale had taken no account of his warnings and that he was still receiving an income from the islands. The full extent of the Cannanore Muslims’ plans was certainly clear to Albuquerque from that moment on because he was quick to warn D. Manuel of the situation. He urged the King to show himself to be intractable, and offered to hand over to him ‘Mamale and half a dozen of his men’ in order to frighten their allies. He denounced the exploits of ‘Mamale and his brothers who are making themselves the conquerors of India right in front of your captain-general, in spite of your fleets and your title... and want to conquer and take control of the islands’. He was relying on the testimony of certain fortress agents who had advised him to ‘cut the corn before it grows any higher’.  

The urgency of the duties awaiting him in Goa, however, did not allow Albuquerque to involve himself in this conflict, although he was due to stop in Cannanore to appoint Jorge de Melo as Diogo Correia’s successor at the fortress. He decided to try and approach the Kōlāthirī and asked Bābā Abdullah to accompany him. He reached Cannanore at the beginning of October and soon became anxious at the sovereign’s lack of eagerness to grant him an audience. It was evident that the authority of Portugal had been superseded by that of the Muslim dignitaries. ‘Nothing was done without their order and their wish’. Mamale was in league with Nambiador, the king’s prime minister, who had earlier encouraged him to besiege the fortress. They had both used the false news of the defeat and death of the Governor to turn public opinion in favour of the Rumes: a fleet of paraos was awaiting their arrival and two specially equipped keel boats were to leave for Mecca with cargo of spices and return with warriors. The Minister had removed the Portuguese party leaders. The Nāṭuvārī had died in prison. The ‘alguazil velho’ had returned to Goa only to find himself bankrupt and was forced to live under a Nāyar guard. A certain Arevollo, who was a regular
visitor to the fortress, had been assassinated. Those Muslims suspected of befriending the Portuguese were not spared; one of them, who had been to Lisbon, had paid with his life for describing the city with too much enthusiasm. Consequently more half-hearted partisans chose to betray: a Gujarati abused the fortress agents’ trust by passing on information received from them to Nambiador, while his own nephew was secretly supplying arquebuses, sulphur and saltpetre to the Adil Khān’s troops. The Portuguese citadel seemed to be under an interdict. The merchants were under orders to have no further dealings and to sell no more provisions to the feitoria. This boycott was extended to the captain and the people living at the garrison, to whom it was forbidden for anyone to speak without the authorization of the Minister. It will shortly be seen that these instructions were not always strictly observed, but their effect was acute enough for Albuquerque to regard the people of Cannanore as hostile and contemptuous, ‘as if they were planning some terrible scheme, or had decided to form an alliance with the Rumes’.

The Governor had set aside a few days to settle the question of the islands, while at the same time all the affairs of Cannanore had to be dealt with. On 11 October he wrote to D. Manuel telling him everything would have to be started all over again, and yet in the same letter he was able to report on the first steps he had taken. As the Kōlaṭhīrī was keeping a low profile, Albuquerque confronted the real rulers of the country. He summoned Nambiador, Mamale and Içapocar together with some Indian dignitaries, amongst whom was the faithful Koya Pakki and Fakar Husayn ‘the Malabar’. Also present at this meeting were D. García de Noronha, his nephew, and some of the other captains. Before all these witnesses the Governor called upon Nambiador and Mamale to justify their interference in the affairs of the Maldives. By what right had they granted the sovereignty of the archipelago to Içapocar? How had Mamale dared to conduct himself as conqueror when he knew that the title of ‘conquistador das Indias’ belonged to the King of Portugal? Mamale replied that the Sultan of the Maldives had requested his help against a usurper, and that in acknowledgement of his assistance he had given him certain islands. Afonso de Albuquerque then brought in Bābā Abdullah who declared that the islands had been taken from the Sultan by force and that the latter had been overpowered and detained in Cannanore until
he surrendered them. He accused Mamale of not being satisfied with these concessions and of wanting to remove the legitimate Sultan so that he could replace him with his own brother. Mamale requested the arbitration of the king, but Albuquerque refused, saying that the Kōlāthiri had no authority in this matter and that he could not pass judgement since he was a Hindu and the islanders were Muslim. By what right had he allowed the throne to be given to Içapocar while he himself was a subject of the king of Portugal and therefore powerless? In the name of the same king he ordered Mamale to leave the islands within five months, after which neither his possessions nor his creatures would be spared. The sovereignty of the Maldives must be returned in its entirety to the Sultan who would then be required to pay homage to D. Manuel. Any attacks on his rights and safety would be attributed to Mamale, whose ‘ambitious illusion’ would be finally brought under check by the fortress which D. Manuel had ordered to be built on the islands.¹²⁰

This last piece of news upset Mamale’s schemes more than the intransigence of his accuser’s arguments. The interest taken by Albuquerque in the strategic situation of the Maldives threatened him much more than his support for the Sultan, particularly since the Portuguese reconnaissance missions, far from losing their way in the labyrinth of atolls, had been successful. For a long time they had had their sights set on the privileged position of Kolomadulu which controlled one of the principal channels of the archipelago¹²¹ used by most of the ships sailing from Indonesia. As early as 1506 ‘Quymdiquel’ was mentioned in one of the Viceroy’s reports;¹²² in February 1508 D. Manuel, probably inspired by those who had sailed in the area, ordered Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to ‘fazer ho caminho pela ylda de Candaluz ou por Maldiva que folgaryamos de serem desbaratadas...’.¹²³ These instructions were never carried out and yet did not the resolve of the victor of Malacca now fill everyone with fear? He had to be shown that it was useless for the Portuguese to exploit the Maldives unassisted. Provided he retained the title of Sultan, Içapocar offered to relieve them of this burden and to administer the islands on behalf of the king of Portugal. Albuquerque was suspicious of the influence of Cannanore and the inevitable pressures to which such a claimant would be subjected. He preferred to back the legitimate Sultan who was totally dependent on him for his protection. Through
Bābā Āldullah, Kalu Muḥammad had undertaken to provide his annual production of amber, coir and precious cloth, and to allow only those ships approved by the Portuguese authorities to enter his ports.\(^{124}\)

Afonso de Albuquerque was not the kind of man to be satisfied with promises; he had to be sure that they would be fulfilled. There was little point opposing Mamale's expansion plans if the close ties of mutual cooperation between him and the king's minister could not be broken. The Governor thus decided to bring disgrace on Nambiador by sending a fifteen points charge to the Kōlathiri. In his reply the sovereign acknowledged that in certain areas his minister had made mistakes but for the most part gave reasons for his attitude and did not feel that the accusations were enough to justify his dismissal. But, to his surprise, Albuquerque was not to be deflected from his determination to get rid of an enemy whom he judged to be 'irresponsible, tyrannical and greedy'\(^{125}\) and whom he accused of taking advantage of the sovereign's apathy\(^{126}\) in order to control him more effectively. He notified the Kōlathiri that the judgments of Portugal were completely above suspicion and that the king should have nothing to do with a minister who was hostile to D. Manuel and had rebellious intentions. To give weight to his argument, he put on a show to impress the royal emissary. He summoned the captain and the fortress agents who were made to swear on the Bible that they would have no further meetings and conduct no more business deals with Nambiador. He ordered that no more safe conducts were to be issued to ships from Cannanore and no more ginger bought from the town merchants. In the presence of the emissary he had forty-nine safe conducts drawn up for use by the Calicut pagueres, specifying that for every one carrying beledi ginger\(^{127}\) a cargo of rice would be received in exchange.

Upon hearing this, the Kōlathiri agreed to appoint a new minister.\(^{128}\) Albuquerque was favourably impressed by the person selected and considered him to be honest, probably because he found him easy to manipulate, thus he was\(^{129}\) inundated with gifts and accompanied home with all the honours worthy of his position. As a final stage in resolving the crisis, the Governor delegated Jorge de Melo, the new fortress captain, to make an official visit to the Kōlathiri who was found to be in a conciliatory mood, as if he had washed his hands off the actions of his former
minister. He summoned Içapocar and urged him to surrender the Male crown. For his part, Mamale had promised in writing to give up the income he had been receiving from the archipelago and had presented Albuquerque with diamonds, emeralds and an amber pear studded with gold and precious stones.

This gesture was clearly nothing more than a formality. Albuquerque was already taking action and had seized a ship loaded with coir which belonged to Mamale. Freeing those among the crew who were from the islands, he ordered them to obey the old ruler no longer, but the legitimate Sultan instead. Mamale of Cannanore had had to yield to the Portuguese Governor, whose mistrust he hoped to dispel. He had sacrificed Içapocar but his objectives remained unchanged.

The severity with which Albuquerque dealt with the Cannanore dignitaries had saved him from endless discussions, although it had not provided protection from the disapproval of his Portuguese adversaries. The defeat of Mamale and Nambiador, which had been accomplished in less than ten days, did not lessen their concern and in fact strengthened their defiant attitude towards the Governor’s policy.

Before leaving for Malacca in 1511, Albuquerque had given strict orders that those garrisoned at Cochin and Cannanore should stay in their respective citadels—an instruction which had been quickly violated. Muslim ships were used to transport people from one fortress to the other and the contacts feared by the Governor had been established, acts of collusion entered into. It was soon regretted that Albuquerque had stripped the Malabar fortresses of their best arms and troops only to lose them in a venture which was judged to be reckless and a total surrender. During the ten months of the Governor’s absence the air had been full of idle talk and criticisms. Where some felt a personal resentment, others felt nostalgic and stood by the Viceroy’s policy. In Cannanore an opposing movement was being organized by Gonçalo Mendes, the f, and Duarte Barbosa, who had resumed his office at the end of 1511 after several years of leave in Lisbon. His knowledge of Malayalam predisposed him towards the party of the natives, but also made him vulnerable to the false information they enjoyed disseminating. It is difficult to understand why
Duarte Barbosa, usually so verbose, should pull a veil of silence over the Cannanore Muslims' party; he makes no reference to it in his letters, and his report—admittedly incomplete—ignores Mamale and his brothers. Did he feel that mentioning people in whose company he had spent so much time would be dangerous?

While depriving the historian of an invaluable testimony, Duarte Barbosa's caution did not prevent him from adopting an openly conciliatory attitude towards the indigenous authorities. His approach was justified by his leanings, whereas most of his compatriots were concerned for their safety. The cleverly spread rumours of the downfall of the Governor and the imminent arrival of the Rumes had not only put an end to Albuquerque's influence, it had also left the fortress at the mercy of the Muslims. Survival was of utmost importance as was a settlement with the local authorities in order to avoid a siege which, without arms, could not be sustained. The problem was magnified by the behaviour of Diogo Correia, who had remained faithful to the Governor and was doing everything to bring about a breakdown in relations. Duarte Barbosa condemned his uncompromising attitude which caused him to behave like a tyrant and to humiliate the local people. He slept fully armed for fear of being attacked, and had alienated the most powerful Muslims by setting against them one of their own people—a certain 'Pocaracem' who had joined the Portuguese party. This character, who does not emerge until the beginning of 1511, declared that he had been faithful to the king of Portugal for fourteen years. The position adopted by Diogo Correia, who supported Pocaracem against his co-religionists, was considered by Duarte Barbosa to be the cause of all the troubles. It is probable that this captain's attitude encouraged the merchants to turn away from the fortress and resulted in the ostracism of which he himself was the victim. His blunders brought to a head the loathing for him felt by Gonçalo Mendes who reported him to his Cochin friends, to Captain António Real and to the feitor, Lourenço Moreno, all of whom had turned against the Governor and were very receptive to any scandal involving his creatures. Word was put about that Diogo Correia 'had cheated Cannanore' and was distributing safe conducts to Calicut ships. D. Aires da Gama, the commander of the 1511 armada, was put in the picture as soon as he arrived in Cochin. Accompanied by Cristóvão de Brito, he went to Cannanore and tried to intimidate Diogo Correia
'throwing in his face' the fact that he had no right to the title of captain of the fortress since he had not been given this office by the king but by a disgraced Governor who was shortly to be relieved by Vasco da Gama. Diogo Correia remained unmoved by these remarks and held on to his position. Albuquerque saw this as the reaction of a man with too slack an attitude—'d'omen frouxo'—and later backed up this remark by reproaching him for not having had 'those two child-like captains'—'cachopos capitaes'—thrown into prison and kept there until he returned.147

Meanwhile, O. Aires da Gama had taken the opportunity to repatriate a large number of the men, saying that Albuquerque was keeping them in India by force148 and was driving them to desertion and despair. The effect of this was to remove any doubts from those who had been reluctant to disown their leader openly. They tried to reach an agreement with the local authorities by persuading them that the dismissal of Albuquerque, if he was still alive, was now certain and that Goa would be abandoned.149 They pressed Nambiador to come to the fortress and inform Diogo Correia that he refused to give him a title that the Governor had no right to bestow upon him.150

Albuquerque's return and the surprising news that Malacca had been captured disproved these comments, but did not discourage those responsible for them. The climate of hostility witnessed by Albuquerque when he arrived in Cannanore to settle the affairs of the Maldives was not only the work of the local people, but also that of the Portuguese at the citadel. Everything led him to believe Diogo Correia's testimony rather than that of his adversaries and to agree with the vehement accusations made against Nambiador, whereas Jorge de Melo, the new fortress captain, was more inclined towards the opposing party. These differences were accentuated by the malevolence of Gaspar Pereira, who had returned to India that same year and had been responsible for changing Jorge de Melo's opinion about Albuquerque. He pointed out to him that the Governor was encroaching on his rights by reprimanding his men in his presence151—Albuquerque had in fact been outraged when he had discovered that they were practising money lending in association with the Muslims and threatened to confiscate their goods if they continued with such dealings.152

Those who were concerned to see most of their forces leave for Goa were scandalized at the penury inflicted on the Malabar
citadels. António Real identified the reasons for their mistrust. In a letter addressed to D. Manuel at the end of 1512, he made no secret of the ‘mortal’ hatred he felt for the Governor.\(^{153}\) This quite personal animosity, which was shared by a good many of his companions, found its justification in the exploits undertaken by Albuquerque, the implications of which nobody was able to assess. They also criticized him for wanting to become the absolute Lord of Goa when it would have been enough to secure an entrepot and some tribute from the Ādil Khān.\(^{154}\) António Real resented the loss of men and munitions resulting from such obstinacy at a time when the Malabar fortresses were short of arms and equipment.\(^{155}\) Some boats were so riddled with woodworm that they had to be burned.\(^{156}\) Having acquired a considerable amount of experience in the Italian wars, during which he had served Charles VIII, the king of France, António Real denounced the danger of dispersed conquests;\(^{157}\) he was indignant that fifteen ships had been left in Malacca with no prospect of their returning.\(^{158}\) Instead of scattering his ships, why did Albuquerque not send them to collect those goods available locally—the coir and amber of the islands, the cinnamon and jewels of Ceylon?\(^{159}\) Those who shared António Real’s point of view and who, in all good faith, preferred immediate profits to murderous ventures, could not understand the magnitude of Albuquerque’s schemes nor the geographical limits in which he practised them.

Before leaving Cannanore for Goa, Albuquerque was careful to compensate Pocaracem for the wrongs done to him by his adversaries,\(^{160}\) by purchasing some horses from him, and promising to pass other business on to him.\(^{161}\) He was further able to make a gesture of goodwill to the Kōlāthiri by ordering that a Christian Nāyar, who had just murdered one of the king’s Nāyars and had taken refuge in the fortress chapel to avoid the retribution of his people, have his hand cut off.\(^{162}\) Finally, he organized a parade to impress the Muslims: he brought out his soldiers who, carrying pikes and pulling arquebuses, marched in a snail formation to the sound of fifes and drums.\(^{163}\) As the affairs in hand had been dealt with, Albuquerque left in mid-October\(^{164}\) in the company of D. Garcia, Diogo Correia and Bābā Ābdullah.\(^{165}\) His few days spent in Cannanore had disappointed him. Having assessed Mamale’s determination and the hostility at the fortress, he no longer felt any remorse at sacrificing a town which was entirely
opposed to his schemes. And so, while sailing towards Goa, his thoughts turned to the execution of a plan which he had been nurturing for a long time—establishing peace with Calicut.

During the raid of January 1510, in which Marichal D. Fernando Coutinho had involved him against his wishes, Albuquerque had calculated the cost of a conquest which would have exhausted the Portuguese forces and the futility of a war which had lasted more than ten years. For their part, the Calicut authorities hoped to put an end to the harassment by an enemy which they despaired of ever removing from the shores of India. After Goa had been taken, at the end of 1510, the Zamorin had made certain overtures which had been considered. Simão Rangel had been sent to Calicut in secret, but his mission had failed and he had been sold as a slave to Muhammad, ‘the Egyptian’. João de Avila had heard about these discussions and had informed D. Manuel of the possibility of a fortress being built. The conquest of Malacca had given new hope to these plans; in August 1512 Albuquerque made his intentions known to D. Manuel and tried to persuade him that the time was right to adopt a new policy.

For some time already he had been assessing the possibility of seizing the principal key positions in the Indian Ocean. He had advised D. Manuel to establish himself in Cambay, Ormuz and Malacca and only to keep the Cochin feitoria in Malabar. After the conquest of Goa and Malacca the plan was clear: the interests of Cochin were to take second place to the need for establishing a position in Calicut. Albuquerque discovered that it was more profitable to distribute the products from Malacca in the East than to ship them from India to Lisbon. All the Portuguese needed to do to secure the spice route for themselves was to block the entrance to the Red Sea. Furthermore, the alliance between Calicut and Portugal kept the threat of intervention by the Rumes and the ‘Turcos’ at a safe distance.

For some time now Afonso de Albuquerque had been aware of the subtle game of the Cochin and Cannanore kings who were both benefitting from the Calicut blockade. They were pleased that the Portuguese were paying for a war which was weakening the power of the Zamorin, while they were able to use their safe conducts to engage in profitable trade and revictual their enemy
city secretly. The first point principally concerned Cochin which was indebted to the Portuguese for its commercial wealth and the safety of its borders. The second referred more specifically to Cannanore which made up for the damage inflicted on it by the Portuguese ventures with a wealth of prohibited trade. The safe conducts issued in Cannanore to the ships from the coast between Putupatânam and Bhaṭkal were forged and resold to the Calicut captains; it was principally in Dhamapatham that these activities were taking place and the rice convoys destined for the Zamorin’s kingdom gathered up.

At the end of 1512 Afonso de Albuquerque informed D. Manuel of the decisions he intended to take. Since the Zamorin was willing to negotiate, why refuse to exploit the richest market in Malabar which offered pepper and ginger as well as jewels from Ceylon and Vijayanagar? Why persist in keeping the Calicut blockade when it was constantly being circumvented by the almadias from Cannanore and Dhamapatham? Why continue chasing the Red Sea ships in the waters off Malabar when they were slowly abandoning its shores and going directly to the Indonesian archipelago? It was no longer around Calicut that the Portuguese ships were suffering the heaviest losses, but ‘in the gulf of Ceylon’, along the sea route linking Sumatra to the Maldives. Did Albuquerque see a connection at this stage between this new danger and Mamale’s activities? For every one of his pleas in favour of Calicut there was nearly always a charge made against Cannanore. He condemned the duplicity of his Muslims who ‘call themselves your slaves... kiss the feet of your feitor, bow down before your captain with great gestures of humility and submission... and have twice besieged your fortress...’. Their courtesy was a poor disguise for their pride and the strength of their hold on the king: ‘Mylord, unless you make a decisive strike, these Cannanore Moors will soon perform some heinous deed against you... and Your Highness will be extremely displeased... they are always setting the king against us without (us having the opportunity of) seeing him or talking to him... they are openly helping Calicut with our own safe conducts...’. He observed that after so many years of peace and friendship it was still not possible to walk around Cannanore without one eye fixed permanently over one’s shoulder. And for what benefit? Albuquerque wrote that Cannanore was nothing more than a wheeler-dealer who produced
nothing and was only capable of selling other countries' goods at twice the price.\textsuperscript{183} It had no commercial worth, no port or river mouth deep enough to accommodate ships and galleys, no precious stones in its markets and no businessmen of any standing at the feitoria.\textsuperscript{184} What good was even the ginger when the best in the region could be bought in Calicut?

While the battles which were to wrest the last bastion of Banastarim from the Ādil Khān's forces were raging in Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque was preparing himself to reply to the Zamorin's offer of peace. At the beginning of December, by which time news of the secret discussions had reached the king of Cochin, who feigned disbelief,\textsuperscript{185} the Governor ordered D. Garcia to go to Cochin to supervise the allocation and loading of the ships which were to return to Portugal. He was also to establish contact with the Zamorin's representatives and in particular with those of his brother, Prince Nambiadari, who had always been in favour of the Portuguese alliance.\textsuperscript{186} Shortly afterwards the latter offered his services as mediator and had transmitted to D. Garcia a letter for the Governor.\textsuperscript{187} It is not known what the terms of Albuquerque's reply were, although he later revealed that he had suggested to Nambiadari that he get rid of the Zamorin and rule in his place. This advice was probably taken because in mid-February the Zamorin died from poisoning\textsuperscript{188} while Francisco Nogueira was sailing to Calicut to negotiate a peace.\textsuperscript{189}

He was accompanied by Gonçalo Mendes whom Albuquerque wished to keep away from Cannanore.\textsuperscript{190} The rumours from Cochin gave a special meaning to their departure and confirmed the misgivings Duarte Barbosa had confided to D. Manuel some weeks earlier. He had accused Albuquerque of once again allowing Calicut to attract vessels from the Red Sea which, because the Portuguese had relaxed their surveillance, were sailing with impunity along the Malabar coast. He deeply regretted that the old feitorias had been neglected in favour of Goa. Cannanore was so bereft of merchandise that it was impossible to purchase all the ginger offered by the country's merchants. The armadas never stayed more than three days at the citadel, saving for Cochin the goods they had brought from Lisbon. The downward slide in trade worried the Kōḻāthiri whose honour had been injured by the concessions imposed on him by Albuquerque and by the humiliation suffered by his Minister. He had confided in Duarte
Barbosa who had tried to ease his despair ‘with kind words’, and had managed to dissuade him for retreating inland to await the redress which D. Manuel would surely carry out.\textsuperscript{191}

The detrimental effect on Cannanore of Albuquerque’s policy became apparent during the first few weeks of 1513. The fall of Banastarim meant that Goa had completely surrendered to the Portuguese who now had control of the largest horse market on the Indian coast;\textsuperscript{192} the rival trade in Cannanore was consequently ruined. Once Banastarim had been taken, Albuquerque had ordered his captains to head north, intercept all the Ormuz vessels and divert them to Goa.\textsuperscript{193} The neighbouring Indian princes, who until that time had delayed responding to the approaches of the Portuguese, now sent ambassadors. The Bankapur representative was interested in trading saddlery and harnessing. The Vijayanagar merchants flocked to Goa. Lopo Chanoca was once more despatched beyond the Ghâts.\textsuperscript{194} Krişṇa Deva Râya, who at that time was building up strong cavalry forces, requested that the Governor reserve for him all horses brought to Goa.\textsuperscript{195} The Ādil Khân sent two ambassadors with the same petition.\textsuperscript{196} The expedition which Albuquerque was preparing to conduct to the Red Sea and his plans for Ormuz were expected shortly to assure the Portuguese of the horse traffic sea routes. By ordering that all horses be sent exclusively to Goa,\textsuperscript{197} Albuquerque was ‘taming the arrogance of Cannanore’,\textsuperscript{198} whose principal source of wealth was doomed to failure.

Another major source of revenue was in danger of eradication as the result of the treaty drawn up between Afonso de Albuquerque and the Zamorin. The agreement proposed would have the immediate effect of allowing the Portuguese to purchase the famous beledi ginger from Calicut and to abandon the mediocre ginger of Cannanore.

The urgency of the demands imposed upon him by the conquest of Goa and the Calicut negotiations had not allowed Afonso de Albuquerque to settle the affairs of the islands. Bābā Ābdullāh had followed him to Banastarim. The mandados provide a record of the gifts bestowed on him\textsuperscript{199} instead of the ships and troops which the Governor had promised.\textsuperscript{200} The Red Sea expedition mobilized all the Portuguese forces and did not even allow for one squadron to be sent to the Maldives. As he was short of time, Albuquerque asked Bābā Ābdullāh to await his return and sent him on an official
visit to the Ādil Khān. This delay in the Portuguese intervention left the way clear for Mamale of Cannanore who was well able to take full advantage of the situation.

As soon as the Governor had departed, the Cochin and Cannanore authorities set about ruining the negotiations which were being drawn up in Calicut. The complicity of certain Portuguese captains and agents embittered Albuquerque who accused them of being too Indianized—'cheos de betele e de negras'—and of wedding themselves to the interests of the Malabar sovereigns. In Cochin, Lourenço Moreno and António Real supported the indignant laments of the king. In Cannanore, Duarte Barbosa reiterated the anxieties of the Kōlaṅthiri; he stood firm on the interesting possibilities offered by the local ginger market and regretted that the Calicut blockade had been lifted. Jorge de Melo aligned his policy with that of his Cochin friends; he had adopted an approach which was opposed to that of his predecessor, Diogo Correia, and supported Mamale against Pocaracem. A pretext was soon found for removing the latter who had been given the right to purchase, horses in Goa and sell them in Vijayanagar. After the transaction he still owed 9,000 pardaos to the Goa feitoria, 2,500 cruzados to the Cannanore feitoria and 1,500 to its feitor. It was immediately called to mind that his brother had fled to Calicut shortly before this to avoid paying the money he owed to Rodrigo Rabelo. Did not Pocaracem have the same intentions? Having been warned by Mamale and the king's minister, Jorge de Melo decided to take preventive action. It is not known what the circumstances were which led to Pocaracem and his brothers being arrested and stripped of their possessions by their adversaries. Castanheda accuses Jorge de Melo of breaking the law and sending his men to attack Pocaracem in the Muslim quarter, thereby causing a four day riot. Jorge de Melo claimed that, on the contrary, he had asked the Kōlaṅthiri to act as a judge in this matter and the latter had summoned those guilty and had had them arrested. Whatever the situation, Mamale was triumphant: he had removed his rival, without danger to himself, by causing the captain of the Portuguese citadel to take action. Jorge de Melo, who was defended by a garrison of only eighty men, did everything in his power to cajole him and to entice him to the fortress where from time to time he condescended to go. In a letter written to D. Manuel the
following year, Jorge de Melo expressed satisfaction that he had restored calm to the town.  

Nothing stood in the way of the diplomatic tactics employed by the Kōlaṭhiri in the absence of the Governor. He despatched his emissaries to Calicut to warn the Zamorin of Albuquerque’s empty promises. He advised him against agreeing to the construction of a fortress and assured him of Cannanore’s support in case of war. Gonçalo Mendes was invited to delay the negotiations until a new Governor arrived. When Albuquerque returned on 20 September the Calicut discussions were at a standstill and D. Garcia was immediately ordered to resume the suspended talks. He arrived in Cannanore for the purpose of reinstating Pocaracem and taking him into his following. Disappointed by his own people, Albuquerque had ordered D. Garcia to set up an Indian delegation to continue the negotiations. The appointed representatives were: Pocaracem, two Nāyār interpreters and Nambiar—the ‘álguazil velho’. Nambiar, who had been minister in Calicut before taking up the same office in Cannanore, was soon to succeed in getting an audience with the new Zamorin and in persuading him of the sincerity of the Portuguese intentions. The mandados are evidence of the Brahmin messengers who came and went between Calicut and Goa. Thomas Fernandes, the Cannanore fortress architect, was soon being instructed to build the Calicut fortress. On 1 October the terms of the peace treaty were drawn up. It was then left to D. Garcia to overcome the reluctance of his other allies. He made frequent visits to Cannanore where he convened the Muslim merchants and, behind closed doors, tried to win their confidence, promising to reconcile them with his uncle. The Cochin and Cannanore kings found it hard to accept that they were once more being overshadowed by the Zamorin and once more becoming ‘very small kaimals’. The King of Cochin demonstrated an evident resignation, which the indignant letters he sent to D. Manuel belied; it was the Kōlaṭhiri, quick to yield in the face of the fait accompli, who persuaded him to recognize the wisdom of a peace.

This did not mean that the Cannanore situation was settled. Albuquerque visited the citadel at the end of November. He was outraged by the complacency of the Muslims at the fortress. Was it surprising that they had won back their lost positions? Far from renouncing his intentions to control the islands, Mamale was
taking ‘Candaluz’ by force. Two of his ships, which were carrying forged safe conducts, had been caught in a storm on the Aden route and had been thrown off course towards Diu and Chaul. Nambiodor had felt it was safe to return from exile. The king’s new Minister had wisely joined Mamalé’s party and backed the Governor’s enemies, banishing Nambiár and denouncing Pocaracem. Albuquerque summoned him and welcomed him by offering him the gold chain he wore around his neck to show his appreciation ‘for all the bad he had said of him’. The Minister tried in vain to clear himself and to blame the fortress agents for robbing Pocaracem, but could do nothing to prevent himself from being threatened with the punishment his offences warranted. Despite the high regard the Kôlathíri had for him, Jorge de Melo was treated with even less respect. He was made to stand, barret in hand, while, before witnesses and unable to speak in his own defence, his excessively conciliatory attitude was reproached in such biting terms that a year later he could not think about the incident without becoming angry. His right to issue safe conducts was taken from him and he was made to swear that he would have no further involvement with Içapocar and make no further contact with the Minister and certain Muslims. Notification of this was posted in the fortress lodge. Duarte Barbosa, whom Albuquerque considered to be a destructive element, was transferred and appointed secretary of the Calicut feitoria.

The chronicles make no mention of a certain interview which Albuquerque granted to the Kôlathíri and which the latter made sure to report to D. Manuel. It was the first time that an Eli sovereign had passed through the gates of the fortress, a development which had been brought about by the urgent need to re-establish his financial situation and by the hope that serious consideration might be given to his main request: to be granted safe conducts to go and purchase horses in Ormuz. It is probable that Albuquerque’s courteous behaviour pacified the king because the latter announced that he was satisfied with the results of the audience. But although he assured D. Manuel that the Governor had yielded and that his demands had been met, he still wanted an assurance in the form of an order, a copy of which was to be sent to Albuquerque, confirming the promises that he had received. Two emissaries were to be sent from the Kôlathíri to Lisbon ‘to silence the gossip’.
The final step taken by the Kōlaṭhiri could not delay Cannanore's downfall which from this time on was total. Ships carrying horses no longer came to the port.235 Albuquerque fiercely defended Goa's monopoly against all the coastal powers; he even refused to allow the Vijayanagar cavalry to disembark at Bhaṭkal,236 which sometimes caused the local pirates to carry out raids.237 In addition, one of the clauses of the Calicut treaty provided for the bulk purchase of beledi ginger,238 and instructions were shortly afterwards given to the Cannanore feitor to buy no more eli ginger and to dispose of all stocks in the Ormuz markets.239

Some thirty years later a Kōlaṭhiri wrote that the fortress of Goa and Calicut had ruined the Cannanore kings and merchants and had reduced them to making money from cardamom and coconuts.240 This had been Albuquerque's very intention when at the end of 1513 he had invited D. Manuel to leave the hostile city to its own demise. 'Do not concern yourself with Cannanore's trade; it is totally unprofitable...I have cut your links with Cannanore... which is of no use to you'—'alargay Cananor de vos...'.241

In the same correspondence the Governor regretted that he had not fulfilled his promise of aid to the Sultan of the islands.242 This was the flaw in the wide net Albuquerque had succeeded in casting over the western Indian Ocean—a minor flaw on the world scale, but one which in real terms left Mamale a vast area for reconversion. The latter had nothing more to reap from Cannanore, which was vegetating under the benevolent authority of Jorge de Melo; he had lost all hope of seeing the Rumes arrive—their departure was constantly being rescheduled as a result of Mameluke Egypt's internal problems.243 Albuquerque was preoccupied with the need to establish the Portuguese forces in Ormuz and Diu and the difficulty of maintaining their position in Malacca. During 1514 and 1515 Mamale gained a discreet foothold in the archipelago so that upon his return from Deccan Bābā Abdullah took to one of his ships to get back to the islands. The ambassador conveyed to the Sultan Albuquerque's instructions that the local income was to be handed over to the king of Portugal. But it was too late: when Mamale's tax collectors presented themselves to the Sultan, they replied to his refusal by saying that Albuquerque had died on his way back from Ormuz.244
Notes and References

2 The official objective of this expedition was the Red Sea (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, in sumário (1512), CA, I, p. 431) where a fortress was to be built (Barros II/4–5, p. 185). According to Castanheda this was merely an excuse for going to Ormuz (III/7, p. 17).
3 Barros, II/4–1, p. 154.
4 Brás, II/17, p. 321. A mandado (Cannanore, 7 Feb. 1510, CA II, p. 74) states that he was accompanied by the interpreter Lourenco Prego. Pero Fernandes Tinoco, who had been appointed ambassador to Vijayanagar, had been killed in Calicut on 2 Jan. 1510 (Castanheda, III/3, p.12).
5 Brás, II/17, p. 324.
6 Vide infra, n. 11
7 Timoji to D. Francisco de Almeida, s.l.n.d., TdT, CVR, n° 89, document 1 hereafter, f. 1 a.
8 Castanheda, III/7, p. 19.
9 Timoji to D. Francisco de Almeida, loc. cit., f. 1 a.
10 Barros, II/4–5, p. 186.
11 According to Barros (II/4–5, p. 186), Castanheda (III/7, pp. 19–20) and Góis (II/3, p. 11) Afonso de Albuquerque received Timoji’s warning in Honavar; but since the first council convened, to discuss the opportunity of taking Goa was, according to the record of proceedings, held ‘off Mount Eli’, it can be assumed that Timoji had made contact with Albuquerque before the latter arrived in Honāvar. (CA, II, p. 1). The anonymous author of the Crónica thought so (p. 203).
12 Barros, II/4–1, p. 187.
14 This incident, which was overlooked by the chroniclers, is revealed in Timoji’s letter to D. Francisco de Almeida, loc. cit., f. 1 a.
15 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 39; Castanheda, III/12, p. 28.
16 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, loc. cit., Brás, III/8, p. 33. According to these authors, Frei Luis was assassinated by a Rume.
17 Barros, II/5–3, p. 204; Castanheda, III/12, pp. 27–8, and p. 15, 53.
18 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, p. 420; the same to the same, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 39; Castanheda, III/15, p. 33.
19 Barros, II/5–3 to 7, pp. 200–2; Castanheda, III/10–34, pp. 23–84; Góis, III/5–7, pp. 18–33.
20 Castanheda, III/36, p. 86. The date of Afonso de Albuquerque’s return to Cannanore has been established by M. Jean Aubin in Albuquerque et les negociations de Cambaye, MLI, vol. 1 (1971), p. 19, n. 106.
21 In 1497, following D. Manuel’s marriage to D. Isabel de Castile, the Jewish refugees from the kingdom of Granada who were living in Portugal had been expelled and their children baptized and brought up in special institutions. This is


23 Castanheda, III/24, p. 83.


26 Ibid., pp. 308–11.

27 Mandados, Cannanore, 17 Aug. 1510, CA, VI, pp. 393–4 (sugar for the king, presented at the Onam festival, ‘esta sua Pascoa que ora tem’) and CA, II, p. 86 (gift to the king of two cups and a silver bowl, and to his minister of a cup).

28 Bras, II/44, p. 432.

29 Correia, II/1, p. 129.

30 Ibid., p. 130.

31 Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, pp. 419–20. In another letter he added: ‘o credito que os mouros diz que tem narmada do soldam que esperam que faz mais dano do que a vinda da propria armada...’ (s.l.n.d., sumário das cartas... que trouxe Gonçalo de Sequeira, CA, I, p. 439).

32 João de Avila to D. Manuel, Cannanore, s.d., sumário 1510–12, CA, III, p. 322.

33 He had been the Samorin of Calicut’s Minister and had taken refuge in Cannanore after the attack on the Portuguese feitoria in 1500, probably because he disapproved of the king’s policy (Barros, II/8–6, p. 383). He appears for the first time in a mandado from Cannanore dated 27 Jan. 1509, which reveals that he was subsequently Minister to the late Kolaathiri, ‘Nabia, alguazil que fora de el-Rey de Cananor’; the same document refers to him as ‘algazell velho’ and states that he received a gift of fifty gold ashrafis (TdT, CC II-16–67). The king of Cannanore’s ministers seem to have received regular incomes: Simão Botelho has kept on record the 1,000 fanams (18,000 reis) yearly income paid to the ‘algazil de Cananor’ (*Tombo do Estado da India*, p. 30).

34 Castanheda estimated these troops at one hundred Malabars (III/41, p. 98) among them at least twenty-three Náyars (mandado, Goa, 14 May 1511, CA, VI, p. 431; it should be noted that this document only mentions the survivors.


38 Castanheda, III/45, p. 111.

39 This sumário was written by António Carheiro, D. Manuel’s secretary of State, and is a resumé of part of the correspondence brought back by Gonçalo de Sequeira who left India at the beginning of January 1511 (Castanheda, III/46, p. 113)—the rest of the correspondence being recorded in CA, I, pp. 430–47. António Carheiro’s sumário contains an analysis of the letters written by Gonçalo Mendes, the feitor of Cannanore (CA, III, p. 319), Rodrigo Rabelo, the captain (CA, III, p. 320), João de Avila, the secretary (CA, III, p. 334), the Kolaathiri (CA, III, pp. 334–6), the ‘Regedor’ (CA, III, p. 336).
This expression—if it has been correctly translated by the interpreter—suggests that this 'Régedor' was Muslim. As this title was used indiscriminately by the Portuguese, it would be imprudent to identify this person as the leader of the Islamic community (The regedor of Cannanore to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 336).

41 The Nāṭevārī to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 334.
42 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 322.
43 The same to the same, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 321; the Kōlāṭhirī to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 334.
44 João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322.
45 Rodrigo Rabelo to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 320 mentioned this agreement the terms of which are specified by Gonçalo Mendes: 1,000 quintais of ginger at 112 fanam per bahar, paid for entirely in kind (Gonçalo Mendes to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 319), that is in coral, copper, tin, lead, vermilion, mercury, alum, fabric, ivory (The Kōlāṭhirī to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TDT, São Lourenço, III-130, f. 1 b).
48 Ibid., the Kōlāṭhirī to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 334.
50 João de Avila to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 322. The laconicism of the sumário overshadows the circumstances surrounding this request for 5,000 cruzados. This is probably one of the clauses of the agreement on ginger referred to in a letter from Albuquerque, taken from another more explicit sumário. Henceforth all Portuguese goods were to be paid for in cash, at least to the value of 5,000 cruzados. The payment was to be completed, as necessary by 5,000 quintais of pepper and 1,000 quintais of ginger or more. (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, I, p. 436). This requirement was a way for Albuquerque to obtain locally the currency needed by the Estado da Índia and so avoid having to bring any in from Europe. He had in fact expressed concern on this point to D. Manuel at the end of 1510 when he had proposed that the spices be distributed in the East by the Portuguese (Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, p. 425); cf. on this subject Godinho, Economie, p. 630.
51 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.
52 Ibid., CA, III, pp. 322–3.
53 The Kōlāṭhirī to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 335. The list of seizures made off Honāvār in February 1510 shows that several ships from Ormuz carrying goods from Malabar and the Maldives (rice, ginger, pepper, cowries) were taken, CA, III, pp. 13, 16, 17.
54 The Kōlāṭhirī to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 335.
55 Ibid.; Rodrigo Rabelo to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 319; João de Avila to the same, sumário, CA, III, p. 322; Gonçalo Mendes to the same, sumário, CA, III, p. 319.
56 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.
Mamale and Albuquerque


60 The Kolaṭhiri to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 335.

61 Rodrigo Rabelo was held in esteem by Albuquerque who called him ‘homem de bem’ in a letter to D. Manuel (sumário, CA, I, p. 445) and who entrusted him with the command of Goa. The last mandate he signed in Cannanore is dated 10 Dec. 1510 (CA, VI, p. 405) and the first one commissioned by Manuel da Cunha 12 Dec. (CA, VI, pp. 405–6). Both these men were to be killed in 1511 defending Goa (Barros, II/6–8, p. 299). For information on the dates of succession of the Cannanore captains, cf. J. Aubin, Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye, in M.L., vol. 1 (1971), p. 28, n. 52.

62 Castanheda, III/42, p. 106.

63 Castanheda, III/45, p. 113. Manuel da Cunha had unsealed and redirected the letters of Nuno Vaz de Castelo Branco, the feitor and the alcaide of Cochin which exposed the actions of Duarte de Lemos.

64 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 175.

65 Castanheda, III/46, p. 114.


68 Bell, op. cit., pp. 24–5.

69 Ibid., p. 24.


71 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.

72 Mandado, Cannanore, 31 Oct. 1511, CA, VII, p. 25; mandado, Goa, 4 Nov. 1511, CA, VI, 474, among others.

73 João de Avila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 323.

74 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, pp. 88–9. In this letter the Governor refers to an incident which set the Muslim merchants of Cannanore against the Portugese. The latter had entered into the horse trade with the raja of Comorin. In order to remove these rivals, the Cannanore merchants had bribed the raja with the result that the Portuguese lost the business, their horses and their profits. Albuquerque’s text indicates that Mamale was involved in this operation but gives no detail of the actual role he played.

75 Several recibos (Goa, 7 Feb., 16 March, 31 March and 5 Oct. 1511, CA, VI, pp. 417, 420, 421, 462–3) disclose the names of the rice suppliers, Mamale and Içapocar, both of them from Cannanore. This rice was delivered as the result of a contract between the feitor of Cannanore and Içapocar who can be identified here as Mamale’s brother (vide infra, p. 123). The Kolaṭhiri’s minister played a part in this trade and instructed his agent to deliver rice to Goa (recibo, Goa, 4 Nov. 1511, CA, VI, p. 474).

76 D. Francisco de Almeda to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 5 Dec. 1508, quoted by Correia, I/2, p. 907.

77 Castanheda, II/20, p. 256.

78 This hypothesis is suggested by Barbosa who writes: ‘The king of these islands is chosen by certain Muslims, Cannanore merchants, who replace him when it suits them’ (Barbosa/Dames, vol. 2, p. 104).

79 He was the son of Yūsuf III, who had overthrown Kalu Muḥammad in
1492, according to the Ta’rih (Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, Colombo, 1940, p. 24).

80 Bell, op. cit., p. 25.
82 Alvaro Fernandes, ibid.
83 Correia, II/1, p. 129.

84 It should be noted here that in the fourteenth century Bengal was the principal supplier of rice to the archipelago, since it is only referred to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 122) and Wang Ta-Yuan (in Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, *T’oung Pao*, vol. 16 (1915), p. 388). At the very beginning of the sixteenth century five or six large ships were bringing it in every year from Bengal (Valentim Fernandes, in M.A.H. Fitzler, ‘Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 10 (1935/36), p. 254). It is likely that Bengal carried on supplying the islands in part, in spite of the increasing presence of Malabar rice on the markets.
85 Barbosa/Dames, vol. 1, p. 197.
86 Barros, II/6–8, p. 294, and 6–10, p. 312; Castanheda, III/64–70, pp. 161–77; Góis, III/20–1, pp. 88–95.
87 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 41; Brás, III/44, p. 64.
89 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.
90 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48. According to Castanheda (III/80, p. 198) it was to Mamale that the Kōḻaṭhirї gave the title of king.
92 Afonso de Albuquerque wrote: ‘At the beginning of August, after my arrival in Cochin and having come from Malacca’. This can only be August 1512, Albuquerque having returned to Cochin in February. The date of his letter should not be taken too seriously (Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48) as he must have started writing it in April and added to it over several months as he had already done with another ‘via’ (Ibid., CA, I, p. 64). In fact Albuquerque’s reference to some correspondence given to him by Pero Mascarenhas (Ibid., CA, I, p. 64) and to the arrival of D. García and Jorge de Melo. Pero Mascarenhas landed at Cochin at the end of May 1512 (Castanheda, III/80, p. 198) D. García and Jorge de Melo arrived in India on 15 August according to Barros (II/7–3, p. 321), on 20 August according to Brás (III/45, p. 166) and Góis (III/29, p. 124) and in September according to Castanheda (III/88, p. 213).
95 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48.
96 Castanheda, III/80, p. 198.
97 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512; CA, I, p. 87.
98 Ibid., CA, I, p. 88.
These vessels were manned by Gujaratis according to Giovanni da Empoli (Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli, introduzione e note a cura di A. Bausani, Roma, 1970, p. 64). Giovanni da Empoli was the agent in Lisbon of the Gualterrotti and the Frescobaldi of Bruges. He accompanied Albuquerque to India in 1503 and again in 1510. He took part in the Malacca expedition, was feitor in Sumatra in 1515 and died in China in 1517.

Empoli, loc. cit., pp. 64–6; Barros, II/71, pp. 315–16; Brás, III/43, pp. 161–2; Castanheda, III/78, p. 194.

Empoli, loc. cit., p. 65.

Brás, III/43, pp. 161–2. Albuquerque refers to Muhammad Mesri’s visit to the Maldives in a letter to D. Manuel (Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 130) and in another, states that he had made his landing at ‘Candaluz’ and Male (Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 179). Muhammad Mesri (Arabic مسري > pg. macary) means Muhammad the Egyptian.

Empoli, loc. cit., p. 66. Gaspar Correia gives quite a different version of the same incident: according to him Simão de Andrade lost his way among the islands and was found and repatriated along with all his possessions by Mamale of Cannanore’s agents. Correia states quite firmly here that the islands had been given to Mamale by the Governor himself in exchange for the coiri tribute negotiated in September 1510 (vide supra, p. 112).

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, pp. 48–9.


Babâ Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1a–1b.

A mandado dated 30 Nov. 1512 mentions the preparations for the departure from Cochin of the Sant’António on which Albuquerque was to sail; another mandado was signed by him in Cannanore, on 6 Oct. 1512 (CA, V, p. 214).

The Kōlathiri had written to the Governor while the latter was still in Cochin as evidenced by a mandado requesting that his messenger be rewarded (Cochin, 11 Aug. 1512, CA, V, p. 498). The text of this letter has not been traced—it could possibly reveal the reasons for its author’s dissatisfaction.


Ibid., The name of the minister is revealed in a mandado dated 16 July 1510, recording a gift of sugar to ‘Nambiador algózill moor del rey de Cannanor’ (CA, VI, p. 389).


Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 49; Castanheda, III/79, p. 195.


Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 85. The person in question is probably the one the Cannanore Muslims eliminated while he was journeying to Calicut to bear testimony to the power and generosity of the king of Portugal (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 20 Aug. 1512, CA, I, p. 73).


Ibid., p. 85.
Koya Pakki, his wife and his sons took refuge in Cannanore shortly after the attack on the Calicut feitoria in 1500. Their presence in Cannanore is affirmed by the same letter of 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 86.

Bábá Abdullah, who has provided the names of these witnesses, gives here the Arabic form of the name of the one the Portuguese called ‘Pocaracem’ and who will be dealt with later.

Bábá Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. la.


‘Quymiqiel’ or ‘Candical’, the fourth atoll south of Minicoy (Maliku) according to one of the anonymous maps compiled by Bartolomeu Velho and reproduced in A. Cortesão, Portugaliae monumenta cartographica, Lisbon, 1960, vol. 2, p. 234.


Ibid., p. 85.

Ibid., p. 86, ‘he homem mole’.

The beledi ginger of Calicut is superior in quality to the eli ginger of Cannanore, Godinho, Economie, p. 583.


Ibid., p. 89, ‘boom homem e de boom saber’.

Ibid., p. 90.

Bábá Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1b. This document was countersigned by the witnesses referred to above, vide supra, p. 128.

Castanheda, III/89, p. 214, adds that these jewels were sent by Albuquerque to D. Manuel.

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, p. 90. Two Cannanore mandados, dated 11 and 13 October 1512 give reports in the one case on a ‘galiotte’ and in the other on a galley ‘que foý de Mamale’, CA, V, pp. 222 and 228. They are probably one and the same boat.

We quote here for information H. Fitzler’s study entitled ‘Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, vol. 10 (1935–6) which recounts the same events (pp. 224–6), but interprets the Portuguese texts in such a way that serious doubts are raised: for example, Mrs Fitzler presents Icapocar as the brother of the Sultan Hasan and not of Mamale (ibid., p. 225).

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 30.


Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, pp. 48, 50, 51. He took up the post of secretary left open by the death of João de Avila.

Albuquerque accused Barbosa of being a trouble maker ‘porque ele he lymguoa e causa de todas estas revoltas…’. (Cannanore. 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 134).

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 33; the same to the same, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 89).

Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, p. 48.

Jorge de M elo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 22.
142 Duarte Barbosa, ibid. I am inclined to recognize this Pocaracem as the Fukan Husayn of Malabar referred to by Bābā Abdullāh (loc. cit., f. 1 b).
144 Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, III, p. 48.
146 António Real to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 347. Real's comments include a good many false accusations which were later to be embellished and used in the charge made against Albuquerque at the end of 1513, instigated among others by António Real (cf. Castanheda, III/123–5, pp. 300–7).
Albuquerque, on the other hand, was careful not to judge his men in an arbitrary manner; he only considered Diogo Correia's defence after he had ordered an investigation into his behaviour (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, pp. 176–8).
148 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 36. That particular year the ships loaded with cargo had not awaited the return of Albuquerque before returning to Portugal: the Governor was presented with the fait accompli.
150 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 177.
151 Castanheda, III/89, p. 215. In a letter to D. Manuel, written from Cannanore on 28 November 1514, Albuquerque accuses Gaspar Pereira of having spoiled everybody: 'danou Antonio Reall,...Jorge de Melo e el-Rey de Cannanore que aimda agora diziam que quertiam esperar se vinha outro governador' (CA, I, p. 351).
152 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 89; Castanheda, III/89, pp. 214–15. One year later the Kōļaṭhiri was complaining of the trouble caused by the Portuguese expropriating goods from their debtors (the Kōļaṭhiri to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, Cartas orientais).
154 António Real to Albuquerque, s.l.n.d., CA, II, p. 39.
155 The same to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, pp. 340–1. The Cochin and Cannanore garrisons were made up of only eighty men each (Albuquerque to D. Martinho, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 410). Albuquerque himself demanded that the king provide him with equipment, Bhaṭkal 18 Oct. 1512, CA, I, p. 91). Some of the mandados bear testimony to this deprivation: distribution of old breast plates being given away, in order to make new ones, Cannanore mandados, 6 and 7 Nov. 1510, CA, IV, 287–9).
156 The Rey Grande and the Cirne (António Real to D. Manuel, Cochin, 15 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 348).
157 The same to the same, loc. cit., p. 353.
158 Ibid., pp. 338, 350, 351.
159 Ibid., 349.
161 The purchase of horses from Pocaracem is recorded in a mandado (Cannanore, 11 Oct. 1512, CA, V, p. 221). Pocaracem made a 'nao malabar' available to the Portuguese forces who were leaving for Goa (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 23 Nov. 1512, CA, I, p. 101); this was possibly the sambuco of horses transported to Goa and mentioned in the Cannanore mandado dated 14 Oct. 1512 (CA, VII, p. 52).
The last mandado he signed in Cannanore is dated 15 October 1512 (CA, V, p. 230).
Diogo Correia was to be killed in Goa some weeks later (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 2 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p 178; Barros, II/7–4, p. 328; Castanheda, III/91, p. 221). Bābā Ţādūllah was not then sent back as claimed by Castanheda (III/89, p. 214), but accompanied Albuquerque to Goa (Bābā Ţādūllah to D. Manuel, loc.cit., f. l b).
The same to the same, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122.
Ibid., p. 124.
João de Ávila to D. Manuel, sumário, CA, III, p. 325.
Albuquerque to D. Manuel, s.l., 4 Nov. 1510, sumário, CA, I, p. 419.
Albuquerque to Duarte Galvão, s.l.n.d., CA, I, p. 407.
Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152.
Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 122.
The Kōlaširī to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III/130 f. 2 a.
The same to the same, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152.
The same to the same, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, pp. 183–5.
The same to the same, Goa, 8 Nov. 1512, CA, I, pp. 99–100.
The same to the same, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 38.
The same to the same, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 48.
'com a barba sobelo ombro', literally 'with the beard over the shoulder', the same to the same, Cochin, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, IV, p. 186.
Ibid.
Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 131.
The king of Cochin to D. Manuel, Cochin, 1 Dec. 1512, CA, III, p. 39.
Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 131.
Castanheda, III/103, p. 251. According to Damião de Gós, the Portuguese negotiators set off sometime after 10 Feb. 1513 (III/30, p. 131) but before 18, the date on which Albuquerque left for Aţān (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, p. 68); 'neste meyo tempo morreu ho camorym' ('the Zamorin had died in the meantime') (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 13 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 152).
Albuquerque set forth the reasons for the importance of the Goa market on

\(^{195}\) Castanheda, III/95, p. 229.

\(^{194}\) Ibid., pp. 229–30.

\(^{195}\) Góis, III/44, p. 174. The local chronicles (Rāyavāchakamu and Krīṣṇarāja-vijayam) estimate at 24,000 horses the strength of Krīṣṇa Deva Rāya’s cavalry at the beginning of his reign (K. Aiyangar, Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture, Poona, 1941, pp. 124–5).

\(^{196}\) Castanheda, III/95, pp. 230–1.

\(^{197}\) ‘Nam entrarem cavalos d’Arabia e de Persia em outro nenhum porto senem em Goa’ (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 241).

\(^{198}\) ‘a soberba de Cananor enfreada’ (Albuquerque to D. ‘Manuel, Cochin, 1 April 1512, CA, I, p. 56.

\(^{199}\) Mandado, Goa, 30 Dec. 1512, two lengths of fabric for the ambassador to the king of the islands, CA, V, pp. 336–7; mandado, Goa, 5 Jan. 1513, a ‘mourisco’ shield for the same, CA, V, p. 345. It seems that Bābā Ābdullah was not ‘Bacalos’, the king of the islands’ messenger, who fought in Banastarim and, by way of payment for his services, received one cruzado in wages and the equivalent of one cruzado in provisions each month (mandado, Goa, 4 Oct. 1513, CA, II, p. 116); this was probably someone in his retinue.

\(^{200}\) Bābā Ābdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 b.

\(^{201}\) Ibid., f. 2 a.


\(^{203}\) Albuquerque, without wishing to expose anybody, suspected certain people of giving in to corruption (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 153).

\(^{204}\) Lourenço Moreno to D. Manuel, Cochin, 22 Nov. 1513, CA, III, p. 38; António Real to Afonso de Albuquerque, s.l.n.d., CA, II, p. 42.

\(^{205}\) Duarte Barbosa to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 12 Jan. 1513, CA, III, pp. 49–50.

\(^{206}\) Castanheda, III/110, p. 271.

\(^{207}\) These figures are given by Jorge de Melo (to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 18). According to Castanheda, the feitor had lent the money with interest (III/110, p. 271).

\(^{208}\) Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc. cit., CA, IV, p. 16.

\(^{209}\) Castanheda, III/110, pp. 271–2.

\(^{210}\) Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc.cit., CA, IV, p. 19.

\(^{211}\) Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 4 Dec. 1513, CA, I, p. 181.

\(^{212}\) Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, loc.cit., CA, IV, pp. 20–1.


\(^{214}\) Castanheda, III/119, p. 291; Barros, II/8–6, pp. 382–3.

\(^{215}\) Castanheda, III/110, p. 272.

\(^{216}\) The Governor returned to Goa on 20 September (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, p. 68). D. Garcia must have returned some days earlier as evidenced by the mandado dated 12 Sept. 1513 in Goa, which recorded that a gift of four para dos and one tafsir had been given to the person who had taken D. Garcia’s reply to the king of Calicut, CA, VII, p. 92.

\(^{217}\) Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 19;


Vide supra, note 33.


Capitulos de concerto de paz que fez D. Garcia de Noronha, sobrinho de Afonso de Albuquerque e per sua ordem com o Çamorim, 1 Oct. 1513, CA, II, pp. 111-125.

Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 22.


The king of Cochin to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Dec. 1513, CA, III, p. 81 sqq: the same to the same, Cochin, 20 Nov. 1513, CA, III, p. 73 sqq.

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 133; Castanheda, III/122, p. 299.

Castanheda, III/120, p. 292.

These safe conducts had originally been issued for Ormuz by the captain of the fortress, in spite of the Governor’s prohibition. (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 125; Barros, II/8-6, p. 381).

Castanheda, II/120, p. 292.

Brás, IV/17, pp. 278-9.

The Kölaštirī to D. Manuel, s.l.n.d., TdT, Cartas orientais.

Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, pp. 21-2.

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, p. 134; TdT, Chancelaria of D. Manuel, X, f. 3 b, Gonçalo Mendes was appointed feitor of Calicut (mandados, Calicut, 18 Dec 1513, CA, VII, pp. 104-5).

The Kölaštirī to D. Manuel, s.l., H. 920/1514, TdT, Cartas orientais, n° 53.

Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 21. The Cannanore shipbuilders had been authorized to send three vessels to Ormuz provided that the horses were directed to Goa (Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, Cannanore, 27 Nov. 1514, CA, I, p. 345).


Capitulos de concerto de paz, loc. cit., CA, II, p. 114.

Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Goa, 20 Oct. 1514, CA, I, p. 268. The supplies of ginger received by Gonçalo Mendes, which amounted to 11,065 quintais over a period of four years (6 Sept. 1508 to December 1512) fell back to 4,648 quintais.
under his successor Pero Homem over a period of three years (1514–17). The fall in pepper supplies was even more acute (8,971 quintais to 388) according to the chart drawn up by Nunes Dias, *O capitalismo monárquico português*. Coimbra, 1964, vol. 2, p. 126. Moreover, the Goa feitor had recently started to grow ginger on the land around the town (Francesco Corbinelli to D. Manuel, Goa, 22 Oct. 1513, CA, III, pp. 69–70).

240 The Kōlaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenço, III-30, f. 1 b, 2 a–b.

241 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, CA, I, pp. 130–52. M. Nunes Dias has drawn up some comparative charts showing the movements of the Indian feitorias and giving an indication as to the role played by Cannanore. (*O capitalismo monárquico português* (1415–1549), vol. 2, pp. 127, 132, 341).

242 Albuquerque to D. Manuel, ibid., p. 138.


244 Bābā Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 1 b.
VI. ‘Regent of the Sea’

The events following Afonso de Albuquerque’s death gave Mamale of Cannanore the opportunity he needed to fulfil his plans. Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the newly appointed Governor of India, was instructed not to carry on the policies of his predecessor. Albuquerque’s disgrace, fuelled by the incessant accusations of his adversaries, had culminated in 1514 in the news of his defeat off Aden. Lopo Soares was in a particularly strong position to undo Albuquerque’s work since he was attended by his most virulent enemies.¹

The Governor’s priority was the conquest of the Red Sea. The preparations, then the expedition itself, gave him neither the time nor the inclination to stay and sort out the problems of Malabar. His surprising nonchalance, which was to be the hallmark of his character for the duration of his appointment, resulted in the local factions becoming complacent. It was his ill will towards the Zamorin which, although not enough to renew the war, paved the way for future conflicts.²

A few days after his arrival in Goa, in September 1515,³ Lopo Soares had visited Cannanore. Here he had received an audience with the Kolaṭhiri to whom he had offered a precious necklace⁴ and presented Simão da Silveira, Jorge de Melo’s successor at the fortress,⁵ who had immediately set about preparing the Red Sea fleet.⁶ The only reference to this visit is contained in various records relating to the administration of the small Indo-Portuguese community living at the citadel. The number of people employed at the garrison and the composition of the Christian parish can be pieced together from archive documents. The first consisted of seventy soldiers, six bombardiers, a sentry, a gaoler and a caretaker; in addition the feitor and the alcaide-mor had staffs of five and six respectively.⁷ The second comprised several social groupings which are more difficult to identify. The advantages enjoyed by the converted had resulted in an increase in the number of proselytes from among the low castes and the poorest classes of the Muslim population and the Portuguese chaplains had quickly become overwhelmed by the problems associated with receiving, helping and accommodating these newly baptized Christians, particularly since the conversions were seen by the local people
as a way of freeing themselves from the bondage which tied them to the Hindu castes. The higher castes protested at these desertions, which had worried Albuquerque and prompted him to order that no one was to be baptized without first making sure that he was free of obligations; he had no wish to offend the Nāyars and Brahmins whose co-operation he sought. The effect of this was to reduce the number of conversions which, according to Tomé Pires, were 'less frequent than they used to be'.

In spite of this, the Christian population was still growing and creating increasing responsibilities within the community. Each Sunday alms were distributed—probably in the form of food—to prevent the women from killing at birth the children they were afraid they would be unable to provide for. Upon his arrival, Simão da Silveira found a community of some three hundred and fifty native Christians, half of whom were from the Tiyan or Mukkuvan castes, and a quarter of Muslim extraction. About twenty casados families were employed at the fortress. A document dated 1518 specifies that the religious services were conducted by a priest and two chaplains and that all doctrinal teaching was undertaken by two clerks. The administration of the hospital, reputed to be the best in Malabar, was another area of responsibility. A provedor, a secretary and a surgeon—who was also an apothecary—treated and fed not only the sick and wounded from the fortress but also those sent from Cochin and Goa. So many invalids, an ever mounting drain on the citadel’s economy, had a paralysing effect on the military system. The latter was now defended by nothing more than the weakest elements of the army, in other words by recruits who, little more than children, were joining the Portuguese armadas in increasing numbers and were called ratinhos by D. João de Lima. Since the older combatants were deployed on overseas campaigns, the Cannanore fortress could no longer offer a resistance to the Muslims.

Mamale did not need to resort to force to become increasingly involved in the activities of the town. The Portuguese authorities were no longer concerned about his movements, and the Kōḷaṭhiri was preoccupied with his war against the rāja of Kōṭṭa who had granted himself the right to mint money. It would seem that the Nātvārī had not been replaced, and it is possible that Mamale was responsible for bringing discredit on the last of the line in order to persuade the Kōḷaṭhiri of the insignificance of this office which
would henceforth be assumed by the \textit{regedor} of the Muslims. All
the documents dated after 1512 (the year which marked the death
of the Nātvvāri) refer only to this latter and exclusive authority. It
is certain that Mamale bore the title of ‘Regedor de Cananor’,\textsuperscript{18} but
it is not known when exactly it became an official duty.

Not only was it important for Mamale to assert his authority in
the town, he also had to combat the decline for which Albuquerque
had been responsible. He had to gain a hold in those territories not
yet exploited by the Portuguese, who controlled Ormuz, Goa and
Malacca, but whose defeat off Aden made their position every-
where else precarious. Most of the Malabar merchants, rather than
involve themselves in Portuguese trade, preferred to go to PuliCat
from where they could travel to Malacca on board the Gujarati
ships.\textsuperscript{19} Mamale thus decided to reconquer the Maldive atolls
which were frequented by all who sailed the Indian Ocean.\textsuperscript{20} The
presence of the Portuguese in Calicut had had the effect of turning
away from Kerala the Arab and Gujarati ships which had to carry
back to their home ports products from the Gulf of Bengal, pepper
from Sumatra and spices from the Malay archipelago.\textsuperscript{21} Such a
long journey, which they could not complete during one monsoon,
forced them to rest each year on the islands.\textsuperscript{22} By making sure he
was there on their arrival, Mamale’s intention was to take over
the role previously held by the Malabar ports. By reintroducing
the coir tribute he made sure of being able to provide rigging for
the Cambay and Red Sea fleets; he also supplied them with locally
produced food and imported goods from Malabar. In addition,
the disturbances which had broken out in Ceylon in 1513\textsuperscript{23} had
enabled him to gain favour with the king of Kōttē and to secure for
himself the best cinnamon. After Albuquerque’s death and as has
been seen, he once more demanded that Kalu Muḥammad pay a
tribute equal to half the archipelago’s income, including two
years’ arrears.\textsuperscript{24} He was quick to re-establish the influence he had
once had over the weak Sultan, and continued to support him
against Ali’s brother and partisans.\textsuperscript{25} If Castanheda is to be
believed—and his delayed testimony certainly raises doubts—a
rival power had seized ‘Candaluz’ and the southern atolls;\textsuperscript{26} it was
probably quickly removed, because the report on the Maldives
situation, written in 1520 by Alvaro Fernandes, does not refer to
it.\textsuperscript{27}

Having been a victim of Albuquerque’s policy, Mamale was
attempting to benefit from the new conditions arising out of it. The relaxing of the Portuguese authority, the weak state of the Cannanore fortress and the decline of the Kōḻathiri favoured his increasing influence in the city. The economic situation, marked by the Portuguese seizure of Malacca and Calicut, gave them the eastern spice route, but the Cambay customers from the Arab world remained out of their reach. While maintaining still courteous relations with the Goa government, the Gujarati, far from fulfilling Albuquerque’s dreams, took no part in the Portuguese trade but instead collected their own spices in Indonesia and sold them to the Red Sea merchants who came to their ports. Because the islands were a staging post, Mamale was to participate in this new stream of trading and contribute with products from Malabar and Ceylon.

Ever since D. Francisco de Almeida’s warning at the end of 1508, the routes used by the spice convoys had been a constant source of worry to the Portuguese. The urgency of the Red Sea blockade, and the incessant outbreaks of war around Goa had meant that reconnaissance missions had only been possible as far as the Cape of Camorin. Although some captains, attracted by the wealth of takings available, had sometimes taken up position off the Maldives, none had been willing to take the risk of becoming trapped in the maze of the atolls and sea channels which were ideal for ambushes. The disappointing contacts D. Lourenço had made in Ceylon with the king of Kōḻē had not been followed up and the agreements which Albuquerque had concluded with the princes of Kollam had been tragically interrupted. But D. Manuel, who would let no obstacles stand in the way of the expansion of his empire, had decided in 1515 to build a fortress on these hostile lands and to check the power of the Muslim traders who had established ports of call there for their foreign trade.

Mamale’s position was soon threatened. At the beginning of 1517 D. Guterre de Monroy sent his brother D. Fernando after Jerónimo de Sousa who had fled to the islands with his caravel. D. Fernando took with him João Gonçalves de Castelo Branco whose galley was able to negotiate the narrow channels around the atolls. Unable to catch up with the rebel captain, they seized two Cambay vessels which were returning from Sumatra and had
been sailing far from their home ports for several years.  

Such acts of piracy bought protests from the Sultan of Male as well as the merchants of Bengal who had seen several of their ships pillaged. Upon his return from the Red Sea, where he had suffered a defeat, Lopo Soares had to quell these feelings of resentment, a task made all the more difficult by the fact that he was under obligation to fulfil D. Manuel’s instructions; the Portuguese had just established themselves in Kollam and Pasai, but they still had to build the Ceylon and Maldives fortresses.

This meant attacking the positions of advantage from which Mamale was reaping all the profits. As the Portuguese campaigns in the southern Indian Ocean unfolded they began to reveal the full extent of the area in which the ‘Regedor do mar’ had succeeded, in less than three years, in exerting his influence. The first of these campaigns was under the command of D. João da Silveira who was sent to the Maldives at the beginning of 1518.  

Even before he reached Male, the Portuguese squadron of four ships had seized two merchant vessels which were passing fabric between Bengal and Cambay.  

This act, a repeat of the one committed by D. Fernando, is evidence of the casual attitude towards the interests of Gujarat which Albuquerque had always handled with tact. The merchant circles, however, were beginning to react: a certain Áli Khān had taken command of a squadron of seven oared boats for the purpose of escorting the Cambay vessels. It was his practice to stop in the Maldives and he had used all his influence to prevent any coir from being sold to the Portuguese fortresses. D. João had failed to track him down in the labyrinth of the islands, but he was now on his guard. When he dropped anchor in the port of Male he sent word to the Sultan that hostages must be handed over prior to his visit to the royal palace.  

Kalu Muḥammad received him with complacency but was reluctant to grant him permission to build a fortress and agreed only to the construction of a feitoria, for which he proposed a site and men.  

Kalu Muḥammad, who was always looking for ways to improve his relations with Portugal, had taken these steps without consulting Mamale, whose yoke he still hoped to shake off. While D. João was returning to Cochin with his takings before setting off for Bengal, Kalu Muḥammad asked Bābā Ābdullah to accompany his vizier to the Governor in order to ratify the clauses of the treaty. It was agreed that one thousand five hundred bahars of coir would
be supplied to the Portuguese feitor each year and that the ambergris harvest would be divided between the Sultan of the Maldives and the king of Portugal. Lopo Soares personally signed the agreement which was immediately challenged by Mamale who, with one letter, made the Governor go back on his word. The original of this missive has not been found, but through Bābā Ābdullah it is known that Mamale himself offered the coir and ambergris referred to in the agreement from his own share. He used his experience of the islands to persuade Lopo Soares to hand over their management to him.37 In fact he proposed that he renew the contract previously agreed with Albuquerque and the execution of which had probably been disturbed by the 1512 crisis. He undertook to give to the Governor all he required provided he did not interfere in the affairs of the islands.

It was more important for Lopo Soares to reach an agreement with the Regent of the Sea than to act against him by allying with a faint-hearted Sultan whom he could not afford to support. He was aware of the influence Mamale had over the king of Kōṭṭē from whom he hoped to obtain permission to construct a fortress. For his part Mamale was anxious not to break openly with the Portuguese and found it profitable to supply them with the coir essential to their fleet.

Consequently Lopo Soares tore up the treaty previously agreed to and drew up a text to suit Mamale which he conveyed to the vizir before he left Cochin. This document gave Mamale the continuing role of ‘tax-collector’ for half the archipelago.38 A recibo kept at the Torre do Tombo is evidence that he fulfilled his obligations to the Portuguese and began to deliver coir to Goa—and no longer to Cannanore—at the beginning of 1519.39 But at the same time he was using his influence to oppose their action everywhere. In Cannanore a revolt was brewing.40 D. Aires da Gama, who had been in command of the fortress since the end of 1518, was in no doubt when he wrote: ‘in India people are harmful in a more acute and subtle way than anywhere else’.41 Nonetheless, he had increased the Sunday alms to eighteen bags of black rice per month42—this in a year of shortage—in order to make himself more popular and to encourage conversions. The Kōḷaṭhiri had continued to send letters of complaint to Lisbon, always referring to the same grievances: the behaviour of the captains who took no notice of his advice; the Governor’s refusal to allow him to send
emissaries to Lisbon. That the Portuguese agents could directly impose their law on his subjects without reference to his authority was unacceptable to him and he suggested that the fortress captain should make regular visits to Valarpattanam to keep him informed of his problems. Neither did he tire of demanding authorization to send four or five ships per year to Ormuz and Gujarat.43

Meanwhile, and in spite of the harm done to the Cannanore economy by the Goa monopoly, trade began to pick up once more. The merchants abandoned Vijayanagar, where they could no longer sell horses, and turned towards the open markets of Ceylon and the Maldives. As Calicut had surrendered to the Portuguese, the Cannanore merchants, who always had the Maldives to fall back on, assumed the role of privileged intermediaries between Malabar and Gujarat. The Kōlaithiri also benefited from the archipelago income44 and Cannanore took a greater share than before in Cambay’s foreign trade. Thus, in January 1519 D. Aires da Gama was able to write that Cannanore controlled the largest sea trade of Malabar.45

The Portuguese, who had just established themselves in Ceylon and the Maldives, were now in a position to appreciate the implications of these activities. On 23 December 1518 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Lopo Soares’ successor, informed D. Manuel that the Colombo fortress was completed.46 Upon his return from Bengal, D. João da Silveira had taken command of the citadel which Lopo Soares had imposed on the king of Kōṭṭē in spite of opposition from the Muslims. At his side was António de Miranda de Azevedo who took on the duties of alcaide-mor and capitão-mor do mar.47 At the end of 1519 they both reported on the events which had taken place during the previous year:48 certain aspects of their account are complemented by the more specific information contained in a survey commissioned by the Goa government on the collection of cinnamon.49 It is these documents which have provided a better understanding of the privileged position held by Mamalé in Ceylon and the methods he used to discourage the Portuguese from establishing themselves there.

The newcomers to the island were soon aware of the presence of Mamalé’s commercial agents who caused them innumerable difficulties. They were so well entrenched on the island that D. João accused them of abusing the trust which had been placed in their words.50 They were received by king Vijayabāhu whom they
encouraged to besiege the fortress, confirming that their governor was prepared to give four months pay to anyone trained in warfare by D. Joaõ. When he heard these remarks Antónico de Miranda expressed the wish to see all those Mouros ‘hanged from their palm trees’. He held them responsible for all the defeats suffered by the Portuguese. For example, they had persuaded the king to order the precious stone merchants to offer nothing to the feitoria and to hide their jewels in order to demonstrate the uselessness of the fortress. They had made every effort to render unacceptable the cinnamon tribute which Vijayabahu had agreed to fix at four hundred bahars. They took it to the citadel themselves, in small batches which were never of the agreed weight. The cinnamon was so bad that the feitor had to throw most of it away to prevent any damaged rinds being presented a second time. This encouraged the Muslims to haggle: they offered two lots for the price of one on condition that they did not have to sort them out, and offered bribes to the feitoria staff to accept whatever they were given. D. João gave the carriers fabric and betel as an incentive to deliver larger quantities and often had to check personally, with the help of the two secretaries—Francisco Paes and Gaspar de Araujo—that the tribute was received. Meanwhile, the feitor, Antónico de Lemos, was being poisoned by his slaves and was slowly dying. The monsoon came and went before D. João was able to make up an acceptable cargo. To some extent he made up for what was missing by bribing Mamale’s sailors to give him a few bags of good quality cinnamon. But this cargo, which had been collected at great cost, was to suffer damage because of the poor state of repair of the Santa Cruz which was used to transport it and which was so old and riddled with woodworm that water seeped through the deck. Attempts were made to pack the holes, but to no avail; the cinnamon was soaked by the equatorial rains and one of Mamale’s ships had to be used—at what price it is not known—to get some of it to Cochin.

The disappointment suffered by the Portuguese in Ceylon was aggravated by the state of destitution in which the Goa government left them. The precariously constructed fortress was beginning to crumble and there was such a shortage of money that the men could not be paid and they began to desert. The thousand pardaos and three hundred bags of rice brought back from Cochin by Antónico de Miranda had not been sufficient to meet the needs
of the citadel. D. João was forced to spend from his own pocket, borrow money from the feitor and various other people and even seize goods belonging to Alexandre de Ataide who was being held prisoner at the fortress. The letters sent from D. João and António de Miranda to D. Manuel are evidence of this poverty. The help they had requested from Goa was sanctioned on 8 December, but it came too late to save them from the humiliation of asking two of Mamale's captains for assistance. A conhecimento dated 15 November certifies that António de Lemos borrowed fifteen thousand fanams for supplies for the garrison. The money was repaid to Mamale by the Cannanore feitoria.

Diogo de Sequeira did not allow himself to be manipulated as easily as Lopo Soares and ignored the agreements entered into by the latter. When he informed D. Manuel that the Ceylon fortress had been completed he also announced the departure, scheduled for 24 December 1518, of João Gomes 'Cheira dinheiro' for the Maldives. This expedition, of which the chroniclers make little mention, can only be pieced together from archive documents. An anonymous report, dated 15 January 1519, gives details of the people involved. With João Gomes, a veteran of India, was Gaspar d'Outel, who took on the duties of alcaide-mor, Alvaro Fernandes, who was appointed feitor and António de Paiva and Diogo Soares, the two scribes. Their small squadron was made up of two caravels, a boat and a parao. They obtained permission from Kalu Muhammad to settle on a steep headland on which they could build huts and sheds. Copying the Cannanore citadel, they fortified the whole with an entrenchment along which were palisades running from one cove to the other. João Gomes' instructions were to collect coir by bartering it for rice; some of this coir was to be despatched to the Portuguese fortresses, the rest kept in store and sold by the feitor to passing ships provided they were not enemies of Portugal. But the shortage of rice—and there was much evidence to suggest that this was the case in 1519—meant that João Gomes was not able to amass enough provisions and he therefore adopted the local custom of demanding that all ships anchoring in the area hand over one-fifth of their rice cargo which he exchanged at cost price for the coir he had already collected.

In a letter which was probably written at the beginning of 1519, Bābā Abdullah indicates that some of the islands were still under
the control of Mamale who, with Lopo Soares’ support, had been able freely to exploit half of the archipelago.76 The feitor, Alvaro Fernandes, states in his letter that Mamale received an annual tribute of ten thousand paradoos from the Sultan, payable in coir, amber and gold and silver coins. Some said he had actually demanded twenty thousand and that Kalu Muḥammad, who was unable to pay more than ten or twelve, had let him have all the assets of ‘Candaluz’ and ‘Camdical’77 and a share in the income from Tilladumati which before long he claimed in its entirety by overruling the Sultan’s tax collectors.78 He supplied the islanders with rice, sorghum, oil and cotton, but demanded in exchange a yearly supply of two to three thousand bahars of rice on which he trebled his profits during the monsoon. He exploited Addu, Huvadu and the neighbouring islands,79 and everywhere his agents tyrannized the weak and timid whose only defence was flight.80 The Sultan himself was unable to make profit from anything. He was supervised by two of Mamale’s advisers who checked his every movement and had the palace searched every time they suspected him of concealing valuable goods.81 Mamale had married the king to a sultaness of princely descent, the heiress to a large treasure of amber and gold on which he probably hoped some day to lay his hands. But this princess—who may have been Āli’s sister, the Buraki Rani of the legend82—soon imposed her authority. Mamale only recognized Kalu Muḥammad as sultan because he was her spouse. For her part, she succeeded in making the governor of Cannanore’s brother her favourite, her aim being to gain a better all-round control.83

It is not known what event—or disagreement—suddenly reversed this situation, prompting the abrupt departure of Mamale and his people.84 The presence of the Portuguese feitoria was probably the pretext for it, although it was not the cause as it is difficult to imagine that a few huts and three ships could drive the ‘Regedor do mar’ from the Maldives. Bābā Ābdullah’s letter begging D. Manuel to send reinforcements to prevent Mamale from exploiting the islands85 proves that the existence of the feitoria was of little hindrance to the latter. And yet Bābā Ābdullah also confirmed that Kalu Muḥammad preferred the yoke of Portugal to that of Cannanore. This could have provoked an internal crisis although it may not necessarily have set Mamale’s supporters against the Portuguese partisans. The Sultans were quick to take advantage of both sides. Alvaro Fernandes observed that, while Mamale was
taking refuge, the Sultana had taken the opportunity of seizing some of his possessions in Addu and Huvadu. Did this mean that he had abandoned all his island interests? When, in 1520, Alvaro Fernandes made inquiries about his income and past activities, the very mention of his name still filled the islanders with terror and reduced them to silence. They refused to believe that the archipelago was free of his control. Even the dignitaries concealed the truth and provided contradictory information with a certain amount of reserve. They were reluctant to trust the Portuguese agents as long as they could not see being built the fortifications of a citadel which would discourage Mamale from attempting to return. Being a weak character, Kalu Muḥammad shirked all obligations. D. Manuel had a letter transmitted to him which was read to him by Alvaro Fernandes and in which the king asked him to give a precise account of the tribute and duties he had hitherto paid to Mamale. Kalu Muḥammad delayed replying for several days before remitting to the feitor a false and small account which barely exceeded one hundred cruzados of income. Alvaro Fernandes only found out the true value of the tribute—ten to twenty thousand pardasos per year—by piecing together the remarks of various traders and in particular those of a certain Lian Kalu whom he had lured to Cannanore. Lian Kalu took advantage of this opportunity to plead with the Governor for the cause of one of Alī’s brothers who was making a bid for the crown and whom Kalu Muḥammad was holding prisoner. He delivered a message from the claimant who proposed to give the king of Portugal all the income previously enjoyed by Mamale provided he was made Sultan and given an income. Lian Kalu was more reticent when it came to the question of Portuguese interests. He confirmed that all the amber was controlled by the Sultana and sold to the ships from Cambay. But when Alvaro Fernandes, who had been unable to obtain anything locally—even by offering payments of gold and silver—asked him to procure some, Lian Kalu adopted such a vacant expression that his interlocutors gave up hope of obtaining anything at all.

Diogo Lopes de Sêqueira had no particular desire to involve himself in the dynastic quarrels of the islands; he was more concerned with how he could benefit from them. This was also the purpose of the enquiry which D. Manuel commissioned Alvaro Fernandes to carry out. An inventory was to be compiled of all the
riches exploited by Mamale with a view to replacing him. Alvaro Fernandes was successful in locating the principal resources, but he was constantly faced with the difficult task of laying his hands on them. Male was no longer the centre of commercial activity; this role had been taken over by the southern atolls of Addu and Huvadu where Mamale had established his hide-out. It was here that all the Islamic traders would meet, probably because there was ‘no country in India where foreigners can get rich so quickly be virtue of very good trade and very cheap merchandise’, but more especially because business could be conducted away from Portuguese control. The Bengali ships were free to carry on their traditional trade—exchanging sugar and rice for cowries—and in these waters met, more so than ever before, boats from Cambay which had made the archipelago markets a crossroads. They left Gujarat in March and carried to Sumatra and the ports of Sunda groups of Arab and Persian merchants who could no longer go to Malabar, and returned via the west coast of Sumatra reaching the Maldives in four or five days. Here they had to spend the rainy season with their cargoes of cloves, rice, silk and gold, part of which they traded with the islanders or the merchants from Malabar who had come to sell pepper. When the sea was calm once more they loaded their ships with coir, oyster shells and the cotton and silk woven tunics and fabrics for which they had provided the raw materials. Some groups returned to Cambay, others escorted the Red Sea merchants to Aden while others set off for Indonesia with cargoes of dried fish and slaves from the islands.

The size of this trade had not escaped the attention of Alvaro Fernandes who asked D. Manuel for the means with which to control it. The Cambay ships usually obtained their safe conducts from Goa or Malacca—they did not neglect their Portuguese customers—but these documents also covered many other parallel trades which were difficult to detect among the scattered islands. Most of the ships which sailed in the archipelago escaped the derisory forces of the feitoria. By the time they were spotted and tracked down they had already extricated from the islanders all their produce. Alvaro Fernandes suggested to the Goa authorities that safe conducts for the Maldives should only be given to those who undertook to go to a specific port where they were expected by the Portuguese agents. Furthermore, the latter should have a flotilla capable of covering seventy leagues and collecting the
merchandise before the Gujaratis arrived. A fortress should be built at Tilladumati to drive out the Malabars, a feitoria set up in Male and several feitores and scribes installed in the southern atolls to carry out the same duties as those who had previously worked for Mamale. In this way the Portuguese agents could welcome ships from Cambay, Coromandel and Malabar which had been approved by their Governor, collect duties and exchange coir, dried fish and cowries, the price of which increased during the monsoon, for cotton, oil and rice, which the Portuguese were unable to stock in sufficient quantity for the entire population of the archipelago.

Alvaro Fernandes’ plans were a far cry from the disappointing reality of his routine duties. ‘The coir which we took great pains to collect did not even arrive in Malabar’. Of the three gundras loaded with three hundred bahars of coir, two had been seized by local caturas. He only had three men to escort the convoys whereas, ideally, he should have had that number, a berco and several arquebuses on each of his ships. It was useless using as an excuse the enormous area he had to control and the need to employ twenty men in places where other fortresses made do with four. Goa refused him the help he so desperately needed. He was now afraid to send a gundra which was ready with its load of two hundred bahars of goods. His problem was simply that he lacked men; the ships built locally were inexpensive and the feitoria had enough coir to supply all the fortresses.

João Gomes’ behaviour worsened these difficulties. As early as 1519 Alvaro Fernandes had requested that he be replaced, but to no avail. His request had in fact been ignored and he had had to resign himself to the irascible mood of his captain. Having spent more than ten years in India, during which time he had become renowned for the part he had played in the siege of Cannanore and the battles of Goa and the Red Sea, João Gomes had gone back to Lisbon only to return immediately to take up his post as captain of one of the Maldives fortresses. But, instead of taking up what should have been a promotion, he found himself in charge of a hamlet of straw huts and felt so bitter that he decided to find ways of compensating himself for his ill fate. He behaved like a pirate leader and pillaged all the ships which dared to sail in the vicinity. Even his companions were not spared: he kicked one of them to death and others either fled or threw themselves into the sea in
despair. Out of twenty men, fourteen remained most of whom had been put in prison. Among them was the chaplain and one of the feitoria scribes, who had boasted of sharing with his captain the favours of the same woman. As there were not enough prisons to satisfy his malicious intentions, João Gomes built more. In Cochin no one even knew who the scribes were any longer; it was even doubted whether they were the servants of the king of Portugal. João Gomes came and went between Cochin and Male to avoid the unhealthy climate of the islands. It enraged him that he could get nothing out of these atolls where riches and men evaded all attempts of expropriation.

The crisis broke out in 1521. The exact date is not easy to determine, but it was sometime between Alvaro Fernandes’ disclosure to D. Manuel of the problems of the feitoria (30 December 1520) and Francisco de Mendonça’s decision to stay in India after it had been attacked (December 1521). It is probable that this act of aggression was an episode in the war which caused the Cambay kingdom to turn against the Estado da India during the same year and which began off Diu in February. For although Correia attributes the siege of the Maldives feitoria to the Malabar seamen, Góis and Castanheda ascribe it to the Gujaratis and Barros to the malice of a captain called ‘Gromale’. Simão Sodré’s account leaves no doubt at all about the fact that the assault was undertaken by crews from Cambay who made a dawn attack on the ten or so men sleeping in the feitoria. They burned the caravel, seized a few light vessels which were moored in the cove and turned their cannons on the stronghold in which João Gomes had entrenched himself. He and some of his companions perished in the course of this final battle, the others having fled into the palm grove where they were slaughtered by the islanders. Kalu Muḥammad recovered their clothes and two large pieces of artillery which the Gujaratis had been unable to take away.

The destruction of the Maldives feitoria was part of a wider movement which for several months had caused most of the Indian Ocean countries to rise up against the Portuguese. Because they lacked men, the latter could no longer rule the land they had conquered. The Kollam fort, built in 1517, had been besieged during the monsoon of 1520, and the 1521 monsoon was to facilitate the attack on the Ceylon citadel. Mamale of Cannanore had been waiting for two years for the right moment to persuade the king of
Kottē to rid himself of the Portuguese garrison. He began by offering him financial assistance and then tried to negotiate with Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, offering him cinnamon and elephants in return for the abandonment of the fortress. The failure of these initiatives had not discouraged Mamale who tirelessly carried on annoying the Portuguese until they reacted with acts of violence and arbitrary decisions. When Vijayabahu, exasperated by D. Manuel’s claims, which were depriving him of the profits enjoyed from his monopolies, resolved to put an end to his dealings with the citadel, Mamale was prepared to support him. For the five months’ duration of the fortress siege, he supplied the royal army with saltpetre and artillery. But the men at the garrison, though exhausted by poverty and decimated through desertions, refused to allow themselves to be annihilated and in August 1521 the princes of Ceylon had to yield to their tenacity.

At that very moment war was raging once more along the Cambay coast, while in Malabar the battles between the kings of Cochin and Calicut, which had been going on for more than a year, were causing trouble. Goa remained threatened in spite of the conflict which had again broken out between Adil Khan and Vijayanagar. In October the Chinese authorities arrested the Portuguese in Canton; at the end of the year Ormuz revolted.

Were these actions fortuitous or planned? The complicity which brought them about are not easy to understand. It is certain that the Asian emissaries and ambassadors tried to exploit the discontent and stir up mistrust, but it seems that the initiatives were not conceived or co-ordinated by any one leader. The part played by Mamale in the Ceylon revolt is clearly understood, but was he in collusion with the instigators of the other uprisings? As there are no records on this subject, the question must remain unanswered. The last reference in the Portuguese archives to Mamale’s activities is in January 1522.

Whatever the reason for Mamale’s disappearance, it did not dishearten the Muslim community of which he remained leader. After 1523, however, another name emerges—that of Balia Hacem—one of the leaders of the maritime war who was soon organizing action against the Portuguese fleets. D. Duarte de Meneses, who had relieved Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1521,
concentrated uniquely on re-establishing order in Ormuz and preparing another Red Sea expedition. These ventures, which mobilized the Portuguese forces to the north-west of the Indian Ocean, left all their positions elsewhere undefended, a situation which was made even worse by the fact that they had had to withdraw from the Kerala coast in order to lend support to the ever threatened bases in Indonesia.

Because of the need to establish peace in Malabar, D. Duarte had to show as much tolerance towards his own subjects as towards the local powers. In order to reconcile the interests of both sides he had allowed them to conduct private business between themselves. This had not been a wise move and the young people living at the fortresses were soon engaging in acts of robbery rather than the subtle bargaining of eastern trade. They stopped merchant ships and demanded heavy ransoms before they would allow them to proceed. Even the Portuguese traders did not escape and no longer dared to take the Cambay route for fear of being attacked. After 1523 the Māppila communities struck back by organizing a coalition which saw the simultaneous rising up of leaders in all the Kerala ports. They were nearly all from powerful merchant families and owned their own fleets. Some had been Portuguese allies, like Kuttu Ali of Tanor who lived in a house filled with European furniture, distributed wine to his men and had once been a friend of António de Brito; or like Pate Marakkar of Cochin who had collaborated for more than ten years with the feitores João Froles and Lourenço Moreno. Others surfaced in Porakkad, Ponnāni and Pantalāyini Kollam. Those from the kingdom of Eli, from Māṭāyi, Irukkuṟ and Dharmapaṭam were grouped under the command of Balia Hacem of Cannanore. Their paraos, similar to the Portuguese brigantines, were manned by twenty to thirty oarsmen on each side; they were well supplied with artillery and had enough arquebusiers and archers on board to undertake successful combat. The objectives of these fleets were threefold: to protect the smuggling of pepper which was loaded in the Calicut ports and then transported to Aden or Cambay; to guarantee the revictualling of the ports from Bhāṭkaḷ and Mangalore; to harry the armadas. This last point worried António da Fonseca, who asked D. João III not to underestimate the danger it posed. Nothing escaped the caturīs and paraos which were light and speedy and could ‘be in Cochin at
dawn, Calicut by mid-day and in Porakkad at dawn the following
day'; their captains would flout the Portuguese by firing salvos
under the walls of their fortresses\textsuperscript{133} and pursue their ships into
the waters of Cochin.\textsuperscript{134}

After October 1523 these activities took on alarming proportions.
Encouraged by the fact that that year's armada had not yet reached
their coast, the Malabar seamen increased their raids and even
pursued ships with Portuguese safe conducts.\textsuperscript{135} Following the
recent death of Nambiadari, a Zamorin who supported them and
intended to restore the kingdom's former prosperity was now on
the Calicut throne.\textsuperscript{136} The town was no longer a safe place and
D. Pedro de Castro was openly attacked while wandering through
the Muslim quarter.\textsuperscript{137} Eight vessels and forty paraos had set off
for Mecca without being troubled, whereas other ships were
ambushed in the Chaliyam River.\textsuperscript{138} While the Governor was
wintering in Ormuz and the king of Banda was threatening to
besiege Malacca, the Malabar seamen began to beleaguer the
Calicut citadel, stopping all its supplies. Repeated riots took place
right through 1524 and several attacks were made on D. João de
Lima, the fortress captain.\textsuperscript{139}

Although Balia Hacem was involved in most of these opera-
tions, he did not neglect the islands.\textsuperscript{140} His Cannanore relations
did not remain inactive. They coerced the Kōļaṭhiri into granting
them permission to besiege the fortress and offered the shelter of
their harbour to Calicut paraos. It was at Cannanore that Kutti Ali
of Kappatt's fleet, hunted by Jeronimo de Sousa, took refuge.\textsuperscript{141}

Having been informed of the perils which were threatening the
Estado da India from all sides, D. João III instructed Vasco da
Gama to take on the governorship. The latter would probably
have re-established order by using his customary harsh measures
had illness and death not suddenly attacked him in Cochin on
Christmas Eve 1524.\textsuperscript{142} His brief stay in India was however to
deprive the Malabar seamen of one of their leaders, by prompting
the Kōļaṭhiri to take an unexpected decision. Did he wish to quell
the vindictive mood of the Almirante, the dangerous effects of
which he was aware, or was he desirous to get rid of a hero whose
prestige was casting a shadow over him? During Vasco da Gama's
stay at the fortress, the Kōļaṭhiri, 'using as a pretext a desire to
please him, handed over to him a 'pirate' who was also one of his
subjects. Was this Balia Hacem, as asserted by João de Barros? Or
was it one of Mamale’s brothers, as claimed by Gaspar Correia?\(^{143}\) Castanheda, who states that the person in question was Mamale himself, raises a hypothesis worth examining.\(^{144}\) It is supported by an anonymous account taken from the Colecção São Vicente and written in the first half of the sixteenth century, which does not disclose the name of the captive but describes him as ‘the uncle of Balia Hacem, the principal parao builder and the person responsible for all the harm inflicted on our people all along the coast of India as well as in the Maldives Islands…who was a very important (person), extremely rich…’\(^{145}\) Although it is tempting to recognize the Regent of the Sea from such a description, there is cause for doubt and Castanheda’s version cannot be accepted without some degree of hesitation. The content of a letter from Poca Amame, who introduced himself to D. João III in January 1528 as the brother and successor of ‘seu servydom Mamale que mandou toda esta tera de Cananor’\(^{146}\) does not seem to be compatible with the ignominious fate inflicted on the prisoner. All that can be ascertained is that the captive was related to Balia Hacem and that they were both members of the regedor’s family or immediate entourage. Despite the differences of detail, all the chroniclers agree that large sums were collected by the dignitaries to pay a ransom which was not accepted.\(^{147}\)

The mysterious prisoner remained in the fortress dungeon for some months. He was not forgotten however, and one of the first things D. Henrique de Meneses—Vasco da Gama’s successor—did was to order his execution as he had no desire to wait for the Kölaṭhiri, who was thinking over the consequences of his action, to ask him for the pardon he had no intention of granting. The council, called by D. Henrique soon after his return to Cannanore, condemned the ‘pirate’ to death. The latter was hanged the same day, his hands cut off and his corpse displayed on the battlements of the citadel.\(^{148}\)

The situation was embarrassing for the Kölaṭhiri who had lost face by allowing the Portuguese authorities to take away his right of justice. Riots broke out in the Muslim quarter.\(^{149}\) Several Mäppiḷḷa families, not daring to trust their king’s protection, exiled themselves to Dharmapāṭam after setting fire to their homes.\(^{150}\) The whole coast was affected and no one was in any doubt that the Kölaṭhiri was responsible, and he himself could not deny it. He had probably realized how powerful his own Muslim subjects had
become as a result of the troubles and had calculated the extent of the political and military role which they were threatening assume in his place. This would seem to be the only justification for the action he took in asking the Governor to destroy their dwelling place, a task which was entrusted to Heitor da Silveira who burned the town, the samboucos and almadias anchored in the port and three fishing villages up river. By way of reward, the instigator of this raid was given the command of the Cannanore fortress and Simão de Meneses was appointed capitão-mor do mar.

The Kōlaṭhīrī was to hold fast to this posture. To the Portuguese this meant that Cannanore was neutral during the siege on the Calicut citadel which began after the onset of the 1525 monsoon but which had to be abandoned by D. João de Lima at the end of the same year. This outcome, the first defeat suffered by the Portuguese in Malabar, did not affect Cannanore where nobody tried to take advantage of the confusion by attacking the fortress. But the exodus of the Muslim chiefs, while leaving Cannanore in peace, meant their emergence elsewhere; they were to be found organizing the pepper trade and supplying Calicut with rice from Mangalore and Bārkūr. The Vijayanagar governors turned a blind eye to this activity in spite of protests from the Portuguese. For their part, the coastal cities of the Eli kingdom colluded with the Muslim forces. D. Simão de Meneses and Fernão Gomes de Lemos had spotted seventy paraos in the waters off Mangalore and followed them to the harbour of Māṭāyi where these vessels took shelter. The pursuing ships slipped into the sandy channels of the estuary where Gomes Martins de Lemos and D. Miguel de Lima were caught in the ambush and riddled with arrows before their companions could come to their assistance. Māṭāyi escaped their reprisals as the water was too shallow for Domingo Fernandes’s brigantine. The failure of this punitive expedition was redressed by the Kōlaṭhīrī who put to death some Muslims and Nāyars in order to assuage the Portuguese. He took advantage of his good relations with D. Henrique de Meneses to try and persuade him to surrender the Maldives which were still officially under the control of Goa. In fact, although they had not yet been able to construct the fortress for which Pero Lopes de Sampaio had received instructions in 1520, the Portuguese were trying to maintain a feitor and a small staff on the islands. News of their precarious situation was brought by Simão Sodre who was sent to the archipelago at the
end of 1524 to protect their interests. All they had was a handful of men and a straw hut. The Gujaratis had killed João Gomes’ successor—a certain Jorge Mesurado—and were preparing to do the same to Sancho Figueras who was saved by the intervention of Simão Sodré. The Kōlathiri was aware of the difficulties which the people of Malabar and Gujarat were causing to the feitor, and the hardship that the latter had to endure to receive only an average quantity of coir. In March 1525 the sovereign went in person to the fortress to meet D. Henrique. He told him of a letter he had received from the king of Portugal in which he made him a gift of the Maldives on condition that he undertook to deliver a certain quantity of coir, to be fixed by the Governor. The latter requested a thousand bahars per year which the Kōlathiri declared he could not provide. The matter rested there because D. Henrique, probably satisfied with the result of Simão Sodré’s recent mission, believed he was able to obtain as much through his own endeavours.

It is not known how the internal situation of the islands developed. After Simão Sodre, Jorge Cabral, then Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte, were sent there in 1525 for the purpose of privateering. Both men confirmed the density of the maritime trade which was concentrated in the Karaidu Channel. Repeating the wishes of António Real and Alvaro Fernandes, Simão Sodré expressed a hope that the exploitation of the archipelagoes would be neglected no longer and that a stone fortress would be built to control the commercial activities.

Jorge Cabral had occasion to meet a Maldives sultan, but does not reveal his identity. If the Ta‘riḥ of Male is to be believed, the person in question was Kalu Muḥammad who reigned on his own until H. 935/1529, protected by the Muslim chief of Cannanore to whom he went on paying tribute. According to this same source, Buraki Rani was repudiated and exiled to Tlladumati and it was Śirāzī Fāṭumā Kamamā who gave the Sultan a successor.

There is one point which requires clarification. João de Barros wrote that certain islands which he locates at 12° 1/2 latitude north of the Equator, the approximate position of the Laccadives—bore the name ‘Islands of Mamale’ and were governed by the person of the same name. Duarte Barbosa, who was writing around 1515, says only that the islanders considered the king of Cannanore to be their sovereign. It is certain that the islands known as the
Laccadives were attached to the Eli kingdom from a very early date—the Mūsakavamṣa bears this out—but there is no record of the conditions to which they were subjected. Whatever the situation, these islands of Mamale which João de Barros speaks of appear on ancient maps, including, in particular, the map drawn up by João de Lisboa (c. 1560). Reference will have to be made here to local traditions, according to which in about 1550 the Kōlaṭhirī gave the Muslim chief of Cannanore the title of Aḷi Rāja and control of the Laccadives in exchange for a fixed tribute.

The fact that these islands belonged to the Aḷi Rājas is confirmed by Zaynuddīn and Pyrard de Laval although they do not explain why some of them bore the name of Mamale. As the dates provided by the local traditions are often erroneous, it may be thought that the surrender of the Laccadives occurred during Mamale’s lifetime, that is before 1528.

The year 1528 would not have been chosen as the date of this account had not the events made it a certainty. On the eve of Nuno da Cunha’s long term of governorship (1529-38) the Estado da Indiα was entering a new phase, while in the kingdom of Eli the main people responsible for its activity since the beginning of the century were dying. These losses are revealed by two unpublished letters: one will help review the situation in Cannanore, the other will serve as an introduction to the conclusion of this study.

The first letter was addressed to D. João III on 15 January 1527 by three scribes employed at the feitoria. It bears the signatures of Sebastian Rodrigues Maresim, the feitor, Duarte Barbosa, secretary, and a third signature which has been rendered illegible by a tear in the paper. This missive relates the activities at the fortress and the internal situation of the kingdom.

An examination of the feitor’s accounts reveals that when he took over from Francisco Dias in February 1526, he found the coffers empty, more than three hundred cruzados of debts and, as the only trading currency, a little impure coral which nobody wanted. These were the effects of the state of destitution in which the citadel had been left and which the chaplain Afonso Fernandes had denounced in 1523. But the abandonment of Calicut was to give a certain degree of importance to Cannanore, particularly since it was now once more involved in the ginger
trade.\textsuperscript{174} Sebastião Rodrigues received copper, lead, coral and a little currency from Goa.\textsuperscript{175} A statement of his expenses makes it possible to distinguish how much copper and currency was involved in the payments (ginger, coir, wages), in the main both were used. The list of headings, the detail of which is clearly shown, gives an indication of the routine and special role of the citadel. The latter had not recovered its former trading activities and shared with Chaul\textsuperscript{176} and Goa the task of supplying and repairing the fleets. Since the conquest of these two cities, Cannanore was now no more than a port of call. The gunpowder and rope factories, the cannon-ball foundry, and the naval repair yard were in regular operation to keep the passing crews and captains supplied. The brigantine oarsmen who kept watch on the shore were paid out of the fortress budget, the hospital dispensing treatment to the wounded they brought to it daily.\textsuperscript{177}

The list of repairs carried out on the citadel gives some idea as to its appearance. Major work was being undertaken. The surrounding wall, which was crumbling, was extended to take in the well which had been at the centre of the conflicts in 1507. The feitoria’s warehouses, built with stones and dried mud, were rebuilt and cemented with limestone. New buildings were constructed to house the gunpowder factory and all the roofs were covered with cadjans. Many tradesmen were employed at the fortress: masons, rope-makers, gunpowder manufacturers and saltpetre refiners, blacksmiths and ships carpenters, as well as messengers and innumerable labourers. These workmen, who were paid on a daily basis, were mainly from Malabar—there were only two Portuguese blacksmiths for example.\textsuperscript{178}

Two hundred soldiers defended the fortress and it was hoped that the number could be reduced to one hundred and fifty once the fortifications were complete.\textsuperscript{179} Among them there were about thirty casados, some of whom had married the first generation of Indo-Portuguese daughters in preference to Malabar women, even though the oldest of them could not have been much more than twelve years of age.\textsuperscript{180} In addition to the regular garrison there was a contingent of Indians from the Christian community who were always available in the event of danger;\textsuperscript{181} a slightly earlier document assesses the number of these converts at seven hundred in 1523.\textsuperscript{182}

The Kōlathiri had just died,\textsuperscript{183} almost at the same time as his
former minister, the ‘alguazil velho’. The new sovereign, who had seen the royal treasure pass into the possession of another prince, had to live on an annual income of five thousand reis and the taxes paid to him by the Portuguese authorities. This dependence had not prevented him from banishing his predecessor’s minister who was not opposed to the Portuguese. Those he appointed in his place had no control over the Muslims, who did as they pleased. The king’s inexperience caused considerable damage to business and the fall in the value of the fanam made matters worse.

The death of Mamale must have occurred some months after that of the Kōlaṭhiri, probably at the end of 1527. Poca Amame, his brother and successor, informed D. João III of this on 14 January 1528.

Mamale’s final years are still cloaked in mystery: six years about which nothing is known, not even the position he adopted after the crisis of 1525 and the exodus of his co-religionists. But the announcement of his death is evidence that he remained the leader of the Muslim community and governor of the town.

Further evidence emerges upon reading Poca Amame’s letter which at first sight only contains the customary declarations of loyalty towards D. João. It reveals in fact that the office of regedor was hereditary, in keeping with the marumakkatāyam system. This was not the result of chance since the same order of succession comes up again seventeen years later after the death of Pocaralle, regedor of Cannanore, assassinated in 1545 by Belchior de Sousa, and succeeded by his nephew, the famous Aļi Rāja. The latter was to give his name to the dynasty of Muslim sovereigns of Cannanore who were to reign until the end of the nineteenth century.

There is perhaps one missing link in the chain—the identity of the regedor who may have reigned between Poca Amame and Pocaralle, although G. Schurhammer, finding no trace, suggests that they are one and the same person, referred to by Zaynuddin as Abū Bakr. This gap, if it exists, does not raise any doubt as to the family connection linking Mamale to the Aļi Rājas. This is confirmed by a letter from the feitor, Sebastião Rodrigues Maresim, written some days after Poca Amame’s giving Mamale’s brother and successor the title of Anderajão. According to the family tree drawn up by William Logan from local traditions, Valiya
Mammāli—'Mamale the Great', who reigned over the Maldives, was the predecessor of 'Pokrali Koya' who was assassinated by the Portuguese. This person is identifiable as Pocarralle, whom Diogo do Couto calls 'Pocarralle Aderrajao'. The Portuguese sources, which had taken Pocarralle from the legend, also give Mamale an historic reality; they make it possible to trace the Ālī Rāja line back to the early sixteenth century.

It is rare for an outstanding personality to die without leaving a legacy of his ambitions. Those of Mamale were to find new life in Pocarralle and especially in his nephew the Ālī Rāja. In 1559 the latter led a coalition against the Portuguese during which his authority became so strong that the Kōlaṭhiri was reduced to the status of puppet. In 1564 the king was transferred to Kasaragod in the far north of the country. By the end of the century he had surrendered Cannanore to the all-consuming power of the Ālī Rāja. It seems appropriate at this point to let François Pyrard sum up the political situation in the aftermath of this usurpation:

The king of Cananor is a Malabar, and one of the kings of Malabar; in his territory the Malabars are not subject to the Nairs, although there is a Nair king in the Cananor country. The latter, however, has no authority nowadays, and the Malabars of the whole coast, both merchants and corsairs, respect and honour the king. The people of the county have told me that it is not long since the Malabars of Cananor were in like condition with the rest of their race, and obeyed that Nair king, but that they became so strong that they made a king for themselves, and no longer recognized the Nair king nor paid him any tribute: he resides far in the interior, and is often at war with the king of Cananor. This king of Cananor is very rich and powerful, for he has plenty of men subject to him, besides the other Malabars of the whole coast, whom he calls upon in time of need. He is called Ālī Ragea and he is a Mahometan, like the other Malabars. He is powerful on the sea, has a large number of ships, trades all over India, and for this purpose has a number of factors at different places. The islands of Divandurou belong to him, and the Maldives are at present held by him. He is very courteous, humane and affable and, more than any of the other kings, is fond of the society of foreigners. The Portuguese are at peace with him, and by his permission hold a small fort in Cananor, containing a church and a Jesuits' college. Nevertheless, the other Indian kings call not this king of Cananor a king, saying that he is not so of right, but only by force.

However, this restriction was not to prevent the Ālī Rājas from keeping what they had acquired. They promoted a social group from one of the lowest castes to the highest civil offices because of its adherence and allegiance to Islam. This was quite a different promotion than that of the Deccan Sultans and Delhi Moghuls.
because it had not been imposed by force but by the patient ambition of an active minority. This rise, which was accomplished over centuries, did not change the impenetrable hierarchy of the Hindu society; it superseded it by acting freely in an area of which the high castes were suspicious, in other words the high seas.

The Portuguese alone knew the limits of this area which they disputed with the Cannanore Māppilas. Although they were not always able to unravel the subtle tactics of their adversaries’ policy, they understood clearly how they worked and showed how the Muslim chief was able to impose his will on the Hindu sovereign. A close inspection of their testimonies covering the first three decades of the sixteenth century reveals the rights and concessions gained by Mamale and those already in his possession. His personality dominated this whole period.

It can thus be established that the Islamic reedor—even though he did not yet bear the title of ʿAlī Rāja—was the sole ruler of the high seas. He collected the maritime trading profits and fixed the price of the spices, setting aside the Kōlāṭhiri’s share. He had his own merchant fleet and paraos to defend it. He was able to create for himself an overseas empire, invested on him by the Kōlāṭhiri. In addition, the latter authorized him—the siege on the Portuguese fortress bears this out—to extend the war to the land and to accept assistance from the Nāyars when the cause of the conflict affected the defence of the kingdom’s maritime interests. These same interests brought him into direct negotiations with the neighbouring sovereigns—the Zamorin of Calicut, the Sabayo of Goa and the King of Köṭṭē, and even, where appropriate, the Portuguese authorities. He had succeeded in making himself governor of Cannanore by replacing the Nātuvāri, the royal governor, and by making sure that the office was made hereditary. It is not known what powers Mamale’s predecessors enjoyed, but it seems that the career of the latter marked the positive transition of his role from a commercial to a political one.

The authority of the Cannanore Māppilas was to go from strength to strength during the sixteenth century, ultimately bringing about the break-up of the Eli kingdom and the rise to power of the only Muslim dynasty to have ruled in Kerala. By remembering Mamale of Cannanore, the Portuguese testimonies have not only made a contribution to the history of his social group and his line, they have also placed on record the principal
structures of a kingdom where, at that time, there existed an original kind of association between the Hindu kings and the Muslim sea merchants. By disclosing the activities of the Regent of the Sea they have shed light on a trade which had hitherto only been suspected by the historians, that was the trade which was being operated from the Maldives and which went on supplying the Islamic world in spite of the conquista. In addition, they have virtually provided a day by day account of the first years of a Portuguese factory and the first political experience of the Europeans in India.

Notes and References

1 Barros, III/1–1, p. 11; Castanheda, III/52, pp. 363–4.
2 Silvestre de Bachom to D. Manuel, Cochin, 4 Jan. 1516, CA, IV, p. 24; Castanheda, IV/3, p. 385.
3 According to Barros, Lopo Soares had arrived in Goa on 8 Sept. (III/1–1, p. 13), according to Castanheda on 2 (III/152, p. 364).
4 Castanheda, III/152, p. 364).
5 Barros, III/1–1, p. 13; Castanheda, III/1–52, p. 364; Góis, III/77, p. 279.
6 Eitor Rodrigues to D. Manuel, Cochin, 5 Jan. 1517, TdT, CC I–21–65, f. 1 a. This letter was written as Eitor Rodrigues, Cannanore feitor in 1516, was on his way to Kollam, having been replaced by Diogo Rodrigues Botelho.
7 Mandado, Cannanore, 20 May 1518, TdT, CC II–75–63. This document has been chosen as an example. The Torre do Tombo houses other salary registers from which a comparative study can be made. For this particular period they show very little variation, cf. in particular mandados, Cannanore, 15 July 1518, 23 Sept. 1518, 26 April 1519, 23 May 1519, 21 June 1519, 18 Aug. 1519, TdT CC II–76–67, 77–102, 81–89, 82–15, 82–108, 84–48, etc.
8 Jorge de Melo to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 28 Dec. 1514, CA, IV, p. 16; Afonso Velho to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 20 Dec. 1514 in Silva Rego, Documentação para a História das missões, India I, doc. 111.
10 Afonso Velho to D. Manuel, loc. cit.
11 This information is based on a document written several months earlier, according to which the Christian community of Cannanore included 344 indigenous Christians, i.e.: 160 Tiyans and Mukkuvans (74 men and 86 women), 85 of Muslim origin (37 men and 48 women), 7 Nayars (4 men and 3 women). Of the children (this probably meant those under 12, the age at which girls usually got married and at which the children entered active life, as will be seen later, vide infra, p. 178), 13 were of Muslim origin, 9 were formerly Hindu and 33 were the children of converts, 13 from Portuguese marriages and 24 illegitimate (P. D. Alonso to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 27 Dec. 1514, in Silva Rego, op. cit., doc. 113).
12 Exactly nineteen families in May 1518, mandado, Cannanore, TdT, CC II–75–63, f. 2 a.
13 Ibid., f. 1 a.
15 Those responsible had been complaining for several years about the extreme youth of the effectives. Julião Nunes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Oct. 1510, CA, III, p. 311; Manuel Sodré to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 27 Dec. 1515, CA, IV, p. 23; Pedro de Bastroni Corço to D. Manuel, Cochin, 10 Nov. 1518, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 388.
18 This is the title given to him by Gaspar Correia (II/2, p. 861, III/1, p. 16), who also refers to him as 'regedor do mar de Cananor' (II/1, p. 391). Poca Amame, Mamale's brother, announced that he had taken over from him the office of 'regedor de este Cananor' (Poca Amame to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38–84). The same was used to describe the Nātvāri of Cannanore in 1506 (Gaspar Pereira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 11 Jan. 1506, CA, II, p. 360).
20 Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Alvaro Fernandes stressed their importance: 'São as ilhas tamanha coussa... que se na pode manter todo Cambyaye, nem todo Çamatra, Bengalla e Charammammdell e o Malabar sem ellas e as mercadarias dellas são tam necessarias pera todas estas partes que sem ellas se na podem soster...'. (Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520, *Alg. Doc.*, p. 351. This letter is also published in *As Gavetas*, IV, pp. 123–9).
21 Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Correia, II/2, p. 508; Góis, IV/16, p. 44; António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, *As Gavetas*, IV, p. 141.
26 Castanheda, IV/35, pp. 437–8. This Sultan of 'Candaluz' had engaged in war against Mamale (ibid., III/120, p. 292).
29 *Vide supra*, chap. V, p. 120.
30 Barros, III/1–7, p. 41; Castanheda, IV/10, p. 394; Góis, IV/16, p. 44; Correia II/2, p. 508. In a letter to Giuliano de'Medici, written from Cochin on 6 Jan. 1516, Andrea Corsali points out that in the event that the armada did not reach Mecca it was to return to the Maldives and pillage all those ships without safe-conducts. This plan was not put into operation (Ramusio, I, f. 199 a).
31 Góis, IV/27, p. 69.
32 Barros, III/2–4, p. 72; Castanheda, IV/32, pp. 433, 435, 438; Góis, IV/27, p. 69.
According to Barros, these two ships were from Bengal and were heading for Cambay (III/2–3, p. 67); according to D. de Góis, they were from Gujarat (IV/27, p. 69).

Barros, III/2, pp. 67–8.

35 Castanheda, IV/35, p. 438.

36 Ibid.; Barros, III/2–3, pp. 67–8. According to Góis, he was authorized to build a fortress (IV/27, p. 69).

37 Bābā Ābdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 2 b.

38 Ibid., f. 3 a.

39 Conhecimento, "Goa, 26 March 1519, TdT, CC II-80–97: '20 quintais 1 aroba e 24 arrateis de cairo por Mamale, mercador de Cananor"; another conhecimento testifies that Mamale supplied coconut oil to Goa (20 Oct. 1518, TdT, CC II-78–16). Other provide evidence of coir deliveries but do not mention the name of the supplier.

40 Pedro de Bastroni Corço to D. Manuel, Cochin, 10 June 1518, As Gavetas, IV, p. 387.


42 Ibid. A letter from the chaplain specifies that these alms amounted to 18 sacks per month and per person, divided into twice five sacks and twice four sacks (Cannanore, (15.1/1519, TdT, Fragmentos, caixa 4, 1–13, f. 2 a.)

43 The Kōḻaṭhiri to António Carneiro, s.l., H. muh. 924/Jan.–Feb. 1518, TdT, Cartas orientais n° 51.

44 The Kōḻaṭhiri to Martim Afonso de Sousa, s.l.n.d., TdT, São Lourenco, III-30, f. 1 b.


46 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 23 Dec. 1518, TdT, CVR n° 12, f. 1 b.


49 Inquirição que tirou Lopo de Brito em Ceilão sobre as pereas e canela que nom vinha boa, s.l., 23 Jan. 1522, TdT, CC II-99–102, doc. 4 hereafter.

50 D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, loc. cit. f. 2 a.

51 António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel loc. cit., p. 142.


53 G. Bouchon, Les rois de Kotté, loc. cit., p. 78.

54 By the beginning of November, D. João had only managed to collect 113 babars and 3 arrobas of cinnamon (António de Miranda de Azevedo, loc. cit., p. 143).

55 D. João da Silveira to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 27 Oct. 1519, f. 1 a; Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 2 b, 3 b, 4 b, 5 b, 6 a, 8 a, 9 b, 11 a.

56 Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 11 a, 12 b.
Both the men interrogated stated that they had never heard of these offers being accepted (Inquirição, loc. cit., 4 a, 5 a, 6 a, 7 b, 8 b, 14 a).

Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 12 b.

Ibid., f. 10 b, 12 a. António de Lemos died before 10 February 1520, when Francisco Paes was feitor of Ceylon (mandado, Goa, TdT, CC II-87–24). This António de Lemos—erroneously called Diogo de Lemos by Gaspar Correia (II/2, p. 546)—should not be confused with the captain of the same name who went to assist the Ceylon fortress when it was besieged in 1521 (Cristóvão Lourenço Caracão to D. Manuel, Cochin, 12 Jan. 1522, in MLI, vol. 1 (1971), p. 165.


Inquirição, loc. cit., f. 4 a, 5 a, 6 a, 7 b, 9 a, 13 a, 14 a.

Ibid., f. 3 a, 8 a, 9 b.


Ibid., f. 1 b.

Id., ibid.; António de Mirandã de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, As Gavetas, IV, p. 142.


Mandado, Goa, 8 Dec. 1519, TdT, CC II-86–107 (one thousand pardaos of five tangas for the Ceylon feitor).


Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, Cochin, 23 Dec. 1518, TdT, CVR, no 12, f. 2 a. João Gomes had in fact to set sail no later than this date, and an anonymous letter from Cochin dated 15 Jan. 1519 stated that he had left twenty-five days earlier. (TdT, CC I-24–16, f. 1 b). Cheira dinheiro is a nickname meaning ‘who sniffs money’.


Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 2 a. This invalidates Correia’s figures: one caravel, two fustas and one catur (II/2, p. 568).

Correia, II/2, p. 569).


João Gomes was unable to purchase a sufficient quantity (Anonymous letter from Cochin, loc. cit., f. 2 a). A conhecimento from Goa indicates that in that particular year the rice was paid for in gold pardaos (Goa, 10 Dec. 1518, TdT, CC II-78–137). Cf. also other documents from TdT, CC II-81.

João Gomes’ instructions specified that this operation could only be carried out once the fortress’s share had been reserved (Anonymous letter, Cochin, 15 Jan. 1519, loc. cit., f. 2 a).
Bābā Abdullah to D Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a.

It has not been possible to identify ‘Camical’ which was also known to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. 4, p. 112) and which is shown on the ancient maps in place of the fourth atoll south of Maliku (among others on the maps of João de Lisboa, Livro da Marinharia, c. 1560, and Bartolomeu Velho’s anonymous collection, c. 1560, in A. Cortesão, Portugaliae monumenta cartographica, Lisbon, 1960, vol. 1, p. 96 and vol. 2, p. 234).

This ‘Tijmo’ which appears in Alvaro Fernandes’ letter to D. Manuel (Cannanore, 30 Dec. 1520) in the Alg. Doc. editor’s transcription, p. 449, was read as ‘Termo’ by the editor of As Gavetas, IV, p. 124. On ancient maps this atoll bears the name of ‘Timor’ or ‘Tymo’, the second atoll south of Maliku (Minicoy), that is in place of today’s Tilladumati (cf. maps referred to in the preceding note).


Bābā Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a–b.


Bell, The Maldives Islands, Colombo, 1940, p. 25.

Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., Alg. Doc., p. 450. This favourite was not Ichapocar, but another of Mamale’s brothers called ‘Andargnão’ (ibid).

At the end of 1520 Alvaro Fernandes wrote that Mamale had been away from the islands for three years (loc. cit., Alg. Doc., p. 450). For his part, Bābā Abdullah affirmed that João Gomes and Mamale’s agents were present on the islands at the same time (loc. cit., f. 3 a). Mamale’s departure can therefore be timed at the earliest in the last week of 1518.

Bābā Abdullah to D. Manuel, loc. cit., f. 3 a–b.


Ibid., pp. 448–50.

Ibid., p. 450.

Pyramid, I, p. 206.


Ibid., p. 450; Pires, vol. 2, pp. 414, 496–7. Most of the dried fish was to be sent to Sumatra, the slaves to the ports of Sunda.


One faracola of coir was worth four nalles of rice, but was worth twelve nalles during the monsoon, whilst one kottei of cowrie, normally worth twelve nalles of rice, rose in value to twenty-four and a half nalles during the same period (Alvaro Fernandes to D. Manuel, loc. cit., Alg. Doc., p. 453).

1 nalle = ½ canadá (1 canadá = 1.4 litres)
1 kottei = 12 nalles (calculation provided by Valentim Fernandes, As Ilhas de Dyue, published by H. Fitzer, ‘Die Maldiven im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert’, in Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, vol. 10 (1953–6), p. 249). It should be noted here that cowries were not only sent to the Gulf of Bengal, they were also shipped to Cairo, from where they were distributed as far as Guinea (Godinho, Economie, p 292).


Probably the two gundras referred to by Nuno de Castro who reports that the few Portuguese on board these vessels had been killed or wounded during the


100 The appointment of João Gomes as captain of the Maldives fortress is recorded in D. Manuel’s Chancelaria (TdT, vol. 10, f. 132 a-b). For information on João Gomes’ services, cf. in particular Castanheda, II/pp. 314, 434; III, pp. 218, 251, 252, 256, 259, 277, 278, 280, 300, 301; IV, pp. 393, 395, 408; V, pp. 13–14.


107 Correia, II/2, p. 569.


109 Barros, III/3–7, p. 146. None of the chroniclers put a date on the attack on the feitoria, but their context suggests the year 1519, which conflicts with the date of Alvaro Fernandes’s letter (Cannanore, 20 Dec. 1520).


111 Correia, II/2, p. 569. Alvaro Fernandes, whose name does not appear after 1520, seems to have been killed. Gaspar d’Oute, the alcaide-mor, escaped massacre, probably because he reached India earlier. He is mentioned later by Barros, III/6–7, p. 327, and by Castanheda, V/48, p. 80, V/68, pp. 108–10.

112 Castanheda, V/38–43, pp. 63–74.

113 António de Miranda de Azevedo to D. Manuel, (Colombo), 8 Nov. 1519, in As Gavetas, IV, pp. 142–3.


118 Id., V/55, p. 87.

119 Id., V/57, pp. 90–1.


121 Id., V/82, pp. 133–5.

122 Particularly in Canton, where the Banda ambassador’s remarks caused a rupture, Castanheda, V/80, p. 129.


125 António da Fonseca to D. João III, Goa, 18 Oct. 1523, in Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, Lisbon, vol. 6 (1969),
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pp. 194–6, exposes the injustices of such procedures.

126 Zaynuddin/Lopes, pp. 50–1; Castanheda, VI/48, pp. 226–7.
127 Correia, II/2, p. 679.
128 Correia, II/2, p. 680.
129 Zaynuddin lists these ports (ed. Lopes, p. 51). António da Fonseca (loc. cit., p. 186) states that Balia Hacem came from Cannanore, contradicting Castanheda, who gives his origins as Calicut (VI/93, p. 295). On the other hand, Logan, who bases his information on Māppila tradition writes that Balia Hacem was a subject of the rāja of Arakkal, that is of the Ajī Rāja (I, p. 235).

130 António da Fonseca, loc. cit., p. 186; Correia, II/2, p. 861.
132 Correia, II/2, p. 862.
133 António da Fonseca, loc. cit., p. 186.
134 Castanheda, VI/49, p. 227.
135 António da Fonseca to D. João III, loc. cit., p. 186. This delay in the armada's arrival is also mentioned by P. Afonso Fernandes (to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct., 1523, in Silva Rego, Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente, India. Lisbon, 1947, vol. 2, doc. 6).
137 Id., VI/49, p. 227.
138 Id., VI/57, p. 237.
139 Id., VI/69, pp. 256–8.
140 Balia Hacem's presence during the 1523–4 operations is confirmed by António da Fonseca (loc. cit., p. 186), Correia (II/2, pp. 679, 777, 811); his presence in the Maldives by Barros (III/9–1, p. 460).
141 Castanheda, VI/73, p. 264.
142 Barros, III/8–2, pp. 459–66; Castanheda, VI/75–7, pp. 266–70.
143 Barros, III/9–1, p. 460; Correia, II/2, pp. 862–3.
144 Castanheda, VI/80, p. 274.
145 TdT, Coleccão S. Vicente, vol. XI, f. 37 b, doc. 8 hereafter.
146 Poca Amame to D. João III, Cannanore, 14 Jan. 1528, TdT, CC I-38–84, f. 1 a, doc. 6 hereafter.
147 Castanheda, VI/80, p. 274. Barros specifies 30,000 pardaos (III/9–3, p. 469), Correia 20,000 pardacs given by Mamale (II/2, p. 862). These estimations are probably unrealistic.
149 The Muslims had their own system of justice, but it was the sovereign who made the decisions relating to capital punishment.
150 TdT, Coleccão S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 37 b; Barros, III/9–3, p. 469. Correia locates the place of refuge in Māṭāyi (II/2, p. 864) as does Castanheda (VI/81, p. 275) but the latter gives it the geographical characteristics of Dharmapātaḥ by stating that the town stood on the river dividing the kingdoms of Cannanore and Calicut.
151 TdT, Coleccão S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 38 a; Castanheda, VI/81, p. 275; Barros, III/9–3, p. 469.
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152 TdT, Coleção S. Vicente, loc. cit., f. 38 b.
154 Barros, III/9–6, p. 482, III/10–9, p. 530; Castanheda, VI/83, p. 278; VI/91, p. 292.
156 Castanheda, V/34, p. 56.
157 Simão Sodre to D. João III, 28 Dec. 1526, in Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique, loc. cit., vol. 6 (1969) p. 270. According to this document, there were only four men at the Maldives feitoria, and not thirty to forty as claimed by Castanheda (VI/89, p. 289).
159 Jorge Cabral to D. João III, Malacca, 10 Sept. 1527, TdT, CC I-22–80, f. 1 a–b, 2 a; Martim Afonso de Melo Jusarte to D. João III, Malacca, 26 Nov. 1527, TdT, CC II-145–15, f. 1 a–b. These two captains, who were sent to the islands at the beginning of 1526, did not write their report until the following year and only recorded their confrontations with the ships they encountered. Cf. also Diogo do Couto, VII/1–3, p. 22, and 1–6, pp. 38–9.
163 Simão Sodre to D. João III, loc. cit., pp. 271–2. Cristóvão Leitão, and then Luís Martins were appointed Maldives fortress captains (merce, Evora, 1 April 1525, Nucleo Antigo 873, f. 99 b; Lopo Vaz de Sampaio to D. João III, Cochin, 31 Dec. 1527, As Gavetas, X, p. 666) but this building could not be constructed until the middle of the century.
164 Bell, The Maldive Islands, Colombo, 1940, p. 25.
165 Barros, III/3–7, p. 142 even states that they were forty sea leagues from the Malabar coast.
167 Vide supra, chap. I, p. 3.
170 Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 70; Pyrard, I/p. 322.
172 Ibid., f. 1 a.
173 Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct. 1523 in Silva Rego, Documentação para a história do padroado português do Oriente, India, Lisbon, 1947, vol. 2, doc. 6. Only one ship put into the port that year, the wages having been unpaid for more than twelve months. The Portuguese garrison and the indigenous Christians owed their subsistence to the generosity of D. João da
Silveira who was in command of the fortress from 1521 to 1524 and kept an open house at his own expense. D. João’s behaviour was reported to D. João III by the Bishop of Dume (Cochin, 28 Dec. 1523, in Silva Rego, Documentação, op. cit., vol. 2, doc. 7).

174 O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1527, loc. cit., f. 2 a, 4 b.
175 Ibid., f. 1 a-b.
176 The second part of the Corpo cronologico da Torre do Tombo reveals how the armada equipment was deployed in Chaul and Goa after 1519.
177 O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, Cannanore, 15 Jan. 1527, loc. cit., f. 2 b-3 a.
178 Ibid., f. 2 b, 3 a, 3 b.
179 Ibid., f. 3 b and 4 a.
180 Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, Cannanore, 10 Oct. 1523, in Silva Rego,
181 O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, loc. cit., f. 3 b.
182 Afonso Fernandes to D. João III, loc. cit.
183 O feitor e os oficiais de Cananor a D. João III, loc. cit., f. 4 a.
184 Ibid., f. 1 a.
185 Ibid., f. 1 b, 2 a, 4 a.
186 Ibid., f. 4 a-b.
187 Ibid., f. 2 a.
189 Ibid., f. 1 a.
190 Zaynuddin/Lopes, p. 65; Diogo do Couto, V/10-8.
191 The twenty-ninth Ali Rāja sultan was a contemporary of William Logan (c. 1885), Malabar Manuel, vol. 1, p. 360, n. 1.
193 Sebastião Rodrigues Maesim to D João III, Cannanore, 6 Feb. 1528, TdT, CC I-39-17, f. 2 a. This document is the oldest written evidence of the Ali Rāja title.
195 Diogo do Couto, V/10-18.
196 Ibid., VII/16-18.
197 Pyrard gives the name of ‘Malabares’ to the Māppila and that of ‘Naires’ to the highest of the Hindu castes.
APPENDICES

1

LETTER FROM TIMOJI TO
D. FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA

[1508-1509]
TdT, CVR 89

[1a] Esta carta he pera o Viso-Rey de Timogy que lhe beija as mãos c os pees. A carta que me Vosa Senhoria mandou ya ha vy e folgey muito com ela. Sabera Vosa Senhoria que el-Rey de Narçimga mandou por mim e quand o a ele chegey fez-me muita merçe, saber, deu-me hum colar d'ouro de pedraria per a pescoço e outro per a braço e deu-me douis mil panos pera vestir minha yemte toda, e mais me deu dez mill par daos d'oirro pera tratar em cavallos pera elle, e fez-me tamta omrra que nam poso tamta escrever. E saberes que o çamboco de Mamale de Cananor o Çaguay o tomou e matou todolos mouros que nele vinham. He fez-se tam forte no mar que todolos sambucos que per hy pasam todos os toma e a gente dele mata. E o portador desta carta o que ele a Vosa Senhoria dixer crea-lho porque he homem antre nos de credito. E eu mandei duas naos pequenas minhas a buscar lenho pera Vosa Senhoria e te ora nom vierão, e nos ouvimos que eles vinham caregadas e o senhor de Guoa os tomara. E eu busquei lenho pera que derrador e nom nom (sic) pude achar. E saberes, Senhor, que o senhor de Goa cada dia se faz mais forte e nemgem nom navega no medo dele, e o Çaguay faz-se prestes com çem çambucos pequenos e b naos grandes. E vaay em busca de Vosa Senhoria e ysto te chegar a Calecu e com os mouros dela hirem tomarem o castelo de Cochim. E estas novas Vosa Senhoria cuyde nelas, e mais sabera Vosa Senhoria que o Çagual mandou vinte ones ao Malabar deles, a Cochim e a Cananor pera saberem quantas bombardas tendes e quanta jente e naos e o castelo da maneira que soa e ysto tudo escrevo por amor que de tempo antigo e daqui em diante todalas novas que ouvir-as-e-y d'estprever a Vosa Senhoria porque sou voso amigo e [1b] le mereçe que Vosa Senhoria me ha de fazer que m'estpreva o que he neçesario a Vosa Senhoria porque estou prestes pera servir. Beijo as mãos de Vosa Senhoria.

Original
LETTER FROM D. JOÃO DA SILVEIRA TO D. MANUEL, KING OF PORTUGAL

[Colombo], 27. X.1519
TdT, CC I-25-68

[1a] Senhor,
Ja Vossa Alteza tera sabydo per Lopo Ssoarez, que Deus levarya ha salvamento, ho estando em que m'entregou esta ffortaleza que ffoy loguo com temçam dele mesmo ha vyr ffazer dahy a quatro messes porque bem vyo que desta maneyra nam podya estar mays tempo sem muyta ffadygua ; depoys de ssua hyda não se ffex nada. Camdo vy tall começo emparyea d'aguoa que aquy chove muyto he com tudo cayo hum pedaço dela, he com reçeyo que caysse toda ffyz a roda dela hũa cava boa com hũa estacada em que estyvese fforte, porque cada dya tynha nova que ss'ayuntava gemte pera vyr ssobre nos he asy era ver-
dade /// /// ffoy para hyr comtra hum rey vyzynho deste com que aguora tem gera, nam ffora muyto te-la comnosquo sse ystu nam ffora porque sua amyzade ffycou duvydossa he aymda ha nam tenho por muyto ffyxa polas manhas de que lle veyo ussar. Não quebrou ate guora comnosquo, nam me tmym nem temo senão de fugo que pode lamçar do mar na ffortaleza qu'esta cuberta d'ola por medo d'agoa, mas nysto tenho tam boa vygya qu'espero em Deus que ho nam ffaram estas coussas he outras que ssobre vynham. Escrevy loguo per tera a Dyoguo Lopez que soube que vynha por capitam-mor he depoys per hũa caravela que aquy mandou ssaber nova que vyo bem ha estreyta em que stavamos he mays na ffeytorya nam avya dynheyro pera pagar ho mantymemto aos homens. Quys Deus que tynha meu algum com que lhe pagey algumas pagas he depoys ho ffeytory emprestou ho que pode, acabado este pydy emprestado a hum Alyxamdre de Tayde algum que ssoube certo que tynha, dysse-me habertamente que não querya, emtam lhe mandey tomar pelo dyto ffeytory he escryvam ho que nos pareçeo que abomdarya te ho provymento [1b] de Quochym que cada dya es-
peravamos, ho quall aymda tardou tamto que não habastou he Gaspar Ffernandez, cryado de Voss'Alteza, me hoffereçeo he emprestou hum
pouco he com este sustyna gemte te ho que veyo que fforam myil pardaos de que sse devya ja mays d'outros tamtos como per deradeyro tynha escryto, he asy vyeram trezemtos ffardos d'aroz que em húa paga foy todo he quoremta quymtaeis de cobre que aquy não tem valva. He com esta estreyta me tinham fogydos alguns homens pera ho rey, maomdey-lhos pydir; pos-se em não nos dar ssem syguro e porque no conçerto qu'esta ssentam he o comtryaym no hlo dey mas amte fyz repressarym em alguns da tera que tyve te que m'os deu. Crea Voss'Alteza que foay este bom remedyo para nam fugyrem cada dia. Espero por algum aroz de Choramandell remedereym com ele como Deus melhore. Mandam o capytam-mor que faça esta fortaleza com a call d'alguma comcha de que ha cy de fazer aquy em que poderá aver çymqoemta moyos ssegumdo tenho ssabydo pellos omens que am de fazer, folgarya que avomdasse para remendar ystu qu'esta feyto homde me pareçer que e mays neçesaryo, tambem // /// /// /// lhe mandase alguma gemte desta que aquy tenho de que tynha neçesydade he asy alguns berços, com- pry sseu mandado aymda que não ao que compre a fortaleza qu'esta tam fraca. He mays, de tres fustas que aquy fyrcam nam ha ssenam húa, ssem as quaes esta bem craro que a dita fortaleza presta quy pouco ou nada porque com helas sse pode tolher nam vyr nynhum mantynmento a yilha, he com este medo sse pagam as ditas pareas he por neçesydade das ditas fustas tomy hum caravelam que aquy mandou ho capitam-mor pera levar caregua he mamdey-lhe húa caravela que ya quy nam pody sservir nem qoreyer; he com estas quebras he com hos emganos dos fytoreos de Mamalle que dysseram ao Rey que esta fortaleza ss'avya de desmanchar por fazerem ha carega a ssua vontade como fyzeram, sse mostrou aguora ho dito rey dovydosso em pagar yso que la vay, mas o que fyca, crea Voss'Alteza que o am de pagar todo por lhe nam fycar mao custyme porque nysto me trabalho por bom começo nas cousas que podem fycar em foro he assy foram maos d'armar a vir pessar a canela a fortaleza, em fym ya esta ssentam e eles contentem; da canela que ho rey aquy mandou myuta parte lhe emgeytay porque lhe nam tornava [2a] ssenam a myuto escholheyta e nysto me trabalho por fycarem bem customados peras outras pagas e pera a mays ruymda desta am de dar e porque ho myuto apertava por hos navyos çedo partyrem me deu das naos de Mamalle por sser boa canela huma pouca com que ssios (sic) navyos acabaram de carregar e aos das naos pagou de maneyra que fycaram contemtes e creo que muy- to boa he toda ha que la vay sse hos que ha escolhyamos nos nam em- ganamos sse mays navios vyeram todos foram caregados. Nesses hyram
cemta çymqoemta bares que mays nam puderam levar; he vam mays seys alyfamtes em húa nao malavar que veo de Cochyem em que nam couberam mays; estes mouros de Mamale ssam aquy muy oudyossos que sam ja tam areygados na tera que lhe crydo quantas cousas dizem com que fazem ho que lhe vem bem e hestrovam ho sservyçó de Voss’Alteza como mays compyrdamente tenho escryto ao capitam-mor; ho que desta ylha tenho ssabydo tegora he ya esta canela, de iue ha gramde camtydade he assy muytos alyfamtes, algum marfym. Ha hy pedrraya te quy nam sse descobre a nos ssenam muy pouca ha quall nyngem pode vender ssenam este mesmo rey // // / hy outros reis he alguns ssen- horyos todos sse mamtem com aroz que lhe vem per mar. Sse amdassem aquy çymqo ou seys fussas que lho bem podyam tolher parece-me que vyryam a todo partydo. Tenho mays ssabydo que daquy duas leguoa sse pesqua aljofar; trabalharye por me çertefycar do que nyssso se pode fazer he asy ho escreverey ao capitam-mor para sse ouliar ho que for sserviçó de Voss’Alteza. Lopo Ssoarez me leyxou aquy preso ho ditô Alyxamdre da Tayde pola culpa que la dyrra; com tudo quys fazer dele fyell he achey-o bem pollo contrayro pois danava camto eu aproveytava he camdo vy ysto premdî-o camdo começey de pydir as pareas por que mays nam danasse e soltey-o como começey de as aver mamdey-o ao ditô capitam-mor e escrevy-lhy ssua culpa he asy fyquou Ruy Gonçalvez que ho fez em tudo como boa pesoa que he que tambem vay qua Pero Chymy per mandado do capitam-mor.

Mays me mandou o ditô capitam-mor que nestas naos de Mamalle lhe mandase dou alyfamtes porque elle mesmo lho tinha ya emcomen- dado e elle prometydo, nam pude acabar que hos levassem nam nos pude apremar porque m’escreveo que lhe nam posesse nynhum [2b] embarguo a ssua yda como ho que hos puderam ssogygar leva-llos.

Com este rey abry camynho pera sse darem cadano com as ditas pareas alguns aneys, e deram agora doze, trabalharye que pera o ano dem mays e mylhores que esses no que agora nam quys apertar porque nam ssam a yssso hobrygados. Desta ffortaleza de Çeylám, a vynta ssiete dias d’outubro de 1519.

Dom Joham da Sylveira

Adresse : A el-Rey noso senhor
Apostil : de Dom Joham da Sylveira de Çeylám
          Lançada aberta.
Original
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (CONHECIMENTO)

[Colombo], 19. X. 1519

RECEIPT (RECIBO)

[Cannanore], 15. XI. 1520
TdT, CC II-92-106

Senhores feitor e ofeçyaes da feytoria de Cananor, ciii cruzados xb fanões ix tangas
Cotyale e Ale Moçara capitães de Mamale emprrestarrão nesta feytoria de Çeylão quinze mill fanões da tera que valyão quando os emprrestarão quynze hūa tanga que fazem mill tangas, o quall dynheiro emprres-tarão pera mantymento desta fortaleza fazemo-lo saber a Vosas Merçes pera la lhe fazerdes pagamento do dito dinheiro, os quaes quinze mill fanões fycão en reçeyta sobre Amtonio de Lemos feitor per mim Frранçisco Paiz esprívao desta feytoria. Feito oje dezanove dias d'outrubro de mill e quynhentos e dezanove.

Signé: Amtonio de Lemos Frранçisco Paiz Gaspar d'Arujo

Reçeebo Mamale, mourro de Cananor, de Antonio de Carvalho feitor del-Rey nosso ssenhôr, mil tamgas contenidas neste çertydão e por verdade assynou aquy comigo Duarte Barbossa escrivão da feytoria, o xb de novembro de 1520.

Signé: Duarte Barbossa

Signature autographe en malayalam

Apostil: arrecade ..., ho dinheiro da feitoria porque ho nom paga-ram ca.

Original
INQUIRY SET UP IN CEYLON BY LOPO DE BRITO REGARDING THE TRIBUTE AND THE CINNAMON

[Colombo], 1522
TdT, CC II-99-102

Trellado de ymquiriçam que se tirou presentte Llopo de Brito capitam desta ffortalleza de Ceilam per hum alvara do capitam-mor.

[1a] Anno do nacymemto de Nosso Senhor Yhesu Christo de myll e quynhemtos e vymte e dous anos aos vymte e tres dias do mes de janeyro da sobredita era, em esta ffortalleza de Ceilam per hum patamar ffoy apresentado a Llopo de Bryto, capitam da dita fortalleza, hum alvara do senhor Dom Duarte de Meneses, capitam-moor e guovernador da Ímdia, o quall alvara vysto per elle capitam ffoy lloguo cumprido e mandou trelladar em este auto de verbo a verbo do quall alvara o trellado he ho seguymte. Dom Duarte de Meneses do comselho del-Rei nosso senhor, capitam gerall e governador das Ímdias e capitam governador da çydade de Tangere, faço a ssaber a vos Llopo de Bryto capitam por ho dito senhor em Ceilam que el-Rei nosso senhor me escreveo huma carta em que me manda que me çertefique por testemunhas e pessoas que nessa ylha estavam em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira, por cuya culpa a ssua cannella que hos mouros dessa tera ssam obrygados de lhe paguar em cada hum ano vem danada; pollo quall da parte do dito senhor e da mynha vos mamdo que mamdes vir amte vos hum tabaliam dahy e com vosquo hum emqueredor e façeçe tirar o testemunho das partes que em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira se ha hy acertaram, os quaees seram perguntadas per estes artiguos:

[1b] Item. O primeiro ssera quanto tempo estam na dita ilha.

Item. Se sabem quamtas vezes em tempo de Dom Joham da Sylveira se receberam as pareaas del-Rei nosso senhor.

Item. Maneira se tinha ao receber da canella e quem era presentte quandmo se recebia.

Item. Sse recebiam a esto maa e booa assy como vynha.

Item. Se por lhe tomarem roym se lhe tomavam dous pessoas por hum.
Item. Que por que lha assy tomassem se lhe davam por yssas peitas e sse as recebeo o capitam e officyaees.

Item. Se polha ventura se sse danou por deffeyto das naos serem velhas e fazerem aguoa, e tirada asy a dita ymquiryçam e assynada per as testemunhas e per vos e emqueredor e asellada, maa enviarees per a prymeira via que pera qua vyer semdo segura e ficamdo vos lla o trellado della pera que a propea se sse perde se torne a veer por ho trellado e cumprido assy e com brevydade, feito em Cochym aos vymnte e çymqo dias de novembro o secretareo o ffez de myll e quynhentos e vymte e hum.

E trellado assy o dito alvara e artiguos com o dito he ho dito capitam mandou per amte ssy vir Diogo de Baios e lhe mandou que ffosse emqueredor deste ffeito e perguntae as testemunhas que sse neste casso apresen tassem, as quaees fforam perguntaeas per amte o dito capitam. Joham d'Almeida, pubrico tabeliam em a dita ffortaleza o escrevy.

[2a] Item. Bautista Pirez, ssoobre rollda desta ffortaleza, testemunha jurado aos sanctos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntae per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntae elle testemunha per o primeiro artigo e hapontamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que era verdade que veo pera esta ylha ao tempo que Llopo Soarez aqui veo que sse esta fortaleza entam ffez sem numqua mays sair fflora da dita ilha, e do dito artigno e apontamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntae elle testemunha per o segundgo artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que a primeira paga que se aqui ffez das pareaes que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor que Llopo Soarez capitam-moor que em tam era mandou receber a primeira paga que ho dito Rei de Çeilam fez a el-Rei noso senhor, e que elle nom sabe quando pagaram nem quanto eram e disse elle testemunha que a segundga paga ffoy feita a Dom Yoão da Sylveira que emtam aqui era capacitam e as outras pagas foram feitas à Llopo de Bryto que despoys aqui em trou po r capitam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntae elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello [2b] sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando se recebaya a canella que era presemte Amtonio
de Lemos que era ffetor e Ffrancisco Paez e Gaspar d’Araujo escry-
vaées e que muitas vezes hya o capitam Dom Joham da Sylveira a ver
a dita canella sse era maq ou booa e o que se no dito pesso ffazia, e
do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he
verdade que quando se ha dita canella trazia que muyta della achatavam
roym e ha emeitavam e a nom queryam tomar aos negros e que sempre
elle testemunha vyo emeitar a ma e escolher a booa e que toda a booa
se levava pera Portugall, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quyymto artiguo e hapom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que
numqua vyo tomar senam hum ssso pesso de muyto boo canella como
dito tem e temdo muytas comtedamas com os negros que ha dita canella
traziam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o sseisio artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que
numqua ouvio dezer nem ssabe que por tomarem roym canella nem
booa que nunqua tomasssem peitas aos negros ho capitam e nem offi-
cyaees como no dito artiguo e apomtamento faz memçam, e do dito
artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[3a] Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e hapom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que a
canella que daqui Dom Joham mandou foy na nao Samta Cruz he em
huma caravella e em huma nao de Mamalle, mouro que hya pera Cananor,
e sse as ditas naos ffaziam aguoa ou nam que elle testemunha o nom
sabe, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d’Almeida
tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gregoreo Mendez, cassado nesta ffortalleza, testemunha jurado
aos santos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em
premença do dito capitam e pergumtado pero o custume e coussas que
lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e apomta-
mento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita pergunta que era ho que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he
verdade que esteve sempre nesta ffortalleza des que se ffez ate agora
sem numqa desta ylha ir fora, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom
dise.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumdo artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decararo
e feita perguntu que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que
no tempo que aqui Dom Joham da Sylveira esteve por capitam se fez
huma paga das pareas que el-Rei de Ceilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor,
e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[36] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terçeiro artiguo e
apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decra-
rado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha
que he verdade que quando se a dita canella reçebia era presentem
Antony de Lemos que aqui era ffeitor e Framçysquo Paez e Gaspar
d'Araujo escryvães e que tambem algumas vezes hia ahy teer Dom
Yoão da Sylveira capitam a ver o que faziam ou como pessaram a dita
canella, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado
e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que
he verdade que quando se a dita canella recebia que elle muitas vezes
a vira escolher ha Gaspar d'Araujo a booo e emeitir a maa, e disse
elle testemunha que muitas vezes vyra a queixar-se Dom Joham que
lhe traziam roym canella que mandava estar sempre hahy os oficýaees
pera escolherem a booa canella da roym como dito tem, e do dito artiguo
e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artiguo e hapom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado
e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nom
sabe nem ouvyra dezer nunqua que hos oficýaees tomassen dous
pesso de canella roym por hum bom nem mays do que atraz tem dito
e decrarado, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[4a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado
e feita perguntu que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que
nom sabe nem ouvio dezer que o dito Dom Joham e oficýaees reçebesem
peitas dos mouros por lhe receberem roym canella, e do dito artiguo e
apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e apom-
tamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e
feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he
verdade que hao tempo que sse careguou a nao Samta Cruz de canella despoys da dita nao ser caregada chovera muyto e que elle testemunha fora a dita nao e que hos marynheiros della lhe diseram que entrava muyta aguoa por a cuberta, e disse elle testemunha que lhe parece que por este respeito por asy emtrar aguoa por a cuberta sse poderya danar a canella, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gravyell Ffernandez, cassado nesta fortalleza, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor foys dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertençem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o pryemiero artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dyto alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita perguntu [46] que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que despoys que sse esta fortalleza começou atee agora sempre esteve na dita ylha, e do dito artiguo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segundo artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que aqui se fez huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam pagua a el-Rei noso senhor a Dom Joham da Sylveira que era capitam, e do dito artiguo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando traziam a canella recebia que era presente Antamo de Lemos ffeitor e Francisco Paees e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvães, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita perguntu que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando traziam a canella sse vinha alguma roym que ha emgeitavam e escolhyam a booa e caregavam a booa e deixavam a roym e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quyymto artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decrarado e feita perguntu que era o que dello [5a] sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvyo dezer que tomassen dous pessoes de canella roym per hum bom como no artiguo fez memçam, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.
Appendices

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seisto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoyl lido e deocrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nom ssabe nam ouvio dezzer que ho capitam nem ofiçyaees dos negros llevasssem peita nem d'outra nenhuma pessoa por elles, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoyl lido e deocrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que aqui veo teer huma nao del-Rei nosso senhor per nome chamada Samta Cruz a quall fora da Chyna teer a Côchym e que sem mays ser coregida veo aqui ter segundo elle testemunha ouvio dezzer, a quall nao por trazer a cuberta aberta mandou o capitam carafatees a dita nao a calafeta-lla e o que mays nyssse se passou que elles testemunha o nom sabe e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Gaspar Llopez, mestre dos calafates, cassado nesta fortaleza, testemunha jurado aos santos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoyl dado em presençã do dito capitam e pergumtado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

[5b] Item. Pergumtado elle testemúinha per o primeiro artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoyl lido e deocrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que pode aver tres anos que esta nesta ffortaleza e ylha e que despoys que se esta fortaleza começou ateu agora sem nuncaa se fora ir e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o ssegundo artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoyl lido e deocrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que ssabe que Dom Joham da Sylveira recebeo huma soo paga o tempo que aqui ffoyl capitam das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o terceiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoyl lido e deocrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que quando se a dita canella recebia que eram presentes Amtonyo de Llemos ffeitor e Ffrancysquo Paeze e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees e que muitas vezes hya ahy teer Dom Joham da Sylveira a veer o que ffaziam, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.
Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando os mouros entregavam a canella aos offiçyaees [6a] del-Rei nosso senhor que elle avia escolher e tomar a booa e deixar a roym e emgeita-lla, e que alguma vyra elle testemunha tomar hum pouquo verde porem era muito boa e que desta maneira a vio elle testemunha receber, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymento artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyo nem ouvio dezer que tomassem dous pessos de canella roym por hum bom salvo como no artiguo e apomtamento tem dito, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per ho seisto artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem oficyaees tomassem peitas por lhe tomarem roym canella, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno e ffinal artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decrarado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que aquelle anno que Dom Yoão da Sylveira ffez a carega da canella que ffoy em huma nao del-Rei nosso senhor que sse chama Samta Cruz e por a dita nao ser podre e velha o dito Dom Yoão da Sylveira a mandou coreger o mylhor que pod e ser e que elle testemunha fora lla com os outros calafates [6b] per mandado de Dom Joham a corege-lla e que por a dita nao ser muita velha e podre toda aguoa que chovya hya teer abaixo porque nom querya manter estopa na cuberta nem na alcaçova nem em toda a nao e assy dfazia tambem a dita nao per bayxo e que elle testemunha ouvira dezer que quando a nao daquy partira com a canella que alguma delle hya ja molhada por chover muyto, e disse elle testemunha que ouvira dezer ao mestre e ao piloto e maryneiros da dita nao que como a nao era a vella no mar que se abrya e jugava toda per bayxo e per riba e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Pero Tavares, homem d'armas, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presemça do dito capitam e perguntado per o custome e cousas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.
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Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e hopomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffloy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que elle veo aqui teer na nao Samta Cruz em que Dom Joham ffez a primeira caregua na dita nao Samta Cruz e de aquelle tempo atee agora sempre esteve nesta ylha e ffortalleza, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segundo artiguo e hopomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffloy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que em tempo [7a] que aqui Dom Joham da Sylveira ffora capitam que elle vyra reçeber huma soo pagua das pareas que el-Rei de Çeïlam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffloy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando se a canella reçebia que estava de presente Am-tonyo de Lemos, feitor, Frãçysquo Paez e Gaspar d'Araujo escry-vães e que muytas vezes hya hahy teer Dom Yoão da Sylveira a ver o que ffaziam, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffloy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando se a dita canella reçebia que escolhyam a booa e emgeitavam a roym aos negros que ha traziam e disse elle testemunha que ssabe que ho dito Dom Joham mandou queimar huma Gramde soma de canella dos negros que lhe assy emgeitavam, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quynto artiguo e hopomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo fowy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyra nem ouvira dezer que tomassõe douss pessoes de canella roym per hum bom, [7b] e do dito artiguo e hopomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seistro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffloy lildo e decorrado e feita perguntu que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyo nam ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem officyaees tomasem peitas de lhe tomarem booa canella nem roym, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.
Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foxy llido e declarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia disse elle testemunha que he verdade que elle vyera da Ímédia na nao Samta Cruz omde o dito Dom Yoão da Sylveira mamdoera ha canella e que quando de Cochym partio que ha dita nao vynha ya podre e que ffazia muita aguoa e que ho dito Dom Joham a mandara coregeer o mylhor que pode e que por a nao ser podre bem poderya no mar abryr aguoa, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d’Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Framçysquo Llopeiz, homem d’armas, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor foy dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foxy llido e declarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que veo pera esta [8a] yilha com Llopo Soarez que ffex esta ffortalleza e des que se ffex atee agora sempre esteve nella, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segundo artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foxy llido e declarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que em tempo que haquy Dom Joham da Sylveira ffora capitam se recebeo huma soo veez as pareas que el-Rei de Çeílam paga a el-Rey noso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terçheiro artiguo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foxy llido e declarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando sse a dita canella recibia que era presente Amtonyo de Llemos feitor e Framçysquo Paeiz e Gaspar d’Araujo escry-vãees, e do dito artiguo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo foxy llido e declarado e ffexa pergunta que era o que dello ssabia disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando os offycyxaes del-Rei nosso senhor recebiam a canella que ha escolhyam e tomavam a booa e emgeitavam a roym aos mouros, e disse elle testemunha que por os negros nom darem canella em abastamça pero caregarem as naos del-Rei nosso senhor e por que a monçam nom passase e aqui estavam duas naos de Cananor caregadas
[86] de canella que Dom Yoão da Sylveira mandara as ditas naos tomar certos fardos de canella, vyera em tera e fflora pesada emfardellada assy como vynha das naos e assy fora levada as naos del-Rei noso senhor e que sse esta canella que assy vyera emfardellada era booa ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe nem sabe quanto fardos de canella tomaram as ditas naos, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymento artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lldo e deccrarado e feita perguntta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que hos ofičyaes tomasen dous pessoes de canella roym per hum bom, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lldo e deccrarado e feita perguntta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nom ssabe nem ouvuo dezer que ho capitam tomarasse peitas nem os ofičyaees aos negros por lhe tomarem roym canella por booa e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lldo e deccrarado e feita perguntta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que a nao Samta Cruz que haquio veo era velha e que elle testemunha ouvira dezer ao calafate que fforalla per mamlado de Dom Yoão [9a] da Sylveira que a nao era tam velha e tam podre que ha coregia per hum cabo e que abrya per outro e que se se a canella danou ou molhou por a nao fazer muita aguoa que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d'Almeida tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Guylherme de Burgees, comdestabre desta fortalleza, testemunha yurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntado por o costume e coussas que lhe ptermçem dis nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lldo e deccrarado e feita perguntta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que vyera teer com Llopo Soarez a esta ylha e que des que se esta ffortalleza começou de fazer ate aguora sempre aqui esteve sem nunqua yr fflora desta ylha, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segundmo artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lldo e deccrarado
e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que ho tempo que aqui esteve Dom Joham da Sylveira por capitam se foy huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çelam paga a ell-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[9b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decararado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que quando se a canella recebia que estava presente Amtonyo de Lemos feitor e Ffrancisco Paeze e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decararado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que quando se a dita canella recebia que vyo escolher a booa aees offyçyæes que hahy estavam e emgeitar a roym a estes negros que ha traziam per mamdado de Dom Yoão da Sylveira, e do dito artiguo e hapomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per ho quyymto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decararado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyra nem ouvira dezir que ho osficyæes recebesem dous pessos de canella roym per hum bom, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e decararado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyo nem ouvyo dezir que ho capitam Dom Joham da Sylveira tomase peitas nem os ofyçyæes [10a] com elle mas que amtes vyra a queixar-se Dom Yoão porque hos negros nom traziam canella e que mandou a huma nao que aqui estava de Canonor tomar canella e faze-lha caregar nas naos del-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e ffinall apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llido e deccarrado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que elle vyra a queixar-sse ao mestre da nao Santa Cruz que haquí vyera a Dom Yoão da Sylveira que aquella nao que fazia muito aguoa e que entam mandara o dito Dom Yoão a dita nao a corege-lha e que vysem sse a dita nao era segura pera poder levar caregua e por o coregiumento que lhe assy fezeriam diseram os ofyçyæes que ha foram coreger
que poderia levar caregua com outras duas que daqui fforam e que sse lla danou ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse. Joham d’Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Nuno Alvarez, proveador dos defumtos desta ffortaleza, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avamgelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capitam e perguntado per o custume e cousass que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

[10b] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o prymeiro artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e deccrarádo e feita perguntua que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que des que sse esta ffortaleza começou atee agora sempre aqui esteve e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o ssegundo artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e deccrarádo e feita perguntua que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui Dom Yoão da Sylveira esteve por capitam que se nom ffez mays que huma soo pagua das pares que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rey nosso senhor, e ajuntamndo se a canella no segundo anno do seu tempo vyera Llodo de Bryto por capitam pera a dita ffortaleza e lhe ffizeram aquella pagua, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e deccrarádo e feita perguntua que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que hao receber da canella ao pesso estavam continoadamentee Ffrançysquo Paaez e Gaspar d’Araujo escryvãees e ho capitam muitas ymfímdas vezes e que sse Amtony de Lemos feitor deixou de ir hahy estas algumas vezes foy porqué era doemte de peçonha que hos seus escravos lhe deram da quall moreo, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[11a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artigo e hapomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e deccrarádo e feita perguntua que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que segundo Deus e sua conçyemçya lhe parece que se emgeitou muito grande soma de canella que sse aqueixava el-Rei de Çeilam e os negros que per sua parte ao pesso estavam e com todo nom deixavam d’escolher a booa e deixar a roym e emgeita-lla, e do dito artigo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artigo e apomtamento conteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e deccrarádo e feita perguntua que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que ouvira dezer que os negros por se verem tam afadigados do escolher
da canella que dariam dous pessoes por hum e que os officiyyaes e capitam disseram que nom aviam de consentir nyssso que lhe nom comettessem isso e que ysto ouvira elle testemunha dezer jeralmente mas que se isto assy ffoy cometido e feito ou nam que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha pera o sseisto artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que numqua vyo nem ouvio dezer que ho capitam nem officiyyaes tomasesm peitas por receberem boa canella nem maa, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[118] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno e finaln artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decraro e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que ouvio dezer ao mestre dos calafatees que huma nao que se chama Samta Cruz que aqui veo por a dita canella que afora ver per mandado de Dom Yohão capitam pera veer se lhe era neçsareo alguma coussa pera lhe coreguer e que elle dito testemunha ouvio dezer ao dito calafe (sic) que a nao era tam velha e tam podre que estando dentro nella ouvera medo de estar nella por jugar toda e com todo que ha coregera o mylhor que podera e que ha caregara de canella a elle e a outras duas que daqui fforam pera Cochym, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d’Almeida pubricio tabeliam o escrevy.

Item. Symam Rodríguez, escudeyro do Bispo de Llamego, testemunha jurado aos samtos Avangelhos que lhe per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capytam e perguntado per o costume e coussas que lhe pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que des que esta ffortalleza começou a fazer que ffoy quandmo Llopo Soarey aqui veo atee agora sssemple aqui esteve nesta ylha sem mays numqua yr ffora desta ffortalleza, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[12a] Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o segumndo artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lido e decrarado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui esteve Dom Joham da Sylveira por capitam nom se receberem mays que huma soo vez as paraes que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei nosso senhor, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.
Appendices

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o terceiro artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que hao receber da dita canella ao pesso que era hahy presente muytas vezes Amtonyo de Llemos feitor e que quando nom vynha por estar mall semtido de peçonha que lhe deram, vynha alli estar hum homem da feitorya por elle e que Francisco Paeem e Gaspar d'Araujo escryvãees vynhah ohy estar contiroadamente ao pessar e receber da dita canella e que muitas vezes vynha ahy estar Dom Yoão da Sylveira a ver como se pessava e tomava a canella na mão e dezia esta he boo e esta nam he booa e que por esta maneira se fazia e recebia a dita canella, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que he verdade que quando a canela vynha [12b] se deitava em hum tereiro e se escolhaya toda e sse emxagava se vynha molhada e escolhyam a booa pao e pao e tomavam-na e emgeitavam a roym aos negros que ha traziam e que desta maneira o vyra elle testemunha muitas vezes fazer, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quymto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyo nem ouvio dever que ho capitam nem ofìçyaees tomasem douss pessoes de canella roym per hum bom mas amtes a escolhyam muito boa como dito tem, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seysto artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que nunca vyo nem ouvio dever que ho capitam nem hoffìçyaees tosmes peitas per receberem roym canella aos negros mas que amtes o dito Dom Joham da Sylveira dava panos e betre aos negros que tinham carego de a trazer por os contemtar pera que lhe trouxesem a dita canella e que elle testemunha sabe ysto por ver dar ao dito capitam os panos e os fanams pera o betre, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seteno artiguo e ffinall apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara [13a] que lhe todo ffoy lildo e decraraado e feita pergunta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que veyo teer aqui aquelle anno huma náo del-Rey nosso senhor que se chama Ssamta Cruz e que ouvio dever que fazia muita aguoa e
que se hya ao fundo e que vyera de Malaqua e nom fora coregeda em Cochym e que ho capitam a mandara coreger per os calafatees e esteirar toda de esteiras por sse a dita canella nom molhar e que tambem fora aquelle anno hum navio e que tambem fazia aquoa muita e assy fora tambem huma nao malavar com alifantes e tambem levara canella alguma e que sse se a dita canella molhara nas ditas naos que elle testemunha o nam sabe, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d’Almeida tabeliam publico o escrevy.

Item. Atonio Diaz, homem d’armas, testemunha yurado aos samtos Avanghelhos que lle per o dito emqueredor ffoy dado em presença do dito capitam e pergumtado per o costume e cousas que lle pertemçem disse nychell.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o primeiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lle todo ffoy lido e decorrado e ffeita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que des que aqui veo Llopo Soarez a fazer esta fortaleza que elle vyera com elle e que sempre estevera nella salvo tres meses que fora a Cochym despoys de Dom Yoão da Sylveira ser partido avia hum mees e tornou lloguo pera a dita ffortaleza omde agora esta, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

[13b] Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o segunduo artiguo e hapomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lle todo ffoy lido e decraroato e ffeita pergumta que era o que dello ssabia, disse elle testemunha que no tempo que aqui esteve Dom Yoão da Sylveira por capitam que se nom ffez mays de huma soo paga das pareas que el-Rei de Çeilam paga a el-Rei noso senhor e que a outra segundua paga veo teer Llopo de Bryto e lle ffoy feita e que ho dito Dom Joham da Sylveira nom fizera mays de huma soo como dito tem, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o terçheiro artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lle todo ffoy lido e decorrado e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que hao reçebeer da dita canella estava as vezes Antonyo de Llemos feitor hahy, e as vezes hum homem que elle punha por ssy e que assy as vezes estava ahy Ffrancisco Paeex e Gaspar d’Araujo, escryvãees da feitoria e que has vezes estavam ambos e que esta hera a maneira que se tinha no reçeber da dita canella, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Pergumtado elle testemunha per o quarto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lle todo ffoy lido e decorrado
e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que muitas vezes ouvyr a dezzer que emgeitavam muita canella roym aos negros e que elle testemunha [14a] a vyra tornar a levar aos negros da fortaleza pera fora, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o quynto artiguo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llydo e decrarádo e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyra nem ouvira dezzer que hos oficyaes nem capitam tomasesm dous pesos de canella roym per hum bom como no artiguo ffaz memçam, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse.

Item. Perguntado elle testemunha per o seisto artigo e apomtamento comteudo no dito alvara que lhe todo ffoy llydo e decrarádo e feita pergumta que era o que dello sabia, disse elle testemunha que nunqua vyra nem ouvira dezzer que ho capitam nem oficyaes tomasesm peitas aos negros por lhe tomarem roym canella como no artiguo fez mençam, e do dito artiguo e apomtamento all nom disse. Yoão d’Almeida pubrico tabeliam o escrevy.

[14b] Este trelad do inquiyrçam ffoy treladado do trelado que em meu poder esta per mandado de Llopo de Bryto capitam da dita ffor-taleza em que mandou a mim Yoão d’Almeida tabeliam pubrico em / / que ho dese a Gaspar Afonso criglo de mi. ssa que da parte de Dom Johann da Sylaveira lhe reqüero pera se de-lhe ajudar se lhe neçessareo ffor o quall eu tabeliam todo treladei de verbo a verbo per ser mando e aquy meu pubrico synall fyz que tall he.

Address : Esta emquryçao se darra ao senhor Barrão e estas olas e cartas.

Apostil : Lançada
Inquirição que tirou Lopo de Bryto em Ceilão sobre as pareas e canela que nom vinha boa.
Inquirição sobre...
Nada ao caso
Pague cento cimqoemta reis.

Original
LETTER FROM THE FACTOR AND THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE CANNANORE FORTRESS TO D. JOÃO III, KING OF PORTUGAL

[Cannanore], 15. I. 1527
TdT, CC I-35-76

[1a] Vimos a cartaa que Vossa Alteza nos espreveo a estaa ffortaleza de Cananor em que nos mamda que meudaammente lhe esprevamos e demos conta das mercadarias e dinheiro que recebemos pera o cabedall da casa que nos o Vedor da ffaezemda mamda entregar e os empreguus que ffezemos e o proveito que se nello fez e os preços per que se vemdem as mercadarias que della do Reino vem e asy os preços das que compramos e lla enviavmos e asy os soldos e mamtimentos que se cadano pagam nesta ffeitoria e quaaes quer outras despesas que per seu servio se fazem e que tenhamos especiaall cuidado de cadano lho esprever.

O ffeitor Bastiam Rodriguez começo de servir em ffeveiro de mill e quinhentos e vimte seis e recebeo a ffeitoria de Ffrancisco Diaaz sem nem-huun dinheiro nem mercadarias na casa sobmente huun pouquo de corall bastardo que hy estava muito bayxo emgeitado de mercadores mas amte lhe deixou pasante de trres mill cruzados de dividas, e o que, Senhor, recebemos e o segimte.

Item. De cobre em pãees ixoRjta quintaes meio que valem aqui a iiij biijc reis o quintall iiiij contos biijcix mil e ijc reis o quall nos per vezes o Vedor da ffaezemda madmou entregar.

Item. De chunbo, xxxj quintaes meio a j biijc+x reis o quintall lb 1
[1b] [Item]. Recebemos de corall bastardo com o que achamos na casa xxbiij quintaes que vall a xj mill ije3xxxbiij reis o quintall, iiijcxbj mill xxxxbj reis.

Item. Recebemos de corall bramquo iiij quintaes j aroba xij arrates que vall ctoxx mill reis o quintall, iiijcij mill ijel reis.

Item. Recebemos de corall toro xbij quintaes j aroba xxij arrateis que vall sesemta mill reis o quintall huum conto Rb mill biijc lxxxj reis.

Item. Recebemos mais em dinheiro que nos o Vedor da ffaezenda madmou dar per vezes dous contos biijcxbij mill iiijc reis em que emtraa alguaas pouqua de ffaezenda que vemedemos e de deffumtos.
estes preços fforam asentados quyseraa o Vedor da fazemda emteinder niso e achou que se nom avamte ja vaa nadaa em seu serviço porque asy como nos tomam o cobre asy nos dam a pinemtaka e gemgivre e cairo e outras cousas que nom mudam a sustamçiaa do preço dos ffanões e ffica-nos a menos preço por elles serem de baixa ley.

E o gemgivre nos custaa a iijelixxxb reis o quimtal ieste porem as vezes vall mais e as vezes menos segundo as novidades da terra porque he cousa que se faz cadano, ho anno passado o compramos a lxxx bill fanões // //

[2b] // // bar o este anno asy ficou sem se mais mudar que he a respeito destes iijelixxxb reis quintall e o Rey que nos lho daa comprraoo a çemto seis ffanões em que perde dinheiro por o teremos jaa asy asem- tado e se nam mudar este anno preço.

Item. O dinheiro se gastou desta maneira, saber, deu por iijij ijejeb arcos de fferro pera pipás que mamdamos a Cochym pelas armadas a xxx reis o arco, c60 xxbij mill bjel reis.

Item. Das casas da ffeitoriaa que o Vedor da fazenda deu d’empreit- tado iijelixx mill reis, as quaaes se fazem de pedraa e call e sobradas no proprio lugar omde a feytoriaa estavaa de pedraa e barro e terrea e jaa velha e mall repairada.

Item. Nas casas que mamdou ffazer pela polvora e salitere fforaa da ffortaleza que tambem deu d’empreitada çem mill reis.

Item. Nas casas da ffortalezaa ramadas feitoriaa e almazem e cor- doariaa que tambem deu d’empreitadaa pera se cobryrem d’ollaa, xxb mill reis.

Item. Que mamdou dar a Manoell da Sylvaa que Deus ajaa, capiitão da ffusatalha de Goaa que aqui amduo este verão ate o matarem, lxij mill iijelixxx reis pera pagar os remeieros da suaa armadaa.

Item. Em setee parraoes e bargamtis que amdam d’armada e saaem destaa ffortaleza que tem feyto neste verão muita gerraa aos mouros de Calecud e tem mortos muitos delles e tomados muitos paraos e artelhariaa nos remeieros que nelles amdam gastamos em suas soldadas sobmente c60Riiij mill ixeris.

O Governador D. Amrrrique que Deus ajaa, quamdo esteve sobre Calecud e mamdou desefazer a ffortaleza, deu huum alvara a companha que amdavam nos bargamtis e paraos desta ffortaleza em que lhe daa todaa a fazenda que tosmam em navios de remos sobmente os cascos e artelhariaa fficasa pera Vosa Alteza e depois comfirmou o Governador Lopo Vaaz de Sampayo.
e em comprar madeira pera estas taes cousas e louçaa de barro pera ffazerem as aguadas, e em comprar refestos pera os governadores e capitães-mores quamdo pera aqui pasam, e pera os Frades d’Auservamçia que tambem pera aqui pasam muitas vezes, e em lhe dar carlaas pera avitos e pera ouutros servicos dos mosteiros, e em comprar vinho pelas misas e pera o espiritall, e em çeraa pelas igrejas que se sempre gastaa nos officios devinos, e em call e pedraa pera rememdarias e em pedreiros que sempre pouco ou muito tem que rememdar nesta fforteza que jaz todia no châão ou tall que nom a nella cousa que preste senam a torre da menajem, e asy em hûua cavaa que se começou ffazer com seu baлуarte no meyo huum tiro de bestaa ffora dos muros pera que ficase dentro agoaa por quamto dentro na fforteza nam haa nemhûua agoaa, a quall cavaa tomam de mar a maar e ho comprimento dell e pouquo mais que a façe do muro da fortaleza que tambem toam de maar a maar e fase estaa cavaa em tall lugar e de tall maneira que ficaa muito seguraa a ffortezaa e muy defensavell e com suua agoaa dentro. Pareçeoo bem ao Viso-Rey que Deus ajaa, e asy a todollos governadores e outros capitais ffazer-se.

Item. Continoadaamente estam nesta fforteza duzentos omeens pera guarda e defensam della e porque tambem pasam pera quy huuns vão e outros vem e fazem demoraa e porque nom podem todos emvernar em Cochim nem em Goaa e semdo esta cavaa acabada e o muro sobrella feyto com seus cubiclos e o bałuarte do meyo, çent o çimquoemta homens abastam pera <guar> da e defensam della com outros Imdios cristãos / / / ficãoo dentro que sam homeens pera pelejar [44] e ajudar a defemd pera os quaaes çent o çimquoemta <homens> he neçessario cadano de doldos e ordenados huum conto bii / / / lx mill reis emtrando hy capitàaoo, alcaide-mor, feitor e todos outros officiaaes e pera mambtimento da gentem d’armaas por ano bijexx mill reis.

E os xxxj quintais de chunbo se gastaram em pelouros de falcões e berços que se dam as armadas e aos espingardeiros.

E o que nos fficaa na casaa he saber os ijexxj quintais j aroba de cobre que vall huum conto lxij mill reis.

E o corall nos ffiquaa aímdaa por vemder que vall todo em somaa huum conto bije lxij mill reis que soma em todo ho que fficaa na casa em mercadorias do reyno dous contos bije xxm mill reis e gastaram-se neste ano seis contos bexxxxj mill reis em que entra dous mill quintais de gemgivre e mill e duzentos de pimenta que temos paguo e por aqui poderaa Vossa Alteza saber o proveito que tem desta fforteza, olhamdo os preços por que se llaa comprraa o corall e cobre e os preços por que se
rey. Beijamos de Vossa real Alteza (sic). De Cananor, a xb de janeiro de 1527.

Vimos hum alvara de Vosa Alteza que mamda que os capitães nom mamdem em suas fazenda quem lhe iso lembrou nom desejaa pouco seu serviço deveraa Vossa Alteza com elle mambdar pera os officiaes hum seguro reall pera o poderem servir como devem, porque d'outra maneira ho nom podem ffazer sem suas vidas e omrras correrem muito risquo.

///... Sebastian Rodrigues Maresym Duarte Barbosa
/// tela.

Address : Pera el-Rey nosso senhor

Apostil : Da feitoria de Cananor
          Do feitor e ofeçaes de Cananor

Original
LETTER FROM POCA AMAME TO D. JOÃO III, KING OF PORTUGAL

[Cannanore], 14. I. 1528
TdT, CC I-38-84

[1a] Senhor,
Em tempo del-Rei voso pai que santa grória aja, era seu servyodor Mamale que mandou toda esta tera de Cananor e por morte de Mamale meu irmão, fyquey eu Poca Amame em lugar de regedor deste Cananor e de servyodor de Vosa Alteza e asy ho he el-Rei de Cananor de cuyo vasalo eu, Senhor, sam e ysto por me ter muitas vezes dito e mandado que todas as cousas que comprirem o servyço de Vosa Alteza muito ymtei-ramente as faça e como o seu serviço compre. Estes dias que me Deus der de vyda espeoro nele nam ter outros serviços nem ser d‘outrem vasalo senam de Vosa Alteza e dell-Rey noso senhor. E a vontade que tenho ao servyço de Vosa Alteza bem lho podera dyzer os seus feytor e ofyçiæes deste Cananor que vos servem co[m] cabos [1b] criados e asy vos dirão que ell-Rey de Calecut tem muitos paraes e faz muitos males a gente de Vosa Alteza e el-Rei de Cananor com todos nos outros seus vasalos sempre estamos prestes pera servyr Vosa Alteza como leaes servydores. E per vos termos esta vontade recebemos dos mouros de Calecut muitos danos em nosas fazendas ho que tudo avemos por bem empregado poys e por Vosa Alteza e - nos com hos vosos lasqarys e criados es-pero em Deus que lhe faremos tantos danos como ate qy deles recebemos. Vosa Alteza tem quantos fidallgos e cavaleryros, eu são tamanho seu servidor que como qulquer deles me pode fazer mercê em se querer de mim servyr. Forra Vosa Alteza tamto omrado e de tanto credito com ha corte pera ho capytão que aqy for nesta fortaleza como se nam fez o vasalo que Vosa Alteza tivese; porque como os cristãos e mouros souberem a onra que de Vosa Alteza recebo terrão em conta de quanto seu servyodor são, posto que sabydo e manifesto seya [2a] porque bem
sabem todos que com a mercadaria que dela vem e qa nam vall tanto como os vosos feitorres as tem taxado, eu as tomo com meus parentes e amigos por Vosa Alteza nam receber perda. No mais senam fiquo rogando a Noso Senhor que lhe acreçente seus dias pera nos ter sempre em justiça como nos qa dyzer que fazes. Feyta em Cananor oje xiiiij dias de janeirro de 528.

De Poqa Amame. (Autographic signature in Malayalam).

Address : el-Rei noso senhor
Apostil : De Poqa Amame
A 22 d'abrill me foy dada.

Original
LETTER FROM THE KÔLAठHRI TO MARTIM AFONSO DE SOUSA

[1545?]
TdT, São Lourenço, III-130

[1a] Apomtamentos del-Rey de Cananor pera ho Senhor Governador. Ell-Rey de Cananor ffaço saber a Governador que antiguavente ell-Rey de Purtugall e nos somos muito grandes amigos e asy hos governadores que de Purtugall e os veadores da ffazenda e os capitães desta ffortalleza sempre fforão nosos amigos, e ffizerão ho que comprya a nos e a jemte de noso reyno e nos tambem e hos nosos lhe ffizemos sempre a vomtade e asy daqui por diamte detriminamos de ho ffazer.

Item. Avera coremte e quatro anos que a este porto de Cananor vyerão ter hos Purtugueses, os quaes fforão bem recebydos e agasalhados per hum prìmpepe meu tio que amtam governava este reino e de amtão ate gora sempre os reis pasados com hos Purtugueses estiverão em muita paz posto que naquelle tempo ouve amtre elles húa quebra que loguo tornarão ha ffallar, e asy daqui por diamte temos posto na vomtade de per nenhúua cousa quebromas.

Item. Quoamdo hos Purtugueses vyerão descobryr esta Indía, chegarão primeiro a Callecu oomde pella jemte da terra com comçimentiomento dell-rey [1b] fforão emganados e mall tratados e asy ficarão de guera e ymdo-se pera Purtugall ho prímpepe meu tio que asyma digo hos mandou chamar e lhes deu tudo ho que pera seu caminho.

Item. Naquelle tempo neste porto de Cananor erra todo ho trato d'Ormuz homde vynha[m] todollos cavallos d'Ormuz e d'Arrabya de que hos reis de Cananor tinham muitos grandes direitos, asy dos cavallos como de todallas outras mercadorias que de lla traziam e de qua llevavão.

Item. Naquelle tempo os mercadores deste reino e navegantes tratavão em cavallos e alliffamtes em que ffaziam grande proveito e ganhos, de que nos davão muitos direitos, ho quall nos tudo ffoy tirado pera se yr a Goa homde agora he de que recebemos muita perda.

Item. Hos reis pasados derão de boa vomtade aos Purtugueses esta ffortalleza homde se ffez ffeitoria que sempre a ella ell-Rei maomdou
muitas mercadorias riqas, saber, corall, cobre, estaho, chumbo, azougue, vermeham, <garniffe>, pedra ume, pamos (sic) de cores, marffim que tudo se aqui gastava de que hos reis avyam muitos dirreitos que tudo se desfzez por se ffazzer Goa em que muito perdemos ppello qu'all peço a Vossa Senhoria que mande a esta ffeytoria mercadorias do reino porque eu aja / / os / [di] reeitos que soya aver.

Item. As ilhas de Maldiva remdiam per anos naquelle tempo de que avyamos proveito, estamdo asy desta maneira maondou ell-Rei de Purtugall ffazzer por esta Ymdia muitas ffortallezas em que tudo se espalho.

Item. Quoamdo ell-Rei maondou ffazzer a çidade de Goa e ha ffortalleza de Callecu e a de Challe, deste reino de Cananor lhe ffoy dado toda ajuda de trabalhadores e paos e Naires que os mais delles ffallecerão muito pouquos.

[2o] Item. Pellos governadores pasados por elles quererem vir por ell-Rei de Purtugall lho maondar elles deffemderão aos mercadores da nossa terra que não tratasem em espeçarias nem em drogas de maneira que não ffiqua agora aos nosos mercadores pera em que tratem senão quoquos e copra e yagra e cardamomo e sera e azeite que sam ffrutos da terra de que nos temos pouquos dirreitos.

Item. Despois nos derão liçemça os governadores que mandasem hos mouros de nossa terra cadano ha Ormuæ quatre naos pera que della trouxesem cavallos e quáesquer outras mercadorias, os quaes agora não temos ppello que peço a Vossa Senhoria que as mamde dar.

Item. No tempo que Callecu estava de guera com os Purtugueses ell-Rey de Purtugall nos mandou ffazzer merçe de todollos seguros de Pudepatao ate Batecalla se desem nesta ffortalleza de Cananor pera que nos ouvesemos allum proveito e porque agora somos emformados que em Batecalla os ffieitores dem seguros aos de Bamdo e de Barcallor et de Bacanor e de Carnate e asy Challe se dam alluns seguros de Pudepatao pello que lhe peço que ho deffemda, e mando que venham todos aqui tomar seus seguros asy como ell-Rei de Purtugall manda pera que aja d'iso allum proveito, pois¹ ho não tenho como os outros reis pasados por tornão a ver nesta terra mercadores como soya por serem ydos por não acharem proveito na terra nem em que tratar e porque tambem ha muito pouquos seguros pera dar.

Item. Cartases que se agora dam não nos remdem mais de tres mill pardaos domde se remdiam vymte e symquo mill pardaos delles e das

¹ Text.: pois pols (sic).
mercadorias dos quaes tres mill pardaos se gastão perto de mill em cousas da ffortaleza e dadivas,[26] aqui em Quananor se custumava em os tempos pasados dous ou tres mill quintais de gemgivre cadano a troquo de cobre ppello preço que hos sfeitores asem tavão no gemgivre, e agora de tres anos pera qua pppello tomarem em Callecu se desacustomou muito ffazer-se aqui he ese pouquo que avya ho Governador ho mandava comprar por dinheiro e daqui por diante todo ho que ouver na terra lhe mandarrey dar como damtes soya e asy a pimenta.

Item. Este verão pasado se derão nesta ffetoria hos seguros acustumados aos zambuquos e pagueis e paraos da terrão que se começerão a dar em agosto e em desembro deste verão, e amdando asy por esta costa, começou de tomar hos seguros aos zambuquos e pageis e paraos que yam caregados pera Cambaia e pera outras partes Bellchior de Sousa que aqui amdava com húa armada e hos ffes arribar a Cananor, dizendo que não avya de navegare.

Item. Tendo ja hos zambuquos no porto de Cananor ffalamdo com seus donos de allguns delles os despertava pera os deyxsar navegare, llevando-lhe hum tamto por cada hum segundo a vallia de mercadoria e ffazenda que cada hum llevava e os outros fficarão aqui no porto perdendo sua vyagem e mercadorias.

Item. Estamdo asy veo a este porto húa nao de Pocaralle, muido principall delle, que vynha do cabo de Comorim com dous alliffamtes grandes, ha quall vynha pera hos desembarqar em Mangallor e Bellchior de Sousa ha tomou perdida, dizendo que a queria asy llevar a Goa e elles dixerão que não avyan lla de levar, que queri desembarcar hos alliffamtes em Cananor com quall lhe não quis comsintir e a teve tamto tempo neste porto reteuda com as outras ate que os alliffamtes queriam [3α] morer, e amtam ffoy neçesario a Pocaralle dar ffiamça de mill e quinhentos ppardao a Bellchior de Sousa se ho Governador ouvesse por bem tomada a nao e com esta ffiamça lhos deixou desembarqar, a quall ffiamça ainda não he allevamtada, peço-lhe por merçe que ha mande allevamttar.

Item. Ho dito Bellchior de Sousa esteve sempre neste porto, tolhendo que nenhúa cousa de Pocaralle nem de seus chegados e parentes navegaram, damdo em tudo muita apresam e trabalho.

Item. Dos outros navvos que fficarão no porto alguns delles tomou e os mandou vender com suas mercadorias e allem d’iso pedio a Pocaralle hum mastro de hum seu zambuquo e hum parao que lhe o dito Pocaralle deu mais por ffórça que por vomtade.
Item. E asy tambem não consymtio que hos zambuqos desembarqasem suas mercadorias sendo ja mes de maio ate hos mouros lhe peitarem por lhes deyxar descaregar.

Item. Mais estando hos navvos de Pocaralle no porto, ho dito Bellchyor de Sousa maondou saltar em hum delles e maondou espanqar aos mouros que guardavão e lhe maondou tomar a ffazenda que lhe bem pareçeo.

Item. Mais ho dito Bellchior de Sousa, hum dominguo ppella manham, amanheçeo a porta de Pocaralle e Pocaralle sayo flora de casa a ffallar com elle e estamdo asy fallamdo tomou hûa llança e ho matou e asy a hum seu cunhado mouro muito homrado que com elle estava.

Item. Pocaralle erra mouro muito homrado e que tinha ffeyto muito serviço aos governadores e muito boas hobras aos Portugueses e emprestemos que ainda oje lhe allguns devem de que tem seus conhecimentos.

[3b] Item. Quoando hos Rumes vyerão a Dio, hos mouros de toda esta terra detrminavão dese allavamtar e não tratarem nem comprarem nem venderem com hos Portugueses ate verem ho que se pasava com hos Rumes e Pocaralle com seu bom syso os tirou d’iso, trabalhando muito com elles, dizendo-lhes que ainda que vyesem todollos Rumes do mundo que elle sempre avya de ser amigo dos Portugueses e com elles comprar e vender e com seus seguros navegar e asy ho começou de ffazer porque todollos outros mouros ho segirão pello qall ouve este garlladam.

E os amtes pasados deste Pocaralle davam aos reis de Cananor as remdas das ylhas de Malldiva que elles amtam governavão.

Item. Per morte de Pocaralle se despovoou a cidade de Cananor que homês e molheres ffogiram todos pera a tera, levando suas ffazendas e deixando quair suas casas no ymverno de maneira que fficou a cidade erma.

Item. Ho[s] parentes de Pocaralle e jemte de sua geração e vallia e asy os Naires e Orioures 2 seus jamgadas, não sabemdo ho que lhes podia acomtecer, detrminarão de pellejar com hos Portugueses e fforão com elles com espimgardas e armas pellejando per vezes em que morerão allguns mouros e a ffortaleza fforão morer allguns mouros e quatro Naires jamgadas de Pocaralle, como nesta terra esta em custume e muito outros ho quijerão ffazer, asy Ourioures como Naires, e eu os tirei d’iso com muito trabalho.

2 Orioures = Adiyödi, title held by certain Nayar of Chirakkal.
Item. Pera estas cousas hos mouros mercadores em minha terra com seus navios sam espalhados per outros reinos e portos pera lla ffazer suas mercadorias e proveitas, e eu peiquo derreitos que niso avya d’aver e asy dizem hos mercadores e navegantes de minha terra que reçeberiam perda de corenta mill pardaos.

[4a] Item. Os mercadores que soyam de navegar com seguros dell-Rei de Portugall dizem que despois da quebra das cartases perderão muito que dito os Portugueses e que daqui por diamte arreçemando navegarão com hos ditos cartases.

Item. Estamdo asy desta maneira, chegou ho capitão Manoell de Vasquocomêlhos que despois da sua vynda não ffizerão mais desordens os Portugueses.

Item. Despois d’isto asosegado eu me vy com ho capitam e ffallamdo sobre ho caso fficamos comsertados. Despois outra vez eu ajumtei os mouros e denro no llugar de Cananor nas casas de Pocaralle allí me vy com ho capitão e lhe emteregei os mouros e hos ffiz amigos, de que todos fficarão comtentes, e asy os sobrinhos de Pocaralle lhe emteregei pera que ffosem amigos e servidores dell-Rey de Portugall e dos seus governadores e capitães.

Item. Despois de tudo asy comsertado e acabado, as jemtes que erão fora da cidade asy hos homês como molheres e meninos todos se vyerão pela cidade a coreger e povoar suas casas, as quaes cousas ffiz compffiando em ell-Rey de Portugall e nos seus governadores.

Item. Ppellas quaes cousas peço a Vossa Senhoria que a nome dell-Rei, rei de Portugall, avemdo a elles respeito nos ffazaça a nos e a noso reino e aos nosos vaçallos aquillo que lhe pareçer que seja noso proveito e acreçentamento de nosas ffazendas e remdas.

Item. Hos sobrinhos de Pocaralle tem suas ffazendas espalhadas per muitas partes e asy suas naos e pageis e allgues embaracadas, ffazaça-lhe Vossa Senhoria desembracar e tornar llivemente.

Item. Hos capiâtes e jemte de Cananor soyam sempre de dar nestes reis pasados socoro e ajuda e ffavor contra seus contrários com artel-haria e pollvora e jemte, e daqui por diamte peço a Vossa Senhoria que asi mande que se ffaça.

[4b] Item. As cartases que daqui por diamte se derem mande Vossa Senhoria que sejão mui valliosos e que per nenhūa cousa se quebrem.

Item. Tudo ysto lhe peço que cuide bem e bem cuidado detrimine e mande aquillo que seja beem e proveito noso e de nosa terra e povo della porque asy nos temos detreminado e asemtado de com hos gover-
nadores estarmos sempre muito amigos e lhes fizer a vomtade, e ystu do ho que digo tomo a Deus por testemunha que asyado ser com muita verdade.

Autographic signature in Malayalam : Kōḷaṭhirī

Apostil : Carta del-Rey de Cananor.

Original
NEWS FROM INDIA (1525)

Anonymous account
TdT, Colecção São Vicente, XI.

[37a] E aos oytos dyas de Janeiro de myll e quynhemtos e vymta cymquo, começou a governar na Imdea Dom Amryque de Meneses por soseças de Dom Vasquo da Guama Vyso-Rey, a quall nova de seu falecymiento lhe foy dada em Guoa onde da mão do Vyso-Rey estava por quapitão da dita cidade, e no dyto dy a cymxa lexyou loguo por quapitão a Framçysquo de Ssaa.

E partyo de Guoa o Governador a xbj dyas do dito mes e levamdo comsyguo cymquo navyos, ssaber, húa galleem que elle hya e húa galeota e [ tres bragamtys e semdo de fronte de Batyqualaa, achou trymta paraos malavares que hyam carregados de pimenta pera Dyo com os quaes pelejou e tomou quymze, e os outros por serem mais ao mar fugyrão, e deles derão a costa e lhe matou muita jemte, e lhe tomou muita artelherya e as outras armas e polvora.

E loguo o dy a seguymte partyo, e semdo jumto com monte Delly topou seis paraos e húa gumdra, todos cargados de mercadoria que levavam pera Dyo.

[37b] E cheguou o Governador a Quananor a xxbj do dito mes homde achou preso o tyo de Baleacem, prymçypall armador dos paraos e que tynha muito mall feyto aos nosos e asy ao longuo da costa da Hymdea como nas ylhas de Maldyvaa, o quall el-Rey de Quananor emtrgou ao Vyso-Iley, e no dy a que Dom Amryque cheguou o mandou loguo emforquar supetamente porque ouve por notycya que ho dyto Rey lho avya de mandar pydyr, como loguo o mandou pydyr, porque em o levamdo a emforquar, cheguou o governador del-Rey que ho vynha a pedyr da parte del-Rey, pela quall morte do dito mouro el-Rey fyquou muyto anojado porque esperava d'aver do dyto mouro muita ryqueza porque hera muito grande, ryquoy a maravilha,
e por estaa causaa se nam vyo emtam com el-Rey o Governador; e todos os mouros foram muito anojados e alvorçados e poserão o foguo ao seu lugar donde arderão muitas cassas, e os mouros se foram da terra com ssuas fazemdas; emtam mandou el-Rey dyzer ao Governor que mandase aos seus Portugueses que nam fosem ao lugar por casso da jemte asy amdar alvorçada, porque foy la huum portugues e foy loguo morto; emtam, mandouu o Governor que nenhun homem, de quall estado que fose, que naa fose a Quananor, e estando jaa o Governor pera se partyr pera Cochym quase agastado [38a] por lhe não vyr falar el-Rey e por el-Rey estar anojado dos mercadores que se foram de ssua tera, e ssabyya que estavão em Termapataõ, lugar seu, pera passarem pera Qualequu omde estavão alevamtados contra ssua obedymçysa, mandou roguar ao Governor que amtes que se fose que mandase alguma jemte a queymar e destruyr aquelles lugares, e o Governor mandou loguo Eytor da Syllveira com certas velas, e chegando ao dito Tramapataõ homde estavão muitos mouros e outra jemte muita e os ditos mercadores, e depois dos nosos lhe tyrarem com artelherya, poserão foguo ao lugar que era muito gramde, e quasy todos os mercadores que hy tynhão ssuas fazemdas queymadas neste lugar amtes destes mercadores vyrem a elle case todo era de pesquadores e todas as redes e quassas foram queymadas, e tambem muitas mantei-gas e aseytes que hos mercadores trouxerão quando fugyram de Quananor, e mais foram aly queymadas certas naos gramdes malavarens e as allmadyas dos pesquadores e hia galeota nova que aymda nam estava qualafetada a gyssa das nosas, e outra que estava mea feeta, e depois de terem todo ysto feyto, foram mais adyamte muito perto homde queymarão tres lugares de pescadores [38b] e asy fyzaram aquelles como ao primeiro, os quaees tambem eram do Reyno de Cananor e por os muitos tyros d'artelherya que os nosos tyraram, se diz que morerão alguns mouros, e depois de tudo ysto feyto a ssua vornade se tornaram pera Cananor com muito comtetamento e el-Rey de Quananor foy muito alegre por o tall feyto, e o Governor dahy a dous dyasse partyo pera Cochym e levou comsysguo Dom Symão de Meneses pera ho fazer capitão-mor do mar, e leyxou em sseu lugar por quapytam de Quananor a Eytor da Sylveira.
LETTER FROM BÀBÀ ‘ABDULLAH TO D. MANUEL [1519]

Wraq al-awal

[1a]

الحمد لله وحده.

[1] هذا الحديث من عند بابا عبد الله مسلمين من بندر المرموص وهو
خادمكم [3] وصل من بندر اليديبه الى بندر الكشي وعرفني بشادر هرمز
الى [4] كقتنان الور السمي افوسو بكرك وبشدر الذكور اخذ ينتي وقد
[5] تسأل على يد كقتنان الور على حين رفع من بندر الملاكه وبشدر
الذكور [6] قال للققتنان الور استلت انت من بابا عبد الله الذكور عن
جميع الخبر [7] البندر الدبية الدحل وعلى اطرافها وهو يعرف جميع
المكبات وبعد يا [8] سيدى الملك قد توضحت الى كقتنان الور بها
كان عن خبر الديبه [9] وبحبوبه وبعد هذا قرر لي كقتنان الذكور انك
تكون في المواسط [10] ينبي وين سلطان الديبه تعلم بعث صلح
المخافة وجر يبتين شرط والقول [12] وكتب له خط يدي عن جميع
الشرط الديبه وكذلك كتب لي كقتنان الور [13] نسبيت عن قوله لاجل
منى وأخبرت الققتنان الور أن الناس الديبه [14] ناس ضعيف ومنتج
عليه حرب والخصومة وعليه مبلغ المال مصلى [15] وهي فيداة على
سلطان البلدغال وقبل هذا نصي الحكم الذكور على يد [16] مام على
الليبار وهو في كل سنة قابض وانت يققتنان تحكم على [17] مام على
الذكور في اخذ الحكم الذكور وتقول له هذا الهوام الديبه يكون
[18] من جهت السلطان البلدغال بعد هذا المال الكذور قد خرج مع الققتنان

[16]

الور من بندر كشي الى بندر الحبو وقد وصلنا الى بندر الكشي وطلب
[2] الحكم على وهو حضر على مجلس الكقتنان الور وقيل الققتنان الذكور
[3] على مام على انت تقبض في كل سنة مصم الديبه بالقوة وان
[4] ما غلبي حتى تأخذ عن مصم الديبه ولي البلدغال وقد قبل مام

1 Professor Jean Aubin has translated this letter from Arabic into French, Lettre de Bâbà 'Abdullah à D. Manuel, in Mare Luso-indicum, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 201-212.

ورق الثاني

[1] عادلخان وتوذى خطنا عليه وبعد ما ترجع من العدن وانت تروح الى


ب. طبیع: توافقه.
ان يعرف وجاعت الذيبه ورضم القمر في كل سنة [16] ان نسلم فبعد هذا طلب الحظ كنزات الذكور وقد قطع واختفى القول

ورق الثالث

[3a]


[3b]


For يهربي
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arratel</td>
<td>1/32 of an <em>arroba</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arroba</td>
<td>1/4 of a <em>quintal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahar</td>
<td>Indian weight of variable size (equivalent to 3 or 4 Portuguese <em>quintais</em>) divided into 20 <em>faraçolas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berço</td>
<td>Small piece of Portuguese artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadjan</td>
<td>Palm leaves used for covering houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartaç</td>
<td>Safe conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casado</td>
<td>(Pg: married) A Portuguese man married to an Indian woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catur</td>
<td>Small Indian boat with pointed bows, oars and a single mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerame</td>
<td>(Malayalam <em>stambi</em>). Verandah, open pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condestabre</td>
<td>Portuguese officer in command of artillerymen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristão-novo</td>
<td>Jew recently converted to Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degredado</td>
<td>Condemned by common law (usually to exile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espera</td>
<td>Piece of Portuguese artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falcão</td>
<td>Small piece of Portuguese artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faraçola</td>
<td>1/20 of a <em>bahar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaimal</td>
<td>Title given to certain Keralalese noblemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marumakkatayam</td>
<td>Matrilinear system practised in Kerala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhoda</td>
<td>Ship’s captain or coxswain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paguere</td>
<td>Cargo from Malabar or Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parao</td>
<td>(Malayalam <em>paru malay: perahu</em>) Small galley with twenty to thirty rows of orarsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provedor</td>
<td>Hospital administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quadrilheiro</td>
<td>Portuguese officer responsible for distributing war booty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintal</td>
<td>Ancient Portuguese weight (<em>peso velho</em> for weighing spices estimated at 51.40 kg) divided into 4 <em>arrobas</em> containing 32 <em>arrateis</em> each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regimento</td>
<td>General instructions and regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seguro</td>
<td>Safe conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinabafo</td>
<td>(Hind, <em>Sanabaf</em>) White cotton fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobrerolda</td>
<td>Sentry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharavad</td>
<td>Family link peculiar to the <em>marumakkatāyam</em> system, uniting all the descendants of a common ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vihāra</td>
<td>Buddhist sanctuary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CC Copo cronológico.
CVR Cartas dos Vice-Reis.
H Hegira.
K Kollam (era)
pg português
S Saka (era)
TdT Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.
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